



SELECT COMMITTEE ON CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Written Evidence Volume

Contents

Acocks Green Neighbourhood Forum – written evidence (CCE0002)	11
Action Together – written evidence (CCE0048)	14
Action with Communities in Rural England (ACRE) – written evidence (CCE0094)	15
Alison Robinson – written evidence (CCE0025).....	17
Dr Chris Allen, Department of Social Policy, Sociology & Criminology, University of Birmingham – written evidence (CCE0181).....	19
Allerdale Borough Council – written evidence (CCE0175)	27
Dr Marco Antonsich, Senior Lecturer Department of Geography, Loughborough University – written evidence (CCE0112)	29
Anonymous witness – written evidence (CCE0215).....	32
Apptivism – written evidence (CCE0046)	33
Cllr Saima Ashraf – supplementary evidence (CCE0271).....	34
Association of British Insurers – written evidence (CCE0263)	53
Association for Citizenship Teaching – written evidence (CCE0143)	57
Association of the Lord-Lieutenants – written evidence (CCE0035).....	68
Carina Badger – written evidence (CCE0159).....	73
Associate Professor Philip Bamber – written evidence (CCE0194)	78
Professor Martyn Barrett, Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University of Surrey– written evidence (CCE0037)	81
Dr Koen Bartels – written evidence (CCE0197)	90
Dr David Bartram – written evidence (CCE0262)	93
Basira – written evidence (CCE0261).....	93
Dr Leah Bassel – written evidence (CCE0145)	94
Janet Batsleer – written evidence (CCE0096).....	96
BBC – written evidence (CCE0184)	97
Philip Bedford – written evidence (CCE0040).....	108
Bedfordshire Association of Town and Parish Councils – written evidence (CCE0072).....	112
Big Lottery Fund – written evidence (CCE0246)	113
The Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law – written evidence (CCE204).....	124

Written Evidence Volume

Blakelaw and North Fenham Community Council – written evidence (CCE0099)	137
Bite the Ballot – Supplementary written evidence (CCE0254)	139
British Heart Foundation – written evidence (CCE0121)	140
British Red Cross – written evidence (CCE0243)	147
The British Youth Council – written evidence (CCE0098)	156
Professor Thom Brooks, Dean & Chair in Law and Government, Durham Law School, Durham University – written evidence (CCE0161)	162
Roger Bysouth – written evidence (CCE0230)	171
Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (UK Branch) – written evidence (CCE0192)	175
Caritas Social Action Network (CSAN) – written evidence (CCE0147)	183
Cllr. Mrs. Armored J. Carlyon – written evidence (CCE0234)	187
Catch 22 – written evidence (CCE0153)	194
Mr James Cathcart – written evidence (CCE0253)	199
Catholic Union of Great Britain – written evidence (CCE0117)	207
The Challenge – written evidence (CCE0203)	209
The Challenge – supplementary written evidence (CCE0274)	218
Gabriel Chanan – written evidence (CCE0013)	219
Change That Matters Ltd – written evidence (CCE0208)	224
Charities Aid Foundation – written evidence (CCE0180)	228
Charity Commission for England and Wales – written evidence (CCE0164)	237
Charity Retail Association – written evidence (CCE0055)	240
Children’s Rights Alliance for England (CRAE) – written evidence (CCE0114)	244
Christopher Santos-Lang – written evidence (CCE0014)	252
Church Urban Fund – written evidence (CCE0179)	253
CitizED – written evidence (CCE0119)	260
Citizenship and Civic Engagement Working Group Faculty of Humanities, The University of Manchester – written evidence (CCE0171)	264
Citizenship Foundation – written evidence (CCE0195)	279
City Year UK – written evidence (CCE0105)	291
CIVICUS – written evidence (CCE0128)	306
Civil Society Futures – written evidence (CCE0073)	310
Dr Alistair Clark, Politics Department, Newcastle University – written evidence (CCE0081)	331
Nick Clarke, Will Jennings and Gerry Stoker – written evidence (CCE0196)	338
Victoria Clutton – written evidence (CCE0001)	345

Written Evidence Volume

Kate Coleclough, Head of Religious Studies, PSHE and Citizenship, Sir Thomas Boteler CE High School – written evidence (CCE0029).....	347
Community Channel – written evidence (CCE0213).....	351
Community First Yorkshire – written evidence (CCE0075).....	356
Community Organisers Ltd – written evidence (CCE0200)	364
Conservative Muslim Forum – written evidence (CCE0150).....	370
Convenors of the UK Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Young People’s Politics – written evidence (CCE0087).....	377
Coram – written evidence (CCE0113).....	386
Professor Emma Crewe – written evidence (CCE0207).....	395
Dr Rod Dacombe, Department of Political Economy, Kings College London– written evidence (CCE0174).....	399
David Ltd – written evidence (CCE0007)	407
DECSY Development Education Centre South Yorkshire – written evidence (CCE0120).....	409
Democracy Club Community Interest Company– written evidence (CCE0138)	413
Democracy Matters – written evidence (CCE0265)	417
The Democratic Society – written evidence (CCE0095)	442
Demos – written evidence (CCE0233)	456
Department of Curriculum Pedagogy and Assessment, UCL Institute of Education – written evidence (CCE0166)	459
Supplementary evidence from the Department for Education – CCE0268	460
Dr Derek Edyvane, University of Leeds – written evidence (CCE0158).....	460
Ms Sue Devlin – written evidence (CCE0223).....	463
David Dixon – written evidence (CCE0015)	469
Sunny Dhadley, Wolverhampton SUIT (Service User Involvement Team) – written evidence (CCE0008).....	471
The Duke of Edinburgh’s Award – written evidence (CCE0264)	473
Durham University Model Westminster Society – written evidence (CCE0050)	477
EDEN City Outreach – written evidence (CCE0076)	491
Dr Jan Eichhorn, Lecturer, University of Edinburgh– written evidence (CCE0027).....	499
The Electoral Commission – written evidence (CCE0152).....	505
Electoral Reform Society – written evidence (CCE0136).....	512
Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)	518
Equality and Human Rights Commission – written evidence (CCE0183)	533

Written Evidence Volume

The Equality Trust – written evidence (CCE0091)	541
Evangelical Alliance – written evidence (CCE0245)	547
Dr Sami Everett, The Woolf Institute – written evidence (CCE0003)	558
Exeter City Community Trust – written evidence (CCE0086)	561
Expert Subject Advisory Group for Citizenship – written evidence (CCE0090)	566
Facing History and Ourselves – written evidence (CCE0193)	571
Professor Laurence Ferry – written evidence (CCE0229)	578
Five Nations Network – written evidence (CCE0160)	584
Fixers – written evidence (CCE0191)	591
Foundation for Social Improvement – written evidence (CCE0063)	596
Good Things Foundation – written evidence (CCE0206)	601
Graeme Davis – written evidence (CCE0108)	609
Dr Roman Gerodimos – written evidence (CCE0082)	612
The Glass-House Community Led Design – written evidence (CCE0054)	619
Mr Philip Gleeson and Mr Jagdeep Passan – written evidence (CCE0092)	623
Guild HE – written evidence (CCE0068)	632
Hampshire Association of Local Councils – written evidence (CCE0066)	636
Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)	639
Helen Haste, Angela Bermudez, and Mario Carretero – written evidence (CCE0226)	661
Joe Hayman – written evidence (CCE0059)	667
Health and Social Care Alliance, Scotland – written evidence (CCE0165)	675
Healthwatch England – written evidence (CCE0168)	677
Healthwatch Essex – written evidence (CCE0032)	681
Susan Hedley – written evidence (CCE0074)	709
HM Government – Supplementary written evidence (CCE0249)	717
HM Government - supplementary to the oral evidence given on 6 September 2017 (CCE0255)	745
John Holford (Robert Peers Professor of Adult Education, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Sharon Clancy (Senior Research Fellow, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Jeannie Holstein (Assistant Professor in Strategic and Public Sector Management, Business School, University of Nottingham), Ken Starkey (Professor of Professor of Management & Organisational Learning, Business School, University of Nottingham) – written evidence (CCE0172)	754
Holocaust Educational Trust – written evidence (CCE0252)	761

Written Evidence Volume

Dr Neil Hopkins, Senior Lecturer in Education, University of Bedfordshire – written evidence (CCE0016).....	764
Peter Hopkins, School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University – written evidence (CCE0070)	768
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 – written evidence (CCE0047).....	773
Hospital Broadcasting Association – written evidence (CCE0259).....	777
Christine Huebner – written evidence (CCE0221)	779
Human City Institute – written evidence (CCE0124)	782
Ian Jones, Chief Executive, Volunteer Cornwall – written evidence (CCE0034).....	787
The Imagine Project – written evidence (CCE0127)	792
The Inter Faith Network for the UK – written evidence (CCE0250)	798
Intergenerational Foundation – written evidence (CCE0104).....	807
International Association for Community Development – written evidence (CCE0036).....	810
Involve – written evidence (CCE0187)	814
Dr Toby James, Senior Lecturer, University of East Anglia – written evidence (CCE0131) ...	825
Dr Jan Germen Janmaat, LLAKES Research Centre, Department of Education, Practice and Society, UCL Institute of Education and Professor Bryony Hoskins, Department of Social Sciences, University of Roehampton – written evidence (CCE0060)	831
Joint submission – written evidence (CE0199)	833
Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, University of Birmingham – written evidence (CCE0078).....	863
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 – written evidence (CCE0162)	867
Dr Nisha Kapoor, Lecturer in Sociology, University of York – written evidence (CCE0225)..	872
Dr Avril Keating – written evidence (CCE0134)	879
KIDS – written evidence (CCE0238)	889
Simon Kinder, Head of Learning and Teaching, Gresham’s School – written evidence (CCE0009).....	892
Kingsteignton Youth Centre – written evidence (CCE0084)	893
Kingston Park Neighbourhood Forum – written evidence (CCE0107)	896
Dr Dina Kiwan, Reader in Comparative Education, Department of Education and Social Justice, School of Education University of Birmingham – written evidence (CCE0033).....	898
Adam Peter Lang – written evidence (CCE0022).....	904

Written Evidence Volume

Professor Cristina Leston-Bandeira, Professor of Politics, University of Leeds – written evidence (CCE0154)	907
Let Us Learn! Just for Kids Law – written evidence (CCE0141).....	911
Link Up (UK) – written evidence (CCE0167).....	916
Ross Lloyd – written evidence (CCE0228).....	924
Lloyd Banks Foundation for England and Wales – written evidence (CCE0130).....	927
Local Trust – written evidence (CCE0139)	932
Locality – written evidence (CCE0140)	947
London Youth – written evidence (CCE0205).....	953
Dr Eric Royal Lybeck, University of Exeter – written evidence (CCE0209)	956
John Malcomson – written evidence (CCE0017)	964
Saskia Marsh – supplementary to oral evidence (CCE0260)	967
Christopher Mattley – written evidence (CCE0024).....	969
The Mayor of London, Greater London Authority – written evidence (CCE0244).....	973
Matthew Ryder, Deputy Mayor for Social Integration, Social Mobility and Community Engagement – supplementary evidence (CCE0273).....	988
Ailbhe McNabola, Head of Research and Policy, Power to Change – written evidence (CCE0048).....	989
MEND – written evidence (CCE0185)	995
Zoraida Mendiwelso-Bendek, Senior Research Fellow in Citizenship, University of Lincoln– written evidence (CCE0176)	1002
Migrants’ Rights Network – written evidence (CCE0224)	1004
Mr Richard Miles – written evidence (CCE0219).....	1011
Dr Sarah Mills and Dr Catherine Waite – written evidence (CCE0030).....	1018
Paul Milton – written evidence (CCE0156).....	1025
Ms Lorna Hughes – written evidence (CCE0132)	1027
David Minall – written evidence (CCE0041)	1033
Professor David Morris, Director, Centre for Citizenship and Community,	1034
Muslim Women’s Network – written evidence (CCE0220)	1034
MutualGain – written evidence (CCE0146)	1046
Dr Andrew Mycock – written evidence (CCE0247).....	1055
My Society – written evidence (CCE0069).....	1063
NALC – written evidence (CCE0190).....	1069
NATECLA – written evidence (CE0216).....	1072

Written Evidence Volume

Supplementary written evidence from National Citizen Service Trust – CCE0269	1074
National Council for Voluntary Organisations – written evidence (CCE0239)	1074
National Education Union: National Union of Teachers Section – written evidence (CCE0240)	1086
National Federation of Parks and Green Spaces – written evidence (CCE0151)	1092
National Secular Society – written evidence (CCE0133)	1096
National Union of Students (NUS) – written evidence (CCE0106)	1103
New Citizenship Project – written evidence (CCE0170)	1109
New Philanthropy Capital – written evidence (CCE0097)	1116
Newcastle Council for Voluntary Service – written evidence (CCE0038).....	1123
No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF) Network – written evidence (CCE0155)	1127
Mr Christopher Norris– written evidence (CCE0051).....	1134
Nottingham Civic Exchange and Professor Matt Henn – written evidence (CCE0188).....	1138
Dr Line Nyhagen, Reader in Sociology, Loughborough University – written evidence (CCE0077).....	1146
Oatlands Community Group – written evidence (CCE0116)	1153
Outside the Box – written evidence (CCE0189).....	1162
Professor David Owen – written evidence (CCE0021).....	1166
Dr Alison Davies, Peterborough Racial Equality Council – written evidence (CCE0056).....	1169
Political Literacy Oversight Group of the All Party Parliamentary Group for Democratic Participation – written evidence (CCE0058)	1172
The Political Studies Association – written evidence (CCE0231).....	1185
Alex Prior – written evidence (CCE0251).....	1188
Professor David Richards, Dr Patrick Diamond and Professor Martin Smith – written evidence (CCE0053)	1193
Professor Jo Shaw, Salvesen Chair of European Institutions, University of Edinburgh – written evidence (CCE0045)	1204
Professor Peter Hopkins, School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University, in collaboration with Dr Katherine Botterill and Dr Gurchathen Sanghera – written evidence (CCE0080).....	1209
Professor Jennie Popay and Dr Emma Halliday – written evidence (CCE0149)	1213
Project for the Registration of Children as British Citizens – written evidence (CCE0079).	1219
Pupils 2 Parliament – written evidence (CCE0258)	1226
QED Foundation – written evidence (CCE0062)	1246
Queen’s Park Community Council – written evidence (CCE0100)	1252

Written Evidence Volume

Dr Kingsley Purdham, University of Manchester – written evidence (CCE0071).....	1254
Owais Rajput – written evidence (CCE0118)	1259
Supplementary Evidence from Zanib Rasool MBE – (CCE0267)	1266
Restless Development – written evidence (CCE0198).....	1267
Mrs Violet Rook – written evidence (CCE0020).....	1279
Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) – written evidence (CCE0088)	1282
The Runnymede Trust/Race on the Agenda – written evidence (CCE0214).....	1296
Scottish Older People’s Assembly – written evidence (CCE0212).....	1303
The Scout Association – written evidence (CCE0202)	1307
Scout Association – supplementary written evidence (CCE0272).....	1317
SENSE – written evidence (CCE0102)	1318
John Shaddock – written evidence (CCE0182)	1323
Sheffield for Democracy – written evidence (CCE0065).....	1325
Dr Mark Shephard, Senior Lecturer in Politics, University of Strathclyde – written evidence (CCE0023).....	1330
Dr Kalbir Shukra, Senior Lecturer, Goldsmiths University of London with Malcolm Ball and Katy Brown, Advisors to the Young Mayor of Lewisham – written evidence (CCE0026)....	1337
Mr Michal Siewniak – written evidence (CCE0201).....	1344
Dr Michael Skey, Lecturer in Communication & Media, Department of Social Sciences, Loughborough University – written evidence (CCE0031).....	1350
Nigel Slack – written evidence (CCE0109)	1353
Smartmatic – written evidence (CCE0232).....	1358
Soroptimist International Durham – written evidence (CCE0064).....	1366
South Tyneside Council – written evidence (CCE0148).....	1370
Professor Hugh Starkey, Professor of Citizenship and Human Rights Education.....	1373
Dr. Tania de St Croix, In Defence of Youth Work – written evidence (CCE0218).....	1373
Step Up To Serve – written evidence (CCE0210).....	1378
The Student View – written evidence (CCE0122).....	1391
Susan Suttle – written evidence (CCE0057).....	1397
Karl Sweeney – written evidence (CCE0042).....	1398
Taking Yourself Seriously – written evidence (CCE0144)	1404
Dr Henry Tam – written evidence (CCE0012)	1407
Rona Topaz, Disabled People Against Cuts – written evidence (CCE0019).....	1413

Written Evidence Volume

The Rev. Robin Griffith-Jones, D. Litt, Master of the Temple at the Temple Church, Senior Lecturer, King’s College London – written evidence (CCE0123).....	1414
Think Global – written evidence (CCE0109)	1423
Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Peace Foundation– written evidence (CCE0067)	1430
Mira Turnsek supplementary evidence – CCE0270	1435
UK Parliament – written evidence (CCE0126)	1436
Understanding Everyday Participation – Articulating Cultural Values Project – written evidence (CCE0186)	1442
Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (Usdaw) – written evidence (CCE0163)..	1446
United Nations Association UK (ANA-UK) – written evidence (CCE0135).....	1454
Universal Peace Federation – written evidence (CCE0177)	1463
University of Hertfordshire – written evidence (CCE0248)	1466
University of Kent Centre for Philanthropy – written evidence (CCE0006)	1472
University of Reading, Institute of Education and the Citizenship Foundation – written evidence (CCE0222)	1476
Unlock Democracy Greater Manchester – written evidence (CCE0052)	1494
Urban Vision Enterprise CIC – written evidence (CCE0089)	1499
Professor Nick Vaughan-Williams and Dr Georg Löffmann, University of Warwick – written evidence (CCE0083)	1509
Ms Julianne Viola – written evidence (CCE0103)	1514
Voluntary Action Leeds – written evidence (CCE0178)	1517
Volunteering Matters – written evidence (CCE0242).....	1529
Volunteer Now – written evidence (CCE0173)	1535
Votes for Schools – written evidence (CCE0111)	1537
VSO – written evidence (CCE0211).....	1547
Kevin Walker – written evidence (CCE0043)	1552
What Works Scotland – written evidence (CCE0142)	1554
White Ribbon Association – written evidence (CCE0137).....	1561
Vishal Wilde – written evidence (CCE0010).....	1564
Dr Joanie Willett University of Exeter – written evidence (CCE0256).....	1573
Wonder Foundation – written evidence (CCE0044)	1581
Workers’ Educational Association - written evidence (CCE0257)	1590
Dr Rick Wylie, Samuel Lindow Academic Director, UCLan, Suzanne Wilson, Research Fellow in Social Exclusion and Community Development, UCLan – written evidence (CCE0157)	1600
Young Adults Academy – written evidence (CCE0129)	1600

Acocks Green Neighbourhood Forum – written evidence (CCE0002)

Thank you for the opportunity to offer thoughts and comments relating to our experiences with Citizenship and Civic Engagement, which is duly submitted.

1. Citizenship and civic engagement is the ‘bedrock’ of our democracy. It encourages being part of a social community, having a sense of purpose and status.
2. Citizenship is about being part of a common group with rights and privileges, but also with responsibilities and duties. Also each individual, who is part of, or choosing to join an accepted community, would be expected to support the common good, the laws, obligations, and functions that make that group specific or distinctive.

An understanding of citizenship should certainly be encouraged as part of the educational process. Appropriate ceremonies could be part of this.

3. Civic engagement and citizenship should be publicly acclaimed and accepted as such, by formal rights and even statute. Each can be awarded a certificate on reaching the voting age.

This would also remind those who influence the nation directly and are in authority, of the position of a citizen and their role in society

An informed and supported civic structure and local engagement could act as a monitor of the progress of citizenship.

4. Our current laws and customs do not encourage active political engagement.

Perhaps consideration could be given to a compulsory vote, with the opportunity to vote for ‘none of those listed’

There are mixed feeling on the voting age being lowered to 16, as there are some very engaged and thoughtful 16 year olds, but until there is improved engagement with civic responsibilities and politics, it would be prudent to probably remain at 18 years.

This could be reconsidered if we can address an appreciation of community and citizenship within our society. As currently we are very poor with our youth provision and engagement.

5. Encouraging good citizenship, should commence at primary school and throughout our life experiences.
6. We are not generally good with citizenship programmes; in fact it could be argued that we are experiencing a decline in the civic ethos, with poor local-governance engagement and accountability.

Yes! Let’s have a citizenship ceremony, but it must be meaningful and have depth, with those having influence to also want this to happen and be successful.

Local authorities, answerable to their communities, should have more autonomy and less central government interference. We are also seeing an increase in corporate influence on our public life, with governments being influenced by “big money” and its political funders.

7. What responsibility should central government, devolved and local government have? Accepting that parliament is sovereign, the structures and processes that serve this principle, are often seen to be disfunctional and must address the profound disconnection between our governance structures and the citizen, as certain policies and developments are having a negative impact on our civic life, as we have known them. We are experiencing long-term systemic failures with a lack of real accountability, by successive governments, with poorly drafted legislation and poor evidenced public information. There is much work to be done to rebuild public trust in our institutions. We must re-emphasise the term service and less importance to self-interest.

8. Our values and principles were built and developed over time, by the efforts and sacrifices of our forebears, which are still worthy and deserving of support.

They should be held in common agreement, and in support of equality and a sense of purpose and a feeling of belonging and identity.

As inequality, or the perception of it, could have a profound impact on the success and cohesion of a society.

9. Yes, many communities and individuals do feel left behind and ignored, they see the loss of their local community structures and poor engagement with social structures and low resourced civic agencies. Closed Police Stations and Neighbourhood Offices, together with reduced library services and lack of youth centres and generally reduced community facilities. These are disappointing and unacceptable outcomes, as our civic structures are being systematically closed to the public and do not allow a reasonable level of engagement with our public agencies.

The acceptance of our social neighbourhoods and community as a delight, support and refuge is being lost to a feeling of despair and hopelessness. Young people, particularly, are looking for direction and meaning.

A start in addressing these barriers is an improved engagement with the public agencies and public realm to counter the faceless bureaucracy and corporate impunity.

10. A relationship between citizenship and civic engagement is all “one and the same”. As without social cohesion and cooperation we shall have a fragmented society that could have the unfortunate outcome of hostility and separation, each with profound implications.

Whereas, we can celebrate our individuality, we must be ever mindful of our common aims and responsibilities.

11. It is an advantage that we are able to communicate in a common language, in supporting our common ties and to prevent isolation.

12. To be a tolerant and cohesive society is what we strive for, but this is also inculcated in our hard won values and standards. But it is also necessary that these are supported by practical and meaningful policies.

2 August 2017

Action Together – written evidence (CCE0048)

7. Please take evidence from NAVCA and NCVO. There are numerous national reviews related to the voluntary, community, faith and social enterprise sector that could contribute to this discussion. The VCFSE sector is absolutely critical in this area but too often is not included or listened to in shaping solutions. Big national programmes are not the answer instead we need support for grassroots solutions shaped by local people which invest in the whole ecosystem of the VCFSE sector.

1 September 2017

Action with Communities in Rural England (ACRE) – written evidence (CCE0094)

Introduction

The ACREnetwork consists of 38 County level rural development charities and their national association: Action with Communities in Rural England (ACRE). Members of the network have assisted rural communities to manage and adapt to change for over 80 years especially over issues such as affordable housing, access to local services, health & wellbeing and rural isolation.

ACRE's evidence is being submitted on the behalf of the whole ACREnetwork and therefore encompasses both a national viewpoint on how a rural dimension to public policy has been addressed since the Act came into force and also a more local one, derived from 38 rural development charities experience on how this has been rolled out to local government and government's more local agencies.

This submission responds only to Question 9 of the Select Committee call for evidence, as it was felt that this question has most relevance to the rural communities that the ACREnetwork support and represent in national debate. Due to the unique make-up of rural communities, in terms of demographic, industry, access to services and development we feel that it is imperative that the Committee considers a rural perspective when answering the question about communities and groups feeling 'left behind'.

Question 9. Why do so many communities and groups feel 'left behind'?

Opinion polls and other qualitative and anecdotal evidence suggest that the prevalence of a sense of being 'left behind' is not just a phenomenon of relatively deprived urban areas but is also very common amongst parts of the rural community. It may be possible to identify specific urban locations where this view is concentrated, in rural areas it is more diffuse and affects particular sections of the population in most rural communities.

Since the 2008 financial crisis, and the fiscal / public expenditure action that has been taken as a result, rural areas have seen dramatic economies being made in public services of all kinds. These have included health services, youth provision, library services, public transport etc. In all these services the tendency of those managing diminishing budgets has been to look at unit costs of delivery to individuals and families and seek to reduce services where either the unit cost is highest or the least visibly damaging cuts can be made. For public agencies that serve rural areas as well as urban ones, this has often meant cutting rural services first. For those living in rural areas it is not a matter of perceiving themselves as being left behind, they are being left behind and left out.

Government has seen community activity and volunteering as a means of ensuring that preventative services can be retained whilst budgets are protected for acute and emergency

response services. This is evident across many areas of public service from the NHS to the Police Service. Rural communities are rightly proud of their tradition of resilience and self-sufficiency. Many feel this tradition has been abused and resources have been wasted in national initiatives where the bulk of the available money has not been used to support local activity but instead to build up new agencies and activity within local government departments. Many volunteers feel de-motivated by a tendency to be ‘sucked-into’ the public sector and their highly risk averse procedures. This tendency for ‘top-down’ direction from the public sector results in de-motivation of volunteers and is true across many areas, from health and wellbeing services to neighbourhood planning.

The Committee asks the question of how barriers to active citizenship can be overcome. In rural areas communities have always looked to themselves to provide some of those services and facilities that the state provides in urban areas. They understand that this is part of what it is to live in a rural area. What they find hard to understand is why the institutions of the state are so reluctant to understand, and take account of, the realities for people living in rural areas. The most frequent anxieties the ACREnetwork hear expressed by rural people when it comes to getting involved in their community are:

- excessive risk aversion and its resulting paperwork within the public sector;
- systems that rely on fast broadband that they either cannot get or cannot afford;
- national initiatives that are clearly designed only for major centres of population;
- complex and expensive consultations over urban initiatives and a reluctance to listen to how decisions will impact rural people in their communities;
- being treated as ‘cattle fodder’ for national citizenship initiatives that do not understand the commitment that individuals already make to their communities in rural areas.

This submission has been written by Jeremy Leggett on behalf of ACREnetwork

7 September 2017

Alison Robinson – written evidence (CCE0025)

ESOL Practitioner submitting information individually

1. A sense of belonging. Involvement in local community.
2. More work in schools on welcoming new arrivals. Funding for volunteer coordinators to get more society members involved with others. More integration and engagement activities locally.
3. A focus on people helping others who they might not normally work/meet with. More emphasis on the benefits of volunteering. Good for mental health, useful contacts...Young people to all get involved in volunteering.
4. I work with young people of 19 and 20 who earlier this year had to ask 'what is a general election?'. These are people who've been through apprenticeships, or done A levels, and one got into University. This shocked me. How can you get through the whole of an education system without knowing such basics. Something is completely wrong! They had very little interest in voting. They don't understand about MPs etc etc
5. Education has a massive role. Especially in these days of social media where young people's news comes entirely from their newsfeed. Citizenship should be embedded throughout education from primary to University. There should be content on politics in the UK and the difference from other countries, especially where refugees come from. The function of democracy. Why asylum seekers come to the UK. What the difference is between an asylum seeker, a refugee and a migrant. Far more investment in EAL in schools. There needs to be a big change in funding of ESOL and the importance that it has in the education of adults. A national strategy and a national website bringing together all provision both voluntary and statutory. This could be one that organisations submitted their own information too which would mean monitoring it would be less onerous. Learning English is key but takes time. Those in work find it hard to learn and develop further. We are wasting people's skills. Educated people are working in factories where they could be working in hospitals and schools etc.
6. I like the idea but know little about it. Could it be a separate subject in secondary schools taking the place of a GCSE for all. It could involve volunteering and some discussion, course work that was generic for all.
7. Far more funding for volunteer coordinators to work with mixed groups. Eg. host population helping develop English language skills. This sort of activity needs coordination (paid) for it to be fully successful and sustainable.
8. People at the bottom of society feel left behind. Often this is the white working class who then feel resentful of others. FAR more community workers, youth workers, addiction counsellors, debt counsellors, advisors etc etc working on the ground so that

families are supported out of difficulties. These services are of course also needed by BME populations.

9. People lack support. They are alone, lonely, struggling. Children's Centres have closed, youth clubs have closed. There are far less people looking out for the most vulnerable and nipping issues in the bud. With the emphasis on finding jobs, those who are bringing up families and not actively looking for work get left behind. ESOL access is difficult. Waiting lists mean those keen to learn have to wait. They are then confined to their homes largely and this means their mental health suffers, leading to further problems. Children have to help parents interpret. These children are denied the childhood they deserve. In many areas ESOL is patchy, especially rural areas unused to migrant populations but with the spread of asylum dispersal there will be a need for ESOL in all areas.
10. A lot of the time workplaces and schools are diverse but divided. People make friends with those similar to themselves. They stick with what is safe. Having fluent English for instance doesn't mean that people integrate. I think the British people are quite closed. We are not an open society who throw open our doors to entertain people in our homes. Prejudices feed down to children and need to be tackled through the education system. We all need to feel valued. Helping others makes us feel valued. We need to have less of an attitude of 'making people engage'. Immigrants need to integrate but the indigenous population have a massive role in this. Programmes in Sweden linking people together locally for meals, activities, hobbies, language learning, look really valuable.
11. Levels of English proficiency are very important. Funding regimes do not support intensive delivery of ESOL as well as they should. Due to challenges in their lives, refugees cannot always attend all classes. This may be a reason that colleges are sometimes reluctant to invest too much of their Adult Education Budget in this area, worrying about success rates. There is not enough ESOL. Waiting lists exist in most areas. There is a lack of national support – materials (eg. citizenship materials not updated), curriculum, training for staff, recognition of teachers as professionals. There is little national coordination. There is no long term strategy and plan. Often first generation migrants 'sacrifice' their lives and concentrate on the education of their children. The support that has been given to Syrian refugees under the SVPRS etc should be built on. People need support to make the most of their lives. They then benefit society.
12. The Syrian programmes are a good model. Methodist Asylum Project in Middlesbrough and Action Foundation in Newcastle both use heavy volunteer involvement to support English language learning thus creating bonds between the host and migrant populations. MIMA in Middlesbrough run a community day on Thursdays bringing people from all walks of life together for a free lunch and other activities all taking place in the one venue on one day.

**Dr Chris Allen, Department of Social Policy, Sociology & Criminology,
University of Birmingham – written evidence (CCE0181)**

Section 1: INTRODUCTION

1. The Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement was set up on 29 June 2017 with the intention of exploring citizenship and civic engagement in the twenty-first century. This written submission is a response to its Call for Evidence to try and better understand the nature of the citizenship challenge for different parts of society while also thinking about citizenship and civic engagement in a more vibrant, positive and integrated manner.
2. In line with the Call for Evidence, this written submission uses the questions set out as a framework to offer views. These views are drawn from my research and scholarly engagement over the past 17 years in an attempt to provide timely, meaningful and informed insights. Where appropriate, footnotes are used to highlight appropriate sources.

Section 2: BRITISH IDENTITY AND NATIONHOOD

3. Sociologists such as Durkheim have shown us that national identities and notions of nationhood are created through the establishment of ‘social facts’¹. Constituting a wide range of different entities to which specific communities, societies or states express emotional attachment, ‘social facts’ function by unifying notions of familiarity, nostalgia and security. In doing so, they become unquestioned and symbolise what is normal and normative. In other words, they represent and symbolise who ‘we’ are.
4. As regards Britishness, a distinctly British identity was only conceived in the late 18th century and was indeterminably linked to what made Britain ‘Great’ at the time namely Empire, Protestantism, warfare and industry². Symbolic of Britain’s global dominance at the time, notions of strength and power became normatively linked to notions of Britain and Britishness.
5. Prime Ministers, politicians and others in the public eye continue to routinely deploy such notions today thereby conferring such nostalgic understandings with popular legitimacy. Of course, continuing to identify Britain and Britishness in this way is extremely problematic not least because they appear irrelevant and distant to many in today’s British society³.

¹ Durkheim, E. (2013) *Durkheim: the Rules of Sociological Method: And Selected Texts on Sociology and its Method*. 2nd edn. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

² Colley, L. (1992) ‘Britishness and Otherness: an Argument’, *Journal of British Studies*, 31(4), pp. 309–329.

³ Allen, C. (2007) “Down With Multiculturalism, Book-burning and Fatwas”, *Culture and Religion*, 8(2), pp. 125–138. doi: 10.1080/14755610701423992.

Section 3: VALUES & SHARED VALUES⁴

6. The term ‘value’ has various meanings. When considering ‘shared’ values, it is likely to mean something attributed with importance, worth or usefulness that is also likely to be a standard or principle of behaviour therefore deemed important in life and something to share with others. In this respect, values should not be routinely dismissed out of hand. However, all of us are different and we attribute different levels of importance, worth or usefulness to a whole range of different things hence the focus on ‘shared values’ and the need to identify that which we all or at least many of us might attribute with importance or worth.
7. Much has been made of ‘shared values’ in recent years as a consequence of cohesion and integration taking a more central position in policy and political discourses; a response to Britain’s increasingly diverse population and ongoing immigration. Perceived anxieties about increasingly separate lives and the spectre of terrorism have also been significant. Central to these discourses has been the need to improve understanding about different people and different communities at the same time as respecting their differences. In essence, cohesion policy has sought to develop a shared sense of belonging and purpose.
8. In recent years, the drive towards identifying shared values has been prominent in debates about ‘British values’. However as a quick reflection of recent Prime Minister’s understandings of what Britain and Britishness might be shows to illustrate, trying to set out what being British is and what British values might mean is extremely difficult.
9. For Margaret Thatcher, Britishness was about: individual responsibility and industry; the Protestant work ethic; the upholding of democracy; the promotion and spread of liberty; and the importance of the family as also Parliament, Church and Monarchy also. Thatcher’s Britishness was then without doubt patriotic.
10. John Major’s Britain was characterised by cultural imagery: of warm beer and cricket on the village green, of going ‘back to basics’ and the instilling of traditional values.
11. For Tony Blair, while rooted in social justice there was also the need to rebrand Britishness via ‘Cool Britannia’. Critics might argue that Blair’s Britishness also saw itself as an unquestionable ally of America’s interventionist foreign policies.
12. More recently, David Cameron combined Thatcher’s patriotism with Major’s cultural imagery when he said that British values were “a belief in freedom, tolerance of others, accepting personal and social responsibility, respecting and upholding the rule of law –

⁴ For a fuller explanation see: Allen, C. & Isakjee, I. (2017) In Pursuit of shared values in Birmingham: worthy endeavour or waste of time? University of Birmingham: Birmingham.

are the things we should try to live by every day. To me they're as British as the Union Flag, as football, as fish and chips"⁵.

13. From Prime Ministers alone, it is apparent that British values typically fall into two categories: civic or cultural. In the former, you have Blair's social justice while in the latter, Major's warm beer and village green. Both however are problematic.
14. When trying to establish what Britishness is or more precisely what British values are, civic values rarely hold sway. Civic values relating to social justice, equality, fairness, democracy or freedom of speech for example are neither unique nor specifically British: there are few nation states which would not subscribe to them. So whilst British values may well be about all of these things, so too would the values of Canada, Germany, Sweden and various others. Consequently, civic values can rarely be argued as being the preserve of any one nation.
15. As regards cultural values, very few are homogenously applicable. Typically dependent upon the socio-cultural and socio-economic heritages of different individuals and communities, cultural values are as subjective as they are exclusive. So for example, while warm beer and village greens may be attributed with importance and worth by somebody living in a Cotswolds village, the same would be highly unlikely by somebody living on a Moss Side council estate in Manchester. In many ways, cultural values are therefore quite banal and meaningless.
16. Factor in differences in age, gender, ethnicity, religion, class, education and a whole host of other variables and the identification of even a handful of universally accepted values become increasingly difficult. And as British society becomes increasingly diverse, so the identification of a single set of values that have universal importance and worth – and are unique to Britain and its people – becomes a near impossible endeavour.
17. This can be illustrated by considering shared values at a local level. So if 'tolerance, fairness and courtesy' were seen to be shared 'Brummie' civic values, then what exactly it is that would make these unique to Birmingham and Brummies? Why would those exact same values not also apply to Leeds, Manchester, Nottingham and elsewhere? If those same shared Brummie values were cultural then it might be argued that these would mean Brummies attribute worth to Cadburys chocolate, Rover cars and heavy metal music for instance. If so, then what happens to those Brummies who dislike Cadbury's chocolate, choose not to drive a Rover or despise heavy metal? Are they then lesser Brummies because they do not share 'our' values; might their rejection of 'our values' be used to demarcate 'us' from 'them'?
18. What about those also who only come to Birmingham for work or leisure? Do they have to share Brummie values while they are in the city or can they choose to continue to

⁵ Prime Minister's Office (2014) British values: David Cameron. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/british-values-article-by-david-cameron> (Accessed: 17 September 2015).

uphold their own values characterised by where they are from? And finally, what about those for whom Birmingham might be where they live but may never be ‘home’? Are they to rid themselves of their cultural, national, ethnic and other affiliations and allegiances, of their emotional, spiritual and physical attachments in order to truly share in Brummie values? Consequently, establishing a set of shared values is extremely difficult and inherently complex.

Section 4: FUNDAMENTAL BRITISH VALUES

19. In 2014, Operation Trojan Horse laid claim to a series of allegations about a plot by Islamist extremists to take-over a number of Birmingham schools⁶. Derived from an anonymous letter first published in the Sunday Telegraph, it was quickly described as likely to be a hoax by Chris Sims, Chief Constable of West Midlands Police⁷. From the four investigations that ensued – the Department for Education (DfE), Ofsted, Birmingham City Council and West Midlands Police – while a handful of issues relating to governance were identified⁸ there was no evidence of a plot to takeover any schools and no evidence of extremism. All charges against five schoolteachers have been subsequently dropped prompting Baroness Sayeeda Warsi to recently call for an independent inquiry into the allegations⁹.
20. Shortly after the Trojan Horse allegations became public, the DfE published guidance about the need to promote ‘fundamental British values’ as a means of ensuring young people are prepared for life in modern Britain once they leave school. According to Ofsted, these fundamental British values are: democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect for and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs and for those without faith. Since November 2014, schools have been required to actively promote them.
21. The active promotion of fundamental British values therefore has – and indeed continues to be – framed within discourses about counter-extremism and the legacy of Trojan Horse. Resultantly, it has become very easy for Muslims to interpret fundamental British values as directly targeting them on the basis that the Government does not see them as being ‘British’ and also most likely to become ‘extremists’. At the same time, it has become very

⁶ Allen, C. (2014b) Operation Trojan Horse: how a hoax problematised Muslims and Islam. Available at: <http://discoversociety.org/2014/07/01/operation-trojan-horse-how-a-hoax-problematised-muslims-and-islam/> (Accessed: 17 September 2015).

⁷ Pidd, H. and Dodd, V. (2014) Police chief condemns appointment of terror officer over ‘Islamic schools plot’. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/apr/15/police-chief-counter-terror-officer-islamic-schools-plot-birmingham> (Accessed: 22 September 2015).

⁸ Howse, P. (2015) Overlapping ‘Trojan Horse’ inquiries criticised by MPs. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-31905704> (Accessed: 22 September 2015).

⁹ Middle Eastern Eye (2017) Baroness Warsi calls for ‘Trojan Horse’ probe. Available at: <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/warsi-calls-investigation-trojan-horse-following-oborne-column-778228530> (Accessed: 2 September 2017).

easy for non-Muslims to interpret fundamental British values as being necessary because Muslims need to be ‘more British’ and are a ‘problem’ that needs ‘solving’¹⁰. To this extent, similar was voiced by Prime Minister Cameron in a speech to mark the 800th anniversary of the Magna Carta; reported in the British press as ‘Be more British Cameron tells UK Muslims’ (Walters, 2014).

22. Despite being hollow, such statements are concerning as they appeal to common-sense: if Muslims are different and separate, then requiring them to be more like ‘us’ cannot be problematic. As such, it becomes common-sense to believe that Muslims are different and separate to the extent that their difference informs and duly becomes all that ‘they’ are seen to be. When political discourses – especially those from Prime Ministers - infer such, then fundamental British values appear as being far from impractical, unreasonable or extreme.
23. While so, they are concerning in that they deploy hollow and meaningless notions of identity that in turn confer legitimacy on the process of demarcating ‘them’ (Muslims) from ‘us’ (the British). In doing so, they construct an ‘Other’ through accentuating how different ‘they’ are from ‘us’, a process that would appear to be at complete odds with what they seek to achieve.

Section 5: ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES

33. There are some alternative approaches to bringing people together. One is to consider what it is that people value about the place they live in. Rather than trying to establish a set of British or Brummie values, processes are instead put in place that seek to better understand what it is that is unique, important and valued about living in Britain or Birmingham. Not only does this provide an opportunity to engage people irrespective of difference, so too does it provides an opportunity to understand what is unique about the country to the myriad of people who participate in British society in a myriad number of ways.
34. The opening question for this not only acknowledges the heterogeneity – the complexity and diversity - of today’s Britain but so too does it provide opportunities for the homogeneity of Britain’s diverse population to come through equally. As such, all are able to share what they value.
35. Another approach is to explore the value of experience. In doing so, what is explored is that which brings people together and what experiences they share. This is pertinent because many people feel that their city or where they live is important to their sense of belonging and home. While so, everyday experiences can – at times - be somewhat mundane. While so, they remain undeniably meaningful to individuals and communities. Exploring the everyday lives of British people therefore provides an opportunity to

¹⁰ Allen, C. (2015). Britishness and Muslim-ness: differentiation, demarcation and discrimination in political discourse. *Identity papers: A journal of British and Irish studies*, 1(2), 1-12.

construct a better picture and understanding of how our diverse histories and journeys intersect. From here, it is possible to find narratives that form the basis for a greater sense of togetherness.

36. Another alternative is for Britain's diversity to be seen, utilised and duly spoken about as being an asset. An excellent example of this is illustrated in both the bid to win and subsequent host the London 2012 Olympic Games. During the presentation by Britain's Bid Committee in 2005 in trying to secure the right to host the Games in 2012, Britain's – and more specifically London's – diversity was seen to be of value. Committee members spoke about how 'our' diversity offered significant opportunity and that it was a living success. This message was reinforced in an accompanying multi-story film titled, *The World in One City*. After its screening the then Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone added that "London is a city that welcomes the world with open arms...a city where 300 languages are spoken every day and the people who speak them, live together happily...". This was followed by Lord Sebastian Coe who said London was a "multicultural mix of 200 nations...[where] families have come from every continent. They practice every religion and every faith. What unites them is London". As he put it, it was the place and the experience of sharing London that made it – and Britain – special and unique.
37. The same was true of the opening ceremony in 2012 when British identity was not only multicultural and diverse but more importantly, valuing of it. Directed by Oscar winning film director Danny Boyle, the ceremony began with a short film of the River Thames tracing its way through Britain to London. From there, various large-scale tableaux drew in various junctures of British social, cultural and political history including the Industrial Revolution, the two World Wars, the swinging sixties, the monarchy and James Bond among others. While the monarchy and Bond nodded towards notions of empire and privilege, these were counter-balanced by nods towards Britain's more progressive politics, evident in references to suffrage, and trade unions. The ceremony also incorporated the arrival of the first Commonwealth migrants on the Empire Windrush and gave recognition to black and ethnic minority Britons via their role within the National Health Service and among others, through the projection of Britain's first televised interracial kiss onto the side of the house during the 'social media' interlude, a piece that also focused on the lives of two visibly non-white actors.
38. Successfully merging the old with the new, one of the most striking features of the ceremony was how Boyle deployed black and minority ethnic performers. In being ever prominent, they were used in ways that rendered many of Britain's pre-mass migration historical junctures inaccurate. Yet at no time was Britain's history threatened, criticised or seen to be having unfair demands placed on it. Because of this, the ceremony conveyed a very traditional vision and notion of Britain and Britishness at the same time as conveying one that seemed to truly understand and reflect who and what Britain and Britishness is today. As Tim Soutphommasane in *The Guardian* put it, "Danny Boyle's

opening ceremony did the most to define the legacy of the Games...It was a convincing argument that Britishness wasn't about nostalgic yearning for the stuff of an imperial past, but something that existed in the present and future"¹¹.

39. What the 2012 London Games highlighted was that Britain's diversity was a fact.
40. Paradoxically however, while Britain was self-aggrandising to a global audience about how successful its world in one city approach had been, about how Britain's tolerance, equality and sense of fairness was something from which the entire world could learn, subsequent British governments, various politicians and others in the public eye had also been repeatedly using those very same things to tell the British people the complete opposite, oft recounting just how unsuccessful - and failing - Britain's diversity not only has been but so too continues to be¹².

Section 6: CONCLUSION

41. Establishing a coherent and unique set of shared British values is extremely complex and fraught with difficulties. Civic values are rarely ever distinctive and unique to any given nation while cultural values rarely tend to be meaningful to everyone in society.
42. Notions of British identity and British nationhood are rooted in a relatively short but extremely distinct historical period. Consequently, British identity and nationhood is typically associated with power and strength and thereby Empire, war and what made Britain historically 'Great'. Continuing with the same notions today fails to take into account Britain in the 21st century whether in terms of its diverse population or its place in the world.
43. Fundamental British values are problematic in that they comprise civic values they fail to incorporate exactly what it means to be British. They are also problematic on the basis that they are framed in counter-extremism policies and discourses.
44. Political and other voices in the public space have used British identity, nationhood and British values in ways that have conferred legitimacy on demarcating 'them' from 'us'. In this way, fundamental British values can be argued as being counter-productive.
45. When exploring what brings us together, it is necessary to reach out to Britain's heterogeneity. Whether in terms of place or experience, a better picture and understanding of how our diverse journeys and histories intersect is long overdue. However, from these it is possible that narratives will the potential to form the basis for a greater sense of togetherness will begin to emerge.

¹¹ Tim Soutphommasane. "Labour can Make the Most of a Britain Alive with Olympic Spirit." Guardian, 19 August 2012.

¹² Allen, C. (2014). A critical analysis of Britain's living, dead and Zombie multiculturalism: from 7/7 to the London 2012 Olympic Games. *Social Sciences*, 4(1), 18-33.

46. Communicating Britain's diversity as being a valuable asset has been shown to be effective and successful. A greater emphasis on our diversity as being successful and valuable in the public and political spaces has the very real potential of not only changing attitudes – and what is seen to be common-sense about our diversity and differences – but so bringing more people together.
47. Those in the public and political spaces must be challenged when they use Britain's diversity as a means to create tensions and divisions. In a post-Brexit context, this is especially important.
48. As the London 2012 Games opening ceremony showed, it is possible for a very traditional vision and notion of Britain and Britishness to be conveyed that simultaneously recognises and incorporates a very real understanding of who and what Britain and Britishness is today. More of this is necessary if we are to truly feel as though we all belong.

DISCLAIMER

This written submission contains the views of the individual author. Responsibility for any errors therefore lies solely with the author(s):

Dr Chris Allen

8 September 2017

Allerdale Borough Council – written evidence (CCE0175)

1. Civic engagement is a crucial element of citizenship, whether a limited personal involvement or a fuller more political involvement. It provides the opportunity to ensure local people can have, or grow, and maintain a sense of belonging to an area. Our local citizen surveys tell us that people do have a strong sense of belonging to the area, however if the area achieves the business and population growth we anticipate, we need to know and be able to ensure the national policies for civic engagement are clear, supportive and flexible for the future.

2. Understanding how society and its governance works, at a national and more pertinently at a local level, is important in comprehending what citizenship is and can be. Rather than promoting ceremonial expressions of citizenship, it feels more important to engender this understanding in individual citizens from an early age for those born here, or early in the introduction to the way of life in this country for those coming to live here. To make this effective, we feel it needs to be interactive and exciting, and not delivered as a dry lecture or instruction.

3. No specific comment.

4. In our experience involvement in local democracy (for example as Councillors) primarily attracts older citizens, yet we are aware young people are interested in local issues which affect them, and often express their views though not through the ballot box, partly because they feel they are not being listened to. Rationalising legislation so that young people's rights are age aligned would in part resolve this. Finding other ways of engaging people, for example through allowing electronic voting would potentially encourage a larger number of people to become involved, We are aware that the Youth Parliament engages with alternative voting methods. We would advocate further work to allow these methods to include other citizens.

5. As indicated at 2, good citizenship should be supported through education for all ages and abilities. The provision of this education should be sufficiently interesting so that it should not need to be 'compulsory' but should emphasis political participation as indicated. Key to this is citizens understanding the process, structure of, and how to influence or be part of decision making processes in this country.

6. We are aware of other schemes to encourage citizenship, such as for those on limited incomes being offered council tax reductions in return for voluntary work, or young peoples' 'dreamscheme' projects which offer rewards for socially beneficial activity. Such opportunities might extend to all citizens. Any such schemes need to focus on creating the conditions in which people see the benefit of becoming involved rather than being made compulsory. Compulsory involvement may have greater acceptance if it were a universal expectation as it is in parts of Europe, though we would question whether it is feasible to introduce that at this time.

7. If there is an accepted understanding of what civic engagement means for the individual, then it may be easier to engage organisations at all levels to support the general principles. In the same way that public engagement and supportive legislation has begun to change attitudes to certain equality issues and minorities, the process of encouraging a greater civic engagement will need a multi-faceted approach, but one which does not begin with the imposition of legislation.

8. See the answers at 4, 5, 6 and 7.

9. Divisions in society and groups feeling 'left behind' has also become a multi-faceted problem with no specific answer. However there may be a crucial difference here: that engagement and conversation with particular groups could potentially elicit their views about what would enable better engagement for them. Of course this is said while also recognising that what people identify for themselves may not necessarily be the best method of engagement for them, and what actually is required is people skilled in engaging with these groups being given time to develop effective working relationships, which may take several years.

10. Diversity and integration are not visibly major issues in this area. To some extent the answer to this will lie in ensuring any educational approaches are diverse in their content and approach to delivery, and at the same time explicit about the expectations of citizens and their engagement with each other and society as a whole. If we recognise that some groups feel left out or left behind, the challenge is to ensure any new initiatives need to address the issue head on.

11 and 12 - no specific comment

8 September 2017

**Dr Marco Antonsich, Senior Lecturer Department of Geography,
Loughborough University – written evidence (CCE0112)**

Nation: the missing piece of the debate on citizenship

There is an important missing point in the whole debate about citizenship. As evident in the questions asked by the Select Committee, the focus is on civic participation, active political engagement, citizenship ceremonies, pride and values. Yet, nation, the main social glue that brings people together, is missing. It is not mentioned in any of the twelve questions. This is even more surprising if one considers that nation is the most powerful force that can drive people together... as much as it can drive them apart. And this is maybe why the Select Committee, like many other academic scholars who have been trying to answer the question of how to live together with difference (Antonsich and Matejskova, 2015), seems to have deliberately eschewed 'nation'. This register is in fact often treated as a site of oppression, discrimination, and marginalization of religious, ethnic, racial and regional differences. And yet, other scholars (Billig, 1995; Edensor, 2002) have shown how the nation is also a mundane, banal register which intervenes in people's everyday life as a silent background, organising both temporally and spatially their activities in terms of shared habits (e.g. queuing, left driving, school time) which produce a sort of national synchronicity beyond their intersectional differences.

My argument is that policies targeting citizenship alone will not succeed in generating a cohesive society unless citizenship is also sustained by a vigorous and open debate about 'who we are' and 'who we want to be' as a nation. In Britain this might be even more difficult than in other countries, given the co-existence of multiple nations. The risk, as feared by many, is that this debate might lead to further divisions, as people increasingly start identifying themselves in terms of distinct nations. Yet, one should not forget that the existence of distinct nations is not necessarily conducive to national separatisms.

Until now, the debate about the future of Britain has been largely dominated by a civic national project, best represented by Gordon Brown's (2004) vision of a weak, civic national identity made by common values (passion for liberty, sense of duty, commitment to tolerance and fair play), shared interests and a set of common institutions (the Monarchy, the Parliament, the Armed Forces, but also the National Health System, the BBC, National Insurance, etc.) – for a revival today of a similar project see Denham (2017). Yet, if today the Select Committee is asking for evidence that could promote civic engagement, values and participation, it might be legitimate to question the effectiveness of such a civic project.

No more successful seems to have been the communitarian approach proposed by Lord Bhikhu Parekh (2000), the Chairman of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain. His idea of Britain as a 'community of communities', although based on the commendable principle of putting all religious, ethnic and racial groups on an equal footing,

Dr Marco Antonsich, Senior Lecturer Department of Geography, Loughborough University – written evidence (CCE0112)

has encountered resistance from the beginning (Uberoi and Modood 2013) and, in times, has fallen prey of the so-called ‘multicultural backlash’ (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010), which has simplistically equated communitarianism with ethno-religious self-segregation.

As much as the Race Relation Acts, which have confirmed and protected Britain as a multicultural nation, are to be cherished and safeguarded, both the idea of Britain as a civic nation or as a ‘community of communities’ struggles to buy the minds and hearts of various people. The recent upsurge of a predominantly white nationalism, calling for a return to the past, when Britain (or England) was more white and Christian and less open to global flows and to Europe, seems to confirm the limits of any project of governance which would put citizenship at its centre. To reiterate again my point: it is not a question of citizenship, but of nation, of how people think of themselves and of the others. Thus, any public intervention aimed at social cohesion and integration should find a way to tackle the nation question.

So, what can be done? Any concrete action in this direction is a matter of political decisions, but here a few suggestions:

- Any citizenship debate should also incorporate a question about ‘who we are’ and ‘who we want to be’. Questions about the nation, however directly or indirectly framed, should be central and not outflanked by a focus on civic engagement, participation or values. These alone will not suffice to bring a diverse society together.
- The nation debate should be encouraged as openly as possible. Avoiding this debate due to a fear of dissolution of the Union is a short-sighted policy. On the contrary, people should be encouraged to talk about the nation they feel they belong to and the nation they would like to belong to, however this debate might bring forward issues of race, religion or ethnicity. Dismissing this debate as mere racism would do little to address the anxiety of a white majority who feels displaced and disoriented in what they believe is ‘their’ nation (Kaufmann, 2017). There clearly is more than a ‘civic’ nation out there. Finding platforms where this debate can happen and a plurality of views can be shared is essential to avoid that ‘nation’ becomes the monopoly of one part of the population against the others.
- Although some voices in this debate might be expressed in the name of ‘communities’, such a communitarianist approach to nation should not be promoted. This might be the most revolutionary change to adopt in the nation debate, as Britain has historically relied on the notion of ‘community’ as a way to channel and manage diversity. Yet, the nation debate should be among individuals, whose diversity can be declined via a plurality of intersectional affiliations (e.g., gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, class). Minority cultures can be part of the debate as much as they contribute to the background of an individual, but neither ‘communities’ nor individuals who speak in the name of ‘communities’ would help advancing the debate about the nation we are and we would like to be. To this end, Britain might

Dr Marco Antonsich, Senior Lecturer Department of Geography, Loughborough University – written evidence (CCE0112)

look at other cases (e.g. Italy - see my research on this case at <http://newitalians.eu/en/>), where the nation debate is not framed in communitarianist terms.

- Never forget that 'nation' is never a status achieved once and for all, but any nation is an ongoing project: the coming together of different people discussing what they want to be is per se a very national act.

References:

Antonsich, M. & T. Matejskova (2015). Conclusion: Nation and diversity - A false conundrum. In *Governing Through Diversity*, eds. T. Matejskova & M. Antonsich, 201-209. Palgrave Macmillan.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Brown, G. (2004) Annual British Council Lecture. *The Guardian*.
<http://politics.guardian.co.uk/labour/story/0,9061,1256550,00.html>

Denham, J. (2017). A New Progressive Patriotism. *The Political Quarterly*, 88, 97-105.

Edensor, T. 2002. *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*. Berg Oxford.

Kaufmann, E. 2017. *'Racial Self-Interest' is not Racism*. London: Policy Exchange.

Parekh, B. (2000). *Rethinking multiculturalism. Cultural diversity and political theory*. London: Macmillan Press.

Uberoi, V. & T. Modood (2013) Inclusive Britishness: A multiculturalist advance. *Political studies*, 61, 23-41.

Vertovec, S. & S. Wessendorf. (2010). *The Multiculturalism Backlash*. New York: Routledge.

7 September 2017

Anonymous witness – written evidence (CCE0215)

Anonymous witness – written evidence (CCE0215)

Citizenship Question 5

Citizenship is chronically under represented both at Primary and Secondary level, it should have a greater as a standalone option at key stage as opposed to schools incorporating it into subjects such as PHSE or PSE which are not statutory subject whereas Citizenship is, The government and schools also need to promote active Citizenship alongside the classroom teaching of it both in the early key stages up to A level, this includes elections with school and communities promoting participatory activities for learners through schools councils and youth parliaments etcetera,. Council research papers have identified the value of Citizenship as a subject and it is needed to be given more focus by education practitioners.

Apptivism – written evidence (CCE0046)

7. Behavioural Economics, Chatbots and Facebook

[Apptivism](#), a London based social purpose start-up, has developed chatbots that help citizens give their view to governments, politicians and non-profits.

The chats are hosted on Facebook Messenger (a platform that over 75% of the UK population uses regularly) and use behavioural economics research to enhance the user experience. This includes: having regular feedback loops; chunking information and personalising the conversation depending on demographics as well as responses.

One of their early clients was the States of Jersey who wanted to provide residents with an alternative method to email surveys or town-hall meetings.

Between May 2017 and September 2017, Apptivism co-created and deployed four chatbots on the environment; community; household taxation; and maternity / paternity benefits.

The chat would guide a user through a topic, take around four minutes to complete and link through to a results [website](#) to view high level outcomes from the anonymised data. A real-time anonymised data dashboard was provided to Policy Officers to be able access the insights.

Over the course of the four chats, Apptivism saw strong civic engagement metrics, including:

- 86% users find a chatbot a useful way to communicate with the Government;
- 68% users re-engaging across multiple chats; and
- 15% growth in users between each chat.

1 September 2017

Cllr Saima Ashraf – supplementary evidence (CCE0271)

Introduction: A Changing Borough

The sheer scale and pace of the demographic change which has taken place within Barking and Dagenham over recent decades have put unprecedented pressure on our resident communities. Over the past 5 years, migration has resulted in nearly 11,000 more residents arriving in the borough than leaving during the same period. Overall population figures show an increase from 163,944 residents in 2001 to 206,460 in 2016 (ONS mid-year estimate). Population growth is also projected to continue, with 2016 GLA forecasting a population of 290,417 for Barking and Dagenham by the 2050 horizon (2016 based population projections, central trend).

The social and cultural diversity of new migrants is worth noting. Barking and Dagenham has had the fifth largest growth in residents born outside the UK and Ireland between 2001 and 2011 (333.66 percent), compared with other local authorities in England and Wales. Evidence suggests that outward migration is also significant. Between 2013 and 2015, approximately 33,000 new residents came to the borough, and roughly 30,000 left, meaning that the ‘turnover’ was almost a quarter of the borough’s population. The 2011 census recorded a population of 49.5 percent White British ethnicity in the borough, compared with 80.9% a decade earlier (2001 figure). The largest non-white British ethnicities were Black (20 percent), Asian (15.9 percent) and White Other (7.8 percent). English was not the first language for almost a fifth (19%) of residents at the time of the 2011 census.

The reported religion of residents within Barking and Dagenham also changed during the decade between the two censuses. In 2001, 69% of residents stated their religion as Christian. This dropped to 56% by 2011. During the same period, the proportion of Muslims rose from 4.4% to 13.7%, and the proportion of Hindus doubled (1.1% to 2.4%). The proportion of residents stating that they had no religious belief also increased from 15% to 19%.

As well as the huge demographic change the borough is highly deprived, with the 5th highest housing deprivation score (which focuses on issues such as affordability, homelessness and

overcrowding) in both London and England. The Index of Multiple Deprivation (which deals with issues such as income, employment and housing) ranks Barking and Dagenham as 12th nationally and 3rd most deprived borough in London. This is owed, in part, to the sustained legacy of deindustrialisation which has impacted the borough since the late 1970s. As long-term, large-scale employers such as Fords and May & Bakers downsized or left the borough, residents were made unemployed and found themselves without the education and skills necessary to compete in the post-industrial economy.

Surveys carried out since 2008 have systematically ranked LBBD below the national average on questions related to community cohesion in the borough. The 2016 Resident's Survey found that just about 7 in 10 (72%) residents agree that their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together. This is significantly lower, by 17 percentage points, compared to the national average (89%). Established residents, particularly the White British Ethnic group, are less likely to be satisfied with their local area as a place to live than in other parts of England (*Overall 64% compared to 83% nationally*). Overall, 1 in 7 residents have no intention of staying in the borough.

Introduction: A Changing Council

These challenges intervene in the midst of unprecedented pressure on local governments' resources. The politics of austerity are expected to lead the Council to a shortfall of £63 million, a third of its 2010 budget, by the horizon 2020. Having to respond to increasing needs with a reduced budget, the Council has had to find new ways of delivering services to achieve its vision of becoming an inclusive, prosperous and resilient place, in which all communities have the opportunity to achieve their potential. An Independent Growth Commission was established to examine options for development, regeneration and transformation, and the impact of pursuing those options, for the future of the borough and its residents.

The findings of the Growth Commission were published in February 2016, in a report titled: "No one left behind: In pursuit of growth for the benefit of everyone"ⁱ. In this report, the Commission outlined 109 recommendations covering all aspects of the borough's economic

growth including housing, business, transport and infrastructure, culture and heritage, urban design, educational attainment, and skills and employment.

The report of the Growth Commission recommended more inclusive policy and strategy making, as well as implementation, as a way of building and engaging civil society, empowering communities, and fostering social cohesion. Following this, an extensive public consultation was launched to help produce the *Borough Manifesto*, a 20-year vision for the borough. This exercise translated in an unprecedented level of engagement with members of the community, which included interviews with local residents, businesses and partners, totalling over 3,000 responses, on their priorities for the future.

The residents' responses were aggregated into 10 overarching aspirations, such as making Barking and Dagenham a place people are proud of, and where they want to live, work, study and stay; a place where everyone feels safe and is safe; and a place where everyone is treated fairly and has the opportunity to succeed. In particular, one of the themes makes it a priority to address the residents' fears and aspirations in a rapidly changing place, arguing that social cohesion and community spirit are vital to the success of the borough. It sets a priority in 'making Barking and Dagenham a friendly and welcoming Borough with strong community spirit', through various priorities:

- To celebrate our history and heritage, through events and activities;
- To tackle extremism and hate crime wherever it occurs;
- To help different groups in the community to come together and integrate, understanding that diversity is a strength and that we can all learn from one another;
- To come together and support residents and communities to be more resilient so that they are able to do more for themselves, and;
- To start acting as equal partners, doing our bit across sectors and organisations for the benefit of the Borough.

Recognising the complexity, interdependence, and immediacy of the challenges faced by Barking and Dagenham, the Council is exploring a new approach to civic engagement, democratic engagement, social cohesion and integration, citizenship and identity. Our new

approach positions the Council as a facilitator, enabling the community, rather than as a paternalistic provider of traditional services. Detailed below are responses to the questions posed by the Select Committee on 29 November 2017, outlining this new approach and its wider implications for citizenship and civic engagement.

Question 1: What do you think is the current state of civic engagement in the UK? Do you feel that the area you work in has better or worse than average engagement?

We face a crisis of civic engagement¹³ both locally in Barking and Dagenham and across the United Kingdom. This has manifested nationally with, for instance, the division caused by the June 2016 EU Referendum, and the reported rise in hate crime which followed.

In Barking and Dagenham, we face the same challenge as the rest of the UK, though it likely presents more acutely than many other areas of the country. This is due, in part, to the population and demographic change and churn which has taken place over the past 15 years:

- Between 2001 and 2016 the population rose from 164,000 to 206,500, and is projected to reach 275,000 by 2037
- Between 2012 and 2014 one quarter of the population moved into and out of the borough, representing significant population churn
- Between 2001 and 2011 those members of the community identifying as White British fell from 79% to 49%, while those identifying as BME increased from 15% to 50%

It is also due to the deprivation our community faces:

- A male healthy life expectancy of 59.8 years, below the London average of 64.1
- A female healthy life expectancy of 58.5 years, below the London average of 64.1
- 14.7% of residents with no qualifications, above the London average of 6.6%

¹³ We understand civic engagement as the act of working to make a difference in the civic life of the community. Acts big or small, from formal volunteering to informal community groups, from democratic participation to befriending one's neighbours, constitute and contribute to civic engagement.

- 7.5% unemployment, above the London average of 5.8%
- 67.1% employment, below the London average of 73.8%
- 13.3% of residents claiming DWP benefits, above the London average of 9.4%

This deprivation – a cumulative result of deindustrialisation and austerity – has affected residents in their sense of identity, belonging and power, at the same time that globalisation is rapidly changing the makeup of the community. Many feel ‘left behind’ by the state, at all levels.

One consequence, and most importantly for civic engagement, is that just 22% of residents formally volunteered in 2016, compared to the national average of 42%. However, the lack of civic engagement has had a range of direct and indirect consequences in this borough:

- In 2016 we found that 72% of residents believe Barking and Dagenham is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together, compared to the national average of 89%.
- White British residents have found to be consistently less likely to be satisfied with the area as a place to live, less likely to feel safe, and less likely to believe Barking and Dagenham is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together.
- One in seven residents want to leave the borough, while 64% are satisfied with the local areas as a place to live, compared to the national average of 83%.

Question 2: What role should local authorities play in encouraging volunteering? How could they be more effective? What examples are there of best practice?

As a local authority, our aim is to improve civic engagement in all forms. We believe that high levels of civic engagement will improve the resilience of the community, and positively affect a range of socioeconomic outcomes for residents. The London Borough of Barking and Dagenham (LBBD) is working with partners across statutory and community organisations to enable civic engagement. In doing so we are innovating the role of the local authority, together with wider civil society, in policy regarding engagement and volunteering, as well as the variety and forms of engagement and volunteering available to residents of the borough.

Every One Every Day

On 25 November 2017 we launched the 'Every One Every Day' initiative, a five-year project aiming to reinforce social cohesion and individual wellbeing by creating new forms of collaboration between residents, civil society organisations and the private sector. The initiative emerges from a unique collaboration between three funding bodies, LBB and Participatory City Foundation. It aims to pull together essential components for co-producing society: a shared vision of the future, new methods of co-creating value, cost savings and mechanisms for collective investment. It is based on the assumption that 'doing things together' – engagement – can improve the everyday life of residents, and foster cohesion in a borough where formal volunteering has been lagging behind national averages for a number of years.

The project proposes to facilitate the creation of a network of 250+ citizen-led projects and 100 new businesses over five years, working with over 25,000 people in the borough. These include activities which are intrinsically appealing to people, such as cooking, learning, making, trading, sharing, and growing. They provide an experience of co-producing something tangible as a group of equal peers.

Every One Every Day is resident-led, as they drive the development of activities themselves, and participate in those local initiatives with which they relate. It focuses on the skills, ideas and assets possessed by residents, with ultimate objective of building a ground-up culture of participation.

Every One Every Day is an innovative example of how local authorities can broaden their approach to civic engagement and volunteering by turning away from traditional, paternalistic policy and adopting an enabling, 'facilitator' position within the community. It truly relies upon the initiative and energy of the community itself.

(<https://www.weareeveryone.org>)

Crowdfund Barking and Dagenham

Earlier in 2017 LBBD launched its own crowdfunding platform for the borough, in partnership with Crowdfunder UK. The platform and accompanying support provided by the Council and the Barking and Dagenham Council for Voluntary Service (CVS) – through advice and matchfunding – enables civil society organisations to diversify their funding efforts by tapping into the potential of the ‘crowd’ and information and communication technologies. For residents, crowdfunding is a step to empowering them to take positive action to improve their community without being dependent on funding institutions to finance projects or ideas. In the first six months of the platform, five different projects have benefitted from the Council’s matchfunding (small grants fund) and we are looking to further extend our reach in 2018. Crowdfund Barking and Dagenham empowers the community to support and finance the local causes which matter to them, no one else.

(<http://www.crowdfunder.co.uk/funds/lbbd-community>)

Local Lottery

The Barking and Dagenham Lottery, the first of its kind in London, launched to good causes in August 2017 with the aim of enabling the community to raise money for local good causes; charities and community groups identified by residents themselves.

The lottery is already funding 16 local good causes, including the Liberty Credit Union, the Disablement Association of Barking and Dagenham, a community-run growing space for people with limited access to gardens and facing health inequalities, and the Huggett Women’s Centre in Dagenham.

(<https://www.lotterybd.co.uk>)

Supporting Community Initiatives

A wide range of thriving voluntary and community organisations operate in Barking and Dagenham, providing essential support to residents, supporting volunteers and ensuring no one is left behind. According to the Charity Commission, Barking and Dagenham has approximately 555 charities working within its boundaries. The role of these partners, and the CVS, as the local infrastructure provider is key. It is vital for the Council, CVS, independent

fundes and other partners to support as wide a variety of such initiatives a possible. By doing so, we can widen the forms of volunteering and activities available to, and benefiting, residents of the borough. Current examples include:

- *Barking and Dagenham Council for Voluntary Service (CVS):*

The CVS provides a range of services in supporting civil society in its widest sense. It is funded in part by LBB, and with a long-term lease on a recently refurbished community building. As part of its remit, and with other, larger VCS organisations, the CVS promotes and supports volunteering opportunities across civil society.

The CVS provides space for a wide-range of community groups within its building 'The Ripple Centre', at low cost. This acts as a source of income for the CVS but also capacity builds groups.

The CVS also brings together partners on a range of issues such as LGBTQI+ network, migrant rights and strategic third sector priorities. It has a weekly newsletter highlighting opportunities for funding, training and collaboration opportunities.

The CVS has made a number of comments with regard to the specific additional requests for information made of Cllr Ashraf. These are summarised below, but do not necessarily represent the Council's view:

- Reports from the Runnymede Scorecard project indicate that all communities are equally affected by traditional poverty indicators.
- There is a palpable feeling of alienation expressed through political and community discourses by the white working class (as seen in the local Brexit vote).
- Engagement by the white working-class community has centred upon local political discourse and can be seen to be centred geographically in specific communities.
- Engagement from the white working class has therefore been through tenants and resident's associations, political affiliations, and community safety engagement structures like the ward panels. This resonates with feelings of insecurity and feeling under threat.

- There is an over representation of white working-class communities in some specific types of formal community organisations. Within the post-industrial epoch, families have sought to support what they perceive to be ‘their community’.
- The insular nature of some charities, can be seen to reflect fears of ‘the other’. There is also a particular tendency for the white working-class community to also cluster around the needs of disabled communities locally. This is less controversial than support for other specific groups.
- *Grown in Dagenham:*
Funded by the Big Lottery and established on Dagenham Farm in January 2016 through a targeted tendering process by the Council, the project works to involve local people in the farm and get more people benefiting from learning to grow food. They run weekly school food-growing and cooking sessions, an after-school club and holiday club for local school children, during which activities include planting out, harvesting soft fruit and learning to cook farm produce. They teach local unemployed lone parents in food-growing and food-production, with participants also learning the basics of marketing and retailing. They run food-growing sessions for people in recovery from alcohol abuse, and host a weekly communal lunch for staff and volunteers to enjoy together.
- *Community Resources:*
Grow creative solutions to local issues – solutions provided ‘By the community, for the community’. They are a group of volunteers from all walks of life who want to bring people together to realise that they can make a positive contribution to their community. They support local volunteers to start up and run projects that address needs they have identified in the local area. One Community Resources project is The Hub at Castle Point, which offers English conversation classes, parent and toddler groups, family learning sessions, a drop-in community café and ante-natal programmes, amongst other programmes. Another project is Community Connect, an LBBD-funded online resource designed to assess the issues facing an individual, and

identify a personalised list of relevant support and services available in the local area. Peaced Together is a creative arts course for women. The course consists of five craft projects completed over ten weeks, each helping the group to explore a different topic and support women in recovery of various forms.

- *Company Drinks:*

An arts project and community drinks enterprise that links East London's history of 'going picking' – hop picking – with a full drinks production cycle: from picking to bottling, branding to trading and reinvesting. They run a year-round, borough-wide and intergenerational programme in Barking and Dagenham, with the venue provided by the Council of Barking Park. So far, 36,000 people have engaged with Company Drinks, including 2,400 Barking and Dagenham residents. More than 1,000 young people have been involved in making and mixing drinks. More than 30 monthly Hopping Afternoons for former hop-pickers and 120+ weekly volunteers' sessions have taken place. Company Drinks have run trips to Aarhus in Denmark, Warsaw in Poland, Leipzig in Germany and Colombes in France.

- *Barking and Dagenham Somali Women's Association*

Established in the mid-1990s in response to a rapidly growing ethnic minority population, the Somali Women's Association is a locally-based health, wellbeing, training and employability organisation committed to providing support to ethnic minority women and their families from its resource centre in Barking. Their vision is to set up an information and resource centre which has community café facilities, offers services to improve the health and wellbeing of women, and tackles the many problems and issues raised by health inequalities, FGM, unemployment and poverty. The Association is actively involved in a range of wider community activities, including those coordinated by the Council, such as our social cohesion hackathon and Big Conversation, described below.

- *Established volunteering schemes*

Many of the contracts for social care in particular that the Council tenders, are with local VCS providers. One of the key elements of those contracts is the role of volunteers from the community supporting residents. Organisations like Carers of

Barking and Dagenham, DABD, and ILA have well designed and developed volunteering programmes.

- *Cultural Connectors:*

Creative Barking and Dagenham is a six-year project (2014 – 2019) for people living, working and socialising in Barking and Dagenham. Its mission is to enable local people to create, commission and curate outstanding arts and creative activities in their areas, and to promote the borough as a place where exciting art – of all forms – is made and shown. A part of this project is the Cultural Connectors network; an ever-expanding group of adults living locally, who are making decisions about the Creative Barking and Dagenham Programme. The Cultural Connectors work with partners across the borough to curate festivals, arrange trips and visits, commission artists and projects, participate in funding panels and spreading the word about Creative Barking and Dagenham.

Community initiatives such as those thriving in Barking and Dagenham are critical because they are born out of local priorities and empower the community to take action. As a local authority, we believe it is our duty to do everything possible to encourage and enable initiatives such as these.

Question 3: To what extent are local communities involved in the provision of nationally run volunteering schemes like the National Citizens Service? Do communities feel they have a say or that these schemes are imposed from the outside? Should community projects be prioritized over national schemes?

In Barking and Dagenham, as across London and beyond, the National Citizens Service (NCS) is delivered by 'The Challenge'.

As a Council we have a strong working relationship with The Challenge. We agree to exchange a range of regular data, including the number of participants, organisations working in collaboration, and the number of volunteering hours given. We support The Challenge in contacting and working with local schools. We have rental arrangements for several Council-

owned buildings. Each year a number of Councillors participate in a ‘dragons’-den-style’ event, allowing participants to present their community projects, and providing a unique insight into the priorities of local children. The Challenge are also responsive to the Council’s recommendations of suitable local organisations with which to collaborate, which in the past has included Carers of Barking and Dagenham, Brighter Steppings and the Ab Phab Youth Club.

Nationally run volunteering schemes such as the NCS could, however, be further improved by ensuring that it is better informed by and constructed around the makeup and priorities of each local community. Too often such schemes are delivered at regional, rather than borough, level, and reflect a broad, generalised understanding of those individuals and groups they are trying to engage. For example, The Challenge reports to regional, rather than borough, targets. As a result, local performance of the scheme is difficult to assess, and is not responsive of local needs. It is also true that, while participation rates remain high, it is not always the most disadvantaged and hard-to-reach pupils who take part in the scheme. Indeed, it is frequently the more high-achieving pupils. Increased subsidiarity would improve the local knowledge informing the scheme, and help to reach the most disadvantaged pupils.

Greater responsibility and decision-making power at a local level, for design and delivery of such schemes, would improve their responsiveness. This could mean local authority involvement, community organisation control, or a combination of both.

Question 4: What role should local authorities play in encouraging democratic engagement? How could they be more effective? What examples are there of best practice?

The fiscal austerity imposed by successive national governments since 2010 means that by 2020 LBBD will have two thirds of the money to spend as it did in 2010. This has forced LBBD, and local government around the country, to re-imagine its role within the 21st century public sector. Councils must transform to ensure they continue to improve outcomes for residents. This has only increased the importance for local authorities of listening to their constituents,

and has caused LBBD to adopt a more enabling position as a community ‘facilitator’, turning away from its more traditional, paternalistic role as a provider of services to users.

In practice, this means improving democratic engagement by improving the means by which we consult, engage and co-produce with residents.

The Borough Manifesto Consultation

Launched in July 2017, the Borough Manifesto is a 20-year vision for the future of Barking and Dagenham, shared across all the borough’s partners. Before developing this vision, during the summer of 2016, the Council undertook the most extensive engagement exercise ever conducted in the borough. We spoke to over 3,000 residents about what they liked about the borough, what they disliked, and what they hoped Barking and Dagenham would be like 20 years from now. We analysed these responses both qualitatively and quantitatively, and the results formed the foundation of the Borough Manifesto. The Borough Manifesto is an example of how consultation and engagement can and should be at the heart of strategy development, rather than – as is still so often the case – an afterthought.

(<https://www.lbdd.gov.uk/council/priorities-and-strategies/borough-manifesto/overview/>)

Social Cohesion Hackathon

We are exploring the use of participatory design techniques as a means of increasing the involvement of residents in solving some of our most pressing issues. For instance, in identifying and designing solutions to challenges of social cohesion. On 30 September and 1 October, we held the UK’s first social cohesion hackathon in partnership with local social innovation company DigiLab. The hackathon brought together 25 programmers and software developers with members of the community, of all ages and backgrounds, to identify, respond to and tackle the issues and concerns of local residents. Given the success of the exercise and the interest it generated amongst participants and community groups, we are now looking to reproduce the format in the near future.

Community Amplifiers

We are planning to recruit and train a group of community ‘amplifiers’ to help facilitate a conversation between seemingly differing views and perspectives, using inclusive methods and techniques. The role of the ‘amplifiers’ will focus on achieving increased harmony within the borough through allowing individuals and groups to appreciate the value of different worldviews and practices, and to improve democratic engagement as a result.

Improving, innovating and broadening the methods by which we consult, engage and co-produce with residents is beneficial for several reasons. Firstly, it ensures our work is truly responsive to and led by the will of the community. Secondly, it places residents at the heart of the policy development process and empowers them. Finally, improving our practices of consultation, engagement and co-production empowers residents to democratically engage with the Council, the community and wider society.

Question 6: What opportunities are there for local communities to be a site of democratic innovation? Should local authorities trial participatory budgeting and citizens juries? Should local authorities have the ability to allow votes at 16 for local elections?

Local authorities have significant capacity to act as sites of democratic innovation, trialing initiatives responsively to local priorities, but with potential for nationally valuable insight. Beyond the examples of such schemes named in the question, all of which enjoy increasing levels of support across the public sector, LBBD is developing a new local giving model with significant potential for democratic innovation.

Much like participatory budgeting, our new local giving model implements participatory financing as a means of empowering civil society. In particular, both Crowdfund Barking and Dagenham and the Barking and Dagenham Lottery – described above – use models of participatory financing to fundraise for local good causes chosen by the community itself. This empowers residents with choice, and further encourages them to donate resources, be it finance, time or personal energy to their community.

This is just one means by which local authorities may act as sites of democratic innovation, but as the appetite for such experimentation grows local authorities around the country will

discover the potential for innovation of this kind, and the variety of initiatives being undertaken will grow.

Question 7: What role should local authorities play in integration? How could they be more effective? What examples are there of best practice?

One of the duties of local authorities is to enable effective integration¹⁴ by creating a welcoming community with a strong, coherent sense of civic pride. In turn, we see civic pride as a form of shared understanding within the community, constituted of three elements:

- An appreciation for the culture and history of the community.
- An understanding of the rights and responsibilities which accompany membership to the community.
- Positive participation within the community.

As a borough, we are working to enable integration by fostering a strong sense of civic pride through a variety of means.

The Summer of Festivals

Each summer, the Council hosts a programme of over 10 free events across the borough, celebrating the community's heritage, history and culture. These events foster civic pride and enable integration by providing a space for residents from different backgrounds to meet, interact and widen their social networks. The events also improve the community's shared understanding of and pride in our heritage, history and culture.

Following the 2017 programme:

- 91% of residents agree that the events should continue next year.

¹⁴ Integration is the process by which the conditions are created for the inclusion of new residents into a community. The product of effective integration is social cohesion. Social cohesion is a common sense of belonging to, and inclusion within, a community.

- 92% agree these events are a good way for people of different ages and backgrounds to come together.

The Summer of Festivals Programme is run in partnership with local businesses and civil society groups, giving participants excellent opportunities to understand and engage with the rich diversity in the borough.

History and Heritage

LBBDD are working to improve our shared understanding and appreciation of the heritage and history of Barking and Dagenham through several projects over the coming years:

- The East London Industrial Heritage Museum – a new facility of regional significance, on the site of the former Ford Stamping Plant in Dagenham, the Museum will tell the story of the area’s industrial heritage, but also support the development of new sustainable creative industries in the borough.
- The East End Women’ Museum – a permanent resource to promote women’s history that will record, share and celebrate women’s stories and voices from East London’s history.
- The Abbey: Unlocking Barking’s Past, Securing its Future – a capital improvement programme to the landscape at Abbey Green, accompanied by a programme of promotion and interpretation of the history of the former Abbey.
- Valence House – described by the Museums’ Journal as ‘one of the best local history museums in London’, Valence House is an accredited local history museum with locally, regionally and nationally significant collections. It provides a high-quality and extensive programme of events and learning for school groups and the wider community, including collection ‘masterclasses’ and family history help sessions.
- However, it is not just the Council who have an important role in maintaining the history and heritage of our borough. Initiatives such as Company Drinks, described above, are vital to engaging the community and encouraging people to take an active

role in sharing our past. Local authorities should encourage and enable such community initiatives wherever and whenever they emerge.

The Good Neighbour Guide

An important element of civic pride is an understanding of the rights and responsibilities which accompany membership of the community. Consultation and engagement over the past several years, such as through the Borough Manifesto Consultation, and other qualitative research conducted with members of the White working-class population earlier in 2017, has identified that this is an issue of great concern for residents.

Many residents believe that the rapid population and demographic change which has occurred in the borough, and particularly the rate of population churn we experience, has caused a loss of understanding of the rights and responsibilities which accompany membership of the community. Residents frequently argue that these rights and responsibilities were better understood in those decades preceding deindustrialisation, and particularly the 1920s – 1970s.

Earlier this year, led by a series of engagement events, the Council developed The Good Neighbour Guide. To be sent to all residents, and then to all residents arriving in the borough, the Guide aims to articulate the rights afforded to every member of the community, including which public services are available and how they may be accessed. It also outlines the responsibilities expected of all residents, including being friendly and welcoming to those around them, appreciative and respectful of our culture, history and environment.

Faith in the Community

To better understand the role of faith in the community, and its implications for integration, we have commissioned an extensive study by the Co-Operative Advisory Group Consultants to assess current and future needs for religious premises in the borough. The study notes the changing faith landscape in the borough, and the increasing importance of certain faith

groups. It also suggests that faith premises are already in short supply and looks at new opportunities to respond to the local and future demand for faith spaces.

One of the recommendations of the report is the creation of multi-faith premises. Whilst it is still at an early stage of development, the Council is looking to explore this option in partnership with faith organisations across the borough. We believe that this would solve the problem of the shortage of space, but might equally create a new space for mutual understanding and collaboration between various faith groups. This will enable easier inclusion of new residents within the community, improving integration and, in turn, social cohesion.

The Big Conversation

Important to our efforts to foster civic pride and enable integration is our belief that a cohesive community must share a common vision for its future.

Further to the Borough Manifesto, described above, which sought to articulate this vision, on 13 November 2017 LBBD and Lankelly Chase Foundation co-facilitated an event called ‘The Big Conversation’. A representative spread of 71 residents from all backgrounds within the community took part in the event. Through an exploration of participants’ own personal stories, ‘The Big Conversation’ sought to generate a reflection on what people want for their life, what they value in their community and what prevents them from achieving their needs. Through finding common ground, the event will help to foster civic pride and enable integration.

It is the belief of the Council that its work will foster a strong, shared sense of civic pride. In so doing, it may ensure Barking and Dagenham is a welcoming community, capable of including new residents in its economic, social and culture life. This is the means by which local authorities can promote integration and, as a consequence, improve social cohesion.

Al-Madina Mosque

Again, it is not just a matter of what the Council is doing or can do, but what action local government can encourage and enable by groups and organisations within the community. A

good example of such activity is the excellent community work undertaken by the Al-Madina Mosque in Barking. Earlier in 2017 the Mosque won the Spirit of 2012 Connecting Communities Award from the British Ethnic Diversity Sports Awards, for their excellent sports programme which works to bring local communities together through sport or physical activity.

Association of British Insurers – written evidence (CCE0263)

ABOUT THE ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH INSURERS

The Association of British Insurers (ABI) is the voice of the UK's world leading insurance and long-term savings industry.

A productive, inclusive and thriving sector, we are an industry that provides peace of mind to households and businesses across the UK and powers the growth of local and regional economies by enabling trade, risk taking, investment and innovation.

Summary

- The ABI and the insurance industry has produced a range of guides covering insurance and the voluntary sector. These guides provide guidance and information for the voluntary sector on issues such as risk management in the voluntary sector, Trustee Liabilities, volunteer driving, event planning insurance and liability insurance for work experience placements.
- The ABI is committed to working with partners across industry and the voluntary sector to provide the clarity that individuals and organisations need in respect to insurance coverage.
- Much has been done to ensure that access to insurance is not a barrier for voluntary organisations and charities and the industry remains committed to supporting a thriving voluntary sector in the UK.

INTRODUCTION

1. WE WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE WORK OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS SELECT COMMITTEE ON CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT. VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS AND CHARITIES PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN SOCIETY BUT IN THE PAST, HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT ACCESS TO INSURANCE TO SUPPORT THE VALUABLE WORK THAT THEY DO. IN ADDITION, EMPLOYERS HAVE HISTORICALLY SOUGHT CLARIFICATION ABOUT WHETHER THEIR EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY INSURANCE POLICIES WILL COVER WORKPLACE PLACEMENT STUDENTS. THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY, WORKING

Association of British Insurers – written evidence (CCE0263)

THROUGH THE ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH INSURERS HAS SOUGHT TO PROVIDE VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS, CHARITIES AND EMPLOYERS THE SUPPORT AND CLARITY THEY NEED AND INFORMATION ON THE ISSUES THEY SHOULD CONSIDER IN RESPECT OF THEIR INSURANCE COVERAGE.

2. WE REMAIN CONCERNED THAT THE MESSAGES CONTAINED IN THE GUIDANCE DOCUMENTS WE HAVE PREPARED OVER THE YEARS CONTINUES NOT TO REACH THOSE VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS AND BUSINESSES THAT NEED TO BE AWARE OF IT. WE WOULD WELCOME ANY SUPPORT THAT THE HOUSE OF LORDS SELECT COMMITTEE ON CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT CAN PROVIDE IN ENSURING THAT THE POLICY POSITIONS ON THE KEY ISSUES SET OUT BELOW IS DISSEMINATED TO RELEVANT ORGANISATIONS AND REPRESENTATIVE BODIES.

VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

3. VOLUNTEERS DO SO MUCH GOOD WORK IN COMMUNITIES UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY. VOLUNTARY ORGANISATION AND CHARITIES OFTEN HAVE SPECIFIC INSURANCE NEEDS AND THE ABI WORKS WITH INSURERS TO ENSURE THOSE NEEDS CAN BE MET SO THAT ORGANISATIONS CAN CONTINUE THEIR IMPORTANT WORK.
4. Since 2005, when we produced guidance for the voluntary sector on risk management, the ABI has continued to seek opportunities to engage with the sector to improve their understanding of insurance. BY HELPING INDIVIDUAL VOLUNTEERS, VOLUNTARY GROUPS AND CHARITIES IDENTIFY AND REDUCE THE POTENTIAL RISKS THAT THEY FACE IN UNDERTAKING THEIR ACTIVITIES, AS WELL AS PROVIDING CONSUMER-FRIENDLY GUIDANCE ON THE INSURANCE OPTIONS AVAILABLE TO HELP TO MANAGE THOSE RISKS, THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY IS PLAYING OUR PART IN HELPING TO SUPPORT HEALTHY AND VIBRANT VOLUNTARY AND CHARITABLE SECTORS.
5. IN 2014, THE ABI, WORKING IN CONJUNCTION WITH A NUMBER OF ORGANISATIONS, INCLUDING THE BRITISH INSURANCE BROKERS ASSOCIATION AND THE VOLUNTEER LIAISON GROUP (WHICH CONSISTED OF THE ABI, MONEY ADVICE SERVICE, COMMUNITY MATTERS, THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR VOLUNTARY YOUTH SERVICES AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR VOLUNTEERING ENGLAND) PRODUCED [The Voluntary, Community and Social Enterprise Sector – an insurance guide for individuals and organisations](#). THIS GUIDE EXPLAINS THAT THE PERCEPTIONS OF RISK CAN SOMETIMES BE OVERSTATED. IT AIMS TO PROVIDE A CLEAR DESCRIPTION OF THE TYPES OF INSURANCE VOLUNTEER ORGANISATIONS MIGHT CONSIDER IN HELPING TO MANAGE THEIR RISKS AND EXPLAINS THAT INSURERS OR INSURANCE BROKERS CAN HELP ORGANISATIONS FIND THE RIGHT PRODUCT FOR AN ORGANISATION'S SPECIFIC NEEDS.
6. AS WELL AS HELPING VOLUNTEERS, THE ABI HAS ALSO PRODUCED [Trustee Liability Guide](#) – A SUMMARY OF THE POTENTIAL PERSONAL LIABILITIES ASSOCIATED WITH BECOMING A TRUSTEE OF A

CHARITY IN ORDER TO HELP TRUSTEES OF CHARITIES IDENTIFY AND MANAGE THE RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH THEIR UNIQUE ROLE.

7. FURTHER BACKGROUND IS AVAILABLE ON THE [ABI website](#) AND INFORMATION ON THE SPECIFIC INSURANCE NEEDS OF AN INDIVIDUAL CHARITY IS ALSO AVAILABLE FROM INSURANCE BROKERS. WE WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE HOUSE OF LORDS SELECT COMMITTEE ON CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT'S WORK TO CONTINUE OUR WORK IN DISSEMINATING THIS INFORMATION TO THE CHARITIES AND VOLUNTEER ORGANISATIONS WHO WOULD BENEFIT FROM ITS USE.

ABI'S VOLUNTEER DRIVING COMMITMENT

8. ALTHOUGH SOME INSURERS cover volunteer driving within regular motor insurance policies, others may charge an extra premium or impose a higher excess for volunteer drivers. In order to provide useful information and additional clarity to volunteer drivers, in 2011 the ABI coordinated and produced [Volunteer Driving: The Motor Insurance Commitment](#). This document sets out the specific requirements and positions of individual insurance companies in relation to volunteer driving, e.g. some insurers want volunteers to contact them to inform them that customers intend using their vehicle for volunteering purposes whereas other do not require any contact from the customer; some firms require an additional premium to be paid whereas others will not require any additional premium. We aim to keep the information contained in the ABI's Volunteer Driving Commitment as up-to-date as possible and it was last updated in October 2017.

INSURANCE FOR PUBLIC EVENTS

9. AN ISSUE THAT IS SOMETIMES RAISED WITH US IT THAT VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS HAVE DIFFICULTY IN ACCESSING INSURANCE FOR ONE-OFF EVENTS. WE DO NOT CONSIDER THAT ACCESSIBILITY OF INSURANCE IS AN ISSUE GIVEN THAT A WELL-FUNCTIONING, COMPETITIVE MARKET EXISTS FOR THIS TYPE OF INSURANCE. TWO POINTS SEEM PERTINENT HERE:
 - There is perhaps a perception that insurance cover for a one- or two-day event ought to cost much less than it actually does. Clearly, most voluntary organisations are not wealthy and costs impact upon them significantly. However, costs reflect the risk and potential liabilities. Outdoor events with what may seem to be relatively innocuous activities can in fact present a risk of significant injury and damage to people and property, e.g. an unsecured bouncy castle could result in serious injury to children.
 - Short-term insurance policies can be disproportionately expensive due to economies of scale. From an insurer's perspective, the relative costs of setting up an annual

policy and a two-day policy are not significantly different: they can both include the same amount of employee time and costs of reinsurance.

10. Against that backdrop, we have made significant efforts in recent years to explain these issues to the voluntary sector and continue to do so. In June 2013 we produced a guide for voluntary organisations called [Celebrate! An ABI Guide to Planning an Event](#) which is designed to help voluntary organisations to consider some of the risks that their event might pose and how to mitigate them.
11. Again, we would welcome the opportunity presented by the COMMITTEE ON CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT'S WORK TO DISSEMINATE THIS INFORMATION TO THOSE WHO NEED TO BE MADE AWARE OF IT.

INSURANCE AND WORK EXPERIENCE

12. THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY HAS DONE A GREAT DEAL IN RECENT YEARS TO DISSEMINATE INFORMATION ON THE INSURANCE POSITION FOR THOSE FIRMS WHO HOST WORK EXPERIENCE STUDENTS IN THEIR BUSINESSES. DESPITE THESE EFFORTS, MYTHS CONTINUED TO PERSIST. IN JUNE 2013, [Government Ministers and the ABI announced](#) THAT THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY HAD COMMITTED TO TREAT WORK EXPERIENCE STUDENTS AS EMPLOYEES FOR THE PURPOSES OF INSURANCE AGAINST BODILY INJURY AND CONFIRMED THAT SIMPLY GIVING WORK EXPERIENCE OPPORTUNITIES TO STUDENTS WILL NOT, IN ITSELF, IMPACT ON INSURANCE PREMIUMS. WE PRODUCED A [guide for insurance and work experience](#) FOR DISSEMINATION TO THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY.
13. AT THE SAME TIME, THE HEALTH AND SAFETY EXECUTIVE ISSUED GUIDANCE PROVIDING CLARITY TO EMPLOYERS ON THEIR OBLIGATIONS IN TERMS OF RISK ASSESSMENTS REINFORCING THAT A BUSINESS DOES NOT NEED TO REPEAT RISK ASSESSMENTS THAT ALREADY UNDERTAKEN FOR EACH NEW WORK EXPERIENCE STUDENT. THE DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION AND OFSTED ALSO PUBLISHED GUIDANCE TO CLARIFY THE HEALTH AND SAFETY RESPONSIBILITIES FOR EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS ORGANISING WORK EXPERIENCE OPPORTUNITIES.

Association for Citizenship Teaching – written evidence (CCE0143)

1. Introduction

1.1 The Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) is the professional subject association for all teachers and educators engaged in Citizenship education. ACT was founded by Professor Sir Bernard Crick in 2001, following the Government’s decision to make Citizenship a statutory subject within the National Curriculum for schools in England. It is a membership organisation and registered charity.

1.2 ACT’s vision is for a strong and vibrant democracy enhanced by young people who are educated with the Citizenship knowledge, understanding, skills and experience they need to play an effective role as active citizens; and who, together, can take action to create a more equal, fair and just society for all. ACT’s focus is on supporting teachers and the teaching of Citizenship through provision of professional networks, training and CPD, a national teaching conference, a journal ‘Teaching Citizenship’, teaching resources and information on the association’s website (www.teachingcitizenship.org.uk). Funded project work and consultancy also contribute to meeting ACT’s core objectives. ACT’s work is shaped by a committed Council of Teachers who are unpaid volunteers, and is governed by a Board of Trustees.

1.3 To help inform this submission, ACT consulted widely with teachers and educators¹⁵ using an online survey designed to elicit responses to those parts of the Committee’s enquiry that relate to Citizenship education. In particular, ACT’s evidence addresses parts of questions 2, 4, 6 and 12 and the fullest response is given in relation to question 5. Of the 148 survey responses received, most were from teachers in England working in schools and colleges for 11-18 year olds and 72% describe themselves as Citizenship teachers. A small number of responses were received from teachers in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. ACT also organised focus groups in four secondary schools in England during July 2017, with pupils in key stages 3 and 4 and one group of post 16 students.

1.4 This submission is supported by the Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Young People’s Politics.

2. The role and aims of Citizenship

¹⁵ The survey ran during August and was also distributed by members of the Political Literacy Oversight Group, The Politics Project, the Political Studies Association, The Crick Centre for Political Understanding, Active Citizens FE, the Citizenship Foundation, Bite the Ballot and Step Up To Serve.

Q5 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?

2.1 A vibrant and healthy democracy in which every citizen feels their voice matters and they can play an active part in decision-making and public life needs young people who have had the benefit of effective Citizenship education. Democracy is precious and Citizenship education is vital in helping people to understand and participate within it: education in Citizenship is simply too important to be left to chance. General education through the school and National Curriculum must prepare children for life and work in the 21st Century and this cannot be achieved without an entitlement for every child to Citizenship education. Citizenship is a necessary subject in the National Curriculum.

2.2 In the last ten years, policy makers have held to a broad consensus that Citizenship is an important aim of education in England whether that be in the context of the knowledge-led, subject focused curriculum of 2014 or the aims led, concept and skills focused curriculum of 2008.

‘The National Curriculum has three statutory aims. It should enable all young people to become successful learners, confident individual and responsible citizens.’ (National Curriculum, 2008)

‘The national curriculum provides pupils with an introduction to the essential knowledge that they need to be educated citizens.’ (National Curriculum, Department for Education, 2014)

2.3 However, this broad consensus has been undermined by other aspects of policy. As a consequence, the extent to which these aims are realised through the school curriculum as a whole and specifically through the teaching of Citizenship as a National Curriculum subject is questionable. (Jerome, L, 2017¹⁶). In particular, the shift away from a broad and balanced curriculum to focus on a narrow ‘core academic curriculum’¹⁷ has undermined Citizenship teaching. Moreover, the freedoms associated with being an academy or free school means that England no longer has a truly National Curriculum. The reality is that Citizenship has become marginalised despite the apparent continuity in curriculum policy - that it continues, rightly, as a statutory National subject at key stages 3 and 4. The ACT survey conducted for this Committee showed that whilst 90% 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.

¹⁶ Jerome, L. (2017) What do citizens need to know? An analysis of knowledge in citizenship curricula in the UK and Ireland. Compare.

¹⁷ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/ambition-for-vast-majority-of-students-to-study-core-academic-gcses>

2.4 Teachers agree that Citizenship has a wide-ranging and important contribution to general education. In the ACT survey, 80% of respondents agreed that Citizenship should be a statutory National Curriculum subject at key stage 2 to 4 (age 7 to 16) with 54% at key stage 1 (age 5 to 7). Two thirds of respondents said it should also be part of 16-19 provision. The survey also shows 89% agree that the goal of Citizenship is to give young people opportunities to be active in their community and 87% said it promotes social cohesion in society. A high proportion of teachers, 86%, support teaching British values through Citizenship education even though many (44%) remain sceptical about the way these have been defined. ACT's view is that it would be more appropriate to express the fundamental British values as democratic values in the context of Citizenship education.

Recommendations:

- I. The role of Citizenship education must be clarified so the aims of the subject are widely understood and include a strong emphasis on democratic values.**
- II. Citizenship should be a statutory entitlement for ALL pupils in ALL school types (with no exemptions), in addition to Citizenship remaining a statutory National Curriculum subject for pupils aged 11 to 16 with programmes of study.**
- III. In addition Citizenship should be made statutory in key stages 1 and 2 for pupils aged 5 to 11 and included as a component of 16-19 study programmes to ensure continuity and progression in the subject.**

3. Citizenship curriculum and qualifications

Q5 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?

3.1 High-quality and effective Citizenship education is found in schools that have several key characteristics:

- Citizenship is a priority, strongly embedded in the curriculum
- there are Citizenship trained teachers who lead and coordinate teaching
- specialists are supported by the Senior Leadership team
- Citizenship as a subject is part of a whole-school approach, manifested in the culture and ethos of the school and in the school's relations with the wider community.

The DfE-funded Longitudinal Study of Citizenship directed by the NFER from 2001-2010¹⁸ also showed that pupil outcomes in Citizenship improve where there is regular time for

¹⁸ <https://www.nfer.ac.uk/research/projects/cels/>

Citizenship lessons planned and taught by trained Citizenship teachers to allow for depth of study and progression in learning and attainment.

3.2 When Citizenship is planned and taught well the impact and benefit to students becomes clear. A Year 12 student who participated in a focus group at a school in Kent commented, 'Citizenship is important as it increases understanding of the world around us....We need to become critical thinkers and find good sources of information. Citizenship helps us do this. Topics like democracy, voting and educating us on real news, not myths, around refugees etc. is really important.' A Year 8 student at the same school said, 'We would never get these topics elsewhere in the curriculum ...Citizenship helps you prepare for the world more than other subjects, it is real life stuff we learn'. At a school in Portsmouth, a Year 10 student commented, 'It is equally important as Maths, English and Science'. Another said that Citizenship 'expands your knowledge of what is happening in society and helps us to understand how the government works'; and that 'Citizenship teaches you a lot about responsibility, and we value how we got to the point we have in our society, for example through equality laws.'

3.3 The 2014 changes to the National Curriculum led to an unfortunate narrowing of the subject curriculum for Citizenship. Key aspects of subject content were removed leaving the emphasis on national institutions. This was at the expense of learning about: local democracy; public services and NGOs; freedom of speech; the role of the media in holding those in power to account and shaping and informing public opinion; human rights and equalities; diversity and change in society, including the role of migration; and practical experiences of active citizenship and democratic participation.

3.4 In the ACT survey 88% agreed active citizenship to give students a real experience of participation in politics at school and in the wider community is essential to effective Citizenship education. Schools can do this in a range of ways if there is sufficient curriculum time available, with the involvement of different members of the wider community and giving their pupils a say in choosing the issues and action they undertake. For example, active citizenship can involve students in different forms of campaigning, organising public meetings or exhibitions to raise awareness of issues, running social enterprise activities, participating in local decision-making within and beyond the school or college through student councils or parliaments and other youth forums. Recent research has demonstrated that the positive impact of active citizenship in school continues into young adulthood, in relation to people's attitudes towards, and their actual levels of, political participation (Keating & Janmaat, 2016)¹⁹.

3.5 The narrowing of the curriculum has coincided with a worrying decline in the numbers of Citizenship teachers. Since 2010, DfE workforce statistics show that numbers of Citizenship

¹⁹ Keating, A. & Janmaat, J.G. (2016) Education through citizenship at school: do school activities have a lasting impact on youth political engagement? *Parliamentary Affairs*, 69(2), 409-29.

teachers and the amount of teaching time given to the subject has halved²⁰. The number of those training as specialist Citizenship teachers has fallen from 243 in 2010 to just 54 in 2016 according to DfE figures²¹. Consequently, in schools where the subject is taught there is a reliance on non-specialist teachers, who do not have the Citizenship subject knowledge or pedagogical repertoire to interpret the minimal teaching requirements in the National Curriculum and plan a coherent and meaningful Citizenship curriculum. This is unacceptable for any curriculum subject.

3.6 Effective Citizenship teaching requires a well planned curriculum and sufficient lesson time. The Ofsted subject monitoring report for Citizenship 2013 highlighted the need to develop and deepen learning of key concepts and knowledge through well-planned Citizenship provision and that schools that rely on teaching Citizenship through other subjects often have ‘less effective provision’; and that insufficient teacher subject knowledge leads to ‘limited and superficial learning’.²²The ACT survey showed 60% of teachers have less than an hour a week in which to teach the subject at key stage 3 (age 11 to 14) and key stage 4 (age 14 to 16) and about a quarter of these have less than 30 minutes a week. More than half, (54%) agreed the current National Curriculum programmes of study at key stages 3 and 4 do not provide sufficient breadth and depth of study. Similar numbers, 53%, say the primary Citizenship programmes of study also need improving. In fact the DfE non-statutory framework for primary Citizenship has not been updated since 2001 when it was first published, leaving a disjoint between primary and secondary Citizenship education.

Citizenship Qualifications

3.7 As with any subject, it is important to recognise students’ attainment and achievement in Citizenship. Some schools choose to do this through qualifications in Citizenship Studies because they believe it gives public recognition and status to the subject and helps with understanding among parents, pupils, employers and the wider community. National Qualifications in Citizenship Studies have existed for almost 20 years with the first A level introduced in 1998 and GCSE in 2001.

3.8 Recent changes to qualifications mean that the A level Citizenship Studies will no longer be available to students from 2018. GCSEs in Citizenship Studies are now focused on the development of knowledge, with assessments as end-of-course examinations rather than a combination of teacher assessment and examination. The active citizenship projects undertaken by students as part of the qualification is now just 15% of the overall marks, down from 60%. ACT is talking with teachers about these changes. Some have expressed

²⁰ <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statistics-school-workforce>

²¹ <http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-question/Commons/2017-01-26/61973>

²²

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/413124/Citizenship_consolidated.pdf

concern about the lack of support and guidance from Awarding Organisations in teaching the new qualifications.

3.9 The number of students achieving GCSE Citizenship Studies peaked in 2009 at just over 96,000 but in 2017 was at just over 18,500. GCSE Citizenship Studies has been negatively affected by a number of factors including the removal of short course GCSEs (worth half a full GCSE) from school performance tables, and by the drive to focus on Ebacc subjects. In practice this means many students do not get the option of studying Citizenship at GCSE or they are forced to choose between Citizenship, Ebacc subjects they have not already taken as requirement by the school, and other non- Ebacc subjects such as RE, music or art. Whilst, technically, Citizenship is a statutory subject at key stage 4 in state-maintained secondary schools and this means all students in this phase should receive Citizenship education, the reality is that provision for the subject is often linked to the offer of qualifications.

3.10 The current policy not to redevelop A level Citizenship Studies means the subject has no formal recognition in general education beyond GCSE²³. Students are denied the opportunity to progress to an advanced level of study in Citizenship and there is no pathway to the study of Political and Social Sciences at University. Other developments such as Citizenship versions of the Extended Project Qualification could be explored to provide alternative routes to recognise attainment beyond GCSE.

Recommendations:

- IV. The DfE should strengthen National Curriculum Citizenship by including knowledge and understanding of citizen action and participation in active citizenship. Any revision should also address the breadth of study and missing content.**
- V. Citizenship Studies should be available as GCSE and A level qualifications and the Extended Project Qualification should be developed to include Citizenship projects to encourage a wider range of students to have their learning recognised in the subject.**
- VI. GCSE Citizenship Studies should be added to the list of qualifications included for humanities in the Ebacc.**
- VII. The DfE should monitor the impact of qualification reforms on take up of the subject and publish information through the explicit inclusion of GCSE Citizenship Studies in their statistics.**

4. What else is needed to support Citizenship?

²³ Credit based units from Laser Learning Award on 'Active Citizenship in the Local Community' have just been published.

Q6. Do voluntary citizenship programmes such as the National Citizen Service do a good job of creating active citizens? Should they include a greater political element?

Q12. 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?

Strengthening practice and effective evaluation of Citizenship

4.1 The Expert Subject Advisory Group for Citizenship that was established by the DfE rightly points to the need to evaluate the state of Citizenship in schools and better exemplify and disseminate effective Citizenship practice. When Citizenship was introduced in schools in 2002 DfE Ministers were keen to evaluate its effectiveness and build a robust evidence base to improve policy and practice. They commissioned NFER to undertake the Longitudinal Study (CELS) from 2001 to 2010, ensured England's participation in the two IEA international studies of civic and citizenship education (CIVED in 1999 and ICCS in 2009)²⁴ so as to compare progress with other countries and encouraged Ofsted to carry out regular subject reviews of Citizenship. However, since 2010 that evidence base for Citizenship has been allowed to wither on the vine. There has been no follow up to CELS, England did not participate in the latest IEA study (ICCS16) and Ofsted have ceased subject reviews. In fact Ofsted rarely comment on Citizenship at all in inspection reports even where a school has a curriculum for Citizenship that contributes to key elements of the inspection framework. They are also failing to report on non-compliance with the statutory National Curriculum. The ACT membership voted to support the recommendations in the Expert Group's National Action Plan – 'Citizenship for All'. ACT members agree that government and Ofsted are key partners along with Citizenship organisations in working to evaluate and improve the quality and standard of Citizenship education in more schools. There is an urgent need to build a clear, coherent national picture of Citizenship education following the recent curriculum and qualification reforms through research and evaluation data.

4.2 The approach to Citizenship education in England was informed by reviewing best practice at European and international level. As one of the last countries in Europe to introduce Citizenship as part of the school curriculum there was much to learn from global networks and practice in other countries. Prior to and following 2002, DfE Ministers encouraged England's active involvement in citizenship networks in Europe involving the Council of Europe, European Commission and Eurydice as well as globally through the British Council and IEA studies²⁵. From 2002 to 2010, England was viewed internationally as one of the leading exponents of effective Citizenship education and countries were keen to learn from our experience. However, since 2010 Citizenship practice in other countries has begun to outstrip ours, particularly in the Nordic countries including Finland, and Austria to name a few. This has coincided with DfE disengagement from European and global Citizenship

²⁴<https://www.nfer.ac.uk/research/projects/the-international-civic-and-citizenship-education-study-iccs/>

²⁵ <https://www.coe.int/en/web/edc/home>

education networks and evaluations²⁶ leading to a missed opportunity to continue to measure our practice against other countries and contribute to and learn from such networks.

Citizenship and National Citizen Service

4.3 Opportunities for Citizenship education beyond general education should be encouraged so that young people continue to practise and learn Citizenship and active citizenship in new contexts. The Government’s flagship youth programme, National Citizen Service, is a case in point where links can be made between general education and the youth programmes. However, to date, connections are not well made and opportunities to develop meaningful action are being missed. The ACT survey showed 56% of respondents said their pupils do not participate in NCS and 75% said there was no connection between the NCS and the teaching of Citizenship in their school or college.

4.4 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. Planned DfE guidance to schools and colleges on National Citizen Service, should include clear links to the curriculum subject of Citizenship and the ACT materials and although this is expected, it has not yet been published.

Making Citizenship visible in education policy

4.5 Currently a number of government departments are putting efforts and resources into public policy that supports Citizenship education and active citizenship. The Home Office funded ACT to work with schools on Citizenship curriculum projects to develop anti-extremism education through its Prevent innovation fund; the Cabinet Office funds work to educate young people about democracy and voting; the Office for Civil Society at the Department of Culture Media and Sport funds social action, National Citizen Service and new training for Community Organisers; DFID has funded the Global Learning Programme including global citizenship.

4.6 The Department for Education have not provided any significant support for Citizenship education or Citizenship teacher training and development since 2008, although just recently the DfE has funded a small project to promote British values through classroom debate resources for teachers which links with Citizenship, History and RE, and this project is being undertaken by ACT.

4.7 The absence of a clear communication policy to schools about Citizenship, in particular following the reform of the National Curriculum in 2014, is a problem. For example, it led

²⁶ <http://iccs.iea.nl/>

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.

4.8 The DfE could and should do more to clearly signal to **all** schools that Citizenship is an important curriculum subject with a clear contribution to make to the wider education agendas, for instance by making references to Citizenship in Ministerial speeches. They could emphasise that Citizenship provides the curriculum location, content and knowledge for exploring British values, Prevent and anti-extremist education. They could also acknowledge that Citizenship lessons provide the space to engage with students on a wide range of topical and controversial issues, as well as supporting greater social cohesion, equality and social justice. Trained and experienced Citizenship teachers are adept at handling such topics and issues. They should be valued as education leaders and experts who can work with other members of staff who lack the confidence or expertise.

Recommendations:

- VII. The government need to be seen to be valuing and promoting Citizenship education in all schools and colleges. A DfE Minister and a Senior Civil servant should be given the remit to develop coherent policy and communication for Citizenship education and Citizenship teacher training and development, as well as to coordinate with other government departments working on citizenship policy.**
- VIII. The DfE should ensure that there is a strong and robust evidence base for Citizenship education which can be used to develop and maintain effective policy and practice. This evidence base should include commissioning evaluation and research and involve active participation in Citizenship education networks at the European and international level.**
- IX. The Expert Subject Advisory Group’s National Action Plan ‘Citizenship for all’ should be supported by the DfE to ensure the quality of citizenship provision in schools is improved, more Citizenship teachers are trained, adequate teaching resources are available, links are made to NCS, and quality is monitored and reported through regular inspection and evaluation by Ofsted.**
- X. The DfE should promote Citizenship initial teacher education as a ‘priority’ subject and demonstrate that Citizenship and Citizenship specialist expertise is valued by including the subject in the National and Specialist Leaders of Education and Teaching Schools programmes.**

5. Other issues

Q2. Could citizenship ceremonies or events throughout the educational process play a role?

Q4. 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?

Q12. 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?

Votes at 16, voter registration and graduation ceremonies

5.1 The ACT survey also asked questions related to other aspects of the Committees enquiry. If the franchise is extended, then clearly Citizenship education will become a critical route to ensuring younger voters are informed about their new political rights. The survey findings include:

93% agreed voter registration should be automatic for all eligible citizens

83% agree Schools should promote voter registration as part of Citizenship education

69% agree that 16 and 17 year olds should be given the right to vote in elections

50% agree that Graduation Ceremonies should be used to recognise Citizenship achievements.

Citizenship ceremonies

5.2 Manchester University has been working with the Citizenship department at Altrincham Girls' Grammar School to explore with pupils notions of how British identity is experienced by new citizens. The university interviewed new entrant citizens about their experiences of becoming British citizens and the reasons why they chose to become citizens. It developed Case studies and a framework of activities to use with pupils as part of Citizenship education. The pilot materials have been used successfully and are being further developed.

School and College Case studies

5.3 ACT is happy to provide further information as case studies or for Committee visits to schools providing high quality Citizenship in primary, secondary and post-16 education.

8 September 2017

Association of the Lord-Lieutenants – written evidence (CCE0035)

The Association is a voluntary organisation which provides guidance and advice to the 98²⁷ Lord-Lieutenants of counties²⁸ in all four countries of the United Kingdom. Lord-Lieutenants are appointed by The Queen on the recommendation of the Prime Minister (the devolved administrations are involved in the process) and serve from the date of their appointment until their 75th birthday at the latest²⁹. They thus provide a relatively long-term point of continuity in their counties. The office is unpaid. Lord-Lieutenants represent The Queen in their counties, and carry out many of Her functions at a local level, such as presenting certain honours, medals and awards. They also assess nominations for honour, both personal and for The Queen’s Award for Voluntary Service, and seek to encourage good nominations for both. They maintain close links with local units of Her Majesty’s Forces and their associated Reserves and Cadets; and, in England and Wales, they lead the local magistracy as Chairmen of the Advisory Committee on Justices of the Peace, in liaison with the Ministry of Justice. Lord-Lieutenants are supported in their role by a network of Deputy Lieutenants, also unpaid. In appointing their Deputies Lord-Lieutenants can and do reflect the diversity of their communities.

Lord-Lieutenants also have an undefined, but important, community role which is to promote a spirit of co-operation within their counties by encouraging voluntary service, and benevolent organisations, and by taking an active interest in the business, industrial, cultural and social life of their counties and the voluntary activity that goes on within them.

Lord-Lieutenants are strictly non-political. This enables them to work in their counties with all sections and communities without politics forming a barrier; but it also means that in responding to the Committee’s consultation the Association is unable to take a view on the policy questions that they address. Nonetheless the Association considers that the experience and activities of Lord-Lieutenants do enable them to offer evidence which it is hoped will assist the Committee in its deliberations. The Association also considers that it is useful for the Committee to be aware of the Lieutenancy as one of the mechanisms available to help with implementing any conclusions it may come to in its final Report.

The Committee’s Questions

²⁷47 in England, 35 in Scotland, 8 in Wales and 8 in Northern Ireland.

²⁸ Ceremonial, rather than administrative, counties, and including some cities.

²⁹ It is unusual for a Lord-Lieutenant to step down before reaching 75. In Scotland four Lord Provosts are automatically appointed as the Lord-Lieutenants of their cities (Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen).

The Association proposes to offer no evidence on Questions 3, 4 and 11 since that would involve expressing views on policy, and for the purposes of this evidence does not wish to comment on Question 12.

1. One of the fundamental purposes of Lord-Lieutenants is to promote cohesion within their counties. That involves identifying and promoting values that all citizens can subscribe to without stifling individual and cultural freedom. Given their close connection to the Crown Lord-Lieutenants seek to uphold, and to unite their communities in support of a constitutional Monarchy. In particular they have seen it as part of their role to try to ensure that the role of The Queen and the Royal Family is fully understood in their communities. This was particularly marked on the occasion of Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee when Lord-Lieutenants made special efforts to ensure that schoolchildren understood the Monarchy, and the Association has made educational material (including PowerPoint presentations) available to Lord-Lieutenants to help them to continue this process. Lord-Lieutenants also play a key role in Royal visits to their areas, so that local activities and the people involved in them are able to receive direct Royal recognition. The Association believes that the potential of the Monarchy as a focus for bringing people together should not be underestimated. The Queen is the Queen of every citizen, and Lord-Lieutenants are able to testify from direct experience to the high regard in which she is held among all sections of the community. As The Queen's representatives Lord-Lieutenants have a welcome *entrée* into a variety of diverse ethnic, minority and other groups. They are very often invited officially to local festivals and events put on by local communities, or to open local community facilities. All this gives them an opportunity to foster common values in a way that other officials might find more difficult and to bring together a wide range of agencies and organisations to look at local problems.
2. This question touches on a number of areas where Lord-Lieutenants are involved. Following on from the theme of the previous question, the Association would stress the potential of The Queen and the Royal Family to foster a sense of belonging among all citizens. Lord-Lieutenants have embraced citizenship ceremonies for those attaining British citizenship through naturalisation, and they or their deputies regularly preside at them, greeting each new citizen personally and making a speech of welcome as a very visible sign of the importance attached to the occasion. So far as education is concerned, Lord-Lieutenants do go into schools to try to increase understanding of the Monarchy, and, as previously mentioned, the Association has provided resource material for this purpose. The Association cannot offer a view on whether there should be educational or ceremonial requirements for those who are citizens by birth; but if such requirements were to be introduced Lord-Lieutenants would be willing to contribute to them on matters to do with the Monarchy and all aspects of cohesion within the community under the Crown.

5. Much of this question involves taking a view on policy, but the Association can suggest that the unique local standing of Lord-Lieutenants as non-political representatives of the Crown gives them a particular advantage when it comes to encouraging young people to take an interest in constitutional matters; and they seek to do just that, as has already been explained. They would be willing to participate in any new arrangements that covered their particular responsibilities.
6. Lord-Lieutenants are involved with many activities that encourage young people to play an active role in the community, though not the National Citizen Service in particular. Historically Lord-Lieutenants owe their existence to the Crown's wish to improve local militias in the 16th century, and this has led to a particular link with uniformed youth organisations such as the Scouts and Girl Guides and St John and, in particular, the Army Cadet Force, the Sea Cadets and the Air Training Corps. Although clearly these last three have military origins they are not intended to be recruiting organisations for the regular forces, and their aim is to develop young people through adventure and challenge in an atmosphere of comradeship so that they become confident and active citizens. Lord-Lieutenants encourage all such activities. They contribute directly to their aims by appointing exceptional young people from a range of organisations as Lord-Lieutenants' Cadets, who accompany the Lord-Lieutenant on official duties and thereby gain an increased understanding of wider aspects of citizenship and public life. Any recommendations of the Committee that encouraged the development of youth organisations as a way of fostering good citizenship would be welcomed and actively supported by the Association.
7. While the Association is unable to comment on, or suggest, new policy initiatives it would point to the existing mechanisms, in particular the honours system, which has traditionally offered recognition of meritorious service to the community, and which offers scope for encouraging civic engagement. The relatively small number of honours awarded in each round means that this scope is limited, but the local profile of awards should not be underestimated. Lord-Lieutenants do not themselves nominate people for honours, but they can and do encourage the community to make nominations, and are involved in the assessment of honours nominations, enabling them to endorse particularly worthy candidates from their own direct experience or that of their Deputies. Lord-Lieutenants and their Deputies also play an important role in assessing local nominations for Queen's Awards for Voluntary Service. This often involves visiting nominated organisations and holding detailed local discussion before recommendations are put forward to the national panel. This is one way among many in which Lord-Lieutenants keep in touch with, and encourage, the voluntary sector.
8. Naturally the Association would identify as common values those that stem from Lord-Lieutenants' role as representatives of the Crown, namely a constitutional Monarchy, democracy and the rule of law. As already mentioned the Association would particularly wish to underline The Queen's unifying potential stemming from the regard in which she

is held among all communities, and would willingly participate in initiatives to realise that potential to the maximum. So far as the rule of law is concerned, Lord-Lieutenants in England and Wales are directly involved in the courts system through their Chairmanship of Advisory Committees for Justices of the Peace. Although it is not the role of the Association to identify threats to the values it has identified it would always urge careful consideration of proposals for changes to the administration of justice that might lessen opportunities for direct participation by citizens in the justice system or affect access to justice at the local level.

9. Any feeling among communities and groups that they have been “left behind” is likely to stem from the experiences of individuals at the local level. It is therefore at the local level that initiatives to increase engagement are likely to produce the most immediately visible results. Lord-Lieutenants, being outside the political system, are well placed to provide local leadership and active encouragement of initiatives to improve inclusiveness and cohesion. The Association would suggest that any recommendations on this issue should include steps that can be taken at a local level as well as national policy initiatives. Lord-Lieutenants have unique experience of the particular factors that affect rural as opposed to urban areas, and, indeed, the different factors that apply in all four countries of the United Kingdom. The fact that an appointment as a Lord-Lieutenant normally lasts for many years means that they have a deep knowledge of what goes on in their counties and their official, yet non-political, status means that they can gain the confidence of, and foster contacts between, groups that might otherwise not normally communicate with each other.
10. The Association would again point to the desirability of fostering common values beneficial to cohesion and integration that do not conflict with cultural and individual opinions and loyalties. Lord-Lieutenants are an important part of a local mechanisms for encouraging the dissemination of such values.

Additional comments

Although this evidence has stressed the non-political nature of the Lieutenancy it should not be assumed that there is no contact between Lord-Lieutenants and their local authorities or other agencies within their Counties. Lord-Lieutenants and their Deputies will normally be in regular discussion with Chief Executives and Leaders to review matters, including economic and community development, opportunities for Royal visits, nominations for Queen's Awards or for national honours or even Royal Garden Party invitations, which are highly valued ways in which local community engagement can be recognised. Likewise there is regular contact with Chief Constables, local religious leaders, voluntary and youth organisations, and every organisation that goes to make up the life of the community. Without wishing to labour the point their ability to be involved in every aspect of local life without any political or personal axe to grind gives them a major role in fostering cohesion and inclusion.

Association of the Lord-Lieutenants – written evidence (CCE0035)

The Association would be very happy to assist the Committee further if it would be useful.

23 August 2017

Carina Badger – written evidence (CCE0159)

(Private individual: solicitor, qualified teacher (QTS) and advocate).

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?

This is a very broad question for this sort of submission. My focus in this submission is on citizenship and civic engagement in schools. I would guide the committee to the contents of the Crick Report (<http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/4385/1/crickreport1998.pdf>) of 1998. Whilst rather old now, the findings of that report remain pertinent.

In particular, paragraph 1.1: *“We unanimously advise the Secretary of State that citizenship and the teaching of democracy, construed in a broad sense that we will define, is so important both for schools and the life of the nation that there must be a statutory requirement on schools to ensure that it is part of the entitlement of all pupils. It can no longer sensibly be left as uncoordinated local initiatives which vary greatly in number, content and method. This is an inadequate basis for animating the idea of a common citizenship with democratic values.”*

And paragraph 1.5: *“We aim at no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually Introduction 7 Part One confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves. There are worrying levels of apathy, ignorance and cynicism about public life. These, unless tackled at every level, could well diminish the hoped-for benefits both of constitutional reform and of the changing nature of the welfare state. To quote from a speech by the Lord Chancellor earlier this year (on which we end this report): ‘We should not, must not, dare not, be complacent about the health and future of British democracy.’”*

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?

The introduction of the Academies Act 2010 took many state schools out of the remit of the National Curriculum (and therefore outside the requirement to teach Citizenship) requiring only that they implement a curriculum that is broad and balanced (Academies Act 2010, Section 1).

The UK Government's supposed commitment to civic education is therefore questionable. The UK Government has taken strides in other areas to ensure that curricula in non-maintained schools include specific topics by virtue of being a condition in the master funding agreements. For example, all academies must "*provide for the teaching of evolution*". Further, all academies must actively promote: "*fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs*" (DFE2014:19). I raise this to highlight ways in which civic education (including an exploration of what is meant by "British identity") might be made a mandatory part of the curriculum for all state schools. Yet thus far, the UK Government has not availed itself of this opportunity with regard to citizenship education.

DFE (2014) *Academy and free school: multi-model master funding agreement*, Department for education, London.

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?

No comment.

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?

No comment but see comments above regarding Citizenship education.

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?

As recommended in the Crick report, Citizenship education should be compulsory. It may be that the subject is ill-understood. I taught Citizenship at Key Stages 3 and 4. To give you some flavour of aims in teaching in this area, allow me to explain some of the topics I taught:

- **Council tax:** what it is, what does it pay for? Who makes those decisions.
- **Budget:** how does Government balance the budget? What are some of the competing areas requesting money (e.g. Health, Military etc)? What is "national debt"? Where does the State get money from?

- **Voting:** How to vote (with a mock election including a ballot box and polling station). How to understand manifestos. What do different parties say. Why is voting important. Debate on whether voting should be compulsory. Debate on whether voting age should be lowered. Who you vote for (i.e. MP), how a government is formed and what your MP does.
- **Living in a diverse Britain:** Equality Act 2010 and repercussions for illegal acts (e.g. wedding cake case, risk of grievance procedure if in employment etc). Difficulties of reconciling competing rights: free speech vs anti-racism laws. Looking at legal case studies to understand the legal landscape. Role models from Diversity Role Models came in to discuss lived experiences of being LGBT and anti-homophobic bullying.
- **Global issues:** foreign aid; fair trade vs free trade; role of NATO, EFTA, EU. What the EU does; debate on Brexit.

Consistent with teachers' legal obligations to teach in a non-biased way, teaching in this area should be presented in a manner that encourages debate rather than directive teaching, to the extent appropriate. For example, free trade vs fair trade: competing claims, pros and cons of each, coming to conclusions but understanding that there are rarely black and white answers.

A key component of Citizenship education before it was amended by the previous government (under Michael Gove MP, then Secretary of State for Education) was the projects element. In principle, imagine that a class of young people is asked to:

- Work in groups
- Choose a topic for social change (locally, nationally or internationally)
- Come up with a plan for how to effect change, which could include increasing awareness of the topic amongst peers
- Research different sides of the debate to understand why people may not agree with them
- Execute that plan
- Interview people in authority (e.g. teachers, MPs, people in industry) to gain advice and obtain their views
- Reflect on their project

To give you some examples of topics undertaken by my students:

- Campaign for compulsory education amongst all Year 7s in their school on basic animal welfare (cats, dogs, rabbits etc).
- Petition for better lighting at local playground.
- Credit-card size cards with students' rights in the event of being stopped and searched
- Writing to MP and other people in authority with influence as part of a campaign for votes at 16
- Persuading school canteen to stock more fair trade products
- Anti-bullying programme that includes a buddying system for Year 7 students

I want to stress, **none** of these were my idea. All of the topics had to be researched to understand why people may not agree with them (e.g. for the fair trade project, an understanding of costs of items such as bananas).

There are a number of benefits to young people:

- Across a range of projects, students become more aware of the civic and political landscape in which they live: local councillors, MPs, how laws are made etc.
- Across a range of projects, students develop skills in civic participation.
- Students develop skills in team work, strategic thinking, working to a timetable and (where applicable) a budget (if given by the school); reflecting on what went well and where they can improve.

These projects have nearly disappeared from the educational landscape. They no longer form part of the Citizenship GCSE and schools are increasingly pressured towards grade-yielding activities. Some youth groups and extraordinary teachers continue this mantle, but the reality is that few young people now will have opportunities within school to participate in such projects.

I absolutely suggest that you consider how such projects might be brought back within compulsory schooling in State schools.

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?

No comment.

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?

No comment.

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?

LGBT rights are particularly at threat. The committee may wish to review submissions (or specifically request evidence from):

Carina Badger – written evidence (CCE0159)

- Stonewall
- Diversity Role Models
- The Proud Trust

on the impact of homophobic, biphobic and transphobic bullying amongst young people.

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?

No comment.

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?

No comment.

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?

No comment directly on this question; but an observation that Citizenship education in schools should not be reliant purely on an ability to write well. The information and learning should be more accessible precisely because the benefit of the subject is for all; not the academically-minded few.

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?

The Proud Trust in Manchester helps to organise citizenship days in which young people can undertake campaign projects, as referenced above.

8 September 2017

Associate Professor Philip Bamber – written evidence (CCE0194)

This short submission is in relation to the following lines of enquiry:

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?

8. What are the values that all of us who live in Britain should share and support?

1 As part of revised guidance for promoting children and young people's spiritual, moral, social and cultural development (SMSC), the 2014 OFSTED inspection framework in England introduced the expectation that schools 'promote the fundamental British values (FBV) of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs' (Ofsted 2014:35). This echoed the professional standards for teachers in England introduced 2 years earlier that requires teachers do not undermine these stated FBV (DfE, 2012).

2 The definition and role ascribed to 'Fundamental British values' first emerged within the 2011 Home Office 'Prevent' anti-terror strategy. 'Prevent' defined 'extremism' (2011. Annex A) as vocal or active opposition to these FBV, illustrating the decisive role of security in driving values education in a post-multicultural space. Locating the FBV requirement in the Prevent Duty and in the Ofsted Inspection framework, encouraged a sense of social crisis by conflating education with national security in ways which many found troubling and divisive. Criticisms included the lack of public debate about the meanings of Britishness and the relation to conceptually unclear values (Richardson and Bolloten 2015; Smith, 2016).

3 The requirement for English schools to promote FBV has provoked concern and criticism from a range of commentators. This has highlighted the perceived lack of clarity about the values themselves and the sense of parochialism invoked by the agenda (Richardson and Bolloten 2015). The mundanity of consensus values that attempt to speak to everyone have been criticised as 'little more than feel-good words devoid of real substance' (Arthur, 2005: 245). Arguably attempts to formulate a common set of values militates against the celebration of diversity inherent in a liberal democratic society.

4 The seductive simplicity of the concise list of the FBV belies the conceptual nuances invoked by these values and the complexity of their diverse manifestations within practice. Conflict between particular values that are potentially irreconcilable is concealed. For instance, the guidance for schools (Department for Education [DfE], 2014) is ambivalent regarding the meaning of toleration. It fails to distinguish between a range of interpretations that include a genuine openness and deliberative engagement with

difference to a grudging or uncritical acceptance of difference. Disputes around the idea of tolerance reverberate in practice. Concerns about both ‘negative toleration’ that simply requires ‘putting up’ with something towards which a negative attitude is held and ‘positive toleration’ that entails naïvely celebrating diversity has led to calls to move beyond tolerance to constructively engage with differences through dialogue for mutual understanding.

5 Our research into teacher understanding of British Values at Liverpool Hope University is ongoing and we would be willing to share further information with the House of Lords Select Committee as required. Despite the problematic nature of teaching ‘British values’ as outlined above, we have also found that the focus on teaching values opens up a more progressive space for developing criticality– for example through opening up pedagogical approaches such as philosophy for children and through nurturing encounters with others / engaging the community through initiatives such as service-learning (Bamber, 2016).

6 The committee should be aware that at the same time UNESCO has set out a vision for education emphasizing holistic aspects of learning that move ‘beyond the development of knowledge and cognitive skills to build values, soft skills and attitudes among learners that can facilitate international cooperation and promote social transformation’ (UNESCO 2014: 9). The subsequent Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) seek to harness international collaboration to better understand how education as a public good can more effectively nurture peace, tolerance, sustainable livelihoods and human fulfilment for all (see for example Bourn et al, 2017). Global Citizenship Education is seen as central to these efforts: an indicator for success in meeting SDG 4 is the extent to which global citizenship education is mainstreamed at all levels in (a) national education policies, (b) curricula, (c) teacher education and (d) student assessment (UNESCO, 2016: 287). In addition, the OECD have are developing a framework for global competency (OECD, 2016) to be used as the basis for international comparisons in the 2018 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). The SDGs and OECD measure of global competency present policy opportunities that we must exploit to help us move beyond narrow understandings of Britishness in order to prepare our young people for life in a modern Britain and global society.

Dr Philip Bamber

Associate Professor, Liverpool Hope University

Associate Director UK Teacher Education for Equity and Sustainability Network (TEESNet)

References

- Arthur, J. (2005) The Re-emergence of Character Education in British Education Policy. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 53(3), pp.239–254.
- Bamber, P. (2016) *Transformative Education through International Service-Learning: Realising an ethical ecology of learning*. London: Routledge.
- Bourn, D., Hunt, F and Bamber, P. (2017) A review of education for sustainable development and global citizenship education in teacher education. A background paper for the 2017 Global Education Monitoring Report. Paris: UNESCO. To be published on-line October 24th 2017.
- DfE (2014) Department of Education Guidance on Promoting British Values in Schools November 2014 <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/guidance-on-promoting-british-values-in-schools-published> - accessed 20.10.16
- Ofsted (2014) School Inspection Handbook: Handbook for Inspecting Schools in England Under Section 5 of the Education Act 2005
- Richardson R and Bolloten (2015) 'Fundamental British Value': Origins, Controversy, Ways Forward – a symposium. *Race Equality Teaching*
- Smith H. (2016) Britishness as Racist Nativism: A Case of the Unnamed "Other". *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 42:3, 298-311
- UNESCO (2014) *Global Citizenship Education: Preparing learners for the challenges of the 21st century*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2016) *Education for people and planet: Creating sustainable futures for all*. Paris: UNESCO. Accessed 4th April 2017 at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002457/245752e.pdf>

Professor Martyn Barrett, Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University of Surrey– written evidence (CCE0037)

Professor Martyn Barrett, Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University of Surrey– written evidence (CCE0037)

This evidence is submitted on an individual basis. It addresses the questions raised in paragraph 5 of the *Call for Evidence*, in particular the first question: “What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship?” It also addresses the aim stated in the third paragraph of the *Call*: “to identify new ways of building bridges within and between communities, and to support civic engagement”.

My response to these questions is based on work that I have been conducting for the Council of Europe since 2013 on a project entitled [“Competences for Democratic Culture”](#) (CDC). The overall goal of this project is to enhance levels of active democratic citizenship, and to encourage greater respect for democratic processes and for cultural diversity, using formal education for this purpose. In order to achieve this goal, the project has developed a comprehensive description of the competences that citizens require for participating in democratic culture and intercultural dialogue, and has prepared detailed guidance for education policymakers and practitioners on how education can be used to equip young people with all of these competences. The project has also produced guidance on how education can be used to equip young people with the competences that are required to identify and deconstruct extremist propaganda and hate speech encountered on the internet and in broadcast and print media. The CDC project forms a core component of the Council of Europe’s Action Plan on [“The fight against violent extremism and radicalisation leading to terrorism”](#), was endorsed by the [Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe](#) in April 2016, and was the main focus of the [25th Session of the Council of Europe Standing Conference of Ministers of Education](#) held in Brussels in April 2016 at which the Education Ministers of the member states issued a [Final Declaration](#) welcoming and endorsing the CDC Framework and calling on the Council of Europe to assist member states in examining and implementing the Framework in their national education systems. The UK was a signatory of the Declaration.

The challenges

The CDC project was set up in the context of the very serious challenges that are currently facing European societies. These include:

- The decline over the past two decades in citizens’ levels of satisfaction with democracy and levels of trust in formal democratic processes, national parliaments and national governments.³⁰

³⁰ Polavieja, J.G. (2013). Economic crisis, political legitimacy and social cohesion, in D. Gallie (Ed.) (2013), *Economic Crisis, Quality of Work and Social Integration: The European Experience*, Oxford: Oxford University

Professor Martyn Barrett, Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University of Surrey– written evidence (CCE0037)

- The increase over the past decade in levels of hate crime, violence, hostility, intolerance, prejudice, harassment and discrimination towards minority ethnic and religious groups.³¹
- The rise in support for extreme right-wing political parties that openly espouse Islamophobic, antisemitic, xenophobic and racist rhetoric.³²
- The ongoing security threat that is posed by radicalisation, violent extremism and terrorism.³³

Can education help to address these challenges?

One way in which citizens' commitment to and engagement with democratic processes and institutions can be enhanced is through the formal education system. There is clear evidence that appropriate educational input and practices can boost democratic engagement.³⁴ There is also clear evidence that educational interventions can be used to counter prejudice and intolerance towards other national, ethnic and religious groups³⁵, and

Press; European Commission (2014), *Europeans in 2014. Special Eurobarometer 415*, Brussels: European Commission.

³¹ FRA – EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (2015), *Fundamental Rights: Challenges and Achievements in 2014*, Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union; FRA – EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (2013), *Antisemitism: Summary Overview of the Data Available in the European Union 2003–2013*, Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union; Ameli, S.R. & Merali, A. (2015), *Environment of Hate: The New Normal for Muslims in the UK*, London: Islamic Human Rights Commission; Pew Research Centre (2014), *Religious Hostilities Reach Six-Year High*, <http://www.pewforum.org/2014/01/14/religious-hostilities-reach-six-year-high/>.

³² Human Rights First (2015). *Far-right Parties in European Elections*. <http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/sites/default/files/March2016Far-rightPartiesintheEuropeanElections.pdf>; Akkerman, T., de Lange, S. & Rooduijn, M. (Eds.) (2016), *Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe*, Abingdon: Routledge.

³³ Europol – European Law Enforcement Agency (2017). *European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2017*. The Hague: European Law Enforcement Agency. <https://www.europol.europa.eu/activities-services/main-reports/eu-terrorism-situation-and-trend-report-te-sat-2017>

³⁴ Torney-Purta, J., Lehmann, R., Oswald, H. & Schulz, W. (2001). *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-Eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen*. Amsterdam: IEA; Schulz, W., Ainley, J., Fraillon, J., Kerr, D. & Losito, B. (2010). *ICCS 2009 International Report: Civic Knowledge, Attitudes, and Engagement among Lower Secondary School Students in 38 Countries*. Amsterdam: IEA.

³⁵ Aboud, F.E. & Levy, S.R. (2000). Interventions to reduce prejudice and discrimination in children and adolescents. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 269-293). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers; Paluck, E.L. & Green, D.P. (2009). Prejudice reduction: What works? A review and assessment of research and practice. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 60, 339-367; Pfeifer, J.H., Spears Brown, C. & Juvonen, J. (2007). Prejudice reduction in schools. *Social Policy Report*, Volume XXI, Number II.

Professor Martyn Barrett, Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University of Surrey– written evidence (CCE0037)

to reduce support for violent extremism, especially when that education is delivered in collaboration with local partners and community organisations.³⁶

Education can therefore be used to address all of the challenges that European societies are currently facing. However, if education is to be used in this way, coordinated action is required at national level. This is because, ultimately, it is national governments that are responsible for determining the frameworks within which the contents of national curricula are determined and for making available the financial, material and human resources that are required by education institutions for delivering those curricula.

The purposes of education

It is often assumed that education has a single over-riding purpose, namely to prepare young people for future employment. However, the Council of Europe has a more comprehensive vision of education, which specifies four major purposes of education:

- Preparation for sustainable employment.
- Personal development.
- Preparation for life as active citizens in democratic societies.
- The development and maintenance of a broad, advanced knowledge base within society.

All four purposes are of equal value and all four are necessary to enable individuals to live independent lives and to take part in all spheres of modern, rapidly changing societies. These four purposes are not in conflict with one another but are complementary. For example, many of the competences people need to be employable – such as analytical and critical thinking skills, communication skills and the ability to work cooperatively as part of a group – also help to make them active citizens in democratic societies, and are also fundamental for their personal development. Likewise, the competences that are required for active citizenship are precisely those that many business leaders and employers seek in employees but report are often lacking in new recruits to the labour market.³⁷ Thus, while the CDC project has focused its attention on the competences that young people need to acquire in order to participate as active and respectful citizens in democratic societies, it

³⁶ Department for Communities and Local Government (2010). *Preventing Support for Violent Extremism through Community Interventions: A Review of the Evidence*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government.

³⁷ OECD (2012), *Better Skills, Better Jobs, Better Lives: A Strategic Approach to Skills Policies*, Paris: OECD Publishing; UNESCO (2012), *Youth and Skills: Putting Education to Work*, Paris: UNESCO Publishing; British Council (2013), *Culture at Work: The Value of Intercultural Skills in the Workplace*, London: British Council; Partnership for 21st Century Learning (nd), <http://www.p21.org/about-us/our-mission>.

Professor Martyn Barrett, Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University of Surrey– written evidence (CCE0037)

should be borne in mind that these are precisely the competences that are sought by many employers and business leaders.

Background assumptions made by the CDC Framework

The CDC Framework that has been developed assumes that democracy requires not only democratic institutions but also a culture of democracy. While democracy clearly cannot exist without democratic institutions, these institutions themselves cannot function unless citizens practise a culture of democracy and hold democratic values and attitudes. Among other things, these include:

- A commitment to public deliberation.
- A willingness to express one's own opinions and to listen to the opinions of others.
- A conviction that differences of opinion and conflicts should be resolved peacefully.
- A commitment to decisions being made by majorities.
- A commitment to the protection of minorities and their rights.
- A commitment to the rule of law.

If citizens do not adhere to these values, attitudes and practices, then democratic institutions will not be able to function.

In addition, in culturally diverse societies, democratic processes and institutions require intercultural dialogue. A fundamental principle of democracy is that the people who are affected by political decisions should be able to express their views when those decisions are being made, and that decision-makers should pay attention to their views. Intercultural dialogue is the most important means through which citizens can express their views to other citizens who have different cultural affiliations from themselves. It is also a vital means through which decision-makers can come to understand the views of all citizens. This means that, in culturally diverse societies, intercultural dialogue is crucial for ensuring that all citizens are equally able to participate in public discussion, deliberation and decision-making. Democracy and intercultural dialogue are complementary in culturally diverse societies, and democracy in such a society can only function properly if it is accompanied by intercultural dialogue.

The CDC Framework has been developed specifically to assist educators to contribute to these two goals of achieving and consolidating a culture of democracy and fostering intercultural dialogue – and hence building bridges between communities – within European societies.

The three components of the CDC Framework

The CDC Framework has three main components:

Professor Martyn Barrett, Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University of Surrey– written evidence (CCE0037)

- A **conceptual model** of the democratic and intercultural competences that young people need to acquire in order to participate effectively in democratic culture and intercultural dialogue.
- **Scaled descriptors** for all of the competences that are contained in the conceptual model.
- **Guidance documents** for ministries of education and education practitioners on how the CDC model and descriptors can be used to inform curriculum development, pedagogical planning, assessment, and teacher education. A fifth document has been produced on how a whole-school approach may be used to implement the Framework. A sixth document explains how the Framework can be used to combat radicalisation leading to violent extremism and terrorism.

These three components are explained further below.

The first component of the CDC Framework: the conceptual model

The CDC Framework contains a conceptual model of the competences that people require to participate effectively in democratic culture and intercultural dialogue. These are the competences that education needs to promote in young people so that they are properly equipped for their future lives as democratic citizens in culturally diverse societies.

The competence model was developed through the following process:

- An audit of existing conceptual schemes of democratic competence and intercultural competence that are available in previous research and policy documents – in total, 101 such schemes were audited.
- An analysis of the 101 schemes to identify the constituent competences which they contained.
- The use of a set of principled criteria to identify the core competences contained across the 101 schemes.
- The production of a first draft of the CDC competence model.
- An international consultation with academic experts, education practitioners and policymakers, including experts nominated by the Education Ministries of the member states – the model received very strong endorsement in the consultation.
- The fine-tuning and the finalisation of the model, taking into account the feedback received in the consultation.

The conceptual model contains 20 competences in total. These are the competences that young people need to acquire if they are to function as effective democratic citizens in culturally diverse societies. The 20 competences fall into four broad categories: values,

Professor Martyn Barrett, Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University of Surrey– written evidence (CCE0037)

attitudes, skills, and knowledge and critical understanding. A diagrammatic summary of the model is shown in Figure 1. The text that describes the model explains each of these 20 competences and their various facets in detail.³⁸

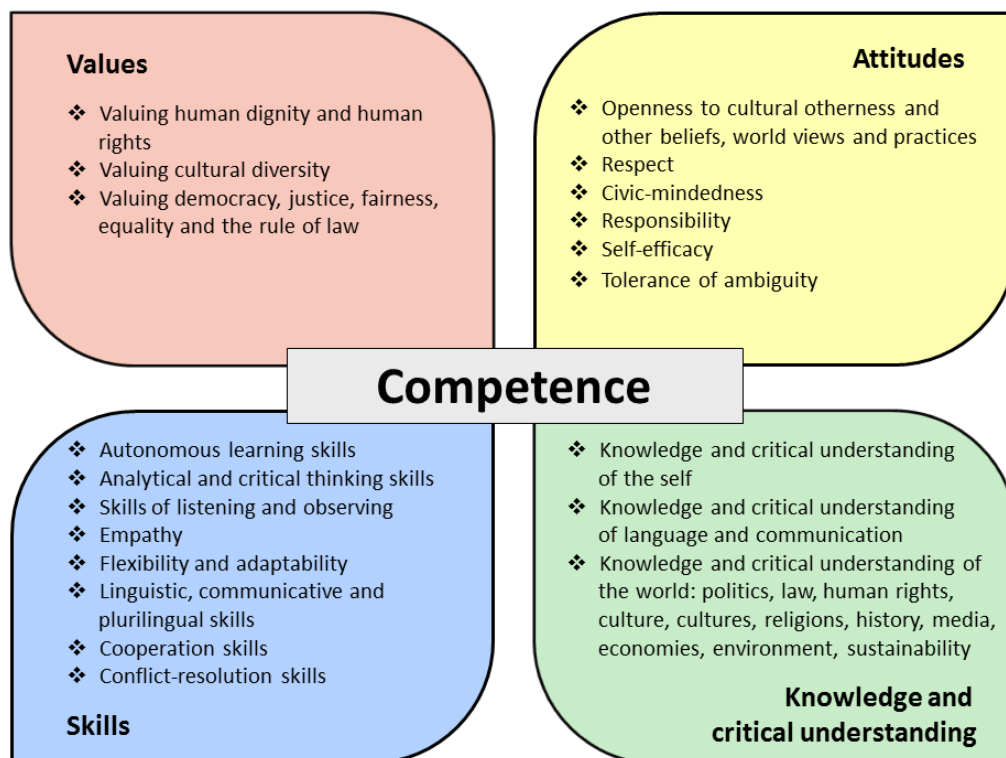


Figure 1: The competences contained in the CDC conceptual model

Importantly, some of these competences, such as cooperation skills, may be promoted already during pre-school education, whereas others, such as critical understanding of politics, law and human rights, are more suitable for targeting during secondary and/or higher education. For this reason, the CDC Framework has relevance to all levels of education, including pre-school, primary, secondary and higher education.

The second component of the CDC Framework: the descriptors

The Framework also contains descriptors for all 20 competences. Descriptors are statements or descriptions of what a person is able to do if they have mastered a particular competence. They therefore provide an operationalisation of the competences in terms of concrete behaviours. The descriptors have been formulated using the language of learning

³⁸ Council of Europe (2016), *Competences for Democratic Culture: Living Together as Equals in Culturally Diverse Democratic Societies*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, <https://rm.coe.int/16806ccc07>

Professor Martyn Barrett, Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University of Surrey– written evidence (CCE0037)

outcomes, so that they can be used directly in curriculum development, pedagogical planning and assessment.

The process of developing the descriptors involved the following stages:

- An audit of existing psychometric scales, research documents and policy documents – 98 source documents were audited.
- Scale items and statements found in these documents were extracted and rephrased to construct short statements that could potentially serve as descriptors – in total, 2,085 descriptors were written.
- These descriptors were evaluated using a series of rating tasks, validation tasks and scaling tasks that involved 3,094 teachers across Europe.
- The data collected from the teachers were used to identify a set of 447 validated and highly rated descriptors, and a smaller set of 133 key descriptors that were judged to be especially useful for indexing the achievement of the 20 competences contained in the model.
- The data were also used to scale the descriptors to different levels of proficiency – this means that the descriptors can be used to index whether a person has a basic, an intermediate or an advanced level of proficiency in any given competence.

An illustrative example of the key descriptors for one specific competence is given in Box 1 below.

Box 1: The scaled key descriptors for skills of listening and observing

- *Basic level of proficiency*
 - Listens attentively to other people
 - Listens carefully to differing opinions
- *Intermediate level of proficiency*
 - Can listen effectively in order to decipher another person’s meanings and intentions
 - Watches speakers’ gestures and general body language to help himself/herself to figure out the meaning of what they are saying
- *Advanced level of proficiency*
 - Pays attention to what other people imply but do not say

- Notices how people with other cultural affiliations react in different ways to the same situation

The third component of the CDC Framework: the guidance documents

The Framework also contains guidance documents that explain how the competence model and the descriptors can be used in formal education. There are six guidance documents in total. These explain in detail:

- How the CDC Framework can be used for the purposes of curriculum review and development.
- The pedagogical methods that are most appropriate for the teaching and learning of the 20 competences.
- How the Framework can be used for assessing pupils and students.
- How to apply the Framework using a whole-school approach in order to promote the development of the 20 competences.
- How teacher education and training may be adapted to support the use of the Framework in national education systems.
- How the Framework can be used to build and enhance young people’s resilience to radicalising influences and violent extremist propaganda, and to boost their commitment to democratic processes and respect for fellow citizens.

The formal launch and implementation of the CDC Framework

The six guidance documents and the validated descriptors are currently in press. They will be formally launched to the Education Ministries of the member states of the Council of Europe at the end of October 2017, at a meeting of the Prague Forum (a conference hosted by the Czech Ministry of Education).

The Education Ministries of the member states have been kept informed about the CDC project at all stages of its development, through the biannual meetings of the Council of Europe’s Steering Committee for Educational Policy and Practice (which consists of policymakers from the Education Ministries of all 47 member states). The Education Ministries have also been inputting ideas to the project throughout its development at these meetings. The Steering Committee has expressed very strong support for the CDC project since its inception in 2013.

Formally, the Framework is being offered to member states as a non-binding reference framework. This means that the member states can refer to it and use it in whatever ways they judge to be the most appropriate for their own education systems. The guidance

Professor Martyn Barrett, Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University of Surrey– written evidence (CCE0037)

documents outline various options for implementation and explain the issues that should be borne in mind when considering these options, but it is end-users who are required to make the decisions about which options are most suitable for use within their own countries. The Framework is intended to be supportive rather than either normative or prescriptive – it provides a set of resources that may be drawn upon and adapted by member states, as they see fit.

Ahead of the formal launch and the publication of the Framework, the Council of Europe – together with its education resource partner the European Wergeland Centre – has already delivered training in the Framework to education practitioners in 18 countries (Andorra, Armenia, Belarus, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Luxembourg, Montenegro, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Spain and Ukraine) and two countries have already committed to implementing the framework in whole (Andorra) and in part (Ukraine). Additional member states are expected to commit to implementing the Framework in whole or in part after the formal launch has taken place in October.

Conclusion

The CDC Framework offers a systematic approach to planning the teaching, learning and assessment of competences for democratic culture and intercultural dialogue, and to introducing these competences into national education systems in ways that are coherent, comprehensive and transparent. The Framework provides an approach that can be used to equip young people with all of the competences that are needed to function as engaged and active democratic citizens, live peacefully and respectfully together with others in culturally diverse societies, and be resilient to propaganda that aims to radicalise them into violent extremism or terrorism.

23 August 2017

Dr Koen Bartels – written evidence (CCE0197)

1. I would like to respond to your call for evidence on how to think about citizenship and civic engagement in a more vibrant, positive and integrated manner. I will especially focus on question 7 about support for civic engagement and civil society initiatives and the responsibilities of different actors involved. However, I will do so in the context of several other questions which were raised about the contemporary meaning of citizenship and civic engagement, their relation to social cohesion and integration as well as people's identity as citizens, and people feeling "left behind".

2. We seem to face something of a paradox with regards citizenship and civic engagement. On the one hand we live in an era of an unprecedented and increasing level of interconnection and interdependence. Yet at the same time that does not mean that the quality of those relationships is necessarily any higher. In fact, the state of our social and political relationships seems to suggest a strong sense of disconnection—from ourselves, others and the environment. Our dominant materialist worldview has left us socially estranged and vulnerable to separatist manipulation. It has left large segments of the population feeling isolated, left behind, excluded by 'the elite', and threatened by immigrants and globalization more generally³⁹. It also fuels unprecedented levels of poor mental health which incapacitated support services are unable to address⁴⁰.

3. What we do in these circumstances is seek to secure our own survival and our concept of who we need to take care of, who is 'us', becomes narrower and narrower. We feel a collective sense of helplessness to change the situation we are in and look to strong charismatic leaders to lead us out of here. We look to people who we believe to have more knowledge, power or resources than us to create solutions. Instead, we need to collectively find ways in which to re-connect to ourselves, others and our environment, to abandon old forms of identity and connection in order to forge new ones. In other words, the starting point for new and better forms of citizenship and civic engagement should be where people are⁴¹.

4. The way this works is as challenging as it is simple. The key is to create enabling environments in which people can connect to themselves, others, and their environment. Evidence from research I have co-produced with Tree House Liverpool CIC, an exceptionally innovative community organisation, demonstrates that creating such safe and appreciative spaces enables people to embark on a journey of personal growth, develop better

³⁹ Goodwin, Matthew & Heath, Oliver (2016). Brexit vote explained: poverty, low skills and lack of opportunities. Joseph Rowntree Foundation, <https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/brexit-vote-explained-poverty-low-skills-and-lack-opportunities>, 31-08-2016, accessed 09-05-2017.

⁴⁰ Monbiot, George (2016). Neoliberalism is creating loneliness. That's what's wrenching society apart. The Guardian, 12-10-2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/12/neoliberalism-creating-loneliness-wrenching-society-apart>

⁴¹ Monbiot, George (2017). This is how people can truly take back control: from the bottom up. The Guardian, 8-2-2017 https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/feb/08/take-back-control-bottom-up-communities?CMP=share_btn_link

relationships with those around them, and take up greater responsibility for their shared spaces and society in general⁴². In the case of Tree House, this is done by organising activities in shared spaces, i.e. the local park and adjacent area, including, yet not limited to, gardening, yoga, child-led play, tree planting, litter picking, philosophy discussions, street art, dog walking and film screenings. Yet, and this is crucial, it is not the organisation of the activities per se that is key, but the spirit in which this is done. There are tons of examples of nice community initiatives that bring people together and make a local area look better⁴³. What is distinctive of what I am suggesting is that the activities (and the organising of these) cultivate a psychologically safe and appreciative space. This enables people to be themselves (rather than hiding behind a facade), interact with others with unconditional positive regard (rather than for their own self-interest and personal gain), and understand others' point of view (rather than subsuming these under their own).

5. There is no single one-size-fits-all way in which this can be done. I cannot offer suggestions as to structures, or activities or purposes, because these all depend on the context and situation people are in and what they experience and feel in their interactions with others. Therefore, once more, this is where the starting point should be. But what is vital is that whatever shape or form an initiative takes, it should be guided by a profound ethical commitment to the quality of relationships of all those involved as well as shared abilities and willingness to be vulnerable, flexible and learn.

6. The fundamental challenge is that this does not tend to happen. It is not what people in general and governments in particular are used to. The United Kingdom has an especially poor track record when it comes to citizen engagement, as its admirable aspirations for participation, collaboration, inclusion, and empowerment have tended to end up in pathologising, patronising, controlling, manipulative practices that have had an adverse effect on socio-economic inequalities and structurally damaged people's trust in government⁴⁴. And the main barrier to enabling and sustaining community organisations continues to be government.⁴⁵ In addition, public services tend to operate through a punitive, rationalistic system which takes little to no account of the diversity of human experience and reduces the complexity of service delivery to a question of how many, how often, how long and for how much. 'Professionals' are exhorted to 'see' people through a deficit model to 'fix' them, treating them as 'things' easily characterised and categorized into groups to do things to using one or two distinguishing criteria.

⁴² Ashworth, C. & Bartels, K.P.R. Connecting: a relational approach to re-rooting communities, public services and politics. Forthcoming in M. Stout (Ed.) *The Future of Progressivism: Applying Follettian Thinking to Contemporary Issues*. Claremont, CA: Century Process Press.

⁴³ Richardson, Liz (2008). *DIY Community action. Neighbourhood problems and community self-help*. Bristol: The Policy Press. McCabe, Angus & Phillimore, Jenny (2017) *Community groups in context. Local activities and actions*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

⁴⁴ Imrie, R. & Raco, M. (Eds.). (2003). *Urban renaissance? New Labour, community, and urban policy*, Bristol, The Policy Press. Rowe, Mike & Ashworth, Christina (2010). 'Let a hundred flowers bloom': Enhancing innovative practice in regeneration management. *Journal of Urban Regeneration and Renewal*, 4(1), 90-99.

⁴⁵ Richardson (2008); McCabe & Phillimore (2017)

7. So what I recommend government to do is not only a genuine commitment to double decentralisation but an actual empowerment of to local authorities and communities in terms of budgets, policy, and support. In contrast to the apocalyptic damage done by austerity reforms and an the continuation of centralised power, public services and communities alike should be properly supported and resourced to become psychologically safe and appreciative environments. Community initiatives should not be treated as quick and easy savings measures but should be valued (morally and financially) for their contribution to sustaining community engagement and citizenship. Public services should not solely focus on providing services and solving problems for people but, more fundamentally, on creating conditions in which we can all create spaces for feeling good, growing ourselves, and reviving our sense of connection and community. This means they should first and foremost be concerned with the quality of relationships⁴⁶: not assuming about or imposing on citizens but helping them to recognise their inner capacities to take charge of their lives and discover their own paths towards greater well-being. It requires those who claim expertise to at the very least to have humility, to accept the failures of the past, and to allow for the possibility that communities and client groups they think of as lesser and needy have more things to teach the world about how to live and work and be than they may imagine.

8. I hope the Select Committee will find these brief recommendations helpful. Please contact me if you would like any further information.

⁴⁶ Cooke, G. & Muir, R. (Eds.) (2012) *The relational state*, London, Institute for Public Policy Research. Muir, R. & Parker, I. (2014) *Many to many. How the relational state will transform public services*, London, Institute for Public Policy Research. Bartels, Koen P.R. (2017b). *Encounters with an Open Mind: Relational Neighborhood Working in Amsterdam*. In: M. Stout (ed.) *From Austerity to Abundance? Creative Approaches to Coordinating the Common Good*. Bingley: Emerald. (forthcoming)

Dr David Bartram – written evidence (CCE0262)

The UK Citizenship Process: Political Integration or Marginalization?

Executive summary:

The UK ‘citizenship process’ subjects immigrants to a set of requirements ostensibly intended to enhance their identification with ‘British values’.

Policy-makers suggest the policy will facilitate immigrants’ integration: as they learn about ‘life in the UK’, they will become better able to understand and navigate core institutions. Many external observers, by contrast, believe that the requirements exacerbate marginalization, constructing immigrants as objects of presumptive suspicion and concern. To gauge integration in a political sense, I use data from ‘Understanding Society’ and investigate interest in politics among noncitizens at Wave 1, comparing those who became citizens by Wave 6 to those who remained non-citizens. Those who became citizens subsequently reported lower interest in politics, relative to those who remained non-citizens. This finding reinforces the concerns of critics: the UK citizenship policy appears to do more to alienate new citizens than it does to facilitate their integration in the political sphere.

Note: the full paper, including the tables that underpin the empirical results, is available at:

davidvbartram.wordpress.com/academic-writing/

The paper emerges from a research project funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ES/K010174/1): “The UK Citizenship Process: Exploring Immigrants’ Experiences”, with Leah Bassel, Barbara Misztal, & Pierre Monforte.

Introduction

Data and analytical strategy

Results and discussion

References

Basira – written evidence (CCE0261)

From the position of being British-Arab, we believe that citizenship education is central to enable understanding of the British value system and encourage integration.

A small booklet in the Arabic language of the British Values upon arrival will enlighten new immigrants of their rights and responsibilities towards the society at large. Combined with an obligatory course to learn English language will help/encourage them to communicate and integrate.

We need to draw the committee's attention that their identity is strongly based and influenced by religion, as it is seen or felt to be superior to their position as British citizens. And that there is a very close weaved relationship between religion and culture. With due respect to religious rights and freedoms, it is believed there needs to be more open public discussions about the common values of justice, equality and freedom; and, in particular, the rights of girls and women which may be hindered by the application of separate religious system.

In the case of newly arriving Arab- Muslim immigrants, who are coming from oppressive and authoritarian regimes, they did not have the experience of democratic and secular systems. Religious leaders should be encouraged to promote positive sections in the Quranic texts that clearly legitimize that Muslims are obliged to live by the laws of their new country. Religious leaders should be responsible for an honest explanation about values of justice and equality to be promoted based on the Quranic text too. And emphasize that it is not in contradiction of the belief.

We believe also that there is a fundamental relationship between 'values' and 'laws'; and, that one of the biggest obstacles to integration is the emergence of religious institutions, in particular Sharia Councils, where so-called Islamic laws are being passed and applied, which negate secular rights and freedoms, and in clear contradiction with British laws and human rights, especially for women. This 'Islamising' of the community is a big worry and a potential danger for the community's future engagement with the rest of society.

Citizenship education is important for all schools, Faith schools should not be exempted under any justification.

Faith leaders should take the responsibility to make a common programme to be preached in religious places aiming at humane the devil in our hearts that insist on difference and superiority.

Dr Leah Bassel – written evidence (CCE0145)

I am writing to share with you the executive summary of the report from our Economic and Social Research Council-funded project which explored migrants' experiences of becoming British citizens (Research team and co-authors: Pierre Monforte, David Bartram, Kamran Khan and Barbara Misztal) at the University of Leicester.

The executive summary and full report can be accessed at:

<http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/sociology/research/uk-citizenship-process/final-report>

With this submission we respond to point 11 of the call:

Dr Leah Bassel – written evidence (CCE0145)

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?

We have sent the report to you in its current form, in the first instance, in the interest of meeting the deadline. I look forward to hearing from you and can certainly provide further information, in other formats.

8 September 2017

Janet Batsleer – written evidence (CCE0096)

Since May 2015 I have been engaged in a cross- European research study concerning Young People's citizenship and engagement and I am very happy to present to the Committee a short account of the initial findings of that study (www.partispace.eu). We are currently preparing comparative papers on themes of 'space', 'styles' and the pedagogical framing of young people's civic participation as well as on the specific role of Youth Councils.

In terms of 'civic 'participation' in our study there is clear evidence of a cleavage between the political domain and the socio-cultural domain, whilst the forms of social division with which the Committee will be familiar have a clear impact on issues of identity and belonging, and there are many examples of this throughout the report.

Funding and support for Youth Services and for community engagement projects has been greatly curtailed in recent years, whilst at the same time being restructured through schemes such as the National Citizen Service. Whilst other scholars who have conducted evaluations of and more critical financial assessments of the National Citizen Service than I have are better placed to comment, the loss of continuing ongoing spaces in neighbourhoods which can foster association and belonging cannot be compensated for by what is essentially a three week long summer scheme. I would be happy also to provide further information to the Committee on this issue.

I would also advise the Committee to consider the ways in which the failure to prioritise connection and mutuality lends itself to a deepening crisis, felt in many schools and across all communities, in young people's mental health. This is evident in the research we are currently conducting at MMU into the experience and response to loneliness among young people, which we are undertaking for the Co-op Foundation. Again, others will have fuller evidence on this, but I would be happy to assist the committee with suggestions of who to talk with and where to look for this evidence.

In other words, it will by no means be sufficient for the Committee to consider narrowly political accounts of the problems of democracy in relation to the non-participation of marginalised groups, and I would certainly suggest that some of the forms of socio-cultural participation to which the Partispace study points (especially in sport and in the arts in many forms) are very much worth including in the framing of the discussion, as are the forms of self-help and mutual aid being developed of necessity in many of the poorest neighbourhoods as a result of austerity policies.

7 September 2017

BBC – written evidence (CCE0184)

Introduction

- 1.1 The BBC welcomes this opportunity to feed into the Lords Citizenship and Civic Engagement Committee’s inquiry. As a public service broadcaster, the BBC is guided by public purposes, including:

To provide impartial news and information to help people understand and engage with the world around them

To reflect, represent and serve the diverse communities of all of the United Kingdom’s nations and regions and, in doing so, support the creative economy across the United Kingdom

- 1.2 This submission seeks to be of relevance to the Inquiry by providing some recent examples of the BBC’s work in the context of these public purposes. These examples span TV, radio, online and the BBC as an organisation. Given the recent elections, we highlight specific examples from our election coverage.

Radio 1 Big Weekend

- 2.1 BBC Radio 1’s Big Weekend showcases a range of the biggest and newest musical talent from the UK as well as further afield to young UK audiences - bringing them together for a shared live music moment.
- 2.2 Radio 1’s Big Weekend travels to areas that wouldn’t usually host large scale music events of this kind. As well as shining a spotlight on the host city, in the lead-up and via the event’s coverage, Radio 1’s Big Weekend provides a major boost to the local economy.
- 2.3 To coincide with the UK City of Culture celebrations for 2017, this year the event was held in Hull, where over 50,000 music fans were able to enjoy performances from a diverse range of artists including Katy Perry, Kings of Leon, Stormzy, Rita Ora and Royal Blood - with 95 percent of the tickets going to people from the local area.

Radio 1 Academy

- 3.1 In the lead-up to Big Weekend, Radio 1 and BBC Learning produced Radio 1’s Academy - a programme of exciting outreach activity which aimed to inspire 16-19 year-olds in Hull to take the next step in creative careers.

- 3.2 Radio 1's Academy included a series of special events, local engagement and face-to-face activity in the area, beginning in February and culminating in May with a packed week of radio shows, gigs, masterclasses and Q&As featuring a host of stars from the world of music and entertainment.
- 3.3 During the five-day residency in Hull, influential figures from across the creative industries delivered exclusive hands on workshops, live music performances and industry insight, providing 16-19 year olds with the tools, contacts and information they need to take the next step in their creative careers.

Radio 1 Campaigns

- 4.1 In 2016, Radio 1 and 1Xtra's #1Million Hours campaign aimed to motivate our young listeners (age 16-24) to pledge 1 million hours of time to good causes over 12 months.
- 4.2 Throughout 2016 both networks shone a spotlight on all aspects of volunteering in a bid to highlight the benefits for young people, as well as the wider community. We worked with four featured charities, Age UK, Barnado's, Cancer Research UK and Oxfam, and pointed people to a range of volunteering opportunities, as well as inspiring people to seek out their own placements.
- 4.3 Our Editorial output included iplayer and audio documentaries and a series of special Radio 1 Surgeries. Radio 1 & 1Xtra DJs also spent time volunteering and reflected on their experiences on air across both networks. In December 2016 we comfortably reached our target of #1Million Hours pledged.
- 4.4 In 2017 Radio 1, 1Xtra and Asian Network launched 'My Mind & Me' - a year-long campaign to encourage young people to explore issues surrounding their Mental Health - aiming to get young people talking about Mental Health, to reduce the stigma around mental illness, and to raise awareness and understanding of mental health issues that affect young people.
- 4.5 We partnered with the National Citizen Service to create a group of Social Action 'Champions'. This group of young people from across the UK have been working with the stations to help shape the campaign throughout the year, offering their unique insights, stories and experiences and leading discussions on the key issues around mental health.
- 4.6 Throughout 2017 on Radio 1, 1Xtra and Asian Network, 'My Mind & Me' has offered a platform for listeners to discuss their own experiences, and will give peer to peer guidance and support covering all areas of mental well-being: from dealing with stress and pressure around exams; self-esteem; confidence and body image; and anxiety and depression.

Newsbeat

- 5.1 Newsbeat covers news, music, sport and entertainment news that is relevant to the lives of young adults. The focus is on original journalism, giving the audience a voice as well as explaining complex issues on radio, online, through social media, and by short-form visual documentaries. We look at a broad range of subjects from mental health and body image to ticket touts and gaming.
- 5.2 We've made sure our short and informative bulletins, social media videos and articles are where many of our audience are, particularly online including platforms such as Youtube, Facebook, Instagram and Snapchat. This provides listeners the opportunity to provide feedback, ideas and stories and to take part in debate.
- 5.3 Whilst we know many people listen to our Newsbeat bulletins – 7.8 million hear a bulletin or 15-minute programme every week – we have also been doing more short (30-90 second) explainer videos on a variety of topics, ranging from the election to the floods in Bangladesh, which gain millions of views and thousands of shares.
- 5.4 Newsbeat also provides a gateway to young voices and issues for the rest of BBC News. Newsbeat often serves the wider BBC audience with Newsbeat reporters and stories appearing on other outlets including the News at Six, News Channel, Today programme, BBC Radio 5live and more.
- 5.5 During the election, Newsbeat provided younger audiences with clear and jargon free coverage on the issues they want to hear about including explainer videos, infographics or debates, such as a widely shared video on social media on what the EU is.
- 5.6 The Wembley Arena debate during last year's EU Referendum was watched by nearly 700,000 young people. During the 2015 election, three quarters of the Newsbeat debate audience said it helped them understand the issues better.

Newsround

- 6.1 Newsround is the only dedicated television news service in the UK which engages directly with children, via its live bulletins which transmit every day of the week, both mornings and afternoons.
- 6.2 Newsround does not shy away from tackling the most serious of stories. It does, however, carefully curate them so that children can make sense of what is going on in the world and process it accordingly - especially as they will come across these stories in other media or in the playground anyway, but often not in a form which is suitable for them.

- 6.3 A recent example is the reporting of the Manchester bomb attacks, which emphasised the rarity of such events in society and gave the audience onward advice of who they could talk to if they were worried⁴⁷.
- 6.4 Newsround have also produced pieces that help children to understand and identify fake news, in order to help the audience maintain a balanced worldview and avoid information bubbles.
- 6.5 These television items are also augmented by a very wide range of content available on the Newsround website. This sector of the BBC Children's website is one of the biggest drivers of audience traffic, indicating the appetite in kids for topical engagement.
- 6.6 A project is currently underway to look at what other digital activities might be created for the audience who enjoy Newsround online, as children always move quickly in their uptake of new media forms.

BBC Election coverage

- 7.1 More than half of audiences considered the BBC best for election coverage. Throughout the 2017 General Election the BBC gave audiences across the UK opportunities to see politicians debate important issues, and to participate in the debates themselves. Our debates were watched by millions. We know that they were seen by audiences who don't traditionally tune in to mainstream news programmes.
- 7.2 In 2017, Mishal Husain hosted *The BBC Election Debate* live from Cambridge with senior Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat, SNP, Plaid Cymru, Green Party, and UKIP spokespeople, taking questions from the live studio audience. David Dimbleby also hosted a *Question Time Leader Special* with Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn live on BBC One from York.
- 7.3 *Question Time* devoted a programme to the election in Northern Ireland, while BBC One in Wales broadcast *Election Questions* to Leanne Wood from Swansea, later broadcast in England. BBC One broadcast an *Election Leaders Special* with Nicola Sturgeon, hosted by Nick Robinson, from Edinburgh. *Election Questions* to Paul Nuttall came from Bristol and was also shown in England and in Wales.
- 7.4 The final BBC debate before the election was a *Newsbeat Youth Debate*, hosted by Tina Daheley. The debate was held in Manchester with an audience of 18-34 year olds, featuring leading Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat, SNP, Plaid, Green and UKIP politicians.

⁴⁷ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/13865002>

- 7.5 Throughout the Nations there were Leaders’ debates, debates on specific issues, and phone-ins. Sarah Smith chaired the Scottish *Leaders’ Debate* with a panel of five Scottish party leaders, in front of a live audience. Huw Edwards chaired the *Leader’s Debate* in Wales, while Noel Thompson hosted a debate on BBC One Northern Ireland. In the English regions, we hosted 12 debates with studio audiences, shown on BBC One in each region.
- 7.6 Across England, BBC Local Radio stations hosted around 80 election debates, many in front of live audiences, allowing people to talk directly to the candidates. They featured on digital platforms and social media. The debates took place in the heart of communities across England, at locations including: Coventry Transport Museum, Abingdon County Hall Museum, and Chequer Mead Theatre, East Grinstead.
- 7.7 Our flagship news programmes visited various parts of the UK. *Victoria Derbyshire* held a debate in Dunstable with a local audience and politicians, and hustings style live debates from towns across the country. The Today Programme had *Nick Robinson’s Election Takeaways*, where he sat down for food with groups of voters to examine how different parts of the electorate were making up their minds ahead of voting. BBC Asian Network hosted a *Big Election Debate* live from Birmingham. Nihal Arthanayake was joined by a panel of politicians and an audience of largely young British Asians who led the questioning in the 90-minute long programme.
- 7.8 Many people came to BBC News online for balanced and accurate reporting - 9th June was a record day for UK browsers coming to BBC News Online, exceeding the previous high recorded the day of the EU referendum result.
- 7.9 BBC News’ Reality Check⁴⁸ also helped audiences decipher the facts used throughout the campaign.

BBC Online

- 8.1 In the 2017 General Election campaign we coined the hashtag #getsmypvote to create a daily series of videos and interviews asking individuals or linked groups of people – beauticians, Turkish barbers, bodybuilders or chefs - what would ‘get their vote’ on an issue that’s in the news. This was a local idea that gained traction across the BBC with great promotion to national audiences.
- 8.2 We also created a project called Unreported. The aim of Unreported was to discover ‘unreported stories and voices’ and build new relationships. Over four months we

⁴⁸ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/topics/267ada11-b730-4344-b404-63067c032c65/reality-check>

worked with a group of women, all aged under 35 and from diverse communities in Birmingham and the Black Country, to discover new stories and deliver them on the BBC. Through workshops we learned about what interested them, where they got their news and what they thought of our coverage. We then worked with them to develop not only story ideas but how to craft the storytelling to ensure we didn't lose their voices. That involved training and taking them out on stories.

- 8.3 Unreported was widely shared across the BBC and on social platforms, particularly with women aged 25-34, receiving hugely positive reactions. It has been a rewarding project to have been part of and it has legacy. We are still working with the women on stories and one has now secured a place on the BBC's Production Trainee scheme.
- 8.4 The next group Unreported is working with is young men in the North East.. They include keen gamers, young men who live with mental health issues and former addicts. One of the themes which has emerged so far is that some of the group don't access any news at all, including on the BBC. Our first workshop is planned for mid-September. We always envisaged that the format could be syndicated – not only in the UK but around the world.

Social media

- 9.1 During the 2017 UK general election BBC News used a range of social media platforms to reach and engage younger and harder to reach audiences across the UK.
- 9.2 On Facebook we re-positioned our BBC Politics Facebook⁴⁹ page towards the election and featured a range of stories in video and text to help audiences better understand party positions and what was at stake for voters. These included *the Week in Cartoons*⁵⁰ (originally broadcast as a Facebook Live), a short Facebook 'show'⁵¹ and regular editions Of an audio *Electioncast*⁵² programme.
- 9.3 We also carried key moments from the campaign on our BBC News⁵³ and BBC Stories⁵⁴ Facebook pages, spent a lot of time encouraging audiences to engage directly with our reporters and correspondents via Facebook Live at campaign events. We went behind the scenes on debate nights and devoted time and resources to help our audiences 'make sense' of the campaign⁵⁵ and the result⁵⁶.

⁴⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/BBCPolitics/>

⁵⁰ <https://www.facebook.com/BBCPolitics/videos/10154646481797217/>

⁵¹ <https://www.facebook.com/BBCPolitics/videos/1787577774592406/>

⁵² <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p054mvpn>

⁵³ <https://www.facebook.com/BBCNews>

⁵⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/BBCStories>

⁵⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/BBCStories/videos/10155113359960659/>

⁵⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/bbcnews/videos/10154755186442217/>

- 9.4 We launched a BBC politics Facebook messenger bot⁵⁷ to coincide with the Government's triggering of Article 50 at the end of March. When the Prime Minister decided to call a snap election in April we pivoted this bot towards the election for the campaign and used it to encourage audiences to explore our online manifesto guides⁵⁸, see the latest BBC Reality Check analysis on the campaign and to receive (if they wished) an alert to their constituency result. Several thousand people subscribed to this service through the election campaign.
- 9.5 On Twitter, alongside our regular publication of tweets around key campaign moments, announcements, results and analysis we decided to live-stream a number of our BBC election debate programmes (including the Question Time leader specials and Newsbeat debate) and the TV election night special itself. This allowed audiences on the platform to watch the programmes on their mobile devices alongside a curated stream of BBC and other tweets using agreed #BBCDebate or #BBCElection hashtags. Our analysis of this has service has shown us that we reached a predominantly younger (under 35) demographic and that peaks of viewing coincided with the same peaks for TV consumption.
- 9.6 Finally, we also decided to use our successful BBC News Instagram Channel to reach younger audiences through the campaign – and on election night specifically, with a 'live Instagram story' as events of the night unfolded. Live stories last for 24 hours and appear at the top of Instagram feeds for subscribers to that channel. They also allow publishers to link to relevant content and so provided another opportunity for us to encourage audiences back into the BBC News website to explore more of our content on the election.

Diversity at the BBC

- 10.1 Diversity is vital to a modern BBC and is written into our Charter. We're there for everyone - so we need to reflect and represent the whole of the UK. We aim to be the industry leader, ensuring that every licence fee payer can hear or see something of their world in the BBC. Attracting and developing great talent - whatever their background - both on and off air, is a priority.
- 10.2 In 2016 we launched an ambitious strategy to hardwire diversity into everything the BBC does. In March 2017, we unveiled the results of our recent and most comprehensive staff census that shows the BBC has met its 2017 targets - and is well on the way to hitting our 2020 goals.

⁵⁷ <https://www.messenger.com/t/BBCPolitics>

⁵⁸ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-2017-39955886>

Workforce	31 March 2017	2017 target	2020 target
Women (all staff)	48.2%	n/a	50%
Women (leadership)	42.1%	n/a	50%
Disability (all staff)	10.2%	5.3%	8%
Disability (leadership)	9.6%	5%	8%
BAME (all staff)	14.5%	14.2%	15%
BAME (leadership)	10.3%	10%	15%
LGBT (all staff)	10.5%	n/a	8%
LGBT (leadership)	11.5%	n/a	8%

10.3 While we welcome the progress made so far, we recognise that there is still further to go if we are to meet all of the ambitious targets we have set for 2020. Some of the schemes established as part of our diversity and inclusion strategy have delivered clear results, including:

10.4 *Creative Access scheme*: Over 30 interns from Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic backgrounds joined us through our Creative Access scheme, with more than three quarters becoming members of BBC staff. Five of the six individuals who joined our first Clore Leadership programme are in roles at the BBC, with one becoming our executive editor for BBC Africa. This year we have expanded the programme to include candidates with a disability.

10.5 *We have programmes across the Corporation*: For example, the BBC News Leadership programme - more than half on it are women - and a £1m scheme for journalists with disabilities launched earlier this year.

10.6 *On air we've also made big strides in reflecting the full diversity of the UK*: Our Assistant Commissioner development programme has been successful, creating content that is as diverse and brilliant as BBC audiences expect - including *The Black And British* season and programmes from *Muslims Like Us*, *World Hip Hop News* to the *Instant Gardener*. Programmes like *Will Britain Ever Have A Black Prime Minister?* on BBC Two have looked in depth at the experiences of black people in Britain today, and *Call The Midwife* has recently challenging stories about disability and ethnicity at the front and centre of Sunday night viewing.

10.7 *BBC Three continues to give a platform to emerging and diverse talent*: Such as the *Five By Five* series of shorts and *The Break*, which showcases five up-and-coming writers from black, Asian and minority ethnic backgrounds.

10.8 *The BBC has also made progress in improving social mobility*: For example, the growth in apprenticeships from 37 in 2012 to 230 this year, with an aim to have more than 400 by 2018.

BBC Academy

- 11.1 The BBC is committed to seeking out the brightest graduate and non-graduate talent, from the broadest range of backgrounds. Historically, the industry's over-reliance on Russell Group graduate recruitment has been a barrier to entry for many, especially those from less advantaged backgrounds. This was exacerbated by 'who you know' recruitment and young people willing to work for very little money to get a foot-hold on the career ladder.
- 11.2 To redress this imbalance, the BBC is committed to offering high quality, industry-designed apprenticeships and pre-employment opportunities, alongside our long established graduate level trainee programmes. This ensures that everyone with the raw potential to succeed is given a fair chance to apply for opportunities, opening our doors to all the talents our country has to offer. Examples of how we do this and recent successes include:
- 11.3 *Long established graduate level programmes:* Our alumni have gone on to become many of the industry's iconic leaders. In September 2016 we had 130 trainees on programmes in the BBC across the UK.
- 11.4 *A fast growing portfolio of high quality Apprenticeships:* These are aimed at those who have not been to university but who have the raw potential to succeed in our industry. The BBC Academy has been at the heart of designing new vocational qualifications with other employers in our sector. In the autumn of 2013, the BBC's Director General set a target for 1% of the BBC's workforce to be apprentices by the end of that Licence Fee period. By 1st November 2014 (2 years ahead of schedule) we met this target. In September 2016 we had 237 Apprentices on programmes across the UK and we have an ambitious aim to have 400 apprentices by the end of 2018.
- 11.5 *We offer apprenticeships right across our business:* In TV and Radio Production, Network and Local Journalism, Broadcast Engineering, Broadcast Operations, Digital, Business Management, Legal and Cyber Security. In Broadcast Engineering and Business, there is a degree built into the Apprenticeship.
- 11.6 *We hire BBC Apprentices right across the UK:* On local radio stations and in BBC departments in London, Bristol, Birmingham, Salford, Glasgow and Cardiff. This means that many of our apprentices can remain living at home, rather than moving to more expensive metropolitan areas.
- 11.7 *We are passionate about opening up the doors of the BBC to everyone:* Diversity really matters to us. The 2016 intake of Digital Journalism Apprentices are 57% BAME and our 2016 Business Apprentices are 29% BAME. These levels of diversity are unprecedented in our industry and are driven by us reaching out to all

communities across the UK; offering a wide range of entry level opportunities, appropriate to everyone with the raw talent to succeed.

- 11.8 *We work hard to connect with high potential disabled talent:* This year, 50% of our prestigious Journalism Trainees declare a disability, with 23% of Production Trainees declaring a disability. The effort we are putting into our outreach programmes is delivering unprecedented levels of high quality disabled talent. Across all our Graduate Traineeships and Apprenticeships, 11.5% have a declared disability.
- 11.9 *BBC Make It Digital Traineeship:* 2015 saw the BBC Academy launch this highly ambitious pre-employment Traineeship in partnership with the Skills Funding Agency, Scottish and Welsh governments, and Department for Work and Pensions. This is an eight week pan industry programme aimed at unemployed young people. It draws on the inspiration of BBC content, and the BBC Academy's existing training know-how. So far, around 2,000 young people have started on the programme. Its aim is to develop strong employability and digital skills which research tells us are in short supply across UK industry. We are now embarking on phase 2 of the Traineeship which will broaden the age range of the trainees we engage with.
- 11.10 *We offer approximately 1,200 work experience placements every year on our corporate work experience programme:* These opportunities are open to all, access is via a central website and anyone can apply. In addition, some areas of the BBC also run their own, more locally targeted programmes, such as BBC Scotland. We are also now embarking on a new partnership with Job Centres whereby we will ring-fence places for young people who are unemployed – working with Job Centre staff to identify young talent. We also offer work placements to students from broadcast related Higher Education institutions, for example we reserve 200 places (via the Broadcast Journalism Training Council) for students studying journalism and also work closely with the National Film and Television School.
- 11.11 *BBC Radio 1 Academy:* Now in its 4th year, the Academy is a key part of the Radio 1 Big Weekend music festival, with career sessions, live radio show experiences and advice surgeries. This is done in partnership with local authorities.
- 11.12 *We offer shorter pre-employment opportunities:* For example, Radio 1's Where It Begins programme, BBC English Region's Kick Off Sports reporter scheme and BBC TV's Mama Youth programme for BAME talent.
- 11.13 *In 2014 we launched a pre-employment Traineeship with the Stephen Lawrence Trust:* This saw our two organisations working together (with Job Centres across London) to identify and develop young BAME talent. Everyone who successfully completed the Traineeship was fast-tracked to near the end of the application process for BBC Production Apprenticeships.

11.14 *We work with schools to enthuse young people about taking up a career in broadcasting:* The BBC's annual School Report, now in its ninth year, helps young people develop skills in Journalism. Last year, 33,000 students from around 1,000 schools took part and 300 staff gave up their time to be mentors for the schools. In particular, we worked closely with disadvantaged areas in the North East and the number of special schools participating went up from 33 to 48.

11.15 *Reaching out to diverse young people via social media:* The BBC Academy's twitter site @BBCGetIn⁵⁹ has been ranked as the UK's top employer for the most interaction with young people on Twitter. Overall, @BBCGetIn has been recorded as the second most active employer on Twitter. We have grown quickly to 85,000 followers.

11.16 In the 2015 'School Leaver 100' poll of school students aged 16-18 (not planning to go to university) the BBC was voted the number one employer. In October 2015 we were included in the Sunday Telegraph's Top Apprenticeship Careers List.

8 September 2017

⁵⁹ <https://twitter.com/bbcgetin?lang=en>

Philip Bedford – written evidence (CCE0040)

General

All human beings are born with the ability to commit great evil and/or great good within the society in which they live. The potential for evil is kept in check through the adoption and policing of a strong moral framework by Society. The responsibility for teaching this moral framework to each new generation traditionally is left to parents, with a little input from outside (schools, churches etc.). In the Western World there has been a significant movement over the past 50 years or so towards stressing the rights of the individual to the detriment of the wellbeing of society as a whole - in effect a promotion of selfishness and greed, and the teaching of the moral framework to new generations has slipped. I believe that the only way to bring Society back into balance is through education, both formal and informal, of both adults/parents and children – to put Society back in the centre i.e. that a parent's overriding responsibility must be to bring up mentally, well rounded, happy, contented and fit children whose governing philosophy in life is that:

Society comes before the individual - always, always, always; but Society is responsible for and must look after the individual - always, always, always, so that the moral framework on which our Society and its laws are based, once more be properly taught to new generations.

To succeed properly, this education must convince every person living in Britain that they are a "fully paid up" member of British Society, and that they see that Society as being fully inclusive at and across all levels, whether such levels be academic or cultural; classes, castes or ethnic groups; city dwellers or those that live in the country.

To become a person's governing philosophy of life, this life philosophy should be taught and reinforced throughout a child's formal education, as well as being promoted through voluntary organisations into which children, and newly arrived adults should be encouraged to join e.g. sporting clubs/associations, scouts/guides, Duke of Edinburgh Award, National Citizen service etc.

View from Australia

When I was asked to comment on the Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement Call for Evidence paper, I thought it wise to seek the advice of a very good friend of mine in Australia who has been heavily involved with several families of Iranian 'boat people'. These families, for various honourable reasons, found themselves on the wrong side of the Iranian Government, and faced the choice of informal execution, or fleeing the country. Understandably they chose the latter and tried to enter Australia as refugees. His experience is very relevant to the current European/British refugee/migrant situation and he replied as follows:

“Thanks for the email Philip. This is an interesting subject. The same issues are currently being debated in Australia. Unfortunately the debate in Australia has largely been hijacked by right wing populist politicians as an anti Islamic, anti refugee and anti immigration debate about security concerns. Imposing civic responsibilities and obligations by law is likely to prove ineffective and destructive to social cohesion, genuine feelings of citizenship and the creation of any sense of community or belonging. It misses the point entirely. The Australian Government brags about its commitment to keeping Australia safe. Instead it is creating an underclass in the immigrant community and particularly the refugee community. Its treatment of refugees in particular is cruel and oppressive, its demeanour is proudly arrogant and disrespectful. Its policies are feeding racialism not reducing it. Unfortunately, many politicians overseas (including Donald Trump) are watching Australia's immigration policies with approval and envy. The world has nothing positive to learn from the current Australian Government approach!

After the Second World War and right up until the mid 1960's we had a huge migrant intake. Because of our racist "White Australia" policy at that time the source countries were Britain and Europe and particularly from Italy and Greece. There was work for everybody and by and large the immigrant group seized the opportunity and worked really hard to secure their future. They could see the light at the end of the tunnel. The immigrants saw Australia as the land of opportunity, they rapidly identified with it. Their standard of living slowly improved. In those days, the cost of housing (as a percentage of average wages) also worked in their favour. The university system was very accessible and affordable. They could see a future for their kids. They engaged with the community at many levels but particularly through sporting clubs.

At the end of the Vietnam war in the 1970's we had another large intake of immigrants; this time Vietnamese people escaping to Australia in leaky unseaworthy fishing boats. Fortunately, our prime Minister at that time was Malcolm Fraser (a conservative). Unlike the current racist group in Canberra, Fraser reassured the Australia community that the Vietnamese refugees represented no threat to Australian society. The Australian community responded to Fraser's leadership and welcomed them with open arms. Just like the post war immigrant group, the Vietnamese refugee group quickly fitted in and worked hard. They valued the opportunity to acquire Australian citizenship and they have contributed very positively to a multicultural Australian society. Again sporting clubs and school communities were an important mechanism in encouraging connection and integration. The current State Governor (Queens official representative) in South Australia arrived here by boat as a refugee from Vietnam back in the 1970's. This all happened in the absence of statutory English language requirements, Australian history lessons or even practice at saying "Gday Mate". When people feel included, valued and respected, then they learn the language necessary to participate. Having to force people to learn English simply indicates policy failure in other areas!

In the short term, if Britain wants positively to encourage immigrants to value their new citizenship, identify as being British and support civic engagement, then it requires leadership from political leaders, particularly the Prime Minister, to make immigrants feel welcome, valued, included and respected. The contributions made by immigrants need to be showcased and care needs to be taken to separate necessary political comment about radical groups and terrorist incidents, from comment about immigrants in general.

I think that the real issues are not about citizenship per se, rather they are about poverty and long term unemployment and under employment. This applies particularly, but by no means exclusively, to youth. It is a problem across the whole community not just the immigrant community. It is going to get worse. I am not a socialist, not a trade protectionist and not a Luddite. I support free trade and the world economy. There is nothing new in what I am about to say and unfortunately I do not have solutions to offer for fundamental economic problems. However, it is very clear that the whole employment landscape is changing fundamentally. Technologies are now emerging which are deskilling and destroying jobs. The immigrant group will number strongly in the impoverished group, they will be angry, disaffected and radical. The rest of the impoverished community will resent the presence of immigrants who are, "taking our jobs." Process work is rapidly disappearing either to off shore countries with low wage structures or to emerging labour saving smart technologies. Western countries need to reinvent themselves rapidly as technology innovators and scientific research powerhouses. The world needs to find another John Maynard Keynes with a new fresh perspective!"

My Australian friend mentions sporting clubs and school communities as playing a large part in the past successful integration of migrants into Australia. From my own experience both in Australia and currently in the UK, any community clubs/organisations (sports, social, academic &/or physical) play a prime role in integrating those who start on the outside of a community for whatever reason, into that community. As an example I am a tower bell ringer (campanologist) and am currently Tower Captain at St Mary's Chilham, Kent. The ringing community includes members of the titled aristocracy through to unemployed dustmen, first generation immigrants from most countries in the world including Eastern Europe, India & Pakistan, China, Japan and South America to 50th generation Celts, Romans, Danes, Saxons and Normans. In the tower they all see themselves as equal, with the only differentiation being their ringing ability. The same goes for all other inclusive groups. In South Australia, years ago I belonged to the Scottish Dance Society and the Bulgarian Dancing Club. The same people belonged to both and their ethnic background was irrelevant. I am Anglo Saxon and used to dance with a girl of Somalian Indian decent. Neither of us were of Scottish or Bulgarian origin - but it didn't matter. We were both country dancers in Adelaide - and we saw ourselves as fully integrated Australians. The fully integrated Adelaide common interest societies moved South Australians away from a Them and Us life philosophy to an inclusive Us life philosophy, and that should be one of the

underlying aims and overriding outcomes of membership of any community group in Britain, membership of which must be strongly encouraged at all levels of government.

Postscript A

I referred to the breakdown in social cohesion which the move towards the promotion of Self over Society has been causing. Another manifestation of this change which tends to be self-perpetuating, is the blame and claim culture which has been increasingly adopted by British Society over the past 50 years. It would much better if, partly through education, and partly through legislation (to vary the laws of tort, especially those relating to negligence), we bring back a moral code which accepts that people make mistakes and that such mistakes do not immediately precipitate crippling damages claims. Only if there has been gross, deliberate or criminal negligence should a claim for economic damages be available. New Zealand introduced such a concept into legislation in the early 1970s when it set up the Accident Compensation Commission (now Corporation), which manages the country's no-fault fully funded compensation system financed from general revenue and employer contributions. Individuals suffering work or non-work related injury "receive government-funded compensation, in turn relinquishing the right to sue for damages arising from personal injury except in rare cases of reckless conduct."

Postscript B

Our current system of democracy with its entrenched party politics is inefficient and at times irrational, with populists damaging the process at every turn, but it is the best and fairest so far produced by the Human Race. However, democracy is a very fragile thing and there is a risk that some of the changes we seek to introduce, and the method of mobilising support for them through social media, could destabilise our Society. They may lead to, and indeed in some cases may already have done so, lead to the rise of some powerful people that the ordinary voters collectively might not be able to control. It could lead to the rise of some individuals who "know best" what is good for us but are, or become dictators. Although not having a written constitution is in many ways one of the strengths of Britain, its downside is that a party which is brought into power on a landslide vote, potentially is all powerful. It can legislate any change no matter how totalitarian and undemocratic it may be. It will therefore be essential that the current separation of power between the legislature/executive, its two houses, and the judiciary is not compromised by any changes introduced by any government, no matter of what political persuasion, and, even more importantly, that the Monarch retain real reserve power just in case. If we fail in this, then a totalitarian state may not be far away.

28 August 2017

Bedfordshire Association of Town and Parish Councils – written evidence (CCE0072)

There are two aspects to this consultation: those born in this country being good citizens, and those born elsewhere becoming British citizens, as well as good citizens.

Citizenship ceremonies should be encouraged and celebrated; small administrative costs are acceptable, but costs should not be so high that they prevent applications.

Citizenship ceremonies should be publicised in local papers and magazines so that communities were more aware of them.

Experience elsewhere eg Germany has demonstrated that community groups working alongside people newly arrived in a country can help the integration process.

Some schemes developed with the best of intentions are in reality bureaucratic and completely unworkable and so fail at the first fence eg the *Full Community Sponsorship* scheme for integrating refugees, supposedly a way that community groups could be involved in supporting the resettlement of vulnerable people fleeing conflict.

All people should be treated as equal but the systems we have in this country do not treat all people in the same way. They favour particular groups but ignore others.

People are not moved by talk of global citizenship, they identify with local communities – how things affect them directly.

Schools already teach citizenship but this should be expanded to improve pupils understanding of their own democratic systems.

While voting by electronic means at a polling station to facilitate the count would be acceptable, the view is that there are already too many problems and opportunities for fraud with the current system for postal and proxy votes; members are **not** in favour of on-line voting.

Members are not in favour of lowering the voting age to 16.

Louise Ashmore

County Officer

Big Lottery Fund – written evidence (CCE0246)

Introduction

This paper outlines the Big Lottery Fund’s experience of citizenship and civic engagement as a grant-maker and how we view our role in promoting and supporting it. We have also outlined what the Big Lottery Fund sees as the key challenges to citizenship and civic engagement at the moment, and the Fund’s recommendations for addressing these. While all sectors, from government to private companies, have an important role to play in embedding citizenship and civic engagement across the UK, in this submission we focus on funders, the voluntary sector and broader society due to our direct involvement in, and understanding of, those areas.

Key messages

In this submission we outline:

- The context within which the Fund, and the country, are grappling with issues of citizenship and civic engagement;
- The positive possibilities of citizenship – including the potential payoff for getting it right, and the risks of getting it wrong;
- Our view of citizenship and civic engagement as positive, reciprocal, diverse and non-exclusive; and
- Our People in the Lead approach – which puts people at the heart of social change, and works with their strengths to make the UK a better place to live.

Recommendations:

- Funders, including the Big Lottery Fund, should **be more open to funding ‘risky’ projects.**
 - Funders, including the Big Lottery Fund, should **simplify funding application processes.**
 - The voluntary sector should **better embed experts by experience in all aspects of their operations** from service design to governance and decision making.
 - The voluntary sector should **better engage with the opportunities and threats provided by the shift to digital.**
 - As a society we must **establish new ways for citizens to participate.**
 - As a society we must **celebrate our strengths.**

About the Big Lottery Fund

The Big Lottery Fund is the largest community funder in the UK. Last year we awarded £713m of good cause money raised by National Lottery players to more than 13,000 community projects. Our ambition is to enable communities to thrive. We fund bright ideas – big or small, to help you make your community a better place to live.

What is citizenship and civic engagement?

As the UK's largest community funder, promoting and supporting citizenship and civic engagement are central to the way we work. This is exemplified by both the projects we fund and the ways in which they successfully deliver change.

That's why it is so important for us, as a grant maker, sector and community, to embrace an inclusive, positive and reciprocal vision of citizenship. When fully realised such citizenship offers significant benefits to us all. These benefits have been identified through rigorous analysis and lived experience. The Royal Society of the Arts' meta-analysis⁶⁰ – funded by the Big Lottery Fund – found that active citizenship and civic engagement ('citizen powered energy') brought benefits to:

- The economy: 'participation helps save money'
- Public services: 'participation develops more effective services'
- Community: 'shared social norms and strong feelings of trust and belonging...nurture further participation' and
- The individual: 'Participation increases individual well-being, confidence and skills'

As we outline below, these benefits resonate with the Fund and our aspirations and experience as a grant-maker.

Nazee Akbari, the Executive Director of the Barnet Refugee Service stresses the importance of citizenship and civic engagement to (re)building a sense of self:

"Citizenship is vital for refugees – it is part of the process towards people regaining their lost identities. Leaving their past lives, and often being unable to return, is deeply traumatic and destabilising for people's identities. Being valued and recognised as contributing to their new home is very helpful in stabilising people's mental health, allowing them to feel valued, ensuring they do not feel left behind."

At the Fund, we embrace a reciprocal, non-exclusive and diverse style of citizenship. Below we outline why these concepts are vital building blocks for UK communities and civic engagement. Throughout we also emphasise that citizenship covers an enormous array of activities – from village fetes to community mental health support to involvement at every level of service design and delivery.

Citizenship is positive

When people feel proud of their communities – and when they recognise the strengths their communities possess – they are empowered to drive change. Indeed, positive citizenship is at the heart of emancipatory movements worldwide. In 'Pride Parades' Katherine McFarland-Bruce sets out the power of a positive sense of citizenship: "Pride participants challenge

⁶⁰ Taylor M and McLean S, CITIZEN POWER PETERBOROUGH: IMPACT AND LEARNING, SEPTEMBER 2013

culture by enacting a new vision of what LGBT acceptance can look like.”⁶¹ This is particularly crucial in the face of discrimination or oppression, where positive feelings of citizenship can provide a defence against external condemnation and a platform from which to drive social change.⁶²

In the UK today, communities are crying out for opportunities to develop a positive sense of citizenship. In 2016, the Fund launched our ‘Celebrate’ programme to give communities the opportunity to celebrate their strengths. We funded projects across the country from traditional village fetes in Kent to a celebration of the Sierra Leonean community in Brighton and Hove. With only a small funding contribution available (up to £10,000) communities across the country jumped at the opportunity to celebrate their strengths. So significant was the demand for this funding that we doubled its initial budget. Over a single year, we funded 1,714 events which helped to embed and grow a positive vision of community across the country. Of these, 26% had never applied for Big Lottery funding before.

Our experience demonstrates both that communities want to celebrate their citizenship in a positive way, and that they are ready and able to do so, with only minimal support.

John Rose, Welsh Director, Big Lottery Fund: “Civic engagement is what makes places great places to be.”

Citizenship is reciprocal

There is strong evidence to show that reciprocal relationships deliver the best results for communities. Volunteering is a clear example of the benefits of reciprocity. It clearly helps those in receipt of services. A report by Action for Children found that the total value of volunteers to the charity and the families they support was £1,182,720 per year.⁶³ But volunteering also has significant benefits to volunteers themselves. These range from learning new skills and improving employability to improving health and wellbeing and strengthening community cohesion and engagement.⁶⁴

In a recent analysis of volunteering undertaken as part of our £54m, 6-year Headstart programme, which aims to improve the mental health of young people, participants of the scheme reported the multiple benefits they received from volunteering.⁶⁵

⁶¹ McFarland-Bruce, Katherine, *Pride Parades: How a Parade Changed the World*, 2016

⁶² Mind: How to develop resilience: https://www.mind.org.uk/information-support/tips-for-everyday-living/stress/developing-resilience/#.Wb_XRLKGNpg accessed on 18/09/17

⁶³ Brodie, E and Jackson, L, *Evaluation of the impact and value of volunteers in Action for Children children’s centres*, NCVO and OPM, 2012

⁶⁴ CAB volunteering – how everyone benefits: The value of CAB volunteering to individuals, communities and society, https://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/Global/Migrated_Documents/corporate/value-volunteering-may-14.pdf

⁶⁵ Stapley, E, *HeadStart Newham: A Case Study of the Supported Volunteering Programme*, Anna Freud Centre, November 2016

Scheme participants:

“Sometimes I get in a lot of trouble, but now I’m not in trouble”

“[I’ve gained] socialising skills, like not being shy when, when talking to like people that you don’t know”

“I started getting more confident”

When citizenship is reciprocal communities benefit both from the receipt of support, and participation in its delivery.

Citizenship is diverse and non-exclusive

For communities to get the most out of citizenship and civic engagement, the barriers to participation should be as low as possible. The projects we support are replete with the positive contributions of those excluded from some definitions of citizenship (asylum seekers, ex-offenders and homeless people). For example, the Barnet Refugee Service highlights the incredible impact of Helal Attayee, an Afghan refugee who is now a qualified Doctor and a trustee of the charity.⁶⁶

The contributions that people on the outskirts of citizenship can make to communities are clear and powerful. By adopting a wide, and diverse definition of citizenship, we are able to access sources of expertise and lived experience that enrich the entire community. For example, our £112m 8-year programme to improve the lives of people with multiple and complex needs is partly delivered by ‘experts by experience’ – those who have been homeless, a substance misuser, or a prisoner – and can offer their support to others in a similar situation.

A recent report by Baljeet Sandhu,⁶⁷ part of the Big Lottery Fund’s Generous Leadership group, also found that a whole host of benefits result from including people with lived experience in all elements of delivery. These include:

- Strengthening the legitimacy and accountability of social purpose work;
- Improving the effectiveness of existing, and developing new, services and social change initiatives;
- Enhancing community cohesion and cultivating effective partnerships, action and collaboration; and
- Allowing innovation to flourish.

⁶⁶ <http://www.b-r-s.org.uk/success-stories/helal-attayee/> accessed on 18/09/17

⁶⁷ Sandhu, B, The Value of Lived Experience in Social Change: The Need for Leadership and Organisational Development in the Social Sector, 2017

Further, our initial evaluation of our Stoke-on-Trent multiple and complex needs project stresses the importance of experts by experience in all elements delivery from designing services effectively to best communicating who and what the service is for.⁶⁸ In addition, many people who have accessed support from peers through the Inspiring Change Manchester Multiple and Complex Needs programme have become mentors themselves. A number have also gone on to use their experience to gain paid employment as trainees supporting delivery of the programme.

People in the Lead

At the Big Lottery Fund, we are working hard to embed the positive, reciprocal, diverse and open citizenship we would like to see in the world. Our People in the Lead approach, set out in our strategic framework 2015-21,⁶⁹ is the foundation of our efforts to embed that kind of citizenship across the UK.

We operate a strength based approach that recognises and builds on what communities are good at, rather than where they fall short. By inviting communities to share their unique strengths and talents, we invite also invite them to share their positive vision of citizenship. This is in marked contrast to approaches which require applicants to demonstrate how bad their lives are, or how much they need help, before they receive support.

People in the Lead necessitates the direct involvement of beneficiaries in project design. This approach has a proud history, in particular in the disability movement's slogan: "nothing about us, without us". By involving communities in the design and delivery of services that are intended for them, we embed a strongly reciprocal citizenship which asks for involvement, rather than requiring passive receipt. By involving beneficiaries directly, this approach also delivers better quality, better informed and more effective support. For example, Hyde Community Action,⁷⁰ which works with women from BME backgrounds, runs projects and activities that are driven by the community themselves, responding directly to what people want rather than dictating what people need. This includes English language classes, employment support sessions, bake sessions, and exercise classes.

Further, we endowed Big Local with £150m to enable people in 150 urban and rural communities to identify local needs, and take action to meet them. The trust puts residents themselves in charge of spending to improve their communities. Across the country they have invested in programmes offering training and employment support, tackling anti-social behaviour and providing more activities for young people.

People in the Lead also facilitates an open and diverse approach to community – one built on relationships between diverse and varied people. As Cormac Russel, the founder of Asset

⁶⁸ Robinson, S, Involving people with lived experience: A case study of the VOICES partnership, Stoke on Trent, March 2017

⁶⁹ <https://www.biglotteryfund.org.uk/about-big/strategic-framework/our-vision> accessed on 18/09/17

⁷⁰ We fund Hyde Community Action by £604,471 from 2011-19

Based Community Development (ABCD) outlines, relationship based approaches to change can deliver far more than individually driven change – no matter how exceptional the individual.⁷¹

Cormac Russell: “Relational power enables consensual ‘grouping-up’ or hive like behaviours to amplify and multiply the capacities of individuals, ensuring the societal whole is greater than the sum of its individual parts. This is not to say that the individuality of members does not matter, it does, but rather to point out that for us to have a good life there are certain things we need to do with each other, as we cannot do them alone, that is where relational power matters.”

By encouraging collaboration, and embedding new ways of cooperating, our funding seeks to bring communities together, so their combined strength can deliver impactful change.

Citizenship in Context

In the current political and social climate, citizenship is fiercely contested. A series of crises, including the tragedy of Grenfell Tower, dramatically declining public trust,⁷² and significant political shifts, including Brexit, have dramatically challenged our shared conception of civil society. This presents both a threat, and a call to action, to communities in the UK and those who seek to promote citizenship and civic engagement.

In some ways, community cohesion has never looked so weak. Trust in institutions – from the Government to banks to charities – is down, and barriers to citizen engagement seem to be increasing. But in other ways, these tragedies have revealed communities’ hidden strength. In the aftermath of the Grenfell Tower tragedy, the most effective help was delivered directly by volunteers, neighbours, friends and citizens across London. We see the same response after terrorist incidents, from cab drivers offering free rides to get people to safety,⁷³ to families offering beds and sofas for affected people to sleep on,⁷⁴ to mosques and churches opening their doors to rebuild communities and re-establish trust,⁷⁵ society pulls together.

The benefits which would be delivered by better connecting communities are immense. According to research undertaken by the Centre for Economics and Business Research for the Big Lunch (funded by the Big Lottery Fund) “disconnected communities could be costing

⁷¹ <http://www.nurtureddevelopment.org/blog/asset-based-community-development-5-core-principles/> accessed on 13/09/17

⁷² EDELMAN TRUST BAROMETER 2017 - UK FINDINGS

⁷³ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/manchester-arena-bombing-muslim-taxi-drivers-victims-free-lifts-suicide-attack-a7751306.html> accessed on 14/09/17

⁷⁴ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/05/23/offers-help-pour-social-media-following-manchester-arena-incident/> accessed on 14/09/17

⁷⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/03/visit-my-mosque-day-open-day-non-muslims> accessed on 14/09/17

society a potential welfare improvement valued at £32 billion and about £12 billion of this could be realised as a net economic gain (a boost to GDP) through improved productivity”.⁷⁶

In many ways, the National Lottery itself is a model of community collaboration. Every week millions of people across the country contribute to a significant prize fund, a large and important fund for good causes, and even tax revenue for the Government. Without players, the National Lottery would have no prize, and communities would have been £713m poorer last year alone. The simple act of buying a National Lottery ticket is part of a collaborative community efforts so embedded in our culture that it can go almost without mention on a weekly basis.

But despite citizens coming together to provide support when it is needed, the infrastructure that supports this involvement is often creaking at the seams. After the spontaneous response to the Grenfell Tower tragedy large amounts of donated money and support remain undistributed.⁷⁷ Local authorities, established charities and others remain too slow to react effectively, and unable to properly serve the communities they are intended to support.

There is also evidence of growing community tension. The most high profile example of this tension was the spike in hate crime following the Brexit vote,⁷⁸ but we can see evidence of this tension long before last year. For example, the Everyday Sexism project⁷⁹ has been capturing daily examples of sexism and misogyny for more than five years, while there have been increasing incidents of hate crimes against Muslims, recorded by Tell MAMA over a similar period.⁸⁰ Alongside this, concerns about immigration and integration have been raised repeatedly in recent years from local communities to political parties,⁸¹ and an ongoing debate around intergenerational fairness is being played out in families and communities across the country.⁸²

In this context, it is vital that we all do our bit to strengthen community cohesion. At the Big Lottery Fund, we work with communities across the country to break down barriers to citizenship and barriers between people and communities. Whether that means funding outreach to give culturally-excluded communities better access to the arts, working with faith communities to combat extremism and racism, or facilitating neighbours who have never spoken to share a meal, we strive to bring communities together.

⁷⁶ The Cost of Disconnected Communities: The Big Lunch, Centre for Economics and Business Research, Jan 2017

⁷⁷ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-40610825> accessed on 14/09/17

⁷⁸ https://www.met.police.uk/globalassets/foi-media/disclosure_2016/november_2016/information-rights-unit---statistics-in-regards-to-the-number-of-hate-crimes-committed-from-before-and-after-the-brexit-vote accessed on 14/09/17

⁷⁹ <https://everydaysexism.com/> accessed on 14/09/17

⁸⁰ We have funded Faith Matters, the umbrella organisation for Tell MAMA by £742,908 from 2013-18

⁸¹ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-24147027> accessed on 20/09/17

⁸² Gardiner, L, Stagnation Generation: the case for renewing the intergenerational contract, Resolution Foundation, 2016

Below are some of the hundreds of projects we fund each year to promote community cohesion and citizenship:

- Via the Young Vic⁸³ we fund the Neighbourhood Theatre project which gives everyone in Southwark and Lambeth the opportunity to go to the theatre and become part of the theatre family. A group of 70-80 local people from marginalised groups work with the theatre as ambassadors and help the theatre reach other disadvantaged people. They also come up with ideas for theatre projects and help to deliver them.
- We fund the Eden Project to deliver the Big Lunch⁸⁴ each year, which encourages people to talk to their neighbours, and address the rising tide of loneliness in our communities.
- We fund The Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Foundation for Peace⁸⁵ to develop skills in peaceful conflict resolution amongst young people vulnerable to radicalisation and survivors of political violence.
- We also fund Participatory City⁸⁶ in partnership with Barking and Dagenham Council, which will work with 25,000 residents to create over 350 neighbourhood-led projects, bringing people together with a renewed sense of community spirit.
- In Wales, our £12m Community Voice project supported citizens to have a greater influence over policies and decisions affecting their community; built their capacity to engage in planning and running services and projects that respond to their communities' needs and advance community benefit.

What needs to change?

There are a number of ways that we must all work together to embed a model of positive, reciprocal and open citizenship in the UK. Some of these changes are for funders (including ourselves), others are for charities and communities, and others are for society as a whole. We outline below our roadmap of these changes.

Funders

Funders, including the Big Lottery Fund, should **be more open to funding 'risky' projects**. In our UK portfolio we have trialled and rolled out a different approach to grant giving. We take a more conversational approach, with a strong focus on grassroots social innovations that address the root cause of pressing issues.

We have also taken a test and learn approach to funding, by supporting a cluster of projects around themes, including ageing, dementia and food, to find projects and interventions that work well. We have funded projects like Apps for Good⁸⁷ to provide young people with the

⁸³ We fund the Young Vic by £240,000 from 2016-19

⁸⁴ We fund the Eden Project by £14.8m from 2007-17

⁸⁵ We fund The Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Foundation for Peace by £1.73m from 2003-19

⁸⁶ We fund Participatory City by £6.3m from 2011-2020

⁸⁷ We fund Apps for Good by £1.2m from 2016-2020

technical, entrepreneurial, problem solving and life skills that will enable them to drive social change, and transform their communities through social technology. As a funding community, we must come together to support more projects like these.

The Big Lottery Fund, and other funders, should **simplify funding application processes**. Too often we create barriers to innovative projects and hard to reach communities seeking funding. At the Fund we are moving our small grants online, reaching out to new communities (e.g. by running funding fairs targeting rural communities in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and talking about the Fund in Urdu on local Manchester radio) and cutting processing times. But more needs to be done.

The voluntary and community sector

The voluntary and community sector should **better embed experts by experience in all aspects of their operations** from service design to governance and decision making. We have outlined the benefits of including people with lived experience above, but too often this experience is not effectively used to drive positive change.

“Despite sector-wide appreciation that lived experience of social issues can help inform social change initiatives, the wider sector has been slow to recognise the full value and benefit of lived expertise in terms of ‘leading change’. In turn, organisational and leadership development in this area is largely unexplored and underdeveloped, and much needed.”

We are supporting the sector to do this in some areas – for example, in Northern Ireland, we have recruited a Young People’s Panel to inform the children and young people’s projects that we fund. But, there is much more to be done to embed this approach across the voluntary sector.

The sector must also **better engage with the opportunities and threats provided by the shift to digital**. The ever increasingly role of digital in UK life presents both dramatic opportunities for change, and poses significant threats to individual and collective wellbeing. The digital revolution has allowed people to build new communities and convene existing ones with ease.

If you were a disabled person with severe mobility restrictions, it would have been almost impossible 15 years ago to share experiences with thousands of people facing the same issues – but online communication now makes that as easy as pressing a button or speaking into a microphone. Similarly, the transgender community’s visibility and confidence has dramatically increased in recent years, due to the effective establishment of a positive and

supportive online community.⁸⁸ At the same time, the rise of social media has been accompanied by both a significant rise in anxiety among young people, and a dramatic upswing in threats of violence, cyberbullying and racism, sexism and homophobia online.⁸⁹

But the voluntary and community sector has been slow to respond to, or effectively harness, these changes.⁹⁰ While most charities have websites, social media accounts, and online portals for donation, few have embraced digital as an effective service delivery channel. While some of our projects, such as Headstart, offer some online services (e.g. counselling) most are only just beginning to take advantage of the opportunities made available by digital.

Broader Society

As a society we must **establish new ways for citizens to participate**. The benefits of reciprocal citizenship and volunteering are clear. We must come together to identify new ways for people to get involved – with a particular focus on those who currently lack effective civic engagement. There are many examples of this engagement already available, but we must work together to create more. For example, South East Hampshire Community Outlook⁹¹ set up an arts centre in a social housing area in Fareham which has given local young people who are facing challenges in their lives together to create art (including window art, graffiti art, and website design) and build a positive community. Further, in London, the Bromley-by-Bow centre⁹² takes a holistic approach to community-health, delivering services that acknowledge that health is dependent on social, financial and emotional wellbeing which puts citizens at its heart. This approach reduces the strain on the health service, as well as empowering local people to drive change.

As a society we must **celebrate our strengths more**. Investing time and resources in bringing communities together around our skills, strengths and experience will offer the building blocks for a positive model of citizenship, and help break barriers down which are currently separating communities. For example, we are funding Friends of Shadon House in Blaydon⁹³ to run a story-making and creative writing course, bringing together local school children and patients with dementia. We also fund Home Share,⁹⁴ which links older people with spare rooms in their homes and who are in need of practical assistance with (e.g.) shopping or DIY with young people struggling with high housing costs. In exchange for help around the house, young people benefit from low rents in good quality housing, while older people are supported to be more mobile, more socially connected and more independent.

⁸⁸ <https://www.fastcompany.com/3028896/janet-mocks-online-activism-is-changing-perceptions-about-the-trans-commun> accessed on 15/09/17

⁸⁹ O’Keefe et al, The Impact of Social Media on Children, Adolescents, and Families, Pediatrics vol 127, issue 4, 2011

⁹⁰ Gunstone, B and Pinkney S, Appetite for donation: Technology and the next generation of givers, YouGov & CAF, 2016

⁹¹ We fund South East Hampshire Community Outlook by £545,400 from 2006-20

⁹² We fund the Bromley-by-Bow centre by £340,000 from 2016-19

⁹³ We are funding Friends of Shadon House by £10,000 in 2016-17

⁹⁴ We fund the Home Share programme by £1.3m from 2016-18

In summary, while there is much good work going on across the country to embed positive citizenship and civic engagement, the scale of the challenges we are facing means that more needs to be done. By taking a few simple steps, as funders, as the voluntary sector, and as society, we can transform community relations and deliver significant benefits across the UK. At the heart of these changes must be a positive, reciprocal and open model of citizenship which encourages participation and involvement, and does not undermine it.

Contact

We would be very happy to expand on the issues outlined above in future, in particular at an oral evidence session for the committee.

The Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law – written evidence (CCE204)

Introduction

The Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law (the Bingham Centre) is an academic research institution dedicated to the study, promotion and enhancement of the rule of law worldwide.

From September 2014 to July 2015, the organisation conducted a pilot education initiative called ‘The Rule of Law for Citizenship Education’ that drew content and techniques from the fields of public legal education, education for democratic citizenship and human rights education. This programme for Key Stage 3 (KS3) students comprised:

Educational resources,

Capacity building training for teachers,

Direct delivery of lessons by Bingham Centre staff, and,

Dedicated advice to eight pilot schools.

The resources incorporated a range of pedagogical styles including peer teaching and open-ended instruction. The content of the lessons saw the eight component parts of Lord Bingham’s definition of the rule of law filtered into digestible activities to help young people to understand their rights and obligations within a democratic society. We respond to this call to evidence with regard to our experiences in delivering education programmes.

This response was written by Michael Abiodun Olatokun FRSA. Michael leads the Bingham Centre’s Rule of Law for Citizenship Education programme. For more information visit bit.ly/binghamschools.

Executive Summary

The UK government made substantial progress in encouraging the ability of young people to participate in public life through the addition of Citizenship Education to the National Curriculum in 2002. Fifteen years on, this subject faces multiple challenges that encumber its practical delivery. These challenges will be explored below, referencing both the academic literature in the area and the experiences of civil society organisations assisting schools in providing Citizenship Education.

This response proffers institutional investment from national government in particular aspects of the Citizenship framework, such as the Fundamental British Values agenda, to enhance and protect the achievements of Citizenship organisations. It makes the following recommendations:

Recommendation 1- Introduce a Curriculum Guarantee for Citizenship in every primary and secondary school.

Recommendation 2- Make Citizenship a priority subject in teacher training with bursaries.

Recommendation 3- Establish ‘Beacons of Excellence in Citizenship’ which would link university Politics departments (experts in the content that would be delivered) with schools teaching Citizenship (using subject association bodies such as ACT as a point of liaison due to their expertise).

Recommendation 4- Stimulate the production of high-quality teaching resources to meet gaps and support high-quality teaching.

Recommendation 5- Benchmark best practice to highlight effective Citizenship Education with a special subject survey by Ofsted.

Recommendation 6- Contribute to international evaluative frameworks such as the Council of Europe Reporting Tool and the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study.

Recommendation 7- Consider allowing individual Department for Education (DfE) strategies to operate without shifts in focus or the announcement of new strategies so that sufficient time is available to monitor and evaluate their delivery.

Recommendation 8- Produce new guidance for all schools, in consultation and development with leading rule of law organisations such as the Bingham Centre, on the requirements of teaching the rule of law within a democratic society.

This paper contains the following sections:

The Role of Education in Encouraging Active Citizenship

Status Quo

An Action Plan for Citizenship

Issues in Teaching the Rule of Law

The Benefits of the Rule of Law

About The Rule of Law for Citizenship Education

I The Role of Education in Encouraging Active Citizenship

Academic literature considering issues in civic participation has consistently established a causal link between the provision of education on the one hand and increases in active Citizenship on the other. Education has been described as the “universal solvent” for creating citizens that are “attentive, knowledgeable and participatory”.⁹⁵ Thus institutional support for education that improves citizens’ ability to engage with their democracy is crucial for the UK to overcome declining political participation and civic engagement.⁹⁶

This key concept of “education for democratic Citizenship” (EDC) is defined by the Council of Europe (CoE) as a process that equips learners “to exercise and defend their democratic rights and responsibilities in society, to value diversity and to play an active part in democratic life, with a view to the promotion and protection of democracy and the rule of law.” EDC goes further than addressing the content of education about politics because it creates “self-conscious members of a self-governing sovereign people.”⁹⁷ EDC combines civic knowledge with a perception of self-efficacy to act upon those rights and obligations.

EDC will be used interchangeably with the terms ‘Citizenship Education’ and ‘Citizenship’ in this paper. The devolved nature of education in the UK dictates that this response will focus upon the experiences and policy of England.

II Status Quo

The impetus for the current English EDC framework was provided by the Advisory Group on the Teaching of Citizenship and Democracy in Schools, which concluded that a statutory requirement on schools was necessary “to ensure that it is part of the entitlement of all pupils”.⁹⁸ Citizenship was subsequently introduced to the National Curriculum for Key Stage Three and Four (KS3/4) students in 2002. The subject has remained part of the curriculum since.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Converse, P. E. (1972), “Change in the American Electorate”, in A. Campbell and P. E. Converse (eds.), *The Human Meaning of Social Change*, Russell Sage, New York, pp. 263-337.

⁹⁶ All Together Now: Collaboration and Innovation for Youth Engagement, The Report of the Commission on Youth Voting and Civic Knowledge

⁹⁷ A Framework for Teaching Democratic Citizenship: An International Project

⁹⁸ Crick, B. (1998) The Advisory Group for Citizenship Report

⁹⁹ Education Act 2002, s 76

This was followed by a major development in 2010 as the UK became a signatory to the CoE Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education.¹⁰⁰ This international agreement requires universality of the provision of EDC and HRE, commitments to training the educators that will deliver it and the building of mechanisms to evaluate its teaching.

Despite this new international obligation, existential fears about the continued prominence of the subject emerged soon after its adoption. A collaborative coalition of Citizenship organisations mounted a campaign in 2011 to preserve the subject's status following the announcement of a review by then Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove. Educators were concerned that the subject would be removed from the National Curriculum in this process. The review saw the subject retained, with additional descriptors for its subject matter, and it remains a part of the National Curriculum.

Though the revised curriculum provides support for EDC at a political level, there is a prevailing sentiment that the coverage and quality of EDC teaching across England are diminishing.¹⁰¹ This decline is reflected in a number of factors which will be considered below, including reduction in coverage and quality of provision, the decreasing capacity of educators to deliver Citizenship Education nationwide and the lack of a central evidence base.¹⁰²

III An Action Plan for Citizenship

The aforementioned factors led the Expert Subject Advisory Group for Citizenship (EAG) to devise a five-point action plan to ensure that Citizenship would be delivered systematically

¹⁰⁰ Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)7 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 11 May 2010 at the 120th Session)

¹⁰¹ Ian Davies Eric K. M. Chong, (2016), "Current challenges for Citizenship Education in England", Asian Education and Development Studies, Vol. 5 Iss 1 pp. – 20-36

¹⁰² Imafidon, K., Jervier, T. and Zumu, B. (2017). 5 Steps Forward: The 5 Steps Needed to Make Voter Registration Easier, Convenient and Accessible. ClearView Research. Available at: <http://bit.ly/2wD4og1>. Accessed on 6/9/17

across England.¹⁰³ The Centre endorses the plan in its entirety as it aligns with our experience of delivering EDC, and we believe that the challenges it aims to tackle hinder the development of the subject.

The five objectives of the plan are summarised as follows:¹⁰⁴

Creation of a Curriculum Guarantee for Citizenship in every primary and secondary school and clear progression to further Citizenship education post 16 to support the National Curriculum for Citizenship,

Making Citizenship a priority subject in teacher training with bursaries,

Establishing ‘Beacons of Excellence in Citizenship’ linking University Politics departments and schools teaching Citizenship,

Benchmarking best practice to highlight effective Citizenship education with a special subject survey by Ofsted, and,

Stimulate the production of high-quality teaching resources to meet gaps and support high-quality teaching.

These objectives are reactions to three categories of problem. Objectives 1. and 2. relate to the reduction in coverage and quality of provision of Citizenship Education (Issue 1). Objectives 3. and 5. relate to the capacity of educators to deliver Citizenship Education (Issue 2). Objective 4. relates to the need for an evidence base (Issue 3). A rationale and refinement for these objectives is discussed below, along with supplementary recommendations to aid their impact.

Issue 1- Reduction in coverage and quality of provision

The resources allocated by schools to the teaching of Citizenship compare unfavourably with the provision seen at the start of the 2010 Coalition government. This is due in large part to the substantial change in characteristics that secondary schools in England have undergone over the past decade. Academisation has reduced the universality of Citizenship teaching, which has shifted from being a compulsory requirement to a voluntary

¹⁰³

<https://www.teachingCitizenship.org.uk/sites/teachingCitizenship.org.uk/files/National%20Action%20Plan%20for%20Citizenship%205%20July%202017%20-%20final.pdf>

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.democraticlife.org.uk/2017/07/18/national-action-plan-Citizenship-for-all-launched/>

commitment for many schools. This has resulted in many schools opting to end their Citizenship delivery or allocate non-specialist teachers to deliver the subject.

All local authority maintained schools must follow the National Curriculum, but a significant majority of secondary schools are no longer bound by this obligation. At the end of the 1997-2010 government, local authority maintained schools comprised the majority of secondary schools, with very few academies in operation.¹⁰⁵ The 2010-2015 government oversaw a fundamental transformation of the legal status of secondary schools in England, which resulted in a 3150% increase in the number of academy schools from 203 in January 2010 to 6399 in 2017, with a concomitant decrease in the number of local authority maintained schools.¹⁰⁶

As such, 2,220,088 pupils (as of January 2017) attend schools without compulsory Citizenship provision. Many schools continue to use the National Curriculum as a guide to help their students achieve the wider developmental benefits that a ‘broad and balanced curriculum’ would provide, but the Bingham Centre is increasingly told that Citizenship in newly academised schools is a resource-dependent addendum to their main educational provision rather than a core educational subject.

The suggestion that academisation is detrimental to Citizenship teaching has not been robustly tested, but the coincidence of its decline and the emergent curriculum freedom that schools now enjoy points to a tentative correlation. Fifty-five percent of academies surveyed in 2014 by the DfE were reported to have changed their curriculum since academisation.¹⁰⁷ This is married with a simultaneous reduction in the volume of new Citizenship educators entering the profession. In a written question to the Secretary of State for Education, Stephen Timms MP was informed that there had been a 77% reduction in the

¹⁰⁵ Department for Education, Schools, pupils and their characteristics: January 2010- National Tables. Accessed 4th September 2010, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/schools-pupils-and-their-characteristics-january-2010>

¹⁰⁶ Department for Education, Schools, pupils and their characteristics: January 2010- National Tables. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/schools-pupils-and-their-characteristics-january-2017> Accessed 4th September 2010

¹⁰⁷ https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/401455/RR366_-_research_report_academy_autonomy.pdf#page=18

number of new Citizenship teachers qualifying each year, down from 243 in 2010/2011 to 54 in 2016/17.¹⁰⁸

This is profoundly challenging for Citizenship delivery and the first two recommendations of the Action Plan are vital to ensure that schools adequately resource EDC and that there are enough trained educators to teach it.

Recommendations

Recommendation 1- Introduce a Curriculum Guarantee for Citizenship in every primary and secondary school.

Recommendation 2- Make Citizenship a priority subject in teacher training with bursaries.

Issue 2- Capacity of educators to deliver Citizenship teaching

A connected consequence of the drastic decrease in new Citizenship educators is a reduction in the capability of schools to teach the full spectrum of topics within the Citizenship curriculum. EDC is a multifarious introduction to social science.¹⁰⁹ The subject content for the KS3 and 4 Citizenship National Curriculum programmes of study extend to the fundamental aspects of law, (democratic) politics, economics and personal budgeting.

Citizenship is often delivered by teachers whose principal expertise lies in cognate subjects (Religious Education and English Literature teachers frequently lead our pilot programme). As such, it would be unreasonable to assume that all teachers tasked with Citizenship delivery will have intimate knowledge of all aspects of a curriculum so diverse. This is exacerbated by the ever-changing nature of contextual debates relevant to the curriculum. A key concern of Citizenship Education is informing learners of developing trends in world affairs to enable them to form their own opinions. The Bingham Centre has been repeatedly told that contemporary policy debates and political events can outpace the ability of

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-question/Commons/2017-01-26/61973>

¹⁰⁹ Citizenship for the 21st Century: An International Perspective on Education, John J. Cogan, Ray Derricott

individual teachers to keep up with political affairs whilst managing other educational and pastoral responsibilities.¹¹⁰

Knowledge gaps of this sort are most reasonably filled by high-quality educational materials that provide teachers with sufficient background in the principal areas of Citizenship teaching. By supporting civil society organisations and teachers' bodies in the production of EDC materials, policymakers can increase teachers' capability to deliver legal and political content. In the Bingham Centre's experience, this will lead to an improvement in students' ability across all areas covered by the Citizenship Curriculum.

The Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) is an example of an organisation with great expertise that has filled this capacity gap with resources funded by the DfE.¹¹¹ In an environment where the number of new Citizenship educators dwindles, additional government support for the production of teachers' resources is essential to achieve systematic universality of Citizenship coverage.

Aside from organisations with a proven track record of delivering high-quality, accessible Citizenship resources, academic departments could meaningfully improve in-school educators' ability to teach Citizenship. University Social Science departments contain a wealth of subject knowledge and pre-existing materials for teaching. If these institutions were matched with schools in their local areas to provide capacity building training and resources, burdensome teacher training requirements can be similarly overcome.

Recommendations

Recommendation 3- Establish 'Beacons of Excellence in Citizenship' which would link university Politics departments (experts in the content that would be delivered) with schools teaching Citizenship (using subject association bodies such as ACT as a point of liaison due to their expertise).

¹¹⁰ Expert Subject Advisory Group, Proposed DfE Review of Citizenship

¹¹¹ <https://www.teachingCitizenship.org.uk/deliberative-classroom-topical-debating-resources-and-teacher-guidance>

Recommendation 4- Stimulate the production of high-quality teaching resources to meet gaps and support high-quality teaching.

Issue 3- Building the evidence base and celebrating best practice

The National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) was commissioned by the Department for Children, Schools and Families to conduct longitudinal research into the delivery of Citizenship Education in 2001. This monitored the outcomes delivered to the young people that comprised the first cohort of statutory Citizenship learners.¹¹² The research has produced findings that are of crucial value to all seeking to deliver the subject, including the landmark conclusions that extensive EDC can override or mitigate environmental factors that might suppress later political engagement (such as socio-economic background).

There are few mechanisms for the dissemination of this evidence. If this information were widely shared there would be two benefits to the body of Citizenship educators. The first such benefit would be felt in terms of organisations' resources: access to this information could bolster requests of organisations in this space for funding (many civil society groups conducting Citizenship education are funded by grant-providing trusts), allowing them to continue to operate in economically tumultuous times. Secondly, such information provides reflective lessons for organisations to improve their delivery. Without sharing and highlighting of best practice, organisations of scant resource are likely to take on the burden for testing and refining their education initiatives incrementally. This is onerous for individual organisations involved and inefficient for the Citizenship Education sector more generally. The Democratic Life coalition suggest that OFSTED would be an appropriate vehicle for quantitative research conducted with schools, and that ACT could host examples of best practice online.

Aside from case studies illustrating best practice, multiple evaluation frameworks exist across Europe that ambitiously map the most efficient and scalable models for the delivery of EDC. The CoE runs an evaluation tool that facilitates comparison between European

¹¹² Citizenship education in England 2001-2010: young people's practices and prospects for the future: the eighth and final report from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) Accessed: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/181797/DFE-RR059.pdf

nations. The United Kingdom did not participate in the 2016 iteration of this process. The benefit of standardised evaluation tools, as expressed above, is that the information can lead to positive results for educators in their delivery. There are even greater benefits to be reaped in European-wide tools because these are more likely to capture the range of potential problems and issues that educators across Britain will face. The UK is also a notable omission from the leading ‘International Civic and Citizenship Education Study’.¹¹³

Highlighting successful initiatives and sharing positive case studies produce multiple benefits to the Citizenship community. Notification of best practice allows educators and resource-producing organisations to efficiently deploy their resources, helps stakeholders to avoid detrimental approaches, fosters effective Citizenship practice and increases the confidence of teachers to continue delivering the subject.

Recommendations

Recommendation 5- Benchmark best practice to highlight effective Citizenship Education with a special subject survey by Ofsted.

Recommendation 6- Contribute to international evaluative frameworks such as the CoE Reporting Tool and the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study.

IV Issues in Teaching the Rule of Law

DfE has promoted several initiatives in recent years to enable schools to discuss social and political issues. These initiatives have modified the attitudes and behaviours of Citizenship educators, as its malleable, diverse curriculum facilitates teaching these topics.¹¹⁴

These recent strategies have included:

Providing funds for initiatives that increase character and resilience training for learners,

A duty to have “due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism”,
and,

¹¹³ <http://www.iea.nl/iccs>

¹¹⁴ Professor Lee Jerome, The Bingham Centre, Fundamental British Values and The Rule of Law, Accessed 6/9/17 <https://youtu.be/j5w2p7QPfZI>

The ‘Fundamental British Values’ agenda.

Anecdotal evidence collected by the Bingham Centre in its outreach work with schools suggests that the announcement of successive strategies within short periods of time can cause confusion amongst teachers about how such strategies will be implemented. This can cause disruption for an already ill-understood subject.

Though provision is patchy and inconsistent, there is a widespread understanding of the key political concepts underpinning the KS3 and 4 Citizenship curriculum. There is less understanding about the legal aspects of the curriculum. Legal knowledge is diffuse and sparse in comparison to knowledge about political institutions.¹¹⁵ This can be reflected in a topic at the cross-section of law and politics, human rights. A recent teachers’ poll saw 47.4% of respondents state that their students did not understand human rights (despite its presence on the National Curriculum for KS4).¹¹⁶

The same survey suggested that almost a third of teachers felt unequipped to teach their students about human rights. As this was a self-selecting group of teachers, the true average across England’s schools is likely to be higher than this. The difficulty that Citizenship educators have in teaching about legal matters was reflected in editor’s notes introducing an article written by the Bingham Centre for ‘Teaching Citizenship’ (the leading subject journal produced by ACT). The introduction stated that, “until we met colleagues from the Bingham Centre, we thought we understood what the phrase ‘the rule of law’ meant when it appeared in the government’s statement of Fundamental British Values. In fact, as this article shows, the concept is more nuanced and more useful than we thought.”¹¹⁷ This can be seen as a reflection of the lack of resources available to Citizenship educators in section III that cover the full spectrum of the curriculum, but it also undermines the extent to which educators understand a crucial concept that they are teaching, the rule of law, which is not defined in the DfE guidance.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ University College London. Faculty of Laws. (2015). English and Welsh Civil and Social Justice Panel Survey: Waves 1-2, 2010-2012. [data collection]. UK Data Service. SN: 7643, <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7643-1>

¹¹⁶ <https://www.tes.com/articles/magna-carta-how-well-do-pupils-know-their-own-human-rights>

¹¹⁷ Xiao Hui Eng, The Association of Citizenship Teaching, Teaching Citizenship, May 2016, p40

¹¹⁸

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/380595/SMSC_Guidance_Maintained_Schools.pdf and

Comments gathered from participants in the Bingham Centre pilot study support this paucity of understanding around the rule of law. Qualitative responses to survey questions saw respondents comment that “existing Citizenship materials lacked information on law and justice”, that they “did not contain materials that could engage students and develop the required skills” and that there is “a lack of resources for law as a KS3 and KS4 subject.”

80% of surveyed teachers felt that the resources provided prepared them for delivering the lessons that they otherwise could not have conducted, emphasising the impact of rule of law-based resources in enhancing teachers’ capabilities.¹¹⁹

V The Benefits of the Rule of Law

The revised curriculum for Citizenship in 2014 introduced international law as a discrete requirement for Citizenship subject content to be taught alongside the pre-existing human rights requirement. Despite the apprehension that some teachers have expressed to the Bingham Centre about teaching international law at KS4, it is our view that legal content provides an enriching and suitably challenging environment for all learners. This is supported by the continued engagement of Citizenship educators in our work and our independent evaluation report. The Fundamental British Value of the rule of law, though currently misunderstood, can empower teachers at any level, promoting a positive vision of Citizenship within a tolerant and cohesive society.

The University of Warwick conducted a pilot education initiative applying the Fundamental British Value of the rule of law to primary schools. They taught a number of human rights-based lessons using the Fundamental British Values as a framework, the second of which focused on that of the rule of law. Though legal and justice content was challenging for the students, reference to wider human rights values such as universality negated any potential for the Fundamental British Value guidance to be interpreted in a way that was subversive or intolerant. The findings of this model are inherently useful to educators that seek further

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/268826/dept_advice_template_smscadvicenov13.pdf

¹¹⁹ Wilson, Citizenship and The Rule of Law, York Consulting, 2016.
https://www.biicl.org/documents/1740_rpt-rule_of_law2015_v3.pdf?showdocument=1

clarity on Fundamental British Values and suggest that with improved guidance the teaching community can bring students together in promoting engaged Citizenship through the use of the rule of law and human rights education.

Recommendations

Recommendation 7- Consider allowing individual DfE strategies (such as Fundamental British Values) to operate without shifts in focus or the announcement of new strategies so that sufficient time is available to monitor and evaluate their delivery.

Recommendation 8- Produce new guidance for all schools, in consultation and development with leading rule of law organisations, such as the Bingham Centre, on the requirements of teaching the rule of law within a democratic society.

VI About The Rule of Law for Citizenship Education

The Rule of Law for Citizenship Education is the Bingham Centre's headline programme. The programme teaches students about the fundamental aspects of the justice system to enable them to become active citizens. In 2016, an independent evaluation exercise was conducted which saw 97% of students report an increased understanding of the justice system as a result of this intervention.¹²⁰ This evaluation report raised a number of practical challenges for our own intervention and the delivery of Citizenship education more generally, and these will be raised throughout this response.

Since this 2015 programme, the Centre has continued to support teachers in the delivery of Citizenship Education, focusing on the Fundamental British Value of the Rule of Law. In 2017 we launched a new textbook, 'The Rule of Law for Citizenship Education, International Law and Human Rights' that was awarded the Citizenship Foundation Quality Mark. Our Citizenship teaching programme is now present in over 250 schools and education providers across England (as of August 2017). The Centre draws upon a wealth of expertise in Citizenship Education from the delivery of highly successful programmes and constant reflective evaluation.

¹²⁰ Wilson, Citizenship and The Rule of Law, York Consulting, 2016.
https://www.biicl.org/documents/1740_rpt-rule_of_law2015_v3.pdf?showdocument=1

Blakelaw and North Fenham Community Council – written evidence (CCE0099)

Submitted by V Rook, community councillor on behalf and with permission of said community council.

The constitution shows and gives direction to enable trust in each decision and future proof the word of parliament and those who try to establish a country where it is safe, caring and just. This balance is then illustrated in national, regional and local government and all the works of the nation for health education, and commerce. Giving the citizens the example of fairness and a just conscience to face the world.

The British Constitution is composed of parliamentary legislation, case law and precedent and common law dating back to beyond the Norman Conquest. The idea of checks and balances is uppermost in the structure. Any change needs to reflect and continue these checks and balances to provide a democracy and fair system.

The Community Council is foremost in promotion of the idea of equality and diversity locally, regionally and nationally. Individuals need to trust and have the opportunity to express their views honestly and trust these will be respected.

Many citizens in Newcastle and the Parish Community Council area have been involved in partnership committees set up by the City Council to encourage diversity and cohesion where members of the said committees had a voice in civic strategy and could inform their communities of the workings of local government. Representatives from many backgrounds and cultures joined together. This involved working with the community and voluntary sector which benefited all concerned, with training in administration, funding and representation and safeguarding being provided.

The Community Council consider education is the key to encouragement of citizens to be more actively involved. At the moment few are taught about Parliament and the methods of law making and how law is produced. There is a need to promote education of the British Constitutional structure and method similar to the publicity given to that of other countries such as the USA. This would provide understanding and positive comment. We therefore would indicate the following positive methods in regard to promotion of the basis of citizenship in the 21st century.

POSITIVE ENCOURAGEMENT OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

Inclusion of how the state works in the National Curriculum throughout school lifetime- British Constitution and structure of laws, legislature, executive, judiciary at O and A level GSCE.

Mandatory involvement of all Councillors and Members of Parliament in regard to visits to schools annually.

Local and regional councils to have video links to Parliament and MP's to express residents views on some committee discussions.

Voluntary and community sector to play a role in connecting all citizens in society to play and active part in civic involvement.

Lifelong education should be encouraged also in regard to how other governments work and parliamentary visits by all citizens at least once upon gaining the vote-this would give a balanced view in regard to future developments.

Bite the Ballot – Supplementary written evidence (CCE0254)

Explaining the Data-sharing Process and Agreement

Last year, Bite The Ballot (BTB) facilitated positive conversations between the Electoral Commission (EC) and Experian about data sharing in order to gain insight into registration levels and the electorate. After many positive conversations, genuine interest and verbal agreements nothing has yet to materialise. This is largely in part because the current data protection laws and lack of a written agreement between the two parties, which we at BTB are striving to ensure is pushed through.

At this moment in time Experian is not working with the EC on anything explicitly in regards to the insights. Experian feel by helping to encourage all eligible members of society to register vote through BTB, they will be not only be supporting a great cause and help UK society become more politically aware, but also will benefit from being able to identify more UK consumers through the use of the Electoral Roll data. This, in turn, will improve automated identity verification services and credit applications by helping to fill a data gap that exists for people in society. However, if an agreement were possible then local authorities would be able access invaluable insights into the electorate.

Over the years, Experian has developed a system whereby using consistent attributes like name, address, date of birth as well as other less obvious attributes, they can look at the electoral data, data from lenders, some public data, and other data sets to form a view of a 'consumer' and assigns a particular identifier to link all the data together. By doing this Experian able capable for example to determine whether someone registered for the first time. Experian would use all data sets to match the electoral data to a particular identifier and then look to see whether that particular identifier has previous or historical electoral data link to it. If the answer is no, then the person is newly a registered person.

Notably, similar approaches can be applied to determine to a high degree of accuracy unregistered individuals, individuals registered incorrectly, and offer better insights into registered people i.e. age, ethnicity etc. The insight and data can be invaluable and assist the EC and to local authorities.

However, as mentioned earlier data protection laws are a barrier. The EC remains the data controller of electoral data and Experian can only process the data on behalf of the EC. Therefore, Experian is unable to share the data direct to BTB or local authorities. Experian and the EC are working on their relationship and there is hope that a solution can be found in the future, however, legislative assistance would be greatly appreciated. The benefits linked to this can be extended to:

- lower duplication of work i.e. applications;
- better targeted canvassing campaigns;
- and better value for money in maintaining of the electoral register.

British Heart Foundation – written evidence (CCE0121)

1. Introduction

1.1 The British Heart Foundation (BHF) is the largest independent funder of cardiovascular research, and the third largest charitable funder of medical research in the UK. We are working to achieve our vision of a world in which people do not die prematurely or suffer from cardiovascular disease. In the fight for every heartbeat we fund ground-breaking medical research, provide support and care to people living with cardiovascular disease and advocate for cardiovascular disease to be a priority.

1.2 Each year, thanks to the generosity of our supporters, we fund around £100 million of new research across all four nations of the UK, which accounts for more than half of the funding for independent cardiovascular research in the UK. Our funding portfolio extends from laboratory science to clinical trials and population studies. We fund people from PhDs to professors as well as investing in large programme and project grants.

1.3 Due to modern treatments built on our research, huge progress has been made in saving lives. Most babies born in the UK with heart defects now survive and 7 out of 10 people survive a heart attack. But cardiovascular disease still kills 1 in 4 people and affects 7 million people in the UK, so there is so much more to do.

1.4 The BHF welcomes the opportunity to submit evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement to demonstrate the impact of charities such as the BHF in fulfilling a unique role in fostering and supporting civic engagement. This submission will focus on areas where the BHF is active in promoting and stimulating civic engagement and discusses:

- The role that large charities, such as the BHF, play in modern civil society
- Tackling health inequalities
- Volunteering and Employability
- Fundraising and the Community
- BHF retail
- Trustees

2. The Role and Purpose of Charities in civic society

2.1 The BHF is proud to be part of the long tradition of the charitable and voluntary sector forming an essential part of fostering, creating and maintaining a strong civic society in the UK. The sector is uniquely placed to mobilise and support people and to undertake activities solely in pursuit of charitable aims and not for private gain or profit. The charitable

and voluntary sector is a partner with government to encourage civil society and civic engagement, to contribute to economic growth, support the delivery of public services and help to shape and influence public policy for the benefit of the many thousands of beneficiaries represented by the sector. The voluntary and charitable sector makes a considerable contribution to the UK economy in terms of employment, volunteering and in the case of medical research charities, investment in scientific innovation and medical advancements.

2.2 Medical research charities invested £1.6bn in medical research in the UK in 2016¹²¹, the biggest proportion of public funding for medical research in the UK. As such, they play a vital role and unique role in supporting game changing breakthroughs in treatment and care for people living with conditions such as heart disease. For over 50 years, the BHF and its funded professors and researchers have pioneered life saving research and improved outcomes and survival rates for the people living with cardiovascular disease in the UK and beyond and we are proud of the progress we have made and the global impact our research continues to have, representing the interests of our beneficiaries.

2.3 As the sector grows in size and income, thanks to the goodwill and generosity of the public, modern charities must adapt their governance, accountability and management structures to keep pace. In order to continue to operate effectively and efficiently in the modern social, political and economic landscape, larger charities, such as the BHF which employs over 3,600 staff, works with over 19,000 volunteers and runs the largest charity retail network in the UK with over 720 shops, need to invest in their growth to achieve the outcomes that their beneficiaries deserve. Charities highlight and champion the importance of inclusivity, transparency and accountability of the institutions that serve civil society and take responsibility for shaping and fostering civic engagement.

3. Tackling health inequalities

3.1 The BHF's ambition is to continue to invest £100 million into lifesaving research each year until 2020 and we are making solid progress towards that aim, thanks to the generosity of our supporters and donors. In 2016/17, the BHF invested £107.5m in life saving research, supporting over 550 of the UK's leading cardiovascular scientists. Through partnering with other research funders and government, the BHF and other medical research charities can achieve great advancements in scientific innovations and outcomes for patients and represent those voices that need to be heard in society. Public investment in scientific research leads to economic growth through increases in private sector productivity and has positive economic and social impacts through successful collaboration between the academic and private sectors.

¹²¹ <http://amrc.org.uk/news/charities-funding-contributes-to-uk-medical-research-excellence>

3.2 The BHF is currently funding over 1,000 critical research projects seeking to make breakthroughs in all aspects of heart and circulatory disease and supports six Centres of Research Excellence across the UK, providing vital infrastructure for our world class researchers. BHF-funded research has led to the development of new drugs, treatment guidelines, policy change and scientific resources that have improved the lives of millions of patients and families in the UK and beyond. Through the BHF's contribution to the Whitehall Study that uncovered the link between social factors and heart health, it has informed the development of UK governments' public health policies and World Health Organization guidelines to tackle health inequalities and improve access to preventative interventions and treatment, helping to achieve social inclusivity and cohesiveness.

3.3 A major finding of the Whitehall Study, set-up in 1967, and its sequel was that those in the lowest employment grade were more likely to develop heart disease and die prematurely than their bosses. The studies have also shown that this inequality can't just be attributed to risk factors such as smoking and obesity but that factors like stress, job-control, and work-family conflict have also been shown to impact a person's risk of disease. These findings formed the basis for a report on addressing health inequalities by Professor Sir Michael Marmot for the Government in 2010¹²². This influential report, stemming from pivotal BHF-funded research, is now helping to shape UK governments' public health policies and showcases how the BHF is central to improving outcomes for disadvantaged and often underrepresented groups in our society.

3.4 The BHF's Hearty Lives programme aims to reduce these inequalities in heart disease through working in partnership with local authorities, the NHS and non-profit organisations to improve the health of people at greatest risk of CVD and since 2009, over 159,000 people have taken part in Hearty Lives activities. An external national evaluation took place in 2012, which undertook a review of the operation of Hearty Lives over its first three years. The evaluation showcases a variety of key findings, case studies and in-depth evidence of local impact and behaviour change as a result of these community projects being run across the UK.¹²³

3.5 ***Nation of Lifesavers***

The BHF's ambitions are to take the findings from research and use them to drive the best possible patient outcomes in clinical settings, the community and at home. The BHF's approach to prevention, survival and support drives the implementation of research into practice to improve support for patients, their families and carers. To this end, the BHF provides information and guidance to everyone affected by heart disease and empowers

¹²² <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/fair-society-healthy-lives-full-report.pdf>

¹²³ https://www.bhf.org.uk/-/media/files/publications/healthcare-and-innovations/hearty_lives_national_evaluation_report_jul12.pdf?la=en

patients and healthcare professionals to join the fight and engage in improving outcomes for all and to take part in supporting their community.

3.6 Across the UK, there are over 30,000 cardiac arrests outside of hospital every year but the survival rate is less than 1 in 10. The BHF aim to increase the rate of cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR) and defibrillation through the Nation of Lifesavers campaign, reaching more schools and communities than ever before. Since launching the BHF's vision of a Nation of Lifesavers in October 2014, around 2.4 million people have been trained in CPR across the UK through the Heartstart and Call Push Rescue schemes, working with community groups and with secondary schools across the UK. Over 3,000 (46% of eligible) secondary schools in the UK have already received BHF CPR training kit and, to support European Restart a Heart Day in 2016, the BHF joined with three other major charities and ambulance services to support the delivery of CPR training across communities, managing to train over 150,000 young people on the day.

3.7 The BHF supports the introduction of Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) as a statutory subject for all secondary schools in England and, as part of the Every Child Lifesaver coalition, advocates that first aid and CPR training should be a mandatory component of a new, statutory PSHE curriculum. Teaching first aid as part of the PSHE curriculum for just one hour a year, each year would ensure all children and young people have the opportunity to learn this crucial life skill, building up knowledge and confidence over the course of their time in school and help to foster a sense of civic responsibility for helping to save lives.

4. Volunteering and employability

4.1 The BHF's volunteers continue to make an extraordinary contribution. To many people across the UK, volunteers are the public face of the BHF and they therefore play a vital role. The BHF's 19,600 retail and fundraising volunteers inform people about the BHF's work and services and also act increasingly as passionate and informed advocates, campaigning and helping to recruit more supporters. The BHF provides many volunteering opportunities to meet many different needs, including working in our shops, fundraising in the community and at events. The role of large charities, such as the BHF, in promoting and providing meaningful and varied volunteer opportunities is key to fostering and encouraging a society in which civic participation and engagement is welcomed and facilitated.

4.2 *National Citizenship Service*

The BHF has some involvement with the National Citizenship Service (NCS) which creates a welcomed opportunity for fundraising as part of the NCS volunteering project and it is an area of collaboration which it is hoped will grow over the coming years. However, the BHF does not support the notion of compulsion in volunteering as this does not help to create the necessary environment to foster meaningful and engaged volunteering relationships.

4.3 *Retail Volunteers*

Across the retail operation, the BHF plays a big part in helping to deliver employability and support many people referred for work experience from Job Centre Plus – in July 2017 this amounted to around 6,000 volunteering hours across the BHF retail estate. The BHF sees volunteering as a route to employment and is working with a consortium of large employers to provide work experience placements for the NEET (Not in Education, Employment or Training) population through the Movement to Work programme. In the last year, over 600 BHF retail volunteers achieved or were working towards an NVQ and over 2000 of the younger volunteers worked towards a Duke of Edinburgh Award.

4.4 In 2016, 20% of all paid vacancies in the BHF retail operation were filled by previous volunteers and following the introduction of the Apprenticeship Levy in April, the BHF has appointed its first Apprentice to the BHF Apprentice scheme, who was a former volunteer and winner of the South West Young Volunteer of the Year award. The BHF is working hard to establish a career path from volunteering to apprenticeships and beyond.

5. Fundraising and the Community

5.1 The BHF is almost entirely reliant on public donations to fund its lifesaving and pioneering research and does not directly receive any government funding for its research via contracts or otherwise. Without successfully achieving broad engagement and reach amongst the community in order to gain the support of the generous British public, the BHF would simply not be able to carry out its work and we therefore take our responsibilities to our supporters very seriously. The BHF is committed to ensuring that the charity sector values long-term relationships with donors and upholds a duty of care by charities to their supporters. Charities are the bridge between donors and beneficiaries, allowing the generous British public to help those people and causes they care about and engage in civil society through raising awareness and helping others.

5.2 *Community Fundraising*

The over 250 BHF Community Fundraising groups spread across the UK are at the heart of the BHF's fight for every heartbeat. They are the voice of the BHF in local communities across the UK and help the BHF to reach more people at a local level. BHF groups are made of empowered, dedicated volunteers who raise vital funds and awareness on behalf of the BHF, by hosting fundraising events and activities such as extravagant balls to bag packing, collections to ceilidhs, golf days to garden parties. BHF Community Fundraising groups often forge lifelong friendships and help to build social capital in their local communities by bringing together skills, experience, talent and knowledge to inspire communities for a common shared cause.

5.3 *Mass Participation Events*

Thousands of people across the UK also take part in our mass participation fundraising events, such as 'Dechox', where in March 2016 over 16,000 people signed up via our social media campaign to raise funds by giving up chocolate for a month, the London to Brighton

Bike Ride which in 2016 attracted over 14,000 cyclists and ‘MyMarathon’, another social media campaign which was successful in gathering over 30,000 people to raise funds for the BHF over the course of the year. It’s clear that by offering people opportunities to come together to engage and participate in events with a philanthropic cause, charities help to engender a sense of common purpose for the benefit of wider society and therefore foster civic engagement. The broad reach and engagement that the BHF achieves across the UK is testimony to the unique role that large charities, such as the BHF, play in encouraging and facilitating civic engagement.

5.4 ***Working with Partners***

The BHF’s partnerships with industry and corporates are key to broadening reach and engagement and essential to helping meet fundraising goals. Through the National Charity Partnership with Tesco and Diabetes UK, the organisations worked to support people to make better choices and live longer and healthier lives. More than 17 million people have been reached through the ‘Let’s Do This’ campaign and 254,000 people have been helped to eat more healthily or become more active, helping to improve their health outcomes. A partnership with Nationwide, who funded CPR kits for over 220 schools, also resulted in CPR training for 3,000 of their staff, and training has also been delivered to other corporate partners – Airbus Operations, Travelodge and David Lloyd.

6. **BHF Retail**

6.1 As the largest charity retailer in the UK with over 720 stores, the BHF is taking the fight against heart disease into communities across the UK and the shops welcome around 60 million visitors each year. BHF shops contribute to the wider social fabric of local communities by being a resource centre that provides information and support to people with heart disease and a hub for volunteering and training opportunities. All BHF shops are professionally run and very well presented, playing a vital role in helping to develop thriving high streets and are an asset to the local community.

6.2 BHF shops provide invaluable additional services to the local community through a number of unique activities which mean that a BHF retail outlet is more than just a shop:

- BHF Furniture and Electrical stores offer a free furniture collection service and help to redirect over 65,000 tonnes of furniture a year that local authorities would otherwise have had to deal with, including 130,000 sofas and 5 million books
- Community Boards in all stores highlight information for heart patients, provide leaflets and promotion of our confidential Heart helpline staffed by cardiac nurses

- All shop staff and volunteers are trained in CPR through the kits held instore and which are also lent out to the local community. Some stores also hold training sessions for the local community
- Many BHF shops hold information on where defibrillators the BHF has helped place are located
- There are strong links to our thousands of BHF-funded researchers across the UK who often come to the stores to give presentations
- The BHF has an award-winning partnership with 80 top Universities and local communities through our 'Pack for Good' campaign encouraging students to donate unwanted items to their local BHF stores

The virtuous cycle of charity retail is one in which there are no losers and there are tangible benefits for wider society: through the reuse and recycling of goods, shared value is created which allows the generation of funds for the cause, regenerates local high streets, creates jobs and volunteering opportunities, which in turn helps to build awareness and an emotional connection to the cause for the wider benefit of all and a visible presence on the high street of the benefit of civic engagement and participation.

7. Governance and Leadership – Promoting Trusteeship

7.1 The BHF's ability to retain its position as the UK's heart charity and the biggest funder of cardiovascular research is underpinned by strong, effective governance and leadership. Every charity needs a strong board of Trustees to guide and shape it and becoming a charity Trustee is an important example of a significant commitment to civic engagement and participation. The BHF Board of Trustees is made up of 14 highly skilled volunteers who bring knowledge and insight from business, the voluntary sector and medicine whose breadth of experience ensure that the Board is well equipped to support the charity in moving forward with its strategic aims.

7.2 The increased scrutiny and attention to charity governance in recent times has highlighted the extent of commitment, expertise and personal dedication involved for charity Trustees of large, modern charities generating significant income and expenditure. In an increasingly complex regulatory environment where the risk to individuals is heightened and where the nature of participation is voluntary, the ability to attract and retain such talent in time may be a challenge. The BHF therefore welcomes further investment via the Charity Commission to bolster the recruitment, retention and ongoing support of Trustees and to promote the role to encourage civic engagement.

British Red Cross – written evidence (CCE0243)

Who we are

The British Red Cross is a volunteer-led humanitarian organisation that helps people in crisis, whoever and wherever they are, in the UK and around the world. We are part of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, the world's leading and oldest humanitarian movement which comprises:

- *The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC);*
- *The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC); and*
- *190 national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies worldwide.*

The British Red Cross believes passionately in enabling people to respond to human crisis through human kindness – volunteering your time and talent to support people in need. One of our seven fundamental principles is voluntary service and we currently have 22,000 active volunteers throughout the UK.

Volunteering is a key element of civic engagement – individuals contribute to their communities while developing skills, connecting with people and communities they may not have a chance to do so with otherwise, and find the experience affirming and rewarding in non-financial ways.

Questions answered

What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

- 1.1. The UK has a vibrant civil society, respected internationally. It is hoped that civic engagement within the UK will continue to thrive in the future, providing an environment supportive of civil society organisations and activity.
- 1.2. The definition of “civil society”, and with it civic engagement, varies. Terminology changes and different phrases are used: volunteering, voluntary action, civic engagement, social action. We will use these terms interchangeably through this document.
- 1.3. British Red Cross’s vision is of a world where everyone gets the help they need in a crisis. Our mission is to mobilise the power of humanity so that individuals and communities can prepare for, deal with, and recover from crises.
- 1.4. Voluntary service is one of the Red Cross and Red Crescent’s seven fundamental principles. We are a voluntary relief movement which believes volunteering is at the heart of community-building. It not only helps in the immediate crisis, but also empowers and brings people together in the longer term. In this respect, the

overall impact of volunteering can persist far beyond the provision of aid in the immediate aftermath of a crisis.

- 1.5. We think this matters because, based on almost 140 years of operational experience, we have an innate understanding in the importance of civic society in promoting another of our fundamental principles – that of humanity. Central to the humanity principle is the desire to prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found as well as to promote mutual understanding, friendship, co-operation and lasting peace amongst all peoples. We bring people together so that we can be more effective in our humanitarian work.
- 1.6. Our vision could not be realised without the passionate dedication of more than 21,500 volunteers and 4,100 staff working together for the British Red Cross. They help hundreds of thousands of people cope with all kinds of crises every year – from disasters and conflicts, to individual injuries and other personal challenges. Our people help both individuals and communities prepare for, cope with and recover from a range of crises.
- 1.7. For example, in the past three months we helped over 3,000 people in crisis as a result of the Manchester terror attack, more than 80 people after the London Bridge attack, and over 1,500 in the aftermath of the Grenfell fire. And we continue to offer our support to those affected by these crises as they rebuild their lives, including through continued distribution of the funds that we have raised: £16m for the We Love Manchester emergency fund; £2m for the UK Solidarity Fund; and £5m for the London Fire Relief Fund.
- 1.8. Furthermore, last year alone, British Red Cross UK-based services helped in the region of 112,000 people through our ambulance service, 27,000 refugees, 85,000 people to live independently at home, 100,000 people to access a short-term wheelchair, 250,000 people learn life-saving first aid skills and 16,000 through our emergency response service.
- 1.9. None of this would have been possible without the dedication of our volunteers – they remain the lifeblood of these operations, in which we work to create a society which is more resilient to crises when they strike. Indeed, many of our volunteers are former service users themselves. Those who once came to the Red Cross for emergency support now help others in the dire situation in which they once found themselves.
- 1.10. We tailor our volunteering offer to meet our different business needs and to suit different people. Volunteers are recruited for a specific role and a role description developed for each post. There is also a formal selection process. It is essential that all volunteers are appropriately skilled to carry out their chosen or allocated role. To this end, the British Red Cross offers an extensive range of

training and development opportunities. This offer is a strategic approach in terms of our recruitment and retention.

- 1.11. We believe what makes our volunteering distinctive is that people get to give their time and talents in a way that is both meaningful for them and beneficial to our mission. Research carried out by the British Red Cross highlighting a number of motivations, triggers and barriers to volunteering showed that existing skills or training frequently influenced volunteers' motivations. These skills also shaped the role they sought to occupy. For example, volunteers in event first aid had often previously attended some first aid training and consequently were keen to maintain those skills, while those entering the fire and emergency response or support at home unit often had an employment or experience background that complemented their voluntary role.¹²⁴
- 1.12. We have impact due to the diverse nature of the work that we undertake, and our span of both rural and urban areas. We help people and communities recover from an emergency, provide practical and emotional support to refugees and asylum seekers, increase independence and well-being after a health crisis and support our partners overseas to prepare for and respond to crises. In more rural areas, our volunteers help hundreds of people each year cope with the effects of severe flooding, supporting them as they start to rebuild their lives. This translated to just under 16,000 people being supported and offered comfort, a warm place to rest and advice in 2015.
- 1.13. Our dedicated event first aid volunteers treated over 28,000 casualties at over 5000 events in 2015, from football matches to festivals. Almost 250,000 people learnt life-saving first aid skills through one of our courses. Our first aid education builds both individual and community resilience. It equips people with simple first aid skills that they will remember, builds their confidence to use those skills in an emergency and encourages people to step forward and help.
- 1.14. British Red Cross also provides invaluable support to people to help close the gap between home and hospital. Much of our service is delivered by volunteers. We currently provide over 200 hospital and community services across the UK. Working in partnership with hospital trusts and Clinical Commissioning Groups (CCGs) we form part of a multi-agency response to help a person avoid entering hospital, or to leave statutory care more quickly. This year we will help over 200,000 people through our support at home services in addition to offering over 100 A&E discharge services across the country.
- 1.15. Volunteers also help us deliver other vital services such as in areas where there are gaps in statutory provision. For example, our vital short term wheelchair loan

¹²⁴ British Red Cross: 'The Future Face of Volunteering: a Research Study' (2014), p.30

service helped 103,810 people in 2015. As such, changes to the provision of statutory services have a direct effect on our service offer.

- 1.16. Over the last 140 years, our services have changed to coincide with the changing un-met needs of the population, and will continue to do so, so that we can ensure the needs of the most vulnerable in our society are met. For example, 2014 to 2015 saw a massive increase in the number of people using our refugee services across the country; an increase of 39% on the previous year, to support 27,645 people. The most common service delivered was destitution support, for those that could not meet their basic needs for food and shelter.
- 1.17. We believe that civic engagement is vital to society: it not only confers rights and responsibilities, fosters a sense of belonging, but can also promote inclusion, combating feelings of isolation and loneliness.
- 1.18. Community connectivity increases inclusion and builds resilience and results in the most appropriate responses to crisis situations. It is vital that individuals know how to bring about positive change in their communities.
- 1.19. This is especially relevant to youth volunteer groups. Under 25's are now the biggest growing segment of British Red Cross volunteers. The proportion of young people saying they volunteer has increased by more than half in recent years¹²⁵.
- 1.20. In 2010/11, 23% of 16-24 year olds said they volunteered formally (i.e. through a group or organisation of some kind) at least once a month. By 2014/15 that figure was 35%; a 52% increase, and in real terms it would mean around one million more young volunteers¹²⁶.

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?

6.1 The British Red Cross welcomes the work that successive governments have undertaken to encourage active citizenship.

6.2 The National Citizen Service has a well-established alumni programme, but this is weighted towards encouraging participants to return to the National Citizen Service (e.g. as recruitment ambassadors) rather than take up opportunities to extend/prolong civic engagement in the wider community.

¹²⁵ NCVO UK Civil Society Almanac 2017: <https://data.ncvo.org.uk/>

¹²⁶ Cabinet Office Community Life Survey: <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/community-life-survey>

6.3 There are 100s of voluntary organisations and charities, including the British Red Cross, who engage every day with thousands of volunteers at all levels. Young People aged 15-26 make up 18% of the BRC, 22,000 volunteers throughout the UK. These young people volunteer across all British Red Cross services and activities alongside volunteers of all ages. They could be providing first aid at a public gathering; ensuring a vulnerable person can return home after a stay in hospital; supporting a newly arrived refugee to integrate into their new community; ensuring someone temporarily unable to walk receives a wheelchair or walking aid; selling donated goods in our shops; raising money through fundraising challenges amongst a range of other ways of volunteering their time and talent to support our work to help vulnerable people.

6.4 Our youth volunteers are a significantly active group who are integrated across our organisation appreciating that due to their particular ‘age and stage’ they may need additional support in some areas, as they might be doing things for the first time and are exponentially developing skills, experiences and networks as they give us their time.

6.5 The BRC has introduced RED (Recognise, Empower and Develop), a skills development and accreditation programme for young people. Our young volunteers have told us how important it is for them to have their skills acknowledged in a format that they can share with a prospective employer or for college/university applications.

6.6 It is critical that any programmes involving volunteering are optional and individuals participate of their own free will and not to gain access to state benefits. Forcing people to volunteer risks negative consequences, and in our opinion would be counter-productive.

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?

7.1 Increasingly we are seeing communities arrange take part in civic engagement independently of formal organisations. This started with the London Riots clean up in 2011, and the rise in use of social media has enabled this independent engagement. We need to be aware that people increasingly want to engage on their own terms and may look to charities as enablers of civic engagement rather than agencies that signs up and direct people.

7.2 This also links to the need for the sector to strike a realistic balance between the highly regulated nature of what some charities are engaged in (and all the checks and balances

that come with that) and people's reluctance to commit a huge amount of time and information in order to help their communities.

Young people

7.3 Currently, a young person wishing to volunteer for a year in the UK would fall under the NEET category – not in employment, education or training. However, if they are volunteering full time they are unable to actively job hunt, so cannot claim benefits or receive National Insurance credits.

7.4 This is a barrier to promoting diversity in volunteering, in the same way as unpaid internships are, as it limits volunteering opportunities to those young people fortunate enough to have financial support from other sources, such as parents or other family members. It also diminishes the contribution that volunteers make to our community and fails to recognise the vital work that they do.

7.5 We would welcome the opportunity to explore ways of overcoming these barriers in the future.

Fundraising

7.6 Society can support civic engagement in a myriad of ways. British Red Cross fundraising activities are a vital part of our civic engagement. Fundraising amongst the public is vital in allowing the British Red Cross and our supporters to make an extraordinary impact on the lives of people in crisis. Over half a million members of the public regularly donate to us every year, and this continued and generous support allows us to plan and to rapidly respond to disasters across the world as soon as they take place.

7.7 Alongside delivery of services, our fundraising activities are one of the primary ways that we come into direct contact with the general public and spread awareness of how they can help people in crises.

7.8 We have a range of fundraising activities that are tailored to engage with the community in the most appropriate and relevant way possible:

- Our passionate fundraisers provide inspirational and informed experiences to individual members of the public to provide an opportunity to support charitable causes, both local to the community and internationally;
- Our specialist fundraisers engage with corporate partners, trusts and philanthropists to fund individual projects, support our charitable objectives and express their socially responsible aims;

- Our community fundraisers and Presidents network and community fundraisers around the country work with communities to mobilise local networks and organise events tailored to each area; and
- Our charity shops provide a mechanism for the public to donate goods and support charitable causes in alternative ways, provide volunteer opportunities and a local face for the organisation. We have witnessed how important this is to local communities of late, with the incredible outpour of community spirit following the attack at Manchester Arena and the Grenfell Tower fire.

7.9 By providing a positive experience and showing evidence of the impact of donations and support, we hope to spread our values that encourage the public to continue support these causes – and indeed other civil society initiatives.

Loneliness and social isolation

7.10 In July 2015 British Red Cross and Co-op announced a new partnership to highlight and tackle loneliness and social isolation in communities across the UK.

7.11 Through our research¹²⁷ we found that loneliness is a serious and widespread issue – almost 80 per cent of people have experienced loneliness, and almost one in five (the equivalent of over 9 million adults across the UK) said they were often or always lonely.

7.12 In response to these findings, we have developed a new and broad ‘Connecting Communities’ programme. This includes 49 services in 39 communities across the UK, bringing together more than 50 dedicated staff and around 500 volunteers, who will support thousands of adults of all ages who feel they have nowhere to turn. This is just one of many examples of society becoming involved with civic engagement.

7.13 The programme goes beyond these new services, however. Partnerships will be key to delivering a long-term, sustainable impact on loneliness and social isolation, both for individual service users and on the issues as a whole. Our role as a partner on the Jo Cox Commission on Loneliness has shown the impact that can be achieved when organisations work together to as a broad social movement, amplifying the national conversation on loneliness and the everyday steps people can take in their lives to address it. We aim to build on this by working with partners to ensure services are available to people who need them most no matter how hard-to-reach, and by sharing the learning generated by our new services. At the end of this year, the Jo Cox Commission on Loneliness will be publishing its manifesto including policy recommendations on the role for government.

¹²⁷ British Red Cross:

http://www.redcross.org.uk/~media/BritishRedCross/Documents/What%20we%20do/UK%20services/Co_Op_Trapped_in_a_bubble_report_AW.pdf

7.14 Our research also found that more than 80% of people agreed that ‘there are lots of actions that everyone can take in their daily lives to help those feeling lonely’. A key aim of Connecting Communities is to work with partners, in particular the Co-op and its existing community networks, to support, empower and inspire everyone across the UK to come together and take action in strong, thriving communities where people are supported to connect and stay connected.

Inclusion and diversity

7.15 Inclusion and diversity should be high on the agenda for civil society. It is only through considering and understanding the experiences of all groups in society – particularly protected groups under the Equality Act (2010) and those from working class backgrounds – that civil society can remain effective, relevant and able to represent the interests of all citizens.

7.16 These groups should be represented in the civil society workforce (in terms of both volunteers and staff). A recent British Red Cross report¹²⁸ outlines several recommendations to address this.

7.17 We believe that any reduction in civil society funding will mean that organisations may struggle to pay competitive salaries, or even the living wage. This risks leading to an increasingly homogenous workforce. This will impede our ability to harness the diversity of talent in society and most effectively support the diverse citizens civil society exists to support.

7.18 This lack of funding, or the insecurity of funding, may lead to a lack of innovation in civil society, leaving the sector stagnant and resistant to change and, potentially, at risk of losing relevance to the citizens we exist to support.

Volunteer retention

8.1 Recent internal research the British Red Cross conducted into volunteers, and whose findings may have learnings for the wider civil society, found¹²⁹ that it is common to volunteer for a number of different organisations, even within the space of one year. The majority of volunteers carry out volunteer activities at least once a week, and there is overwhelming satisfaction with volunteering roles, with over half of volunteers we sampled being very satisfied. Three quarters intended to continue volunteering next year, and about the same proportion would consider volunteering for a different organisation next year.

¹²⁸ British Red Cross:

<http://www.redcross.org.uk/~media/BritishRedCross/Documents/Who%20we%20are/Recruiting%20Supporting%20and%20Developing%20Black%20Asian%20and%20Minority%20Ethnic%20BAME%20Staff%20%20Findings%20and%20Recommendations%20for%20the%20British%20Red%20Cross.pdf>

¹²⁹ Internal research/management information – unpublished

8.2 The same research found that the factors that may drive volunteer retention are:

- Greater flexibility in regards to volunteer commitments – allowing a change in hours/location or informing volunteers of alternative roles that might be relevant;
- Ensuring that all volunteers feel valued for their time as well as the skills/expertise that they bring;
- Communicating effectively with volunteers; including on how different teams are working together;
- Ensuring volunteers only attend training that is valuable and explaining why each course is felt to be so;
- Clear channels and procedures to raise issues if problems are encountered;
- Retaining contact with lapsed volunteers outlining current volunteering opportunities; and
- Engaging volunteers when they decide to leave to discuss possible alternative arrangements.

8.3 It is the role of any organisation who works with volunteers to take these factors in to consideration.

6 September 2017

The British Youth Council – written evidence (CCE0098)

The British Youth Council is the National Youth Council of the UK. As a youth-led charity, we empower young people aged 25 and under to influence and inform the decisions that affect their lives. We support young people to get involved in their communities and democracy locally, nationally and internationally, making a difference as volunteers, campaigners, decision-makers and leaders.

The British Youth Council runs a number of youth-led networks and programmes - including the [UK Youth Parliament](#), the Young Mayor Network, the Local Youth Council Network and [Youth Select Committee](#) - which encourage young people to get involved in democracy and campaign to bring about social and political change.

- The British Youth Council believes that 16 and 17 year olds should have the right to vote in all public elections and referenda; by extending the franchise to 16 and 17 year olds, we believe that they will be meaningfully engaged in decisions that affect their lives.
- Young people believe that changes to the voting and registration process will engage more of the electorate. Young people are in favour of registering up until Election Day, and with voting online. Young people believe that both of these adjustments would make the whole process more accessible.
- For the last five years, young people voted the need to have a curriculum that prepared them for life as a priority issue. Education plays an important role in empowering young people to become active citizens, and in 2013 the Youth Select Committee found that both primary and secondary schools have a critical role to play in nurturing these skills. The Youth Select Committee also found that the quality of citizenship lessons varied across the country, and that in some cases teaching on citizenship was not effective as teachers who lacked expertise found it difficult to cover the range of topics in the citizenship curriculum.
- A lack of meaningful and sustained engagement by politicians can act as a barrier to young people's active citizenship. Young people feel like politicians only engage with them around election time. Democratic engagement programmes and initiatives need to be sustained – they should last longer than the duration of an election campaign.
- The UK Youth Parliament is a great role model of positive British Citizenship within a tolerant and cohesive society. We are proud of the diversity of the programme and of the issues young people prioritise. In 2015, Members of Youth Parliament voted to tackle racial and religious discrimination as their national campaign – as part of this over 300 young people participated in social action for the campaign.

*This submission was written by Francesca Danmole on behalf of the British Youth Council.
This submission is supported by the Children’s Rights Alliance for England.*

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 voting registration process?

1. The British Youth Council has been campaigning to extend the franchise to 16 and 17 year olds in all public elections and referenda for the last 19 years. We are a member of the steering group for the Votes at 16 Coalition alongside the Children’s Rights Alliance for England (CRAE), National Union of Students (NUS) and the Scottish Youth Parliament. We have found that Votes at 16 has been consistently prioritised as an issue by young people.
 - 1.1 We have over 200 members ranging from national organisations such as the Girlguiding, National Federation of Young Farmers’ Clubs and St John Ambulance to local youth councils across the UK. In the run up to the 2015 General Election, we consulted our members to find out what priority issues they wanted the future parliament to address - Votes at 16 topped the poll.
 - 1.2 Since 2012, Votes at 16 has been voted as a priority issue for the British Youth Council’s members.
 - 1.3 The British Youth Council runs the UK Youth Parliament – in 2014 and 2016, members of Youth Parliament voted to make Votes 16 their national campaign.
 - 1.4 UK Youth Parliament coordinates Make Your Mark – the largest annual UK-wide consultation with young people aged 11-18. In 2016, over 975,000 young people (1 in 6 11-18 year olds) took part – Votes at 16 was voted as one of the top five issues.
 - 1.5 In 2014, the Youth Select Committee undertook an inquiry into whether the voting age should be lowered to 16 for all UK elections. After reviewing oral and written evidence from parliamentarians, young people, civil society organisations and academics, the Committee concluded that 16 and 17 year olds should be given the right vote. They also concluded that:
 - 1.5.1 Voting is a fundamental human right and that any restrictions placed on it should be the minimum to achieve their aim.
 - 1.5.2 There was no single age of maturity in the UK – a definitive age of maturity is difficult to prove and they received no evidence which suggested that 16 year olds were not mature enough to vote.

- 1.5.3 There needed to be a balance between rights and responsibilities. 16 and 17 year olds are able to make various contributions to their country. We believe that citizens who are seen as old enough to make such contributions should also be able to elect the representatives who make decisions about the effects of these contributions, like public spending and going to war.
 - 1.5.4 16 and 17 year olds are interested in and care about political issues and the World around them but cannot engage in formal political processes.
 2. We believe that extending the franchise to 16 and 17 year olds will meaningfully engage them in the decisions that affect their lives.
 - 2.1 Young people’s participation in the Scottish Referendum demonstrates that they are eager to engage. The Referendum gave 16 and 17 year olds a once in a lifetime opportunity to have their say in shaping the future of their country. It was necessary to ensure that this age group participated in the historic vote. The precedence set by enfranchising 16 and 17 year olds in the Scottish Referendum, and enactment of the Scottish Elections (Reduction of Voting Age) Bill are hugely positive steps towards a more inclusive and equal political system.
 - 2.2 In 2015, we delivered a consultation, in which over 270 young people aged 12 to 22 from North West, North East, London, East of England, Midlands, South East, South West Regions and Scotland participated.
 - 2.3 Participants concluded that 16 and 17 year olds deserve the right to influence policies and laws which affect their lives but, that they currently have no say on. They believe that the extension of the franchise to 16 and 17 year olds would enable this to become a reality, and empower them to actively participate in their future. To this end, participants proposed that extending the franchise to 16 and 17 year olds would ensure that youth voice is represented in politics, which would mean that politicians have to meaningfully engage with them. They further suggested that this could lead to an increase in the number of younger politicians. Participants also spoke about how they are often judged harshly by society; granting 16 and 17 year olds the right to vote in all public elections would promote mutual respect between young people and adults and would challenge negative stereotypes of young people.
3. Changes to the registration process
 - 3.1 In the consultation mentioned above, we also explored potential changes to the voting process and voter registration process. We explored registration to vote up until Election Day and online voting.

- 3.2 Registering up until Election Day: Life circumstances determine what makes something a priority, and unfortunately for some of the electorate, registering to vote was not a priority. They believed that voting is important and so there should be flexibility for people to register up to Election Day – they also believed that this would ensure that more people had the chance to participate. They considered the idea that political parties' campaigns intensified closer to the election, often after registration had ended.
- 3.3 Voting online: Participants concluded that voting online would be more convenient as people could vote from wherever they are; as society continues to develop it would be important that participating in democracy was not bound to a location (Polling station). They suggested that an increase in voting methods could increase voter turnout, and an option to vote online would have a positive impact on the environment as less paper would be used.
- 3.4 Participants expressed some concerns about how online voting could be susceptible to hacking and voter rigging. They believed that democracy could be compromised if people began making fake accounts, personal information of the electorate was unwillingly shared, and that online voting could bring in a new wave of voter fraud. However, they concluded that more people than ever before manage their lives online and used the security of online banking as an example to pacify their earlier concerns. Security systems needed to be in place that would create paramount safe cyber environments to protect the electorate; and agreed that for it to be a smooth process much ground work (education) would have to be done

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 exemptions? Should there be more emphasis on political participation, both inside and outside classes? How effective is current teaching? Do the curriculum and qualifications that are currently offered need amending?

- 3.1 We believe that good PSHE (Personal, Social, Health and Economic education) includes education on citizenship and political participation. Since 2012 – young people from across the UK (through the Make Your Mark Ballot) voted having a curriculum which prepares them for life as a priority issue. The calls for a Curriculum for Life include citizenship education.
- 3.2 In 2013, the British Youth Council's Youth Select Committee (in partnership with Parliament) led an inquiry into the role of the education system in England in supporting young people to develop life skills. They considered the development of different skills needed help young people realise their full potential.

- 3.3 The Youth Select Committee found that both primary and secondary schools have a critical role to lay in nurturing these skills. However citizenship lessons were not meeting young people’s needs.
- 3.4 Evidence gathered by the Youth Select Committee suggests that current teaching is not effective; they found that teachers who lacked expertise found it difficult to cover the range of topics in the citizenship curriculum – political literacy was particularly intimidating.
- 3.5 To ensure the quality of PSHE and citizenship, the Youth Select Committee recommended that PSHE teachers should be afforded the same standard of training and support as in any other subject. They also recommended that Local Authorities should monitor the quality of PSHE provision in schools and encourage schools to undertake further training where necessary.
- 3.6 We believe that young people’s education does not currently prepare them to adequately vote. We believe that to prepare for lowering the voting age, a comprehensive programme should be designed and implemented to improve formal political engagement amongst young people.

Why do so many communities and groups feel “left behind”? Are there any specific factors which act as barriers to active citizenship? Are there 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?

- 4.1 In the run up to the EU Referendum, the British Youth Council ran a voter registration campaign. As a general observation, young voters continue to turn out in low numbers in elections, though it was up from the General Election 2015 (64% from 43%). The additional challenge here comes with the fact that 18-25 year olds are not a homogenous group in that, within this demographic, there are groups from different backgrounds, socio-economic status, employment status and education levels. We have found a lack of meaningful engagement from politicians, acts as a barrier to young people’s active citizenship. Engagement is not just for election times – it must be meaningful and sustained over time. There are young people who believe that their vote is not valued, and who do not want to engage with politicians or democracy. Meaningful engagement takes time; and we have identified that the work the British Youth Council does through our programmes, initiatives and education can make a difference to young people.

Can you give examples of initiatives and role model that have helped promote a positive vision of British Citizenship within a tolerant and cohesive society?

5.1 UK Youth Parliament is the British Youth Council’s flagship programme; we are very proud of the diversity of the young people who are engaged in the programme. Young people come together from across the UK to debate important issues, and when they disagree they do so in a respectful way. At the 2016 UK Youth Parliament House of Commons Sitting there were speeches from young people on a better and kinder democracy.

	UK Youth Parliament	UK Parliament
Female	51%	29%
Male	49%	71%
Ethnic minorities	29%	6.6%

5.2 In 2015, Members of Youth Parliament voted tackling racial and religious discrimination as their national campaign. The campaign aimed to

- 5.2.1 Change discriminatory attitudes of young people towards race and religion.
- 5.2.2 Raise levels of understanding about different races and religions, communities and cultures.
- 5.2.3 Challenge negative images of race and religion on social media.
- 5.2.4 Promote diversity and inclusion within communities.

5.3 Over 300 young people from across the UK participated in the campaign, coordinating their own social action projects to reach its aims.

7 September 2017

Professor Thom Brooks, Dean & Chair in Law and Government, Durham Law School, Durham University – written evidence (CCE0161)

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?

Citizenship and civic engagement are about belonging within a shared community. This matters for many reasons. Citizenship confers a status with rights – and it is crucial to make clear when individuals meet criteria for citizenship so that their rights are given proper recognition. As stated in my book *Becoming British*:

‘Citizenship matters. Only a country’s citizens can enjoy the full rights of their shared political membership. To be a citizen is to have the most fundamental rights – or, as the philosopher Hannah Arendt said, ‘a right to have rights’. The right to live in a state permanently, the right to vote and the right to run for elected office are a small handful of the wide-ranging privileges that individuals have as citizens. But it is even more than that. Being a citizen is about belonging to a community’.¹³⁰

It is also important for setting immigration and integration policies. Clarifying the expectations for citizens and citizenship sets a standard by which other policies can be established. For example, English language fluency requirements for temporary residency should be no more stringent than for citizenship – setting the latter helps clarify how we set the former. To be without a clear idea about citizenship would be to lack a clear basis for how less permanent forms of residency (as workers, students, etc) should be assessed. I

Civic engagement is essential and the evidence is it appears in retreat. This is not unique to Britain. To be engaged civically is to recognise oneself as having a stake in one’s society. In my book *Punishment*, I discuss risk factors for criminal offending and how many, if not all, could be linked to alienation – both in a material and psychological sense – that can be easy to diagnose yet difficult to overcome.¹³¹

Citizenship relates to identity in a particular way. In Britain, it is best understood as a political identity. As I detail in my chapter ‘What is Britishness?’, previous attempts to link having a British identity with race, religion and language all fail.¹³² Being British started with

¹³⁰ Thom Brooks, *Becoming British: UK Citizenship Examined*. London: Biteback, 2016, p. vii.

¹³¹ Thom Brooks, *Punishment*. London: Routledge, 2012, pp. 144–47. Citizens become more likely to engage in crime where they feel subjectively alienated from their community. For example, see Catherine E. Ross and John Mirowsky, ‘Neighborhood Disorder, Subjective Alienation, and Distress’, *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 50 (2009): 49–64 and S. Saegert and G. Winkel, ‘Crime, Social Capital, and Community Participation’, *American Journal of Community Psychology* 34 (2004): 219–33.

¹³² Thom Brooks, *Becoming British: UK Citizenship Examined*. London: Biteback, 2016, pp. 53–84.

Professor Thom Brooks, Dean & Chair in Law and Government, Durham Law School, Durham University – written evidence (CCE0161)

the union of England and Scotland. Citizen-subjects who spoke only English, Welsh or Scots Gaelic were no less equal for it.

Of course, Britain is a multi-ethnic society and any attempt at identifying a common, unifying threat that is our shared identity must capture this fact. Past reports from Lord (Bhikhu) Parekh and Sir Bernard Crick have been inspiring, but in need of renewal.¹³³ When each looked to see what our common identity was, they found in public consultations that local communities often said being British was about having some regional characteristic – such as eating haggis or celebrating Hogmanay in Scotland – that said more about what made regions different than brought them together. Both reports conclude we should have a more civic and political conception of identity for citizens broad enough to capture these differences and include all citizens. Citizenship should look to shared civic values and knowledge of public institutions.

This is very much in need of renewal. It is now over 10 years since Sir Bernard's report – the last best official report into British citizenship available and published before the rise in migration numbers and rise in public concern about immigration. Its recommendations about the UK citizenship test and use of citizenship ceremonies have never been tested or re-evaluated to consider how they might be revised, etc to meet their original purposes. No naturalised citizen – me included – has been consulted on whether they improve integration. (In fact, my research into the citizenship test and rules show they appear more likely to damage integration than support it.¹³⁴) We urgently require a new body – like an Advisory Group or Commission – launched to take up this work and inform government policy – led by a naturalised citizen who knows the system first-hand.¹³⁵

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?

There are ways we can strengthen identities around citizenship much more than we do. The first is to recognise that integration is not a one-way street. We rightly have expectations that migrants to Britain will meet certain thresholds, but we fail to do enough to ensure our expectations can be met. English language provision is subject to a post code lottery where it can be much quicker to join English instruction and complete training in some areas

¹³³ See Bhikhu Parekh, *The Future of Multi-ethnic Britain: Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-ethnic Britain*. London: Profile, 2000 and Bernard Crick, *The New and the Old: The Report of the 'Life in the United Kingdom' Advisory Group*. London: Home Office Social Policy Unit, 2003.

¹³⁴ Thom Brooks, *Becoming British: UK Citizenship Examined*. London: Biteback, 2016.

¹³⁵ This is a role that I have been keen to have for many years.

Professor Thom Brooks, Dean & Chair in Law and Government, Durham Law School, Durham University – written evidence (CCE0161)

instead of others. My research found that it was possible to get onto some programmes in a fortnight, but others might take eight months or more.¹³⁶

As an immigrant myself, I first learned about the television license when asked by an inspector whether or not I had one. Much more must be done to inform and support migrants to Britain about our expectations rather than leaving it to migrants to figure out on their own (perhaps in the cynical hope that more will fail to jump the necessary hoops and be forced to leave).

Citizenship ceremonies can be a powerful moment for new citizens. I know first-hand because I took part in one in 2011 when I became a British citizen. But it is also the case that these ceremonies have been subjected to very little study or analysis beyond my own research.¹³⁷ For example, the ceremonies are meant to have a symbolic importance – that they no doubt do for many people – but there has been no study into whether or not the current framework achieves this outcome. The actual ceremony itself conferring naturalisation can take only a couple minutes. There are wide differences in how local councils manage these ceremonies with some offering gifts and others not yet all receive a set resource paid for from the citizenship fee to conduct ceremonies. These events are regularly hidden. 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.

This is very different from the approach in other countries like Canada and the United States. Ceremonies are welcoming events that regularly receive coverage in local news both television and newspapers. Political leaders routinely attend and offer their support. Only this week, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau met with newly inaugurated Canadian citizens in an event widely publicised. Britain should follow their lead.

Education can play a supportive role, although education alone will not be enough. More emphasis on civics and citizenship in the schools is welcome and understanding being British as a connection in values and political community rather than allegiance to a particular faith or ethnic identity. Part of this education might come through attendance at citizenship ceremonies raising awareness and perhaps speaking with new citizens about why they chose to become British. From my experience, the public can be shocked by the cost and the hurdles of becoming citizens. This can have a positive effect.

A key way I would recommend educating the public about British citizenship is to launch an Advisory Group or Commission into examining the Life in the United Kingdom citizenship

¹³⁶ See Thom Brooks, *Becoming British: UK Citizenship Examined*. London: Biteback, 2016, pp. 121–48.

¹³⁷ Thom Brooks, *Becoming British: UK Citizenship Examined*. London: Biteback, 2016.

Professor Thom Brooks, Dean & Chair in Law and Government, Durham Law School, Durham University – written evidence (CCE0161)

test. The test is in its third edition and no more fit for purpose than at its start in 2005. I published the only comprehensive report into the test and its failings in 2013 – calling the test ‘like a bad pub quiz’ – that has been cited in several parliamentary debates.¹³⁸

My report found several problems with the current edition. It is impractical with about 3,000 facts including many that few, if any, British citizens know like the height of the London Eye in feet or who started the first curry house and what street it was on.¹³⁹ The test handbook does not require citizens to know how to contact the police, register with a GP or report a crime. The test is inconsistent. Individuals are not required to know how many MPs are in Parliament, but they are required to know the number of representatives in the Welsh Assembly, Scottish Parliament and Northern Ireland Assembly. No mention is made of the UK Supreme Court, but there is mention of most lower courts. There is widespread gender imbalance across all categories, spurious facts that ministers have since acknowledged that – despite being in the handbook which states that all information must be known – are not on any test, and there are a number of mistakes and omissions. For example, the handbook requires knowing the phone numbers to contact the House of Commons, Welsh Assembly and Scottish Parliament, but omits the Northern Ireland Assembly.¹⁴⁰

There are two key outcomes that would arise from a comprehensive, official review into the citizenship test. The first is that its design and implementation is meant 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. My research detailed in *Becoming British* – and as someone who sat and passed the test in 2009 – is that the citizenship test has a counterproductive effect on new migrants.¹⁴¹ 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. I have likened the move from the second edition to the third edition as a switch from a test of trivia to a purely trivial test. If my research is correct, then making no substantive change will not lead to the intended outcome of ensuring new citizens share British values and can engage constructively with public institutions. This must be changed. The failure to consult, review and get feedback from naturalised citizens who have undertaken and passed the process is alarming. So one key outcome of a review

¹³⁸ Thom Brooks, *The ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Citizenship Test: Is It Fit for Purpose?* Durham: Durham University, 2013 (link: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2280329). Video presentation of report launch in 2013 is <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RhSZuzCvOB4>. Discussions in Parliament include <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201314/ldhansrd/text/131010-gc0002.htm>.

¹³⁹ Thom Brooks, *The ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Citizenship Test: Is It Fit for Purpose?* Durham: Durham University, 2013, p. 24. See Home Office, *Life in the United Kingdom*, 3rd edition. London: TSO, p. 113.

¹⁴⁰ Thom Brooks, *The ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Citizenship Test: Is It Fit for Purpose?* Durham: Durham University, 2013, p. 33. See Home Office, *Life in the United Kingdom*, 3rd edition. London: TSO, p. 126, 136.

¹⁴¹ Thom Brooks, *Becoming British: UK Citizenship Examined*. London: Biteback, 2016, pp. 85–120.

Professor Thom Brooks, Dean & Chair in Law and Government, Durham Law School, Durham University – written evidence (CCE0161)

would be to ensure a fourth edition of the test, if it were to continue, is fit for purpose. I see no evidence that it is at present.

The second key outcome is educational. A national conversation about what knowledge new citizens should have ought to be welcomed. The public should be invited to take part and contribute – and through the exchange and challenge of views there can be a strongly positive, educational result as pinning down what should be on the test is easier said than done. The exercise would raise public awareness that there is such a test, the requirements new migrants must pass to stay and what policies are being implemented in the public's name to win their confidence. This is an opportunity to be taken immediately.

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?

I would advocate a new test for migrants to pass for citizenship. It is widely remarked how immigrants bring value to the United Kingdom through enriching the country economically, culturally and socially through the skills, talents and experiences they bring with them. Yet there is also some degree of public scepticism about this value. Some claim the benefits of immigration are shared only by an elite – or by the individual migrant himself or herself.

My new test would be a Contribution Test. If migrants bring new skills and experience that enrich the country and benefit Britain – and the problem is that the public has some doubts about how this benefits them and/or local communities, then migrants might be required to undertake some nominal number of hours (e.g., 4-10) for permanent residency and/or citizenship. These hours are to be spent supporting educational, governmental, charitable or religious organisations approved by the Home Office for this purpose of delivering support or training to the public. Instead of only benefiting themselves or their employers (in the eyes of some in the public), migrants can be shown to directly delivering benefits to reskilling and supporting employability of the wider public. Government can claim that a number of hours of career and employability support has been delivered at job centres, schools, charities and the like for the benefit of the British public. Crucially, not only can this benefit be claimed, but it can be seen – the public must be able to see it for themselves. If more saw the benefits for them from new potential migrants, this could have a powerful effect on citizens old and new.

I would also advocate an idea floated in Sir Bernard's *The Old and the New* report which I champion in *Becoming British*.¹⁴² I argue that newly naturalised citizens should be encouraged to act as mentors for migrants beginning their journey to citizenship. Who

¹⁴² Thom Brooks, *Becoming British: UK Citizenship Examined*. London: Biteback, 2016, pp. 253–82.

Professor Thom Brooks, Dean & Chair in Law and Government, Durham Law School, Durham University – written evidence (CCE0161)

better than migrants who became British to show new migrants how to do the same and how integration is achieved as a migrant? This is a resource that is untapped.

I would also go further in requiring any council that runs citizenship ceremonies, in return for receiving funding for them, to organise drop-in integration surgeries open to citizens and migrants alike. Understandably, a large focus on integration has centred on English language instruction. But integration is about more than that – and some specified surgeries for it could benefit migrants, but also citizens who are newcomers to an area.

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?

No, they do not. Studies have been mixed on voting age and participation. Some suggest that lowering the voting age might have a counterproductive effect of making people early non-voters to be followed by a longer life of non-participation. But this is the past. There seems a reawakened interest in political events in Britain since at least the Scottish referendum vote that is welcome. I recommend lowering the voting age to 16 years of age.

Changes to the voting registration process are unwelcome because we should encourage more, not less, participation in our politics. The current process is likely to see more left out and this has negative effects not only on our democracy, but it fosters alienation and worse.

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?

I believe citizenship should be compulsory in schools. Universities should be encouraged, but not forced, to ensure its graduates are knowledgeable in becoming active citizens.

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?

I have not interacted with the National Citizen Service, but I am broadly in favour of such kinds of programmes. I cannot comment on specifics about this particular programme.

Professor Thom Brooks, Dean & Chair in Law and Government, Durham Law School, Durham University – written evidence (CCE0161)

As someone who took part in a citizenship ceremony, I believe they should be made more public and receive more publicity than they do with support from the Prime Minister, her Cabinet and all MPs (including their attendance).

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?

I have commented on this above.

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?

I have commented on this above. I will add that ‘British values’ identified by the Home Office should not be a list drawn by a government department without thorough engagement with the public. This is another reason why I believe it is essential – and urgent – that a review of the citizenship test is undertaken. A national conversation leading to a more fit for purpose test can better deliver on integration and public understanding of what British identity and citizenship is that will be a marked improvement on where we are today. This would benefit all groups by being more inclusive and provide an opportunity for challenging unwelcome and anti-integrationist views.

In short, immigration law and policies are a moving target with changes made almost daily. It is moving so fast it can be difficult for specialists to keep up – and impossible for most of the public. Government ministers too readily tweak guidance or issue public statements in reaction to tabloid headlines rather than show greater leadership. This has left a political vacuum that a national conversation can and should fill.¹⁴³

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?

I have commented on alienation above. I have made my greatest progress with the public who feel ‘left behind’ when in conversation. In public lectures outside the university, I will invite people to draw up a list of what should be required for new citizens – and then proceed to show, as an immigration law expert, how virtually every suggestion is already in force much to their pleasant surprise. I do not see the way forward as telling anyone what

¹⁴³ I would welcome an opportunity to play a key role, if not lead, this process.

Professor Thom Brooks, Dean & Chair in Law and Government, Durham Law School, Durham University – written evidence (CCE0161)

to think, but start from learning more about public expectations and working from there in knowledge of the relevant law and evidence.

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?

I have commented on this above.

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?

I have commented on this above. I would again highlight that if we expect migrants to undertake English language instruction, it is necessary for us to support provision so it is possible. My research (already noted) has shown that it is a post code lottery.

I would further recommend the following. First, English language requirements for new migrants are subject to some arbitrary exemptions such as on nationality. Not all Americans meet the English language requirement yet all are exempt from having to prove it. This is a mistake. The current nationality exemption list includes some, but not all, countries that have English as a *de jure* or *de facto* official language. This gives the appearance of an arbitrary list that is unfit for its stated purpose. I would end nationality exemptions immediately requiring all to pass some test not unlike with the citizenship test. In conversation with ESOL providers, I have been told that such a test exists, the fees paid would bring more resource into support those ESOL students requiring additional support.¹⁴⁴

Secondly, English language requirements are subject to arbitrary exemptions for graduates. All must pay a fee to NARIC to prove they have received a degree or degree-level qualification in English. All are accepted to exempt individuals from having to prove they meet English language thresholds – even if from higher education providers in countries not on the nationality exemption list. This should be scrapped and all required to pass some test.

Thirdly, it is unclear that English language proficiency alone is sufficient to enable satisfactory integration in every community. There are parts of the UK where Welsh, Scots Gaelic or Ulster Scots can be at least as effective (and perhaps additional languages). Since

¹⁴⁴ See Thom Brooks, *Becoming British: UK Citizenship Examined*. London: Biteback, 2016, pp. 121–48.

Professor Thom Brooks, Dean & Chair in Law and Government, Durham Law School, Durham University – written evidence (CCE0161)

the origin of the United Kingdom, fluency in English, Welsh or Scots Gaelic was accepted for citizenship. The citizenship test was available in any of these three languages – although sat only once in Scots Gaelic and never in Welsh. This remained true until October 2013 to my surprise without any objections in Parliament. Of course, these languages – plus Cornish – are acceptable for new MPs in making their oaths and taking their seats after election. I can see a value in giving Welsh and Scots Gaelic their equal standing once again with English – and Cornish now that Cornish has protected minority status in the UK. (I have further commented that this necessitates a change in the UK citizenship test which is inconsistent with the protected minority status of the Cornish since 2014.)¹⁴⁵

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?

The examples of initiatives that come to mind are Lord Parekh's Commission and Sir Bernard's Advisory Group, but nothing with real prominence in the decade or more since.

In terms of role models, there are a number of individuals I find inspiring in this regard including Lord Parekh. As a migrant and naturalised citizen, I became very concerned about hostile media coverage of immigrants more broadly and have dedicated myself to challenging it in regular media appearances and columns for national newspapers.¹⁴⁶ But more much can and should be done, made visible and supported by government and opposition parties alike.

8 September 2017

¹⁴⁵ See Thom Brooks, 'Cornish pasties must be added to the UK citizenship test', *The Conversation* (25 April 2014): <http://theconversation.com/cornish-pasties-must-be-added-to-the-uk-citizenship-test-25970>

¹⁴⁶ See <http://www.thombrooks.info/media-centre/media-appearances-2017/>

Roger Bysouth – written evidence (CCE0230)

I'm answering most of your questions. I see them all as important in current UK circumstances as well as in the long term. But you'll easily spot that the question that I most want to have my say on is no. 5. The issues raised there I think also have a bearing on most of your other questions too.

1. Does citizenship matter?

Yes.

2. Strengthening people's identity as citizens

Yes I think strengthening people's identity as citizens is a good thing and do not fear or mistrust it as tantamount to politicising people in an undesirable or partisan way. How this strengthening is done, of course has to be non-partisan and open to scrutiny. If people have a greater sense of themselves as citizens with some degree of power as well as a stake in the state, then there may well be more protest, voiced discontent and possibly a shake-up in voting patterns – at least in the shorter term. In the longer term there will also be a greater sense of ownership, agency and I think willingness to embrace pluralism and diversity.

It's easier for some sections of the community to have a sense of themselves as citizens: mainly those with wealth, education, rewarding work etc. – in short with power. For marginalised people that's much harder. They are more likely to see society and the economy as stacked against them and less deserving of their sense of responsibility. If some people's sense of citizenship relies on, or is reinforced by, continuing inequalities that mean others remain excluded. That isn't a sense of citizenship I'd support or see as positive in the long term. We may be seeing the effects of this with the issues raised in your question 9.

So for these reasons I think the issue is not just about a stronger sense of identity, but also the values bound up in that identity.

3. Citizenship rights and responsibilities

To me these are a central part of what a positive citizen's identity entails.

4. Laws and the franchise

I confess I'm not sure what issue you are getting at. Broadly I am in favour of reducing the voting age threshold to 16. I also think we should look at prisoners being able to vote. Yes it's a liberty which can be taken away. But it is a socialising factor and that's what we want for prisoners surely.

5. Role of education

I welcome citizenship education in schools. I can't prove it, but believe it is an effective way of giving or reinforcing knowledge about how the UK works and a positive and empowered attitude to engaging in it. I observe that young people are likely to have

more “pro-citizenship” views and behaviour than their elders. Clearly it doesn’t always work. Probably it is exposure to adults with a less “pro-citizenship” culture that chips away at young people’s outlook as they leave school and interact with more adults.

Therefore my key interest is making some impact on educating *adults* about citizenship. I am beginning to make plans and contacts for trying out a model in South Manchester where I live, whose main elements are:

- citizenship education, for any adult who wants it, on how Parliament and local government, the judiciary and civil service; the economy, international trade and development work; international bodies like the UN and EU; the media; climate change. Like a GCSE Citizenship– but for adults.
- Maybe 8 weekly sessions, each about 2 hours long, close to where learners live.
- Nuts and bolts information (as unbiased as possible) with discussion and thinking critically about the information we get.
- Framed by learners – if they want to go into more detail in some areas, organisers can help get it.
- For some this would be an introduction; for some a refresher.
- The starting point is acknowledging each one of us may benefit from this, not just other people we think make wrong decisions!

Who could/should run it?

I think a civil society response is probably more desirable and effective than a response directly from “the state”, so:

- Community groups – to spread the word and offer venues. They represent local people; have the contacts and presence in communities.
- Local people – agreeing what they want to learn about.
- Higher education – to tutor. Universities are generally trusted as rigorous and impartial. And have a wide range of resources and areas of expertise, and usually a commitment to support the communities they are a part of.

Who’d pay for it?

- Main costs would be materials, tutors, publicity and venues.
- Universities may see it as part of their commitment to the communities they are part of – and so fund all/some of their costs themselves.
- At least to start with should be free to learners.
- Apply for voluntary/community sector grants

Why is now a good time to try this?

It is widely reported that we often:

- find it hard to make informed decisions – e.g. vote – on the increasingly complex and changing issues government – local and national – is responsible for;

- feel that politics and the economy have not worked in our interests and yet feel powerless to do anything about it (e.g. the “left behind” below);
- focus on opinions (often strongly or extremely expressed) about issues rather than dispassionate assessment of facts;
- mistrust “experts” and politicians for various reasons, including it seems because we are aware we do not have enough information to decide on complex issues independently;
- make individual and collective political decisions as a consequence of the above which we may later regret;

We cannot inform everyone about *everything* with the course described. Nor can we solve all these issues, but we can

- give a good grounding in core information and critical thinking;
- provide a “safe space” for politically-charged discussions;
- give opportunities for further exploration of issues – through universities;
- foster a climate where citizenship education is as normal as, say, learning to drive;
- start to redress the imbalance between the complexity of the modern UK and citizens’ information, critical thinking skills and confidence

6. Voluntary citizenship programmes

I see no benefit in making citizenship programmes compulsory for adults, including those coming to live in the UK. I think the voluntary nature of programmes is likely to make participants more active and receptive to them. Introducing compulsion for adults could damage the effectiveness of programmes.

7. Societal support for Civic Engagement

I think there does need to be “Societal support for Civic Engagement” depending on what this means in detail:

- legislation that helps reinforce a pro-civic engagement climate or culture- yes.
- legislation that introduces compulsion, especially for people already marginalised and facing hostility in society – this could be more destructive than constructive.
- non-government actions to foster civic awareness, engagement etc. – yes. I’d put my preferred model of citizenship education in this category (see q5 above)

8. Shared values

Yes we can have shared values without all believing identical things.

9. “Left behind”

I think this group is an important factor politicians and anyone interested in social integration and cohesion should now face. The phenomenon is a symptom of an inadequate culture of citizenship, not so much a cause of it. The kind of citizenship education I favour (q5) could be one useful way of addressing the issue, though action on many other fronts will be necessary.

10. Social cohesion, integration, diversity

I don't think they're mutually exclusive.

11. English proficiency

I think English proficiency is of enormous benefit to all citizens.

I have been told by recent migrants and others that much ESOL teaching is not effective: people stay in the same "learning group" for years, learning in the same way but making little or no progress in proficiency and use in wider society. This may not be a reflection on the teaching but on external factors in communities and wider UK pressures. Cultural issues or perceived hostility from the host community may limit e.g. migrant women's opportunities to use their English.

I think language learning should be as much as possible voluntary. For people near the point of settling long term in the UK and formally adopting citizenship there may be an argument for a compulsory language testing - rather than compulsory learning.

Immigrants are frequently criticised for not participating in language classes at the moment – when classes appear to be of limited effectiveness as suggested above, and also when language provision has been cut. I would anticipate that making language classes compulsory would worsen this antagonism to immigrants. The crucial issue about teaching is its quality. But teaching alone will not bring about integration, let alone assimilation.

12. Positive examples

Focussing on the issues I've raised above at question 5, I'd cite a number of examples of education for citizenship, none of which I am connected with. They are optional not compulsory, except in the case of school students. I think making them compulsory might jeopardise their positivity.

GCSE Citizenship syllabus

WEA Citizenship - Life in the UK courses

www.citizenshipfoundation.org.uk

www.democracymatters.org.uk/

www.democraticlife.org.uk/

Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (UK Branch) – written evidence (CCE0192)

1. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation is an international charitable foundation with cultural, educational, social and scientific interests. The purpose of the UK Branch in London is to bring about long-term improvements in wellbeing, particularly for the most vulnerable, by creating connections across boundaries (national borders, communities, disciplines and sectors) which deliver social, cultural and environmental value.

2. As part of this, we are currently conducting an Inquiry into the Civic Role of Arts Organisations. The Inquiry seeks to increase awareness of the valuable ‘civic role’ that arts organisations can and do play nationally and locally. By ‘arts organisations’, we refer to cultural organisations in a broader sense, including museums and other cultural institutions. We recently published our Phase 1 report, which includes case studies from 40 arts organisations in England and Wales that demonstrate good practice, and we are in the process of commissioning 40 more. We are now canvassing the sector for feedback, and scoping our Phase 2, which will involve supporting several local-based organisations to develop ‘next practice’.

3. We believe that the arts and arts organisations provide a unique offer for civic engagement, and are therefore responding to several of the questions asked in this Call for Evidence using the learning we have achieved to make the case for the importance of the arts in citizenship and civic engagement. Below, we respond to Questions 1, 7, 8, 10 and 12 with a specific focus on the role of the arts and culture.

Question 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?

4. On an everyday scale, citizenship is about engaging in one’s communities – taking part in society, whether it be making conversation with a neighbour, buying something in a shop, or taking one’s children to school. Also, communities are not always geographical – people can engage with virtual communities digitally. Civic engagement is not always overtly political.

5. How people relate to, and interact with, their communities can be an important factor for their identity. It has impacts for mental and physical wellbeing, and can affect one’s feeling comfortable and welcome in their environment. This is important in a climate where people are becoming increasingly isolated and digital interactions are taking the place of

community environments: in 2012, the Eurofound European Quality of Life Survey found that [10.6% of Brits reported feeling lonely more than half, most or all the time](#). This is especially pertinent now, in a post-Brexit vote environment, where there were [record levels of hate crimes in the first three months after the EU referendum](#), and there are [significant concerns regarding social segregation in our society](#), with regard to ethnicity but also age and social class.

6. 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. The arts can also provide an opportunity to connect with people who are similar to them, or going through similar life experiences as them (see [Duckie](#)). Engaging with different communities helps people to better understand themselves, in the context of other people, improves happiness and wellbeing on an individual and collective level.

7. Arts organisations can play a great placemaking role in the identity of an area or a community, building social capital and enabling cultural capital (see [LIFT Tottenham](#) and [Grizedale](#) for examples). The arts can improve aspirations on an individual and collective level, helping people to discover interests and talents. Additionally, arts organisations provide life skills to people throughout the life course: in particular, this can help to tackle inequalities of opportunity and improve social mobility.

8. On a different note, citizenship includes certain rights and responsibilities, one of which is political engagement. In our report, we [make a comparison](#) between some arts organisations and a ‘town hall’:

‘Art has always stimulated and reflected current debates about issues as diverse as human rights and strife between different generations based on wealth inequalities... Trust in organisations is waning and there is scepticism about experts... Arts organisations provide safe places for considering and debating difficult issues. They can present issues in their full complexity and give them a human texture. They can go further and mobilise campaigns.’

Rethinking Relationships, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (UK Branch): page 24

9. Importantly, the arts can be a valuable tool to bring the voices of people with marginalised identities, particularly people with protected characteristics, to society.

Question 7. How can society support civic engagement? What responsibility should the 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?

10. We believe that civil society and civic engagement can be improved through arts organisations working on a local scale, bringing all people within a community together, and working to bridge different communities. At a time of reduced public funding, we believe it is vital that partnerships between the civic and the civil are strengthened, so that communities are able to build their social capital and develop their cultural capital by shaping the arts and culture of their area.

11. In many areas, arts and culture provision supported by local authorities have suffered severe cuts. These cuts reveal two issues: that the arts need to be more open and relevant to society by enabling communities to shape culture; and that there is a lack of understanding of the value of the arts and culture by decision-makers. For more information on the value of the arts, see [pages 12-14 of our report](#).

12. In our Phase 1 report, we [identify a number of barriers to and levers for change](#) with regard to arts organisations developing their civic role. We believe that the role of local and national government is both a funding and a convening role.

13. We have made two core observations regarding funding:

- there is a reliance on one-off project support (rather than long-term organisational commitments)
- there is a lack of deeper understanding of the funding ecology of the arts, and how different funding streams working conjunction with one another.

14. Going forward, we intend to further investigate the funding ecology of the arts, and expect to be able to make more concrete recommendations for both national and local government, and the third sector.

15. On a local scale, the role of local authorities has a great impact on the success and development of arts and cultural services in a community, and there are notable examples of inspirational practice, including the [London Borough of Barking & Dagenham Cultural Education Partnership](#). Barking & Dagenham 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’. A devolved government approach, when implemented well, can enable local people to communicate what support and resources they need.

16. Part of the LBBD Cultural Education Partnership involves an investment in the development of leaders in the sector. This also emerged as a key ask of the sector through our Inquiry. Advocates for this approach are over-stretched and under-supported, yet they are the change-makers. These leaders require support to be able to think strategically and improve their capacity, or risk burn-out. In addition, the sector needs to be able to identify and support more diverse leaders, to combat the persistent norm of white, middle-class men.

17. The King’s College London report *Towards Cultural Democracy* makes a number of recommendations for national government, see [here](#).

Question 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?

18. The value of creativity is often overlooked, but is central to British identity; a tenet of our economy, our culture and our national community. Creativity leads to innovation, and is essential to problem-solving and entrepreneurship. This is vital as the UK tries to capitalise on our tertiary sector economy and prosper after Brexit, to support our economy and secure our new place on the world stage.

19. [King's College London](#) identifies that there is a 'plethora of creativity' throughout the UK, much of which is not directly publicly funded nor commercially profitable, including a great amount that is 'invisible' to cultural policy and cultural organisations. For example, [breakdancing in a shopping mall with friends](#) would be hidden to cultural organisations.

20. Strong proponents of the value of creativity are Ben Payne and Lucy McNab, who founded the Ministry of Stories in 2010. The Ministry works to champion literacy in 3 of London's poorest boroughs, [as Payne explains](#), "in the broader sense of literacy: that understanding that being able to write yourself into the world is a key skill, an important part of living a good life".

21. In addition to the intrinsic value of creativity, a creative education can have significant impacts on opportunities in life. The [Cultural Learning Alliance found that](#) participation in structured arts activities can increase cognitive abilities by 17%, improve attainment in Maths and English, and improve students' employability and likelihood of staying in employment. Cultural education, therefore, is an important tool for social mobility and ensuring equal opportunities. We are beginning to see evidence that the recent cuts to arts and cultural funding have been greatly detrimental. For example, [DCMS reported](#) that participation in arts activities music activities in schools dropped from 55.3% to 37.2% between 2009 and 2013/14. The arts have historically been a middle- and upper-class pursuit, because they require funds, and present cuts threaten to reverse the lengths that have been made to disrupt this.

Question 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?

22. We are responding only to the first part of Question 10, as the second and third questions are not within our remit.

23. Using the arts as an example of civic engagement, arts programmes that bring everyone in a community together can provide an opportunity to improve social cohesion by directly combatting the social segregation that creates disharmony and othering. A key example of this is [Entelechy Arts](#), who bring together people who wouldn't ordinarily meet, let alone share a stage, such as elderly people and people with multiple disabilities. Arts projects, such as the performances that Entelechy Arts create, bring people together with a common purpose; co-creating can be used as a tool to improve relationships and communication.

24. We recognise the important role that arts organisations can play in placemaking – in particular, through harnessing the full range of assets (including communities, arts, local authority, social sector, and business) in an area to shape its future (see [Derby Museums](#), [Hull Freedom Festival](#)).

25. In addition, arts organisations can create a space where people can understand difference in views through the arts: this is part of their role as a 'town hall', as discussed in response to Question 1. For some, this occurs on a person-to-person basis. Some address this political role directly, such as the [National Theatre's National Debates programme](#). Arts organisations are uniquely valuable as a convenor of relationships, skilled at bringing together different sectors and parts of society.

Question 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?

From our case studies:

[Fun Palaces](#)

26. Fun Palaces is an ongoing campaign to instil culture at the heart of every community, which includes an annual weekend of action focused around arts, science, tech and craft

events run by and for local people. Our [case study interview](#) with Carine Osmont and Alexandre Mendonca, who have curated three Fun Palaces in Farnham, highlights the value of getting to know your neighbours and feeling comfortable in your local community; particularly to them as immigrants. See civicroleartsinquiry.gulbenkian.org.uk/resources/fun-palaces.

Duckie

27. Duckie's goal is to make entertainment for 'ordinary people', having grown from a weekly gay club night started in 1995 to an organisation staging social events, performances and workshops across the UK. The group responds to the identified lack of suitable and stimulating entertainment for marginalised people – working class people, LGBTQ+ people, ethnic minorities, drug and alcohol addicts, homeless people – improving wellbeing and building relationships and communities. For example, Duckie run The Posh Club, a risqué cabaret/afternoon tea for working-class elderly people from mixed ethnic communities and lower-socio-economic backgrounds: '[We] try to make the party for the people that don't necessarily have the parties. We want to have fun and bring groups of people together.' See civicroleartsinquiry.gulbenkian.org.uk/resources/duckie.

mima

28. Middlesbrough Institute for Modern Art (mima) strives to bring people into the gallery, to break down the perceived elitism of the art world, and other barriers that prevent people from accessing the arts. The gallery makes efforts to work closely with different community groups, not only to create exhibitions and give them a voice, but also to help develop sustainable resources for everyday use. For example, building an exhibition with local refugees led to the co-development of a regular programme, offering a weekly free meal, a food bank, free internet access, bespoke ESOL classes, clubs including crafts, film and gardening, and more. See civicroleartsinquiry.gulbenkian.org.uk/resources/mima.

Hull Freedom Festival

29. The Hull Freedom Festival began as a commemoration of the bicentenary of the Anti-Slavery Act in 2007, and has grown into a vibrant annual festival. The Festival has an important role in the regeneration of Hull City Centre, and played a key part in Hull winning 2017 City of Culture. Mikey Martins, artistic director and CEO, [explains](#), '[it's] pulling the city

back together: you're seeing a lot more people hanging out in the centre of Hull and very proud of their city centre and all the redevelopment that's happened. It's brought the city centre to life'. See civicroleartsinquiry.gulbenkian.org.uk/resources/hulls-freedom-festival.

From elsewhere in the sector:

Creative People and Places

30. CPP is an action research programme run by Arts Council England that seeks to bring the arts to areas where people have had fewer opportunities to engage. The programme involves funding and developing radically different approaches to improve participation at a local level, and includes a significant focus on partnership working, bringing together artists and local people. See www.creativepeopleplaces.org.uk/. Projects include Creative Black Country, a three-year campaign which aims to make the most of creative talent in the Black Country. Examples of their work include the Desi Pubs project: celebrating the 'East meets West story' of British Asians' reinvention of the English pub. See www.creativeblackcountry.co.uk/projects/desi-pubs/.

Get Creative

31. Get Creative is an initiative which celebrates and supports everyday creativity in and around homes and public spaces, from guerrilla gardening to acrobatics to storytelling. The programme is supported by a consortium of organisations – see a full list here: www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/3P7n390cZc3VBpn7cPn0F5T/about-get-creative. For examples, see here: www.bbc.co.uk/arts/sections/get-creative.

8 September 2017

Caritas Social Action Network (CSAN) – written evidence (CCE0147)

Introduction

1. Caritas Social Action Network (CSAN) is the social action agency of the Catholic Church. We represent a network 41 Catholic charities and diocesan agencies who work for the most vulnerable in our society.
2. This submission is a summary from various member charities of the Caritas network, responding to Questions 7 and 9.

Summary

3. The charities in the Caritas network reported that volunteering is an effective way to support civic engagement, because it not only fosters a sense of commitment to the local community, but also builds relationships between different people within that community. The role of faith groups in both supporting volunteering and maintaining inclusive community groups was highlighted.
4. Poverty was identified as the most significant barrier to civic engagement. There is a need for investment in local initiatives which provide those who are excluded by their poverty with material assistance as well as the opportunity to challenge their situation.

Question 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?

5. The charities of the Caritas network are dependent on thousands of dedicated volunteers who offer their time and talents for the common good of all. The charities have noted the impact that this work has on their volunteers' engagement with civic structures and wider society.
6. Volunteering creates a sense of commitment to wider society. It is an opportunity to express a natural instinct to help other people or put something back in to the community.
7. Volunteering also encourages inclusiveness. Relationships are built between members of society with very different backgrounds and interests. The knowledge that the volunteer has given up their own time for others creates an environment of trust and allows for a genuinely personal encounter between the volunteers and those they help.
8. This is possible because charities offer organised opportunities to offer help, regularising the relationship between those in need and those with something to give. Familiarity with

and involvement in the lives of others challenges the prejudices which can cause division in society and lead to some feeling marginalised.

9. This engagement with disadvantaged members of society provokes an interest in social change. In our charities' experience, this has led to volunteers engaging with the civic structures which have the power to address the issues they have witnessed.

10. In a recent survey at the Cardinal Hume Centre, a homelessness charity in London, volunteers reported that they consider the greatest personal benefit of volunteering to be an increased appreciation of different cultures and an increased understanding of issues facing vulnerable people. They also reported an increased interest in being involved in more social action as a result of their volunteering.

11. Likewise, volunteers for CAPS (Catholics for Aids Prevention and Support) engaged with local authorities in South London to raise awareness of the importance of faith for many people diagnosed or living with HIV in the family (PLWH). Acting on what they had learnt through volunteering with CAPS, they attended several consultation meetings held to decide on the range of support services that are funded by local authorities for those living with HIV. As a result of this input in the consultation process, for the first time ever four local authorities in South London have commissioned faith-specific peer support groups as part of their Service Level Agreements with agencies providing a range of care and support for PLWH.

12. Local and national government should follow the charity sector's lead in encouraging volunteering to promote civic engagement and inclusion. Charities in the Caritas network promote volunteering through talks to schools and parishes, through faith networks, online via websites and social media, by attending fairs at universities and colleges and through engagement with local businesses.

13. Members of the network also suggested that funding for small community groups would support volunteering. The support should be given with the caveat that it be used together with other organisations on projects which reach out to all sections of society to encourage communication, understanding and tolerance among those of all faiths and none.

14. Caritas members also recommended that those with the responsibility for assigning funding to local projects take the initiative and seek out those projects which encourage inclusion and civic engagement, rather than challenging those running the projects to bid for and win financial support. The current requirements for local authority funding discriminates against smaller organisations and grassroots initiatives, often party-run by volunteers who do not have the time or expertise to engage with complex application processes.

15. Furthermore, there is a need for local and national government to listen "to those at the coalface". Caritas Salford, for example, recommended that a poverty truth commission,

such as that seen in Leeds, be set up in every local authority. Through this learning, local and national government will gain an insight into how best to allocate funding.

16. Finally, the charities in the Caritas network are concerned that the contribution of faith groups to civil society could be underestimated. A recognition of the central importance of religious belonging in people's lives was identified by our members as a way in which local and national government might support civic engagement.

17. Faith groups encourage people to identify with their area as they are often linked to schools, local organisations and community events. There is also an ethos of encouraging involvement and using our gifts for the common good. This gives people the confidence to engage in voluntary work, and also makes clear that there is a responsibility to engage in community life. Many of our charities' volunteers are motivated by their faith and heard about the opportunity to volunteer in the Caritas network through their church.

Question 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?

19. The Caritas members who contributed to this response cited poverty as the major barrier to active citizenship. Amongst poor or marginalised groups, the day to day challenges just to survive leave little time to devote to the needs of others in the wider community. Paying the rent, caring for a sick family member or working more than on job take priority. These issues must be resolved before somebody can dedicate their time to civil society.

20. This is especially true for those who are socially excluded by their poverty, such as the homeless. Without some sense of community and belonging, engagement in wider civil society is impossible. Caritas Jersey, for example, is "committed to the principle of 'subsidiarity', which is to say that decision making should devolve to the lowest practicable level. However, problems arise when that level of participation is not possible simply because of cultural attitudes, lack of education and poverty."

21. Caritas Jersey runs a Leaders scheme to enable those who face barriers to become more active in their community and in the wider Jersey society. Candidates are selected from the minority communities on Jersey to become 'leaders' and articulate their community's concerns and frustrations, helping them gain a voice in society and helping them campaign for what they believe in. They also attend an extensive six-day residential course on Community Leadership run by Citizens UK. In turn candidates are expected to offer their services to their community: on the successful completion of this leadership course participants will have undertaken 50 hours of approved work in their community and receive a Professional Certificate in Community Leadership, issued by Newham University,

Birmingham. Caritas Jersey hopes that in time we may see some of these leaders in the States Assembly.

22. It was also recommended that specifically dedicated community and youth workers would help those who are excluded to overcome these barriers, because they have both a sense of belonging within the given community or group and the time and commitment to dedicate to mobilising local people in mutually supportive forms of local civic engagement. Social support which is provided with communities empowers local people to challenge those situations, structures and organisations which they identify as contributing to their alienation and exclusion from wider society.

23. Finally, our members have found that those who cannot speak English, of course, face a barrier to civic engagement. Offering free ESOL classes (English for Speakers of Other Languages) not only resolves communication issues but is a very effective civic engagement model, bringing together volunteers to help people acquire language skills that will help them, in turn, to engage with society and reduce their isolation.

8 September 2017

Cllr. Mrs. Armored J. Carlyon – written evidence (CCE0234)

When I learned of the consultation in respect of Citizenship and Civic Engagement - I felt it necessary to respond especially Question 8 which I read as a determination by the House of Lords Select Committee to ascertain what these oft quoted BRITISH VALUES might be.

Both my husband and I were born in Truro, Cornwall.

I have lived in Truro all my life and am therefore in a position to reflect on the changes in Cornish society though some 70 years.

I was first elected as an Independent Councillor to Cornwall County Council in 1973,(I think there were only 7 ladies out of 89 Councillors) having served on all three tiers of Local Government and still remain an elected Councillor on Truro City Council. (My May election addresses enclosed with hard copy)

I am also a Cornish Methodist Local Preacher and run a flock of Poll Dorset sheep.

My husband and I have lived at 3 Strangways Villas, Truro TR1 2PA for the past 55 years. Members of the Carlyon family have been HM Coroners in Truro since 1837 and Mr. Carlyon was HM Coroner until his retirement and now our eldest daughter Dr. Emma Carlyon is HM Coroner for Cornwall.

We were both brought up in Christian families and surrounded by gracious kindly folk, where everybody knew one another - spoke to one another and cared for one another. In fact for the first 25 years of our married life we never felt the need to lock our front door. Almost every aspect of our lives has now changed and I welcome the determination of the House of Lords Select Committee which will have the ability to summon evidence from all parts of the country to analyse what has seemingly “gone wrong” and then to build on the present aspects of modern society which they deem to be successful.

My response is based on the market town of Truro in Cornwall which has a population of around 20,000 where I have spent the whole of my life and where I have devoted almost 50 years to the community influenced by my non-conformist Methodist background.

1. What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century?
Why does it matter, and how does it relate to the questions of identity?

To be able to address this question it is necessary to briefly review the changes that have taken place within the space of 50 or so years.

Truro like many other towns and cities in the UK was full of family run shops where everyone knew everybody. These have now largely been replaced by national companies. One can go shopping and not see anyone one knows.

I have watched the changes taking place in the City and since “developers” arrived in about 1967 and “ripped” the City apart for no other reason than for their own profit I resolved to be vigilant and to protect the remaining historic environment (this does not only involve the large developments but also attention to detail such as fenestration, down pipes, advertising). Truro has a vibrant Civic Society and a Truro Conservation Advisory Committee and I am a member of both.

I suppose within the historic environment within the City centre itself we have been reasonably successful - because I believe it is essential to preserve the historic environment to give the people who live here an identity and not another alien “catalogue” shopping mall. Our work has not been made any easier by the introduction of the NPPF and the lack of Government funding which has reduced the number of Conservation officers to TWO for the whole of Cornwall.

However there are many aspects to Civic Engagement.

In the first instance it is necessary for people to speak to one another.

There are three ladies, including myself, who promote as we call it the “Ministry of the Smile”! - we speak and smile at everyone we pass or meet everyday.

The response is varied - the majority of the young people are “plugged in” and do not hear or see you - others look at you and are obviously thinking “What have you to be happy about?” and JUST OCCASIONALLY there is a response but usually a very wary one. I often ask myself how can life have changed so much in such a short span of years?

I write this because here in Cornwall, although it is changing, we have not had to address the changes brought about by people coming to Cornwall from other countries on the scale being experienced by other large Cities but rather people coming to live from other parts of England - many of whom come to Cornwall to retire.

So I wish to highlight the basic fact which is that people, especially the younger generation seemingly have no interest in communicating face to face with people they meet and that the problem is not confined to towns/cities where there has been a large influx of people coming in from other cultures.

The plain fact is that we are no longer communicating with one another on a daily basis ... we do not know our neighbours and sadly they do not seem to want to know us.

Another contributing factor is that parents are both working and that there is no longer time for neighbourly chats.

Many English people have made their homes here in Cornwall but do not seem to want to be part of the Cornish community. There is also seems to be a trend where people spend much of their lives “going on holidays” this in turn means that they are not able to be committed to the community in which they live.

No doubt you already aware of these facts but I cannot see how people can become a citizen if their only means of contact is either on “twitter” or “facebook”.

Needless to say we have events in Truro such as the Festival of Lights, an annual firework display and Christmas late night Shopping which attracts many people to the City Centre and friends meet up on these occasions.

Personally I think it is essential that every community has a village hall/community centre at street level where people meet one another on a regular but informal basis. However, sadly in Truro, the City Hall has now become the Hall for Cornwall (a theatre) and if Truro wants to put on an event it has to erect a marquee on Lemon Quay!! The City Hall was a vibrant

place where Dog Shows, the Christmas Livestock Show, the Conservatives and LD Christmas fayres(not on the same day!), Scouts and Guides all held events but there is no longer a place for local people to meet on an informal basis at street level.

In conclusion I would suggest that in the first instance efforts must be made to create stable communities - people need to know the people who are elected to represent them. At present we are constantly told that everyone in authority is “listening” to the people but it is quite obvious from the plethora of “consultations” that come our way are, on the whole, completely disregarded or the questions are framed in such a manner to avoid unwelcome points of view. This in turn leads to apathy and disillusionment - which is hardly surprising. Society has also become very mobile and which in turn means it no longer has any “roots” and little sense of “belonging” this naturally deters people from becoming involved in civic activities because they are only “passing by”.

Regretfully there is also a growing mentality of “pulling up the drawbridge” It is now noticeable that many people are choosing to live in isolation, installing, electric gates shutting everyone out from their lives that they do not want to see. This may be the result of fear, burglaries and for other reasons but seldom does one know who lives the other side of the gate!

I do not see any easy solutions but what I do see is that there needs to be a change of attitude from central government. We hear much about “localism” but if one analyses the problem - just take for instance the NPPF - ALL Local plans have to be drawn up in strict accordance with the NPPF - ALL Neighbourhood plans have to be drawn up in complete accordance with the Local Plan - except that St. Ives have bravely made a stand against any more Second Homes!!

QUESTION 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?

As an Independent Councillor who has spent 46 years serving on all 3 tiers of Local Government one of the most important things I have striven for is DEMOCRACY. Democracy in my opinion is a very fragile thing and has to be guarded at every turn.

1. I think it was back in about 2002 there was an Act of Parliament that began to erode the responsibility of the elected Councillors and placed it in the hands of the paid officials.

This in turn gave rise to the Scheme of Delegation which as time has passed has left the elected members virtually powerless. The electorate are not stupid and appreciate that “democracy” is almost a thing of the past.

2. Then there is the establishment of LEPs (Local Enterprise Partnerships) up and down the country. I have stated publicly that these are no more than “an unelected, unaccountable Government Quango” who do the Government’s bidding using Council tax payers/ Income Tax payers money. Their meetings are held in private and they receive millions of pounds from the Government.

3. Everyone is aware who runs the country - the paid Civil Servants

I believe the name is "Sir Humphrey"!!

4. This country had the opportunity to vote as to whether they wished to "Remain" or "Leave" the European Union. The people of this country turned out in their droves. It was not a party political vote - It was a straight forward vote - "Yes" or "No". When the result was known and the majority of the people of this country wished to "Leave" we were then told that those who voted to "Leave" had not been given the facts, they did not know what they were voting for, they did not understand the consequences. But everyone I spoke to while canvassing at the recent elections, who had voted to "Leave" knew exactly why they voted to "Leave" and have in no way changed their minds.

They loathe the fact that Europe can impose laws on the UK. They regret that Britain has lost its Sovereignty which in turn makes Westminster no more than a "talking shop".

5. Devolution is yet another reason for disengagement.

To take a microcosm of Cornwall Council and Truro City Council

The responsibility of the Public Conveniences have been transferred to Truro City Council - it costs the Council Tax payers of Truro some £150,000 to run... the library alone will cost £120,000 and so the list goes on.

The Parish Precept in a Band D house in Truro is some £236.00 (and rising and the Parish of Kea (about a mile and half from the City Centre) the Parish precept is £45.

The people of Truro are having to pay "double taxation" because there has been no reduction in the Cornwall Council precept due in the main to the Government withdrawing Local Government Grants but at the same time there appear to be vast sums of Growth Point monies which are being spent on what many consider to be unnecessary and useless road schemes/improvements.

6. Planning - This is one of the biggest contentions. The Governments present "build ... build ...build" policy is devastating communities up and down the country and Cornwall is no exception. It is obvious that the word "Sustainability" is no longer in the dictionary - we cannot continue to "develop" on our agricultural land - we cannot continue to "develop" without the necessary infrastructure being provided. People expect services to be provided when they buy a house. Cornwall has only ONE District hospital which is on DAILY BLACK ALERT and yet we are building a further 52,000 houses plus student and sheltered housing.

The above matters are contributing to people becoming "disengaged"

"disenchanted" with the Government at whatever level - and who can blame them? To be honest I think it is fair to say that there is a complete lack of trust among the general public for those in authority whether they be officers or elected members. I personally continue to challenge and question at every opportunity but I make little progress I just look to the younger generation and hope they will come to have the pride in the place in which they are living and care of the environment which surrounds them.

7. Addressing the second part of the question regarding of the voting system.

There is generally mistrust in the present Postal Voting system and also in the registration system as to who can vote where and how many times?

This needs to be addressed and the findings made public.

In my opinion and that of many other people, is that the voting age should not be changed. It is unusual for someone at the age of 16 to have a grasp of the economic complexities which face the country unless they have had the opportunity to study political history in depth.

QUESTION 5 - What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship

I would not have become involved in Local Government at such a comparatively early age if it had not been for the example set by my Methodist Chapel leaders.

They generously gave of their time to us as young people. They sacrificed their precious leisure hours (most people were working five and half days if not six days a week) to teach and encourage us. They themselves were involved in the Truro City Council which before re-organisation in 1973 was a major authority. Probably unconsciously, we were inspired by their leadership and example - always putting others before themselves and speaking up for those who were in need of help.

We also knew our Magistrates and they knew us.

So I question why is the school expected to be wholly responsible for the teaching of good citizenship?

Britain at this time is still considered to be a Christian country.

Surely if the true history of our country is taught in our schools it is bound to awaken a sense of duty and pride in our country's long and amazing history but this appears to be sadly lacking and so too are the sound tenets of the Bible.

The Rev. John Wesley had such an influence for good up and down the length and breadth of our country preaching the Gospel because he lived the life he preached.

Many historians agree that this man alone saved England from a "French Revolution". So it goes back to adults setting the example for children to follow.

QUESTION - 7 - How can society support civic engagement?

There is no easy answer to this question.

Measures need to be put in place in order that "the government" at whatever tier can begin to regain the trust of the ordinary citizen. This is not going to happen overnight!

These are just a few examples where the Government and Local Authorities could begin to improve civic engagement.

Freedom of speech needs to be restored. The Government and Local Authorities have to begin to respect the views of the public - after all they are employed by the Council tax payer. The Council tax payer is also paying 18.7% of the total Local Authority salary bill towards their "copper bottomed" pension fund plus a lump sum which, as you are aware, is calculated at the triennial actuarial review, when sometimes their own pensions have been taken away.

Any public consultation, such as this one, requires action - people are weary of reports gathering dust on shelves.

On the whole there seems to be little enthusiasm for the main political parties and personally I feel disenfranchised as there is no longer a political party to represent my views and I cannot be alone.

Action needs to be taken to prevent the BBC from indulging in biased reporting both in their news bulletins and documentaries.

Parents bringing up children at this present time need all the support and help they can get - not constant interference from the state.

Schools need to respect parental religious beliefs and rights. Children should not be forced to partake in lessons on LGBT matters if it is not the wish of the parents.

QUESTION 8 - What are the values that all of us who live in Britain should share and support?

In my opinion this is the MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION... Please, if nothing else will the Select Committee define BRITISH VALUES.

I have written to my MP Sarah Newton on three occasions requesting the Act of Parliament in which British Values were agreed and when HM the Queen gave her Ascent to the Bill. She is well aware that I am an avid follower of Parliament today! and so I met with Sarah Newton and learned that British Values have not yet been defined!

How can we go around talking about British Values if we do not what they are?

So where do we start?

My starting place is with the Coronation Service where the Divine Law is placed above the law of State. It reminds us of the source of all our law, in truth and in justice.

Lord Denning said -

“... if we seek truth and justice, we cannot find it by argument and debate, nor by reading and thinking, but only by the maintenance of true religion and virtue. Religion concerns the spirit in man whereby he is able to recognise what is truth and what is justice; whereas law is only the application, however, imperfectly, of truth and justice in our everyday affairs. If religion perishes in the land, truth and justice will also. We have already strayed too far from the faith of our fathers. Let us return to it for it is the only thing that can save us.”

Lord Atkin said ‘I doubt whether the whole of the law of tort could not be comprised in the golden maxim to do unto your neighbour as you would that he should do unto you.’

At one point in the Coronation Service the Archbishop goes to the Queen’s chair and says “Our gracious Queen: to keep your Majesty ever mindful of the Law and the Gospel of God as the Rule for whole life and government of Christian princes, we present you with this Book, the most valuable thing that this world affords.” And the Moderator of Scotland presents the Bible to the Queen, and says ‘Here is Wisdom; This is the royal Law; These are the lively oracles of God’.

I think we have to ask ourselves - are these meaningless words in today’s world? Have they relevance in our lives today? Are we governed by them any more? Is there a Government of God?

I hope there is because as Lord Denning said - “Let us return to it for it is the only thing that can save us.”

Almost everyone I meet is desperately concerned about the present state of the country. They feel the very foundations are being shaken - nothing is certain any more.

We are not encouraged to celebrate Christmas because we might offend someone and so we have “Winter” festivals.

Children are being encouraged to decide for themselves whether they are boys or girls - what untold anxiety this must cause.

The age of consent is 16 and yet in the Doctor’s surgery is a notice - “Free condoms - no questions asked” - what message is this giving to our young people?

In 2003 the Government changed the licensing laws to 24/7 - we shall never know what untold harm this caused.

The definition of Marriage is now no longer between one man and one woman and those of us who hold to the traditional view are called “bigots” and no longer is the voice of dissent allowed to be heard.

In a recent Court case OFSTED inspectors have been found to have no satisfactory complaints procedure often placing Christian and Jewish schools in “Special measures” because they happen to hold to their values and beliefs. - what if they heard the children in a Sunday School singing Baring Gould’s “Onward Christian soldiers onward as to war, with the Cross of Jesus going on before ...” unless they understood the Gospel of Christ how could they be expected to understand what the children were singing?

So as I approach the end of my life the saddest thing for me is that England is seemingly no longer permitted to be a Christian country and the values established in the Coronation service which have changed little since around 800AD are steadily being eroded.

My question is - what will replace them?

Catch 22 – written evidence (CCE0153)

1. [Catch22](#) is a social business and charity, a not for profit business with a social mission. We design and deliver services that build resilience and aspiration in people and communities.
2. Our vision is a strong society where everyone has a good place to live, a purpose and good people around them. We exist to ensure these are achievable for everyone, no matter what their background.
3. Our 1600 colleagues work at every stage of the social welfare cycle, supporting 44,000 young people and adults from cradle to career. Today we deliver youth social action, children’s social care, alternative and SEMH specialist education, apprenticeships and employability programmes, justice and rehabilitation services, emotional wellbeing and substance misuse support.

ABOUT CATCH22 AND CITIZENSHIP

4. For the past 200 years, Catch22 has delivered services helping young people become active citizens; engaged with their communities, engaged with education, work and those around them.
5. Today Catch22 works with thousands of young people, helping them fulfil their potential. Many of the young people that we work with sit outside of mainstream education or have experience of the care or justice system; those most in need of citizenship programmes. Without being engaged with the world around them, they are unable to realise and fulfil their potential and in turn to help others to do the same. Voluntary citizenship programmes like the National Citizen Service are an accessible conduit for people from challenging backgrounds to engage with society and be an active player in their future.

Question 5: What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship?

6. Our teachers and young people believe that **teaching and learning about citizenship should be embedded throughout formal education** from primary to university, as a compulsory subject.

This approach would:

- 7. Teach young people not only that politics plays a role in everything they do, but also that local and central government can be held accountable by them.
- 8. Encourage democratic participation and social action. If from a young age, young people see that they can affect real change in political processes and in their community then they are more likely to exercise that right.

- 9. Ensure that all young people, regardless of background, get a grounding in politics and volunteering. Many of the young people that we work with leave formal education before 16. By starting this education early, we would reach all young people.
- 10. Encourage teachers of all subjects to consider and highlight the political and social action elements of their subject. Currently citizenship, whether taught through PHSE or other modules, operates as a standalone subject, whereas we believe it sits at the heart of a strong society.

Taking citizenship out of the classroom

- 11. We also suggest that citizenship can be learnt just as effectively out of the classroom as it can be in one, and that schools must teach through practical and community based activity. Our evidence suggests that young people that learn from an early age how democracy works are more likely to engage later in life.
- 12. The National Citizen Service actively promotes hands-on charity and community work, during which young people learn how their actions can improve the local society around them. In 2016, 80% of our young people that took part in hands on community work stated that they felt “inspired that I can make an impact on my community now and in future.”

Practical examples of embedding citizenship education

13. The background of a student shouldn't be a barrier to building citizenship skills. Catch22's services embed citizenship in formal and informal settings for young people who may be harder to engage:

- 14. **Our alternative provision schools** use the VotesforSchools programme with our students, encouraging them to learn about and 'vote' on a subject in class each week. Our youth programmes meet in informal settings - coffee shops, for example - outside of class to discuss politics and learn to debate.
- 15. Our **National Citizen Service** delivery teaches young people how to lead change within society through Bite the Ballot sessions, visits from MPs, and social action week where students plan and deliver volunteering projects in their communities.

16. CASE STUDY: DELIVERING FORMAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN AN INFORMAL SETTING

Victoria Burnard, Tutor at a Catch22 Study Programme (working with young people excluded from mainstream education, who have additional social, emotional and behavioural needs)

“We ran a Democracy Café at a local Starbucks in March 2017. We had a relatively good turn-out, with a few students putting forward some interesting opinions. The main theme of the discussion was immigration, which tied in to the Functional Skills/GCSE English content from the week leading up to the session.

“I do think it was beneficial for our students. By nature, our students tend to be quite disengaged from their communities, and will often ‘turn off’ when it comes to discussing politics, but we did have a few students who made really thoughtful, considered contributions.

“Many just sat and listened, which I also think is just as important. Politics is such a huge topic, and it can be really intimidating to offer an opinion when you might not know what you think, or when you don’t understand the jargon. So, even for our quiet/shy/anxious students, and for those who just out-right say they don’t care, I still think we need to be including them in these conversations.

“It may sound silly, but I also think the process of going somewhere new, being included, being asked, and even given a free hot drink all promotes the idea that we care what they’ve got to say, and everyone is valued.”

Question 6: Do voluntary citizenship programmes such as the National Citizen Service do a good job of creating active citizens?

Engaging young people that feel ‘left behind’

- 17. No active citizenship education or training will be successful if it excludes the portions of society that feel like ‘the system’ isn’t for them. Programmes like the National Citizen Service are an essential part of this process and for bringing people together and promoting an engaged citizenship.
- 18. Not only does the National Citizen Service bring young people from different walks of life together for shared experiences, but it engages young people who often feel ‘left behind’, planting the seed of social action and citizenship. These experiences build essential skills for life and work, investing in our country’s future talent.

Catch 22 – written evidence (CCE0153)

- 19. Our graduates are living proof that the National Citizen Service is not a holiday camp for the privileged. We work with young people in care, outside mainstream education, in the criminal justice system. They don't come from families with strong traditions of volunteering. But the National Citizen Service changes that. It shows them a world bigger than them, inspiring them to take on an active citizenship role.
- 20. The positive impact the programme can also have on their families and carers, creates a wider ripple-effect across communities and society more widely.
- 21. The ability of the National Citizen Service to bring young people from different life experiences together for four weeks cannot be underestimated. Voluntary citizenship programmes like the National Citizen Service bring our country together by building stronger, more integrated communities and fostering understanding between young people from different backgrounds

Young people are not all on the same starting block.

- 22. For any 'active citizenship' programme to work, we must focus on the young people that have barriers to attending or who are not yet socially, emotionally, or behaviourally ready.
- 23. While the four weeks of the National Citizen Service can be enough to plant the seed of active citizenship for those young people that are ready for that experience, many more need extra time to get them to that stage.
- 24. Young people with challenging, or complex behaviour issues, particularly those 'at risk' (e.g. Offending/Exclusions/Substance Misuse) face multiple barriers to participation and completion of programmes such as the National Citizen Service.
- 25. Catch22 supports pre-National Citizen Service interventions to support those that feel most 'left behind' to enable them to receive the same shared experiences as their peers. There needs to be additional action and support to ensure that young people from more challenging backgrounds are ready socially and emotionally to take part and get the most out of citizenship programmes.

Give young people the toolkit to engage

- 26. It is imperative that at a young age young people are given the toolkit to engage in the political process and social action and, more than that, the confidence to do so.
- 27. Citizenship education, if done right, sparks the initial interest in democratic participation and social action. Some young people that come to the National Citizen Service need only that but for many, they need something more to develop the interest into active participation.

- 28. Programmes like the National Service engage young people in social action in their communities and the democratic process. It teaches them to take pride in their area and celebrate its successes. As a result of the National Citizen Service, they know they can have a role in that success by taking on activities as small as doing a favour for a neighbour or encouraging their friends to vote
- 29. On the first day of our National Citizen Service Social Action week, we give young people tasks (ie: contact your local MP/MEP/Councillor about an area of interest, thank a local hero, understand how businesses can help community organisations) that get them into their communities, learning the part they can play in affecting positive change as well as holding governments to account.
- 30. Catch22 supports follow-on programmes that empower young people to build upon their 4-week National Citizen Service experiences and develop their new ideas and explore existing opportunities to help them towards becoming lifelong active citizens.

31. CASE STUDY: THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL ACTION INITIATIVES ON YOUNG PEOPLE

After their week of social action at The Salvation Army, we asked one of our North West NCS teams to tell us about the impact it had on them. This is what we were told:

- During this week I've found the confidence to deal with new people. I have pushed myself to have a voice in my group and I have grown in self-assertiveness.
- Comments that I have received from both staff and members of the public have warmed my heart, made me feel like I have done something good for the community and only boosted my resolve even more.
- This week has made me feel more confident and made me feel proud of myself as I have made a positive impact upon my local community.
- Pushed me to do new things and I have really come out of my shell over the last 4 weeks. This experience has allowed me to feel much more confident in myself and it has given me a good feeling knowing that I have help others in need.

To complete this response, we surveyed young people, teachers across Catch22's schools, front line professionals and youth workers. We would be happy to facilitate further conversations with any of these groups for the Select Committee.

8 September 2017

Mr James Cathcart – written evidence (CCE0253)

1/ Introduction: I am currently on an ‘adult gap’ year from F/T working to focus on research, writing and campaigning on youth policy, participation and citizenship. My last job was as a CEO of the British Youth Council. I started as a FT Volunteer 35 years ago and worked with children and young people ever since as a youth worker, juvenile justice worker, social worker, trainer, writer, manager, mentor, trustee and CEO. This submission is based on that experience and focuses on youth.

2/ Whilst at the British Youth Council until 2016, I led several initiatives, across a range of settings, to promote youth citizenship and civic engagement. In partnership with Government, Cabinet Office Democratic Engagement Team, The Department for Education, Office for Civil Society; Local Government and Devolved administrations across the UK, the Electoral Commission and others. I understand that the British Youth Council will also be submitting evidence so I would defer to them as the authoritative source for any good practice examples I highlight, for example:

- a. The successful work of the UK Youth Parliament in growing its reach, diversity and representativeness beyond the usual suspects and activists. It has been largely unreported but its building a foundation across the UK communities in partnership with schools, local Government and Parliaments, including devolved administrations.
- b. Local Youth Councils network (ongoing partnership with local authorities) which supplement School Youth Councils, and using a combination of local elections and reserved seats, represent a cross section of the community to inform and influence local government decision making. These, and young Mayors Network, work in together with the Youth Parliament and are coordinated by the British Youth Council.
- c. The British Youth Council Youth Select Committees (ongoing partnership with Parliament/Education and Engagement service and Clerks) to produce a series of reports based on a popular vote of UK teenagers. Recent topics include Mental Health, Addressing Racism and Religious Discrimination. Relevant to this Committee are their report on the feasibility of Votes 16 and inclusion of citizenship in a new Curriculum for Life.
- d. The Make Your Mark ballot of those aged 12-18 across the UK. This has grown from a few thousand in 2009 to nearly a million individual votes cast in 2016. The priority topics are debated in the House of Commons by the Youth Parliament. This generation of young people has been engaged in growing numbers of the last seven years, and growing into the adult electorate of 18-24. The numbers are all recorded per local authority, by turnout and by issue – an excellent data source.

3/ Also attached as Appendix: Copy of an Open letter from me, with recommendations, sent to the Prime Minister on youth engagement reforms: ‘Democracy is an ongoing dialogue with its citizens not just at elections. The health of a nation is measure by the value it places on engaged with its youth’.

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?

1.1 The formal definition of citizenship, or legal status with rights and responsibilities, is a contract between the state and the individual. In the 21st century, its an imperfect model, challenged by globalisation, localism, technology, and individualism. We are going through a period of transition to determine a new contract, post Brexit in a new world.

1.2 ‘Civic engagement’ is the degree to which the individual chooses to freely ‘engage’ voluntarily with the community and nation. It can be incentivised, nurtured and indeed valued by the state. In the 21st century it has to adapt to the concept of global citizenship. It has the potential to mitigate war, poverty and the ill-effects of climate change, as well as give a moral compass to deal with new technological threats like robotics. We can’t direct the wind of 21st century change, but we can trim the sails. Civic engagement can not only, inform and influence decision makers, but will increasingly mobilise direct action. It matters if we are to steer in one direction and not to waste resources and time.

1.3 Civic engagement is the sum of the decisions, choices and actions we take to improve the community and world in which we live, for ourselves, families and fellow citizens. We are not just individuals striving to survive, but communities sharing to thrive. This may be self-evident to thinkers, visionaries and those responsible for good government, but it is the concern of us all, and in particular, the young who will inherit the consequences, This generation are better placed than previous generations, to adapt, innovate and partner up across nations and generations.

Why is it important now?

1.6 The world is changing fast, with the digital revolution fast-tracking communication, education and self-empowerment. Information. One no longer needs permission, but can increasingly ‘self-empower’ and connect with like minded individuals to mobilise, using the internet. This will become more evident with more youth people taking the initiative and challenging the status quo. So it is imperative that things that unite us in nationhood are nurtured, and harnessed for the common good, so that the potential of invention becomes the servant of the citizen, not the enslaver of it. The challenge is not to try and control these new powers, but embrace them, and underpin them with sound incentives and encouragement of people to ‘want’ to be active citizens and stakeholders

for the benefit of all. Young people want to participate and partner now, and its important the older generation responds quickly and ‘talks to them not about them’.

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?

2.1 Pride should be encouraged. In a post-Brexit UK this is not clear for citizens and immigrants alike. However, I predict after a period of angst and reflection we will discover a new Britain to be proud of, rather than trying to reinvent the past. To this end we should encourage and be encouraged, inspire and being inspired by young leaders to show the way.

2.2 Recommend exploring :

1. Declaration of citizenship at birth, as part of the Birth Certificate
2. Education emphasises the rights and benefits of citizenship, the right to vote, to represent, and be of service. Young people should have this underlined with the power to vote at 16.
3. Encourage youth citizenship
4. Give more honours (BEMs) to young leaders/role models
5. Appoint (or have reserved temporary elected seats) for young people under 30 in the House of Lords. This could be all ages and called Lord Senators, or Citizen Senators.

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?

3.1 We need a new Magna Carta for the 21st Century, a Bill of Rights, which articulate existing and new reciprocal rights and responsibilities in a post Brexit Britain, protected with the scrutiny and amended rights determined by the Supreme court. I hope this Committee’s report makes a significant step towards that outcome. Recommend bold progressive measures.

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?

4.1 We need electoral reform. We need a step-change in practice and behaviour in politics to deliver good modern and efficient Government. These needs to starting with

education of the future electorate, on the basics of democracy and how to vote. My target is youth because, time, this will embed through the all the generations.

4.2 Every young citizen should be auto-enrolled on the register in time to vote, rather like the issuing of a National Insurance number. It should be an automatic entitlement rather a right than you can opt into.

4.3 We should introduce votes at 16 alongside a curriculum of citizenship education that explains the mechanics of democracy and voting, monitored by Ofsted and the Electoral Commission, and reported to Parliament. This could draw on the excellent model of good practice of the Parliament Education and Outreach service materials and curriculum.

4.2 I also refer to the positive conclusions and recommendations of Youth-led Youth Select Committee report into the feasibility of Votes at 16, [http://www.parliament.uk/education-resources/Youth-Select-Committee/BYC%202014%20Report\(WEB\)FINAL.pdf](http://www.parliament.uk/education-resources/Youth-Select-Committee/BYC%202014%20Report(WEB)FINAL.pdf) and the experience of lowering the voting age in Scotland. Public opinion had been against this change before the reform was introduced in Scotland. It was alongside a year of preparation through school curriculums. The Electoral Commission follow up report and surveys of the public opinion afterwards showed a clear majority in all age groups in favour of continuing the right to vote. Its worth noting that in Scotland the charity YoungScot works to engage ‘all’ young people as citizens where every young person automatically receives a ‘Youth-Card’ strengthening their identity and opportunities.

4.3 I also commend the Youth Select Committee inquiry and report called for a new Curriculum for Life in schools, <http://www.byc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Youth-Select-Committee-A-Curriculum-for-Life-Report.pdf> (to include a range of practical and social subjects as well as academic).

4.4 I would recommend the establishment of a All party **Youth & Citizenship Commission** (similar to one set up in 2008/09 led by Professor Tongue, Liverpool University, to explore these ideas.

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?

5.1 There should be mandatory, audited and consistent citizenship education (refer to my previous answer and sources – Votes at 16 and Curriculum for Life reports by the Youth Select Committee) and growth of the Make Your Mark ballot and UK Youth Parliament elections in schools. Citizenship in the educational context includes democracy, but also about the causes, campaigns and charities and how to support them. Through schools, more could be done to incentivise youthled ownership of social action through participation

school councils, youth councils and grant giving using the Youthbank model. The National Citizen Service have borrowed similar ideas from existing social action initiatives like the Prince's Trust, but I would welcome more investment in aligning NCS with school and FE provision and other learning environments.

5.2 Other evidence already shared with the Committee (6th Sept) from the Department of Education, referred to the encouragement of 'mock elections'. However, this overlooks the real elections of young representatives to school councils, local councils (shadowing local authorities) and UK Youth Parliament as well as the Make Your Mark ballot conducted largely through schools which reached nearly a million pupils in 2016. There are also similar initiatives in the nations – the devolved Scottish Youth Parliament and plans to develop a new Youth Parliament for Wales in 2017. Northern Ireland did have cross community direct elections through schools, until the programme was paused in 2016. It was commended as good practice during the visit to London by the President Higgins, of Ireland, when he addressed young Members of the Youth Parliament in 2014.

5.3 Further and Higher Education should include opportunities to study and prepare for community and citizenship leadership, and public service. There has been a emphasis on buzzword education – such as 'resilience' and 'character building'. These are ideas that I expect to already be part of the holistic learning experience already. Instead we should target resources to qualifications that include the skills and practice of civic engagement and public service engagement. We stress Health and Well-Being, Media Studies, Communication – why not civic studies, where pupils learn about local and national decision making, resources, priorities, choices, expertise, research, planning, manifestos, elections, voting, governance, scrutiny, accountability...

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?

6.1 In my previous role as a strategic partner of the Cabinet Office, when the idea of NCS was first promoted, I inputted into development of this initiative, and I've monitored its progress ever since, most recently the committee stages of the NCS Bill and the Audit Commission report. I have met those involved including several Ministers for Civil Society, the CEO, young graduates and attended local teams. I am currently campaigning for the appointment of young trustees to the new Board.

6.2 There is plenty of existing evaluation of the impact of the NCS programme and on those taking part. In my view the programme has an impact on most of those it reaches, particularly on their personal, and social development in a team setting. It creates active citizens for a while (a few weeks) but we need further longitudinal studies to determine if it creates long-term active citizens for the investment it gets. It's a short four-week

programme, much of which is about team building and planning and the time for citizenship input and community service is therefore less.

6.3 They are more of a taster programme than an ongoing creator and supporter of active citizens. That would require more service over a longer period (6 months to a year). The current model is more of a personal development programme, located in the community, which introduces young people to citizenship – not embedding it. As such it has potential but is relatively expensive and impractical to roll out. I would favour the investment being all year round, with greater integration into the school curriculum, the age range extended from 14-18, (and indeed a programme to include adults/retired!) and renaming it the National Youth Service, and a follow up version for Gap Year Students or post college or FT school at 19 – 20, as the National Citizen Service with more of a combination of skills, community work and public service – leading to a qualification.

6.4 It has the potential to follow up sessions on voter registration, democracy, and how to vote, with auto-voter registration.

6.5 NCS's evaluation reports acknowledge of the talent and potential of 16 and 17 year olds add weight to the case for lowering the voting age to 16. There is an opportunity for the current Government to introduce this, using the National Citizen Service to support it. Young people are earning their right to vote. But the main vehicle for citizenship should be schools and colleges and not holidays. These should be left for value added activities (sport music and arts) and family time.

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?

7.1 As you may have surmised from previous answers I would advocate the great investment, profile and encouragement of youth participation at all walks of civic life, in particular through democratic engagement and youthled participation. There is an existing structure to do this – the British Youth Council and its partnerships across the UK, with Local Government, schools, youth services, Government Departments, drawing on its experience of successful engagement and inclusive projects. However it is a charity and could do with some investment on the scale of the National Citizen Service.

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?

Shared values : truth, equality, inclusions, diversity, freedom of speech/free press, the rule of law, checks and balances, scrutiny, representative democracy, recognition and reward.

Threats: Ignorance, spin, the internet, greed, abuse of power, the divisive political model of Government, and the current exit process of the European Union.

Answers – education, Bill of Rights, Magna Carta, Constitution, the internet, innovation and technology, youth empowerment and leadership. Recognition. Investment.

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?

Politicians need to talk to people not about them. Democracy is a dialogue not just an election, it needs to be nurtured between elections, starting in schools, continuing in communities, empowered in Board rooms.

Q 10 and 11 – No comment.

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?

The UK Youth Parliament, The British Youth Council, The Patchwork Foundation, The Scottish Youth Parliament, Kenny Imafidon (25) author of the Kenny Reports (on youth political engagement) and Director at Bite the Ballot)

Parliament Outreach and Education services – for their work with children and young people, and other age groups, including targeting groups would might not otherwise engage in democracy. #

Youth Select Committees (British Youth Council), Make Your Mark ballots 2009-2016

Appendix

Extract of letter sent to the Prime Minister 9th June 2017 by James Cathcart

“I believe that young people deserve an ongoing commitment from Government and Opposition after this election, to engage them in the democratic process.

Democracy is a dialogue between elections, not just a vote in them. There is a new opportunity, starting today, for more meaningful youth participation in that conversation. The 18-24 youth vote has earned the right to inform, influence and scrutinise, but we need new ways to respond to, and embed that. We should also be starting the process now, of educating, preparing and listening to the next generation, aged 13 -17, who will vote in the next General Election in 2022.

I’d therefore ask that, during this time of reflection, you take forward the following youth-inspired agenda, with input from young people and their leaders.

1. A new **Youth Minister** role at Cabinet level.
2. A new **Department for Youth Affairs**, and matching Select Committee.

3. Strengthened **duties to consult young people** on local/national Government policy and decision-making.
4. A new independent **Youth Commissioner** championing youth participation (up to age 25) across society in general.
5. A **Youth Citizenship Commission** to review and champion the following by 2022
 - a. **Auto-enrolment** of all young voters through schools, as the entitlement of every pupil.
 - b. **A democracy curriculum**, to prepare future voters aged 13-17
 - c. **Votes at 16** to ensure equal voting rights UK
 - d. New **powers and seats** in decision-making committees for local youth councils and devolved national youth parliaments.

An increased #youthvote is a new opportunity for democracy. Please take it, and nurture it with an ongoing commitment to listen and engage”

Catholic Union of Great Britain – written evidence (CCE0117)

Introduction

1. The Catholic Union was established in 1870 as the leading Roman Catholic lay association in the United Kingdom. One of its purposes, which was informed by then recent historical experience, was to ensure that the interests of Catholics were properly protected in the law of the land.
2. We wish to respond to Question 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?

Response

3. One of the values we should share and support is religious freedom, which, in addition to being a fundamental human right (see Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights, Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the first amendment to the United States Constitution), is an essential element in a healthy pluralism.
4. There are potential threats to this value due to an apparently increasing lack of understanding of the nature of religion by those in public life and the media. This has manifested itself, in part, in the increased use of the label ‘extremism’ to describe views which are merely honestly held differences of opinion.
5. We also sense that there is an increasing lack of understanding of the importance of religious freedom to the liberal tradition that underpins our culture.
6. This is a potentially serious threat to our democracy where a significant proportion of the population regularly practises a religion.
7. We make clear that our support is for religious freedom as a political and social principle and that it must be religious freedom for all religions.
8. As good a description of the nature of religion as any is the one given by the Second Vatican Council in its document on religious freedom (the document was called: ‘On the Dignity of the Human Person’):

It is in accordance with their dignity as persons—that is, beings endowed with reason and free will and therefore privileged to bear personal responsibility—that all men should be at once impelled by nature and also bound by a moral obligation to seek the truth, especially religious truth. They are also bound to adhere to the truth, once it is known, and to order their whole lives in accord with the demands of truth. However, men cannot discharge these

obligations in a manner in keeping with their own nature unless they enjoy immunity from external coercion as well as psychological freedom. Therefore the right to religious freedom has its foundation not in the subjective disposition of the person, but in his very nature... the exercise of this right is not to be impeded, provided that just public order be observed.

9. This passage explains why it follows from the nature of religion that its protection from laws that might impinge upon its freedom is essential to the dignity of all people.

10. That is also clear from the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provides that:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances

11. It is significant that the founding fathers grouped religious freedom with freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly. All of them are concerned with an essential aspect of human nature which is to form and express opinions that others may disagree with (even strongly) and to act on those opinions in the public sphere.

Conclusion

12. Human beings are both spiritual and material, they are also moral beings whose nature impels them to search for truth by reason and experience. All cultures worth the name admire and protect those who act according to their honest conscience no matter who might disagree. Religion has social, familial and community aspects which imprint themselves on the very identity of individuals. There are therefore a wide variety of rights and freedoms that are affected once freedom of religion is denied or reduced. It should be recognized as an important British value.

7 September 2017

The Challenge – written evidence (CCE0203)

About The Challenge

1. The Challenge is the UK's leading charity for building a more socially integrated society. We design and deliver programmes that bring different people together to develop their confidence and skills in understanding and connecting with others.
2. Alongside our role as a programme delivery organisation, we also develop policy ideas to forge a more integrated Britain. During 2014 and 2015, The Challenge convened the Social Integration Commission. Following the Commission's conclusion, we set up the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Social Integration, which is chaired by Chuka Umunna MP.
3. The proposals set out in this submission are informed by our experience of designing and delivering programmes which promote meaningful interaction and engagement between people from different backgrounds and growing them to scale; of discussing the issue of civic engagement and social segregation with young people, employers and parliamentarians; and of conducting original research.

What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

4. Across industrialised nations, including the UK, we are increasingly living in 'bubbles' made up of 'people like us' – whether of similar income levels and educational backgrounds, of the same culture, faith and ethnicity, or of the same generation. These bubbles have grown to reflect patterns of residential segregation, but are also formed through the social habits of people living in diverse areas. Research shows that Britons on average interact socially with someone of a different ethnicity less than half as often as would be expected if their social circles reflected the demographic makeup of their local area. This is the case even in our most diverse regions, including Greater London and the Midlands¹⁴⁷. This indicates that it is not uncommon for people to live peaceably alongside others from different walks of life but to meet, mix and connect almost exclusively with people from similar backgrounds. In the UK, this trend was arguably crystallised through the 2016 EU referendum campaign and its aftermath, during which it became apparent that many people – whether Remain or Leave voters – hadn't come into contact with a supporter of the opposing view in that debate.

5. This phenomenon – 'social segregation' – has been shown to fuel the sense that there is more which divides us than that which binds us together, preventing the development of the bonds of trust and the sense of belonging and rootedness which underpin successful communities and nations. Indeed, research demonstrates that a lack of contact between

¹⁴⁷ The Challenge, 2016, British Integration Survey 2016

people from different social and cultural backgrounds feeds prejudice, breeds anxiety and fuels the politics of recrimination and blame¹⁴⁸. Divided societies suffer from poorer mental health outcomes and are more likely to experience civil unrest¹⁴⁹. There is also a growing body of evidence to suggest that a lack of ‘social mixing’ impedes life chances, inhibits social mobility, prolongs periods of unemployment and restricts economic growth¹⁵⁰.

6. Indeed, research by the Harvard-based sociologist Robert Putnam suggests that people living in diverse but divided communities tend to ‘hunker down’ and ‘withdraw from collective life’ – placing less trust in their neighbours, including those from a similar background; assuming markedly more negative attitudes towards their local areas; voting less; volunteering less; and giving less to charity¹⁵¹. This cocktail of increasing diversity and declining integration is, then, a clear risk to the health and strength our communities and negatively impacts on civic engagement.

7. Active citizenship can be the glue which binds people together and helps to foster connections across social faultlines. This is, in large part, as studies show that participating in volunteering programmes encourages individuals to actively engage with members of their community (both service users and fellow volunteers) whom they wouldn’t otherwise come into contact with¹⁵². It should, accordingly, be viewed as a vital component of a strong and healthy society. The Challenge would, furthermore, argue that active citizenship programmes should be actively designed so as to bring together and promote meaningful and positive contact between people from different ethnicities, cultures, social backgrounds and generations.

Do voluntary citizenship programmes such as the National Citizen Service do a good job of creating active citizens?

¹⁴⁸ For full referencing and more information please see: The Challenge (2015), Integration City, Page 9

¹⁴⁹ Riots Communities and Victims Panel (2011), 5 Days in August: An interim report on the 2011 English Riots, London, Page 62

¹⁵⁰ Social Integration Commission, 2015, Kingdom United? Thirteen steps to tackle social segregation, Page 7

¹⁵¹ Putnam, R.D (2007), ‘E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture’, Scandanavian Political Studies, 30:2, 137-174

¹⁵² Hothi, M (2007), Neighbourliness + Empowerment = Wellbeing: Is there are a formula for happy communities?, The Young Foundation

8. National Citizen Service (NCS) is an intensive programme open to 15 to 17-year olds across England and Northern Ireland, in which young people participate in team and personal challenges at an outward bound centre and whilst living independently in a university halls-style setting. Participants then plan and deliver a social action project in their local areas. The Challenge would argue that the programme does a very good job of creating active citizens.

9. In 2009 and 2010, The Challenge worked with the government to design and launch NCS, and we are now a major provider of the programme – delivering it across London, Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds as well as several other contract areas throughout England. Our NCS programme curriculum is designed to empower participants to become active citizens and meaningfully impact on their local community, as well as gaining skills for life and work.

Are they the right length?

10. The Challenge has specifically designed its NCS programme curriculum so as to create spaces and effective incentives for young people from different backgrounds to meaningfully engage with one another. The programme runs outside of term time in the summer and autumn and our aim is to impact positively on young people's attitudes towards those from different walks of life in a relatively short period of time. We do this through ensuring that our NCS curriculum is intensive – participants spend almost three weeks in one another's company throughout the summer – and cultivating a social atmosphere – they live, cook and eat together.

Should they be compulsory, and if so, when?

11. Young people sign up to NCS because of the immediate benefits offered: a fun summer experience, the chance to develop skills, and the opportunity to meet new people. NCS offers a space for people to develop shared identities through having shared experiences. Making NCS compulsory could potentially change this environment and the way in which young people approach the programme for the worse.

12. The Challenge is ambitious in its approach to the continued expansion of NCS but believes that this growth should be organic. Rather than making it compulsory, our aim is for the programme to become a rite of passage for young people across the UK.

Should they include a greater political element?

13. Our NCS programme curriculum already contains elements designed to promote democratic engagement and encourage voter registration. In evening sessions on leadership, we explore what it means to be an active citizen. Through these sessions, we aim to promote the idea that leadership is not about being in a position of authority, but

The Challenge – written evidence (CCE0203)

rather about using skills and experiences to take an active role in society and taking responsibility for others.

14. [This resource from Bite the Ballot](#) informs the session we deliver to young people on democracy. The session challenges young people to speak with their peers about the issues they care about. The activities also get young people thinking about the extent to which young people are underrepresented when it comes to voting and political engagement – and how others making decisions on their behalf, without consulting them, makes them feel.

15. This is followed by an explanation of the ways in which government spending is allocated. Participants are then challenged to think about and justify how they would reallocate government money if they were in power. At the end of these evening sessions, NCS participants are encouraged to register to vote.

Should they lead to a more public citizenship ceremony?

16. The Challenge does not have a strong view on this issue. However, our NCS graduation ceremonies provide an opportunity for young people to celebrate their shared success alongside their parents, guardians, friends and families.

Are they good value for money?

17. An independent evaluation of NCS, carried out by Ipsos MORI, demonstrates the positive impact the programme has on levels of social trust and young people's attitudes towards mixing with people from different backgrounds.¹⁵³ This finding was echoed in the Casey Review, which concluded that NCS is 'having a positive impact in improving understanding and relationships between young people from different backgrounds.'¹⁵⁴

18 The independent evaluation by Ipsos MORI included a value for money analysis and found that the costs and monetisable benefits associated with NCS in 2015 could be estimated as follows:

The NCS spring programme is estimated to deliver benefits of between £5.0m and £8.8m, and between £0.70 and £1.24 of benefits per £1 of expenditure.

The NCS summer standard programme is estimated to deliver benefits of between £64.9m and £128.1m and between £0.76 and £1.50 of benefits per £1 of expenditure.

¹⁵³ <http://www.ncsyes.co.uk/sites/default/files/14-090747-01%20NCS%202015%20Evaluation%20Report%20Final%20PUBLIC%20v2%2031072017.pdf>

¹⁵⁴ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-casey-review-a-review-into-opportunity-and-integration>

The Challenge – written evidence (CCE0203)

The NCS autumn programme is estimated to deliver benefits of between £18.6m and £36.5m, and between £1.17 and £2.30 of benefits per £1 of expenditure.

19. It also concluded that NCS has the potential to deliver a number of benefits that are not currently possible to monetise, such as wellbeing. It is therefore difficult to assess the value of the programme in exclusively monetary terms.

What other routes exist for creating active citizens?

20. The Challenge supports NCS graduates to build on their involvement in their local community through organising alumni activities, and through two vocational education programmes: HeadStart and Step Forward. We designed these programmes to meet the needs and appeal to the interests of young people at different life stages, as they prepare for and undertake the transition into employment.

HeadStart

21. Through HeadStart, The Challenge recruits 16 to 19-year olds to complete a minimum of 16 hours of volunteering within their local communities. After undertaking one hour of voluntary work in a socially mixed setting through HeadStart, teenagers are invited to attend skills development, communications coaching and interview preparation workshops. After completing 16 hours of volunteering, they are guaranteed to be invited to interview for a part-time and seasonal job with one of the scheme's corporate partners (such as Starbucks, Nando's, Lloyds Banking Group and New Look.)

22. HeadStart was launched in London in 2013, partially in order to enable young people to continue their social action journeys following NCS. Initially only available to NCS graduates, HeadStart is now available to all young people in the areas in which we deliver the programme – Greater London, the West Midlands and Greater Manchester. By February 2018, we expect over 8,000 young people to have completed the programme. To date, over 100,000 cumulative volunteering hours have been logged by HeadStart participants.

23. External evaluations of the programme demonstrate its impact. HeadStart has been shown to prepare young people with experiences and skills which make them feel more prepared for their future lives as they move into adulthood. This is highlighted by the results of a pre and post-programme survey which shows that those young people who participated in HeadStart in 2015-16 experienced, on average, a 30% increase across all key outcome areas, including character development, trust and understanding as well as employability and job readiness. In addition, 83% of young people said that they were likely to continue volunteering in their community as a result of HeadStart; whilst participants reported a 51% increase in how connected they felt to their community.¹⁵⁵

Step Forward

¹⁵⁵ Carney, A (2016), HeadStart External Evaluation Report , London: InFocusStep Forward

The Challenge – written evidence (CCE0203)

24. Step Forward is an apprenticeship programme which brings together new school leavers from all walks of life. This programme provides eighteen-year olds with one year's professional work experience, training in highly transferable skills and the chance to build a professional and peer network across sectors including accounting, digital marketing and childcare.

25. The Challenge tailors the marketing and recruitment methods which we utilise to attract Step Forward associates to achieve a diverse mix of participants – supporting young people from different income backgrounds and ethnicities, and with highly divergent career aspirations, to apply (in 2014, over 400 young people applied for 48 places).

26. Through Step Forward, The Challenge engages with young people while they are still at school and can be reached en masse and actively encouraged to consider becoming an apprentice. Interested school leavers are matched to positions with a pool of employers with whom they then complete a one year Level 3 apprenticeship whilst also participating in classroom-based professional and personal development training.

27. In addition to working towards a qualification in their chosen area of work, associates are placed in purposefully mixed teams of 15-16 associates from across all training pathways in order to study non-subject specific skills and participate in social action projects.

28. The Step Forward model has succeeded in appealing to young people – in 2016, The Challenge received 40 expressions of interest for every place on this programme. We believe that this is in large part as we provide intensive support and guidance to young people at each step in the process of entering the labour market, and as the programme has been purposefully shaped to instill transferable skills in participants.

29. In 2016, 400 young people will take in the programme, which currently operates across London. The Challenge views this model as highly scalable and is exploring options to expand Step Forward into new regions.

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?

30. As outlined above, The Challenge believes that, as life in Britain becomes less uniform and we become a more diverse nation along a number of dimensions, active citizenship and civic engagement can be a means of fostering social integration, connecting communities and building trust amongst and between people of all ages, ethnicities and walks of life. Greater social integration in turn generates trust, improves people's life chances and boosts employment and social mobility.

31. Our common life has always been underpinned by shared institutions bridging social, cultural and generational divides – sustaining a vibrant ecosystem of trust – but the congregational spaces of the twentieth century are not equal to the challenges we now face as a post-industrial society. The organised church, civic organisations from the Women’s Institute to The Scouts to community social clubs and trade unions – all have declined in membership and affiliation as our society and economy have become more open and social trust has shrunk.

32. As a consequence, our defences against social disintegration have been eroded. In response, we, as a society, should seek to create more opportunities and incentives for people from all walks of life to meaningfully connect and build fellow feeling. Creating new civic institutions which bring together people in common cause across social faultlines is at the heart of The Challenge’s work. Policymakers might draw on our experience in this regard in order to promote active participation in community life and strengthen the ties that bind our nation together.

33. Research by the Social Integration Commission demonstrates that when people from different walks of life meet, mix and lead interconnected lives, trust grows and communities flourish¹⁵⁶. Through our experience of designing, delivering and rapidly growing programmes with social integration at their heart, The Challenge has identified a number of principles which we believe underpin effective and scalable interventions to build bonds of trust between people from different ethnicities, cultures, social backgrounds and generations and promote active citizenship.

34. It could be argued that policymakers within successive governments have too often overlooked the correlation between levels of trust within societies and measures of social and economic progress; and the potential power of action aimed at boosting social trust to achieve improved outcomes for communities and public policy. Through embedding the design principles set out in this document in our public services and building new civic institutions reflecting this approach, the new government might weave opportunities to connect with others from different walks of life into the fabric of everyday life in the UK – more effectively utilising social trust as a tool in its policy armoury

35. Social contact with people from different backgrounds can impact positively or negatively on our perceptions of difference, depending on the conditions under which

¹⁵⁶ Social Integration Commission, 2015a, Social Integration: a wake-up call

interactions takes place¹⁵⁷. Policymakers should not only design active citizenship programmes so as to bring together a diverse group of people, they should also actively promote social mixing – intervening where necessary to counteract the tendency of participants and service users to cluster in groups of people from similar backgrounds¹⁵⁸. Furthermore, policymakers should ensure that the resulting programmes and institutions embody, to at least some extent, the following design principles:

36. Promote common goals. Confronting people with a shared challenge – an obstacle which can be more easily overcome through teamwork than individual effort – is a key element of inspiring previously unlikely friendships.

37. Facilitate equal status interactions. People are more likely to engage with others when they view them as peers. This can be achieved through rotating leadership roles within an initiative or institution, or purposefully designing an intervention to involve a range of different activities, pushing all participants out of their comfort zones.

38. Create intensive and/or sustained experiences. Building meaningful relationships takes time and work. People from different walks of life should be encouraged to meet and mix intensively over a short burst of time or to engage with one another repeatedly over a longer period. Young people participating in NCS live, cook, eat and work together over a period of four weeks. Teenagers who take part in our HeadStart incentivised volunteering programme, on the other hand, regularly engage with members of their community through completing a few hours of volunteering with a charity partner per week, generally over the course of 10–12 weeks.

39. Capitalise on transitions to drive behaviour change. In our experience, integration interventions which reach people at transitions in their lives are more likely to succeed. Starting school, becoming a young adult and entering the workplace, enrolling at a college or university, becoming a parent, experiencing your child starting school, moving to a new area, or retiring – it is during these moments of transition that we are most open to adopting new habits and identities.

¹⁵⁷ Laurence, J, 2017, 'The key to a more integrated society: understanding the impact and limits of social mixing', LSE Politics and Policy Blog, 27 March 2017

¹⁵⁸ In delivering NCS, The Challenge intentionally places young people in teams alongside others with different experiences of life, often separating them from their friends.

40. Emphasise co-benefits. Through employing effective marketing techniques and offering meaningful incentives to participation, The Challenge designs products which appeal to young people from all backgrounds. Teenagers sign up to our programmes because of the immediate benefits offered, such as the chance to have a fun summer experience, find a job or to develop new skills – because they have a good and obvious reason to join in. From the perspective of most participants, the chance to meet new people and build a more diverse social network is either a bonus or immaterial.

41. Cultivate a unifying culture. Through encouraging participants to use distinct jargon, through creating team labels and emblems, and even through incorporating a degree of ceremony and ritual into our programmes, The Challenge fosters a sense of common identity amongst the young people who take part in our programmes.

The Challenge – supplementary written evidence (CCE0274)

1. The Royal Charter for the National Citizen Service Trust (NCST) states that it is the duty of that organisation to *‘provide or arrange for the provision’* of National Citizen Service (NCS) programmes. The NCST have said that *‘the need to focus on local communities and organisations to achieve long term social impact’* will be a guiding principle of the NCS delivery network redesign process which they are currently engaged in; and that they *‘will be encouraging organisations of all shapes and sizes that meet a clear set of minimum requirements, to review and bid for the opportunity’* to join this network. Indeed, this is – in our experience – an aim shared by the vast majority of organisations currently included in this delivery network, including The Challenge.

2. In 2015, The Challenge was contracted by the NCST to act as its Regional Delivery Partner (RDP) in seven of its 19 delivery regions. As an RDP, we are responsible for working with Local Delivery Partners (LDPs) – a role fulfilled in the main by smaller, locally-focused charities – to provide NCS across each of these geographical areas. At present, the NCS delivery network includes over 250 LDPs.

3. The Challenge has a track record of running high-quality programmes for young people – our NCS net promoter scores (as captured by the NCST in partnership with Rant and Rave) have been consistently high, whilst our HeadStart incentivised social action programme was recently recognised within a report by the Careers and Enterprise Company as *‘what works in volunteering’*¹⁵⁹. We do, accordingly, directly deliver NCS where we believe that this will result in the best possible experience for young people and the greatest social impact. Indeed, we also believe that the provision of NCS across the country is improved through the involvement of organisations operating at different levels of scale. In part as The Challenge delivers NCS within a number of geographic regions across England, we are well-placed to pilot innovative changes to the programme’s structure and curriculum – including in areas with divergent demographic and geographic characteristics, and through the use of control groups – and to run additional activities and services aimed at boosting its social impact. For example, during the summer 2017 delivery period, we employed eleven mental health advisers who worked to support young people with mental health needs to participate in the programme – this innovation was made financially viable as these advisers worked across geographical areas larger than those which many smaller charities operate within. Furthermore, like many NCS providers, The Challenge regularly convenes meetings of the LDPs which we work with so as to enable the sharing of best practice in areas such as

¹⁵⁹ Williams, J (2017), *Involving young people in volunteering. What works?*, The Careers and Enterprise Company (https://www.careersandenterprise.co.uk/sites/default/files/uploaded/careers_enterprise_what_works_report_young_people_volunteering.pdf)

inclusion and graduate engagement – we would contend that we are better able to lead these discussions as we are well-versed in the realities of programme delivery.

4. We do, however, believe that through partnering with organisations which are rooted in local communities, enjoy close links with local charities and community groups or possess specialist expertise in a particular aspect of youth programme provision, we are able to both improve the quality of the NCS experience for young people and to reach teenagers who might not otherwise choose to participate in NCS. We are, therefore, committed to increasing the number of NCS places which we sub-contract to LDPs within our delivery areas, and have made significant progress towards realising this goal in recent years. Between 2014 and 2017, the number of LDPs which we work with increased by 38%; whilst in 2017 we sub-contracted over 50% of NCS places to these organisations in four of the seven areas in which we operate as an RDP. The NCST is, moreover, working in concert with current and potential NCS delivery organisations to ensure that, by 2025 at the very latest, no RDP will directly deliver more than 40% of the NCS places which it is contractually responsible for.

5. The Challenge is, in addition, exploring whether we might be able to enter into contractual partnerships with organisations which are not well-placed to fulfil the full range of programme delivery functions usually undertaken by an LDP, but which may be able to contribute meaningfully to a particular aspect of NCS delivery. For example, we are currently in discussions with the Young Brent Foundation regarding whether youth voluntary sector organisations in that borough might be able to assume responsibility for the promotion of the programme to local teenagers.

6. Of course, NCS also meaningfully benefits civil society organisations of all sizes through the third and fourth phases of the programme, which see teams of young people run social action projects with and for local charities and community groups. In 2017, the young people who completed NCS in The Challenge's delivery areas (excluding those who did so through a LDP) raised £446,850 for a wide range of charitable causes through completing approximately 1,067,688 hours of social action and working in partnership with 1,633 charity partners.

Gabriel Chanan – written evidence (CCE0013)

Viewpoint and experience: I submit this response as an individual, based on long experience of working in the field of community involvement. I directed research and policy at the Community Development Foundation between 1981 and 2005, analysing a wide variety of community projects across the UK and in a variety of European sites. I carried out consultancies for numerous local authorities and was the main author of CDF's influential advice to government on integrating community involvement into regeneration policies in the 1990s. From 2005 to 2008 I was seconded to the Home Office and the Department of Communities and Local Government as a senior adviser on community empowerment. Since 2008 I have carried out a mixed portfolio of research, policy analysis and project development on community involvement. I directed, with Dr Brian Fisher, the Health Empowerment Leverage Project (HELP), which was commissioned by the Department of Health in 2010 to examine ways of measuring the economic value of community development in health¹⁶⁰. In 2010-12 I worked with *Community Places* in Northern Ireland on a series of contracts for the NI Government and the City of Belfast on strategies for social inclusion, community development and voluntary sector policy¹⁶¹. My book with Colin Miller, *Rethinking Community Practice* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2013) proposes a new synthesis of ways to energise communities and public services together. I was awarded an MBE for services to community development in 2009.

Focus. I am addressing especially your question 7, regarding how society, government, third sector organisations and individuals can encourage civic engagement, with implications for other questions.

Importance of the issue. It is vital for individuals and society alike that everyone has a sense of belonging to society in some way or other. For individuals, this is connected with mental health, social opportunities and life chances. For society it is connected with social cohesion, mutual responsibilities and political stability. Engagement cannot be imposed or required. It has to be achieved by people's free choices. But government, industry, voluntary organisations and individuals all have a part to play in creating the best climate for inclusive involvement.

The neglected layer of engagement. Citizenship and civic engagement are usually discussed in terms of the individual on the one hand and society or the state on the other. There is much less attention to the intervening layer which is vital to link the two, namely community activity. Much of this activity takes place on a local face-to-face basis, some also through wider networks and social media. Whilst family and household constitute the private sphere, community activity is the level of society where involvement begins and largely takes place. It is the level where personal and public issues intersect, and is also a stepping stone between private life and practical engagement in public issues. It can be seen concretely in community groups and activities of all kinds, such as tenants' and residents'

¹⁶⁰ www.healthempowerment.co.uk

¹⁶¹ www.communityplanningtoolkit.org

associations, parent-teacher associations, environmental groups, health groups, social clubs, youth clubs, friends of parks, choirs, drama groups, art clubs, charitable activities based on faith groups and hundreds more. These can be called collectively the community sector. Whilst these activities amount to a huge area of national life, the fact that each of them is small and local consigns the entire sector to having a low profile. Its role is rarely addressed adequately in public debate and policy.

Not just the voluntary sector. It is widely accepted that a flourishing voluntary sector is one of the main vehicles for civic engagement. However, different segments of the voluntary sector have different roles in this respect. Large, professionally-run voluntary organisations sometimes mobilise numerous volunteers and represent wide public opinion on specific issues. But many of the larger voluntary organisations operate primarily as service providers rather than as vehicles for civic engagement. Local community groups and projects, on the other hand, involve people more personally and actively. To become involved in civic engagement, most people need a vehicle that is near at hand, unthreatening, and small enough for the individual participant to matter. Independent local community organisations are in fact the largest part of the voluntary sector, not only by numbers of organisations but in terms of volume of volunteering. But investment directed towards the voluntary sector as a whole is largely swallowed up by the service-providing functions of the larger, professionally-led organisations. There is little trickle-down to the community sector, other than through the small but critical stratum of ‘infrastructure’ organisations which specifically commit themselves to this role.¹⁶² A government policy aiming to support civic engagement must pay particular attention to boosting conditions for the community sector and its infrastructure.

Favourable and unfavourable factors. The volume and effectiveness of community activity and the groups through which it works are not purely spontaneous or random phenomena. To some extent they reflect, on one hand, general social and economic advantages and, on the other, availability of certain forms of help to combat disadvantage. The largest ever survey of the voluntary and community sector in England¹⁶³, commissioned by government in 2008, sampled all 149 local authorities and found that sheer numbers of organisations in this sector, large or small, ranged from 200 to 3000. Seaside town Brighton had three times as many organisations as Seaside town Torbay, though only a 16% higher population. The London Borough of Camden had eight times as many such organisations as the London Borough of Barking and Dagenham, though only a 30% higher population.

¹⁶² Important research and campaigning on voluntary sector infrastructure has been conducted by the National Association for Voluntary and Community Action (NAVCA) – see <https://www.navca.org.uk/resources/111-commission-on-the-future-of-local-infrastructure-research>

¹⁶³ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/2010-national-survey-of-charities-and-social-enterprises> The results were published by government in 2008 and 2010 and were originally intended to continue biennially but have apparently now been withdrawn – a huge loss to our overall picture of the state of the sector

Positive factors and outcomes. A government report in 2004¹⁶⁴ identified five key types of help affecting the level and effectiveness of community activity, and five key outcomes of successful activity. All of these remain highly relevant. The five helping factors were:

- access to free or affordable meeting space
- availability of seedcorn funding
- availability of help from skilled community workers
- networks for mutual support between organisations
- opportunities for learning about active citizenship and engagement.

The five outcomes were:

1. a higher level of trust and co-operation amongst people in a locality
2. more confident, motivated and active citizens
3. more effective community groups and organisations
4. a stronger, more varied and inclusive local community sector
5. greater capacity of community groups and organisations to engage in joint work with public authorities .

Parallel studies showed that it was possible to measure these kinds of outcome¹⁶⁵, and a good deal of research into outcomes was carried out in the first decade of the century.

Moving in the wrong direction. Support for the community sector has, however, *fallen* sharply over the past few years, especially in England, due to the combination of a number of factors. Local authorities used to be the principal source of support, but since this function was discretionary, most of it has disappeared as a result of the cuts in local government funding. This is also exacerbating the pressures on healthcare. The ‘Big Society’ notion that voluntary and community organisations would function better *without* state support has proved to be badly mistaken. The Big Society concept was not even mentioned in the 2017 election.

Importance to the public services. The activities of the community sector are also vital to the functioning of the public services. It is increasingly clear that the health and care systems can only cope with 21st-century needs if more bridges can be built to community activity¹⁶⁶. The same applies in areas such as policing, education, environment and others. The health system is making efforts to find ways to boost community participation, but is at the same time suffering from the depletion of the key local authority role and loss of its

¹⁶⁴ *Firm Foundations, The Government’s Framework for Community Capacity Building*, Home Office, 2004

¹⁶⁵ Gabriel Chanan, *Measures of Community*, Community Development Foundation, 2003

¹⁶⁶ See eg Michael Marmot, *The Health Gap: The Challenge of an Unequal World*. London: Bloomsbury 2015

expertise. Public services also need to change their professional cultures in order to engage better with the communities whom they want to engage with *them*. Aside from the question of whether they support the community sector, public service providers, whether operating in the public, private or voluntary sector, perform (or more usually neglect) a vital function in terms of their *openness* and *responsiveness* to community involvement. In the major government survey cited above (note 4) what community organisations primarily felt they lacked from public service bodies was not resources but contact, dialogue and cooperation.¹⁶⁷

Reforming practice. The practice which specialises in supporting the community sector, community development, was severely reduced in England during the ‘Big Society’ period. It was somewhat better sustained in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, which did not adopt the Big Society concept. Community development has also suffered from certain long-standing difficulties about clarity of objectives. It needs to be revived as part of a package to stimulate citizenship and civic engagement, but in a new form designed to squarely address the issues being discussed by your committee. Some of its traditional tools and practices remain vital, others will need to be modified or created. An area that needs new thinking is how to create genuine partnerships between public service providers and their user communities, such that disasters like the Grenfell Tower fire are prevented.

Action. A plan to revive and increase the role of community activity in promoting citizenship and civic participation urgently needs to be pursued despite the difficulties of present conditions. The following three elements should feature in any such plan:

(i) Allocation of ringfenced resources to local authorities to revive and amplify their role in supporting the community sector and its infrastructure. This could be achieved by a very small fraction of new government expenditure so long as it was genuinely ‘new’ money and was ringfenced securely to this objective.

(ii) Analysis of what all public service providers can do by changing practices within existing resources to engage with their user communities and be more responsive to their involvement, influence and cooperation. Experience suggests that the establishment of structured partnerships is necessary to make participation genuinely effective and overcome the recurrent tendency to invoke community involvement merely cosmetically¹⁶⁸.

(iii) Development and deployment of more coordinated and effective forms of community development, with clearer objectives, practices and measurement of outcomes on citizenship and civic participation.

¹⁶⁷ Gabriel Chanan, *Thriving Third Sector*, Cabinet Office, Office of the Third Sector (later Office for Civil Society), 2010

¹⁶⁸ Gabriel Chanan, *Searching for Solid Foundations: Community Involvement and Urban Policy*, Office of the Deputy prime Minister (later Department for Communities and Local Government), 2003

6 August 2017

Change That Matters Ltd – written evidence (CCE0208)

- 1. Citizenship and civil engagement in the 21st century mean being interested and actively engaged in questions of public life, not only how they affect people individually but as a wider society. The engagement comes not only from voting in local and national elections but participating in community meetings, public surveys, reading papers, watching the news, following social media channels, volunteering and online lobby groups like 38degrees.**
- 2. Our identity is formed by what we are engaged in. If citizens have a way of contributing on local and national issues and are being listened to, they feel a stronger affiliation to where they live because they suddenly have a stake. They will also learn that the big issues such as climate change or social equality are complex and not easily achieved through policy changes in one area, due to their intrinsic interconnectedness with other issues. To engage as wide a range as people as possible, both face-to-face and other online means need to be found.**
- 3. Engagement needs to go beyond informing and consulting and move into the realms of involving and collaborating in order to empower both citizens to be active and councillors and MPs to act in the public interest of a wider ‘We the People’ and not just the vocal resident who may divert the ever diminishing public resources onto matters not in the interest of the many but merely the few.**
- 4. Citizenship does not necessarily equal identity. The importance is integration in the networks of the society – the professional and social links, accessing educational opportunities, volunteering, taking part in elections, being a good neighbour and more. Key is speaking the language at a sufficiently high level to make that integration possible as well as becoming bicultural. The current citizenship test does not increase the love of the country. Most British citizens would not be able to pass it. The love comes through shared cultural and social references, a shared sense of humour, shared values and more.**
- 5. Wider citizenship education including sustainability and democracy should be part of compulsory as well as adult and higher education. Young people, of the age of 16, could then be given the right to vote. Schools and Colleges should encourage learners to participate in elections, many of which already act as polling stations. Participation in learner forums and debating clubs should give them the skills to value and respect other people’s view, give reasons why they may agree or disagree with certain views, and put their own points forward, supported by evidence.**
- 6. The first past the post system is undemocratic in its own right and ought to be replaced by proportional representation. This would allow for more political parties to actually have a voice and get actively involved in decision making. The current two party state sometimes feel like a bipolar dictatorship. Neither is**

satisfactory but the options are limited. Politicians need to move away from point scoring against each other to win populist votes to pulling together, listening to the wider perspective of citizens, while keeping a wider view and the interest of the country and the planet under constant consideration. The country needs solutions to important questions such how to close the inequality gap, how to avert climate disaster, how to keep the nation healthy while providing the best medical care for those who become ill, how can we care for our elders, how to ensure food security and how to tackle political and religious extremism.

7. European citizens in this country as well as British citizens in the UK should be given the choice after a period of 5 years of living in their country of choice whether they want to continue voting in the country whose citizenship they hold or in the country of residence.
8. Rather than more laws, there should be a greater use of citizenship engagement methodologies such as Wisdom Councils which have been conceived of by the North American social innovator, Jim Rough and which are being used extensively in Austria, Germany and Switzerland.
9. Personal Social and Health Education, including citizenship, sustainability and resilience, should be a compulsory subject just like English and maths and should indeed be compulsory from primary to secondary and Further Education and should be embedded in all areas of study within Adult Education and Higher Education. Learning needs to be related to current affairs and to learners' personal experiences. Learning ought to take place out of the classroom as much as possible. Wisdom Councils should take place in every school and university up and down the country at least twice a year. This practical experience of participating in matters affecting learners, being listened to and seeing changes taking place on the basis of their contributions would renew the face that indeed everyone can make a difference.
10. There are many ways of engaging citizens in addition to elections. Citizens juries have successfully been used in many countries including the UK. These complementary means of engaging are however by no means commonplace. In Vorarlberg, the westernmost part of Austria, the Buero fuer Zukunftsfragen i.e. the Office for Future-Related Questions, embarked on finding an alternative to the rather expensive Citizens Jury process and came across Wisdom Councils, which they have successfully been using for the last 8-10 years. They run a number of Wisdom Councils regularly and a collection of a certain, modest, number of signatures by citizens can trigger a Wisdom Council on the question at hand. Wisdom Councils use Dynamic Facilitation, which reliably evokes choice creating, rather than decision making conversations. Choice-creating has been so aptly defined by its creator Jim Rough 'Decision-making uses judgement, weighing the available options, selecting the best, and discarding the rest. Choice-creating is a creative process, where we hold all thoughts, options and feelings in a creative space while new clarity emerges. Often this shift of clarity is 'just knowing what to

do.’ And given that judgement will destroy creativity, decision-making and choice-creating are practically opposite.’ The many diverse and complex issues, including Brexit and the root causes which gave rise to it, need increased choice-creating conversations rather than more of the same type of decision-making conversations.

11. Freedom of speech, democracy, the rule of law, mutual respect, sanctity of life should be shared values as should be equality. However, the fact that all protective characteristics are equal in front of the law causes problems when it comes to religion. Some religions prejudice against women or certain sexual orientation, therefore it is not possible to equally promote the equality of religion and the equality of women. It therefore seems logical, that the characteristic over which an individual has no choice, notably gender, ethnicity and disability should have a higher value than religion, which is down to individual choice. An effective way of strengthening the citizenship of women and minority groups would therefore be a classification of protective characteristics with some, i.e. those an individual has no choice over, taking precedence over others.

Andrea Gewessler, Change that Matters Ltd

Additional sources:

- Community cohesion and social inclusion – ESOL learners’ perspective <https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/media/lancaster-university/content-assets/documents/lums/Isis/0920r1.pdf>
- Wisdom Councils in Austria, 2012, Joint Research Project of the Ministry of Life and the Office for Future-related Questions <https://www.vorarlberg.at/english/pdf/evaluationwisdomcouncil.pdf>
- Civic Council Report, Vorarlberg Asylum and Refugee Policies, June / July 2015 [https://dk-media.s3.amazonaws.com/AA/AL/diapraxis/downloads/297775/Doku BR Asyl1-Engl-EndVers.pdf](https://dk-media.s3.amazonaws.com/AA/AL/diapraxis/downloads/297775/Doku_BR_Asy1-Engl-EndVers.pdf)
- Wisdom Councils in the Public sector, Hellrigl M and Lederer M [https://dk-media.s3.amazonaws.com/AA/AL/diapraxis/downloads/299511/Hellrigl Lederer 3.pdf](https://dk-media.s3.amazonaws.com/AA/AL/diapraxis/downloads/299511/Hellrigl_Lederer_3.pdf)
- The Wisdom of Dynamic Facilitation, 2012, Andrea Gewessler, <http://www.wisedemocracy.org/page13/page20/styled-15/files/andrea.wisdomf-0028whole-article0029.pdf>

Charities Aid Foundation – written evidence (CCE0180)

Author: Kim Roberts, Senior Campaigns and Public Affairs Officer, Charities Aid Foundation

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?*

The traditional notion of citizenship as being solely a citizen of a particular country is changing. In a globalised context, where many people live increasingly transient lives, the traditional notion of citizenship has become weakened, and increasingly people tend to adopt an identity that brings together a number of influences and identities that they feel are more relatable to themselves.

This changing notion is set against a political backdrop where, in some countries, nationhood seems more important than ever. The rise of nationalist politics in both Scotland and the rest of the UK is forcing people to think again about what it means to be a British citizen, and how that fits in a globally changing environment.

Citizenship is about more than just being a citizen of a country. It is about identifying with, and feeling a part of that country's wider community. **Civic engagement** meanwhile is about being an active citizen; participating in one's community through civil society and democratic institutions, usually to bring about a positive change or make a difference.

Both citizenship and civic engagement are vitally important for the UK's civil society sector and its hundreds of thousands of charitable and voluntary organisations. Charities very often rely on people feeling as if they want to give something back; often to a community or a cause that they feel an affinity to. Charities also rely on people's sense of civic engagement and duty that drives them to volunteer or donate, or simply support the actions of a charitable organisation.

The changing notion of citizenship does present challenges for the UK's civil society sector. In an increasingly polarised political environment, it can often feel as if communities are divided and there is a real sense that people are becoming increasingly attracted to more radical and polarised views, reinforced by echo chambers. Research published in 2016 by CAF found that in the aftermath of the EU referendum 14 million people felt that their community was more divided than it was at the start of the year.. Levels of community spirit were also worryingly low, with only 12% of people believing that a sense of community spirit in their local area was more noticeable than before the referendum campaign.¹⁶⁹

And yet, against this backdrop, we found that people were increasingly thinking about how to generate social change, with many turning to social action as a vehicle for achieving this.

¹⁶⁹ A Stronger Britain: How can charities build post-Brexit Britain? Charities Aid foundation, sePTEMBER 2016 <https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-publications/caf-party-report-2016-web.pdf>

Immediately after last year's referendum 30% of people said that they were more active in a political or social cause, whilst 9 million said that they felt more inclined to volunteer in order to help their local community. Membership of political parties is also on the increase, and there is a sense that debate around divisive political issues has at least reinvigorated enthusiasm for and participation in democratic engagement. There is a crucial role for charities in seeking to harness the passions and emotions that have arisen, and provide a platform for turning it into concrete action for a social purpose.

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?*

A sense of membership, belonging and community is central to the concept of citizenship and, as explored briefly above, charities and voluntary organisations can play a vital role in giving a practical manifestation to these principles.

Citizenship can include the acceptance of and participation in core civic activities, including charitable giving. Charitable giving is a very strong tenet in Britain, and we are an incredibly generous nation, with people committed to using their resources to support good causes. About £10 billion is donated to charities in the UK each year and nine in ten people said that they did something charitable last year (defined as donating money, giving goods, sponsoring someone or volunteering for a charity), which in itself is important because it demonstrates that charitable giving is associated with much more than just financial donations.¹⁷⁰ It is therefore reasonable to suggest that supporting charity is a key part of citizenship in this country. But it is more than just a behavioural trait. Supporting civil society and the organisations that make up civil society is part of the very social fabric of the UK, and has been throughout the ages, and the diversity and reach of civil society organisations means that they can have more success in generating community spirit and engagement than state institutions. It is part of what makes our country so strong and so well respected globally, and is therefore a crucial part of what makes someone feel favourable to our country if they live here.

CAF would therefore suggest that encouraging people to support charitable and voluntary organisations could help to develop citizenship in the UK and bring down barriers that do exist. For both citizens by birth and by naturalisation, such organisations can provide a sense of community, provide people with an outlet in which to use their skills, and help to develop a positive concept of British values **We would encourage government and other policy makers to continue to consider how and where charitable activity can be encouraged, and what more can be done to ensure that people have the access and opportunity to engage with charities across each of the different stages of their life.**

¹⁷⁰ UK Giving 2017, Charities Aid Foundation: <https://www.cafonline.org/about-us/publications/2017-publications/uk-giving-report-2017>

At CAF we have been looking closely at ways to encourage charitable giving throughout the ages, not least through the cross-party Growing Giving Parliamentary Inquiry chaired by Lord Blunkett. We support the introduction of programmes such as the National Citizen Service which encourage young adults to participate in social action, but we believe more can be done to increase participation across other age groups. Just one in ten of people aged over 65 has volunteered in the past year with many others wanting to use their skills to support their community but lacking information about the best outlets, and we believe that the establishment of a Post-Careers Advice Service could help to signpost those in later life to opportunities including volunteering and community action¹⁷¹. Such a service would undoubtedly play a positive role in driving civic engagement and providing people with a strong sense of citizenship.

Recommendation: Government should engage with a wide range of stakeholders including representatives from the charitable sector, social care and health services, and financial institutions to investigate the possibility of establishing a Post-Careers Advice Service for those approaching retirement.

- 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?**

Civic engagement is an important right and responsibility for any citizen of the UK, and there has long been an informal implicit understanding between state and individual that the two are reciprocal.

It is difficult to foresee a situation where legally mandating civic engagement would be the most effective driver of participation. After all, one of the reasons that civic engagement is so powerful is that it demands of an individual some semblance of agency and allows them the freedom to choose how best to interact with the community in which they live. This freedom helps to create an environment where civic engagement is a positive, active choice, which strengthens the motivations underpinning it.

At CAF we believe that the onus should not be on mandating civic engagement via legislation, but rather should be about creating a positive legal and regulatory environment for organisations to operate in this space, and for people to be empowered to make an informed decision about how to exercise their right. Many countries across the world are seeing pressures on the operating environment for civil society – known as the closing space

¹⁷¹ A Post-Careers Advice Service: giving people the tools to go on giving, Charities Aid Foundation 2016: <https://www.cafonline.org/about-us/publications/2016-publications/a-post-careers-advice-service-giving-people-the-tools-to-go-on-giving>

for civil society – and as a global leader, it is essential that the rhetoric that the UK utilises internationally is matched by practical action and policies at home.

In recent years, sadly a number of policies enacted in the UK have not met this standard. The worrying trend to curtail charities' ability to speak out publicly on behalf of their beneficiaries is not conducive to creating an environment where people feel that they have the freedom to take part in necessary, and legal, activity. The policy climate has seen the introduction of the Lobbying Act and the new grants clause which restrict civil society advocacy, as well as proposals to force charities to declare any income that they receive from overseas donors, and plans to force charities to pay an annual registration fee to the Charity Commission. These measures, individually and collectively, weaken civil society in the UK, particularly when negative policies are intertwined with rhetoric that calls into question the legitimacy of entirely legal and valid actions by CSOs.

In order to address these trends and to reiterate the important role that civil society plays in a vibrant democracy, CAF has called on the Government to repeal or exempt charities from the Lobbying Act, or at a minimum implement the findings of Lord Hodgson's report on it; consider other ways to fund the Charity Commission so that it is not reliant on funding from charities, and by implication donors; ensure that overseas donors are not discouraged from supporting charities in the UK, nor their important contribution delegitimised; and explore affirming the right of charities to speak up on behalf of their beneficiaries within statutory law.

The UK's civil society plays an important role in the soft power that our country uses to influence the global agenda. That, however, depends upon the UK leading by example, and many policies introduced or discussed in recent years are more aligned with those enacted by repressive regimes than those that should be adopted in flourishing liberal democracies. Charities would welcome the opportunity to work more closely and collaboratively with government, both to ensure that the correct relationship and climate exist to give civil society organisations the right balance of freedom and support that they need to make such an important contribution, and so that CSOs and government can share expertise and resources to tackle some of the challenges that the UK faces.

Recommendation: The Government should repeal or exempt charities from the Lobbying Act, or as a minimum implement the findings of Lord Hodgson's report on it

- 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?**

Education has a vital role to play in teaching and encouraging good citizenship, and it is welcome that previous governments across the political spectrum have recognised this and initiated programmes such as NCS to reflect that.

CAF believes that the teaching of good citizenship should be introduced at an early age and encouraged through to university. Again, it is welcome that citizenship has been brought into the National Curriculum in England, but it is important to understand that citizenship is about more than just democracy, government and law making. As noted earlier, charitable and voluntary action is a vital part of the UK's social fabric, and that should be reflected by including it as a part of the citizenship curriculum. Students should learn about the role of civil society in the UK, including its history and role, how they can play a positive role in their community through social action, and the reasons why participation in civic engagement and citizenship can be beneficial to the future prospects.

We also believe that older students should be encouraged to participate in volunteering and charitable activity, not least because it will help to provide them with vital skills needed for employment and to become a fully functioning member of society. At CAF we have worked closely with UCAS to create guidance for young people applying to university and college through the UCAS system, which explains to them how social action experience can help make their personal statement stand out, as well as suggesting ways for them to get involved in their local community.¹⁷²

6. Do voluntary programmes such as NCS 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?

We welcomed the National Citizen Service Act 2017 which made provisions to put NCS on a statutory footing. We believe that the Act will help to increase the scale and scope of the scheme, which could be particularly helpful in reaching out to young people from different backgrounds.

However, whilst we support the premise of NCS and its expansion, we do believe that are areas which could be developed or improved to ensure that there are lasting benefits for participants. For example, we believe that there is an opportunity for NCS to develop by ensuring that all participants who complete the scheme are given explicit information about the skills that they have derived from their participation, and how these skills could be used to their benefit. This would ensure that in addition to the Trust equipping young people with the skills that they need, it also provides them with information about how they can display those skills when seeking to enhance their academic or employment opportunities.

Young people with experience of participation in social action are well placed to go onto leadership roles at charities, either serving as trustees themselves or being placed in shadow leadership roles or on advisory boards to further develop their skills. We would urge the NCS to encourage participants to continue their involvement in community and charity

¹⁷² Growing Giving Inquiry, Charities Aid Foundation: <http://www.growinggiving.org.uk/>

support beyond completion of the programme, including by putting the leadership skills that they will have developed to good use.

We know that young people are incredibly positive about charities; 78% agree that young people should give up some of their time to help others,¹⁷³ but we also know that young people who are encouraged to participate in charitable giving at an early age - either by donating or social action - are likely to continue to do so throughout their life, so early engagement is essential.

We do not believe that programmes such as NCS should include a greater political element. The importance of teaching young people about social and community action has rightly been recognised, and we believe that such activity warrants its own stand alone programme. Young people already learn about government, politics and law through the National Curriculum, but NCS offers them a practical opportunity to learn new skills and to experience how beneficial social action is, we do not want to see that diluted, not should it run the risk of becoming politicised.

We would encourage policymakers to consider how the legacy of programmes such as NCS should be both measured and preserved. We hope that young people who have graduated from the programme will be more likely to continue to participate in charitable giving throughout their life, and in order to ensure that NCS continues to work well; we must ensure that it is serving that objective.

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?

There are a number of stakeholders who have a responsibility for encouraging civic engagement. The individual is one, civil society organisations like charities are another, but we believe that there are a number of ways that government (local and central) and devolved administrations can encourage civic engagement.

Central government already understands the value of active citizens and civic engagement, which is why programmes such as NCS now receive statutory backing, but more must still be done to increase participation further. As mentioned previously, the support of civil society is vital, and government's recent approach to curtailing the freedoms of charities is not conducive to a positive environment. We believe that charitable organisations have a vital role to play in a thriving democracy, and are key protagonists for developing an engaged civil society. But they cannot do that if they are operating in a restricted environment. We would urge the government to look again at its legislation around charity campaigning, and repeal or exempt charities from the Transparency of Lobbying, Non-party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration Act 2014 as a positive first step.

The growing importance of devolution and of having power closer to people on the ground is clearly an important priority for government, with the establishment of the Northern Powerhouse, Midlands Engine and a number of City Deals across the UK. Many of these programmes prioritise investment, infrastructure and economic growth, but we believe there is a distinct lack of focus on how such programmes can contribute positively to the communities for which they are written; with very little mention of community

¹⁷³ Growing Giving Inquiry, Charities Aid Foundation: <http://www.growinggiving.org.uk/>

engagement, promoting active citizenship or growing community participation. We would encourage government to work closely with devolved bodies and communities themselves to ensure that when any devolution policy or programme is published, it also includes provision for supporting and developing civil society in the area. This should include consulting with relevant CSOs as policies and programmes are being developed.

We also believe there is a vital role to be played by directly elected mayors, who will be powerful and influential figures in areas across England. CAF's recent report, [Chain Links: The Role of Mayors in Building a Culture of Civic Philanthropy](#)¹⁷⁴, launches our Giving for the City project, which is exploring the role of philanthropy in driving progress in our towns and cities and enhancing civic identity. The report sets out clear recommendations for Mayors to adopt including: establishing a Mayor's Fund to attract donations for addressing local challenges and issues; publishing a philanthropy strategy, detailing the approach of the mayoral office to civic philanthropy; appointing a philanthropy liaison to develop relationships with potential philanthropists and local charities; developing a clear narrative and vision about the role of philanthropy in their town, city or region; and using the profile and status of the mayoralty to bring together philanthropists, charities, foundations, companies and public sector bodies to encourage partnerships and identify shared goals. Whilst much of this exists purposefully away from Westminster and Whitehall, there is doubtless an opportunity for government and politicians to help shape the climate and ensure that directly elected mayors explore the contribution that local philanthropy can make in their area.

Beyond policymakers and civil society organisations, we must not forget that businesses also have a role to play in offering opportunities for employees to be active and engaged citizens. Many employees want to give back to the communities in which they work and live, with more than half saying they would be very or fairly likely to volunteer if their employer offered them help to do so.¹⁷⁵ The busyness of modern life means that people increasingly want to work for organisations who give them an opportunity to demonstrate a commitment to their local community or a good cause in the workplace. We would therefore urge employers to consider their role in providing their employees with vital outlets to contribute positively to society.

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 diversity and schools and workplaces have on integration in society as a whole? How can diversity and integration be increased concurrently?

The current political and social climate is challenging, with clear divisions in society. At CAF, we believe that the expertise and reach of charities means that they are uniquely well-placed to bring communities together and build stronger, more inclusive societies. Charities are embedded within communities across the country and make up an integral part of our social fabric. They receive phenomenally high levels of support from the public,

¹⁷⁴ Chain Links: the role of Mayors in building a culture of civic philanthropy, Charities Aid Foundation, July 2017: <https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-policy-and-campaigns/chain-links---the-role-of-mayors-in-building-a-culture-of-philanthropy.pdf>

¹⁷⁵ Creating an age of giving, Charities Aid Foundation: <http://growinggiving.org.uk/assets/files/GUG-PART-Web.pdf>

who believe that there is a role for charities in helping to strengthen communities. One of the most effective roles that charities can play is by strengthening social and community cohesion.

Previous CAF research found that public support for charities to play a role in community cohesion was high. When asked about who is most likely to provide effective support to those who need it at times of political and economic uncertainty, charities were the most popular response (55%), far more popular than central government (11%)¹⁷⁶. 46% of people believe that charities can help to improve community cohesion, and 40% agreed that charities can help to heal social divides. In addition, 63% agree that charities can provide support to marginalised groups

Set against a backdrop of rising hate crime, increasing political tension and growing social divide, it is important that action is taken to provide support to those most at risk from a breakdown in community cohesion. Charities are uniquely placed to monitor levels of threats to communities, to bring people back together, and to ensure that everyone has a stake in society. We believe that government - local and central - should now work closely with charities to monitor community cohesion, and to encourage active citizenship in an attempt to limit such division.

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?

The City of London, as the UK's capital, is one of our most diverse communities. There are over 300 languages spoken in London and over 3 million of the capital's inhabitants were born outside of the UK, and yet the city does an exceptional job of promoting a tolerant and cohesive society for all who live there.

The fact that London is open and tolerant is not a result of luck, there is much hard work done by citizens, businesses and civil society organisations who are based there, but credit must be given to City Hall, London's regional assembly, and to the Mayor of London, who have put a number of programmes and policies in place to enable such a positive environment.

For example, there is the Mayor's Fund for London – a philanthropic fund which is used to empower young Londoners from disadvantaged background. The city also operates Team London – the Mayor's programme for volunteering and social action in the capital. It comes as no surprise that a city which is open, tolerant and has strong community cohesion should spend so much time and energy on promoting and investing in its civil society. We believe the vital role that charities and volunteering organisations are playing in London contributes to making the city better, and we would urge other Mayors and policy makers to learn from this and consider following suit.

¹⁷⁶ A Stronger Britain: How can charities build post-Brexit Britain, Charities Aid Foundation, September 2016 <https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-publications/caf-party-report-2016-web.pdf>

8 September 2017

Charity Commission for England and Wales – written evidence (CCE0164)

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?
 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?
 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?
1. The Charity Commission is the independent regulator and registrar of charities in England and Wales. We are constituted as a non-Ministerial government department, directly accountable to Parliament.
 2. The Commission is responsible for registering charities, promoting compliance by charity trustees with their legal obligations, promoting the effective use of charitable resources, and enhancing the accountability of charities to donors, beneficiaries and the general public. Fundamentally, the Commission works to increase public trust and confidence in the charitable sector, and to enable trustees to run their charities effectively.
 3. As of May 2017, there are over 167,000 registered charities with 950,000 trustee positions in England and Wales. The most reliable estimates¹⁷⁷ suggest that there are another 180,000 charities (mostly with income below £5,000) that are not required by law to register.
 4. Charities run some of Britain’s best-loved national institutions and perform functions that, in other countries, are the preserve of the state – education, medical research, children’s services, and legal advice are just a few examples. In many respects, citizenship is part of the wider agenda for much of the voluntary sector. Regardless of charitable purpose, the aim of many charities is to take responsibility for, seek to alleviate and provide solutions to a number of social, economic and political challenges.
 5. An element of this that is often overlooked is the fundamental and valuable role played by charity trustees. The basic role of a trustees is to govern, identify, manage and mitigate risk to the charity, and to make decisions in the best interests of the charity and the furthering of its aims. The vast majority of trustees are unpaid, so trusteeship is a

¹⁷⁷ [NAO briefing: Regulating charities: a landscape review](#) (2012)

form of strategic volunteering. The good governance and strong leadership provided by trustees is fundamental to a sustainable and resilient charitable sector.

6. The proximity between charities and the communities they serve, and the role of trustees in ensuring charities deliver for their beneficiaries (including the wider public), makes trusteeship an excellent example of active citizenship. Charities are in a unique position to deliver where the state cannot. The events of the past summer have shown the best of the charitable sector, who responded with speed and agility to atrocity and tragedy. The nature of charities, delivering in the interests of their beneficiaries, ties organisations more closely to the communities they work in; charities are often uniquely placed to understand the dynamics of the communities they serve. It makes their work, and the role trustees play in securing this now and for future generations, fundamental to a strong and cohesive society. It is because of the vital role charities play that the risk of poor governance, and of trustees failing to plan and govern effectively, becomes more acute.
7. The public role of charities makes good governance a shared endeavour. The Commission is working with the charitable sector to improve it. Trustees' Week,¹⁷⁸ now in its 8th year, is a joint initiative involving a range of partner organisations supporting charities. It aims to raise awareness of the valuable work of charities and their trustees, and to raise awareness of opportunities to volunteer as a trustee.
8. Much has been written about the need to recruit more trustees, and potential barriers to trusteeship, with significant contributions made to the debate by the Committee's chairman Lord Hodgson. Issues such as the usually voluntary (unpaid) nature of trusteeship¹⁷⁹, and perceptions of risk and personal liability¹⁸⁰, have often been cited. At present we lack a fully developed evidence base on which to form a judgement. The Commission's published research into trust and confidence in charities¹⁸¹ suggests that lack of public awareness of what charities are, the range of ways in which they contribute to society and how they are run may be a more significant factor. For example, the proportion of the public who are aware they have benefited from or used a charity's services rose from 19% in 2015 to 31% in 2017.¹⁸² This research also suggests

¹⁷⁸ <http://trusteesweek.org/>

¹⁷⁹ Trusted and Independent: Giving charity back to charities Review of the Charities Act 2006

paragraphs 4.46 – 4.51 (2012)

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/79275/Charities-Act-Review-2006-report-Hodgson.pdf

¹⁸⁰ Unshackling Good Neighbours - Report of the Task Force established to consider how to cut red tape for small charities, voluntary organisations and social enterprises. (2011)

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/62643/unshackling-good-neighbours.pdf

¹⁸¹ <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/research-charity-commission>

¹⁸² <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/trust-and-confidence-in-the-charity-commission-2017>

that rising public awareness of charity may now be contributing to increased expectations of both charities and their regulator. It may therefore be an opportune time to raise awareness of the opportunity to make a positive difference to the effective governance of charities by becoming a trustee, rather than rely exclusively on others to do so on your behalf.

9. In October we plan to publish the findings of detailed research into trustee awareness in England and Wales. This will look at trustees' perceptions of their own knowledge and expertise, as well as shedding light on the characteristics and demographics of trustees, the turnover of trustees, the methods by which boards recruit trustees and the overall experience of trustees. The research will also highlight the significant contribution trustees have to the economy and society. We anticipate that this research will provide a much needed evidence base for the charitable sector to use to strengthen their own practice and improve the quality and breadth of trusteeship.
10. Charity trustees are now responsible for a total annual income of over £74 billion. In response to calls for more support for trustees, the Commission aims to focus more resources on enablement, supporting trustees to deliver for their beneficiaries. We are committed to ensuring trustees have access to the right information at the right time, developing our digital offer. The sector's infrastructure bodies also have a key role to play in order to support trustees to develop.
11. The Commission recognises lack of diversity of trustees as a potential barrier to good governance. Diversity on boards does not just help to offer a broader skills mix, it also provides for diversity of thought, strengthening overall governance. Some of the best decision-making is a product of board diversity, allowing trustees to challenge each other and offer conflicting perspectives to ultimately achieve the best outcome for their charity. The research we plan to publish in October will report on the gender, age, race and educational diversity of boards, the skills mix and competency levels, recruitment processes, and so on.
12. The charitable sector continues to grow; applications made to the Commission to register a charity have increased by 40% in the last four years, from 5,949 applications in 2012/13 to 8,368 applications in 2016/17. Those new charities require new trustees and, as the number of charities rise, so too does the need for active, engaged citizens willing to take on trusteeship.

8 September 2017

Charity Retail Association – written evidence (CCE0055)

Who we are

The Charity Retail Association (CRA) is the only body in the UK which represents the interests of charity retailers. We have nearly 400 members encompassing around 80 per cent of all charity stores in the UK. Our members range from national chains, to individual hospice shops, and everything in between.

Volunteering in charity retail

Charity retail is the biggest source of volunteer opportunities in the UK, with 220,000 people currently volunteering in the sector. The UK's 11,200 charity shops can therefore play a key role in promoting an active and engaged citizenship. Charity shops provide people with an excellent way to learn new skills, enter or re-enter the workforce; in addition to helping to combat mental health problems and social isolation.

Therefore, we believe that any government plan to boost citizenship should take account of the role of charity retail. We believe the evidence submitted in this representation particularly addresses **question 7** (on how society can support civic engagement) and **question 12** (which seeks examples of initiatives that help to promote a cohesive society) laid out in your call for evidence.

The volunteer base

The pool of charity shop volunteers is huge. As noted already, nearly a quarter of a million people volunteer in the charity retail sector today. But this only tells some of the story. In addition, public polling carried out this year by the independent think tank Demos, demonstrated that 6 per cent of all adults have worked or volunteered in a charity shop at some point in their lives. This equates to nearly three million people across the country.

Given the size and depth of our volunteer base, there is no doubt that the charity retail sector can do a significant amount to harness civic engagement in this country.

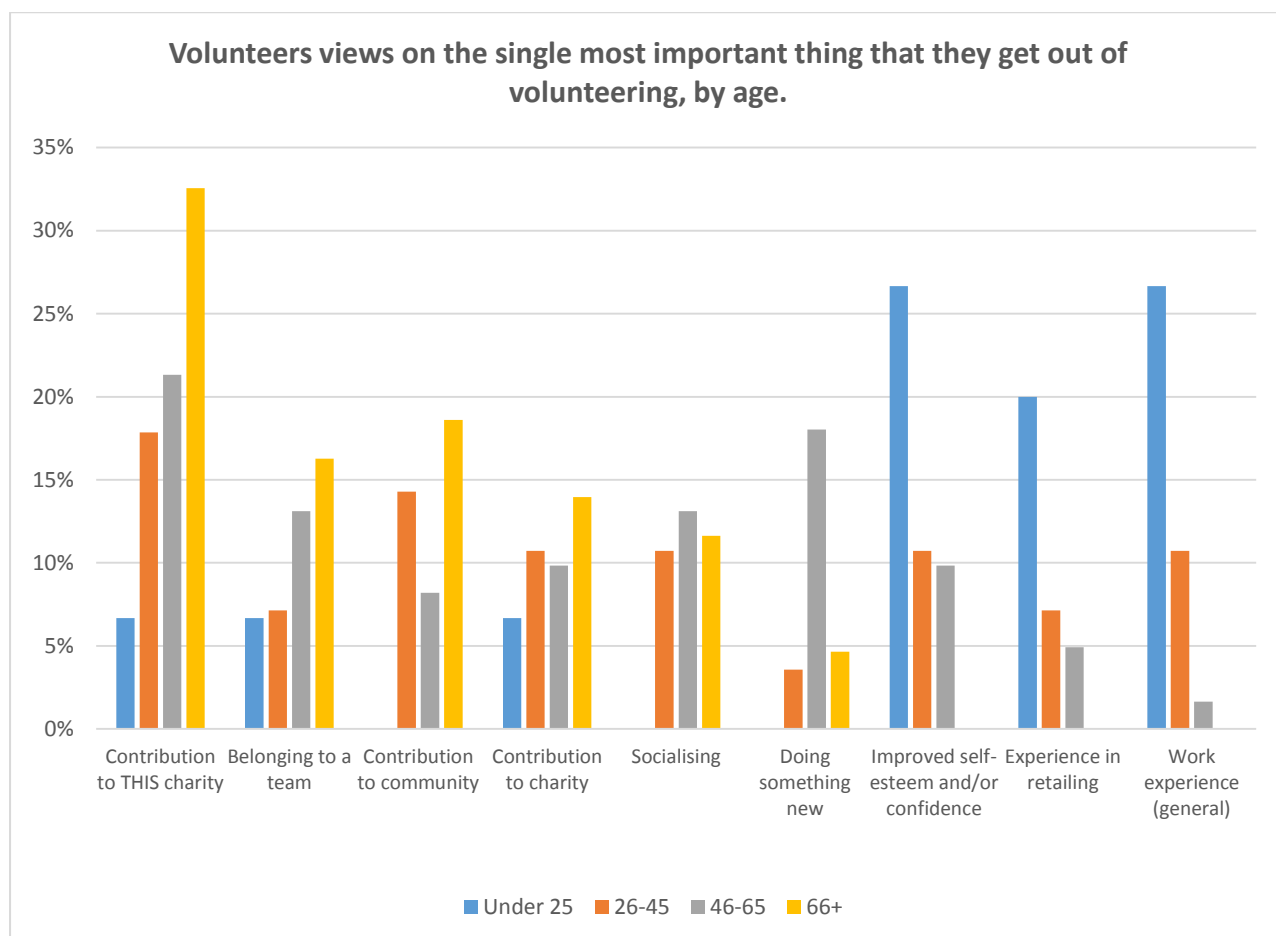
What is more, we know that those who do volunteer in charity shops find it to be a rich and rewarding experience.

Overall, 93 per cent of volunteers say they are satisfied with their current volunteering role, and 90 per cent say they would recommend their organisation as a 'great place to work'.

These positive feelings are consistent across all groups and ages of volunteers. However, we find the specific reasons that people volunteer, and the exact positive outcomes they get from doing so do vary considerably by age, as we will elaborate on below.

Young people and employability

As the chart below demonstrates, there is a strong divergence in what different age groups perceive to be the biggest advantage they derive from volunteering.



It is clear that young people perceive that the main benefits they will get from volunteering in a charity shop relate to employability – specifically work experience, and job skills and confidence building.

Supporting this kind of volunteering can therefore play a key role in helping young people to fully integrate into society by gaining the skills they need to find full time employment.

Older people and social interaction

By contrast, older people (in particular retired people who have no need to seek employability related skills) most commonly cite contribution to the charity they are volunteering for, and also the social benefits of their work.

It is clear that that volunteering can play a key role in combatting social isolation. 92 per cent of volunteers agree that a clear benefit of volunteering is the opportunities provided by

social interaction and many have lived these benefits themselves. Over three-quarters of volunteers believe that their role has improved their self-esteem and confidence (77 per cent), and improved their physical and/or mental health (73 per cent).

Such positive outcomes are why Community Service Volunteers (CSV) estimate that for every £1 spent on volunteers, £3.38 of value was created including through improved health outcomes.

So, there are clear benefits to society - in addition to a payback for the economy – to be gained by encouraging this kind of volunteering. It has been proven that it helps people to continue to engage with their fellow citizens and lead fulfilling lives, right into their later years.

Concerns

Overall, when we talk about volunteering and charity retail, we are talking about a very positive picture. However, there are some concerns which interventions from policy makers could help to address.

For example:

- whilst the total number of volunteers has risen by 4 per cent in the last three years, this has been slower than the growth in number of shops;
- 55 per cent responding to a recent survey stated that volunteer availability and recruitment had declined in recent years;
- research by *Charity Finance Magazine* has concluded that recruitment of volunteers is the number one concern reported by charity shop managers.

Our members are also working hard to find ways to diversify their volunteer base. One such scheme has been set up by the British Red Cross and allows people to sign up for ‘short-term’ volunteering roles (limited to 12 weeks). This attracts a new kind of volunteer who previously felt unable to commit to volunteering over a longer period.

Conclusion – how you can help

Making it easy for people to volunteer in charity shops has clear benefits for civic society. The outcomes for charity are positive and the volunteers themselves gain a great deal.

This is why the CRA’s [Manifesto for Charity Shops](#), published in June 2017, asked the next government to dedicate itself to creating a “volunteer revolution”. We believe your Committee can play a key role and making this vision become a reality.

For example, whilst charity shop volunteers are still most likely to hear about their role through inquiry or an in-store advertisement, the proportion of volunteers who found their role in this way is declining (down from 52 per cent to 46 per cent since 2013).

Were public sector workplaces to offer volunteer days and signpost their staff towards the opportunities in charity retail we believe that even more people would find out about the benefits and opportunities of this kind of volunteering.

Likewise, providing volunteers with an opportunity to formally recognise their new skills through a qualification can give a major boost to their employment prospects, self esteem and ability to become fully rounded citizens. The Government should commit to recognising this with appropriate qualifications accessible to all.

These are just a couple of practical ideas of how policy makers can help to boost volunteering in charity retail, something which as this representation has demonstrated leads to positive benefits to all of civil society. We would be happy to meet with any members of the Committee to discuss these issues in greater depth.

Sources

Regular quantitative and qualitative surveys of the CRA's membership

Civil Society Media, *Charity Shops Survey 2016*

Demos Report, *Shop for the Future*. Author: Peter Harrison-Evans. Publication date: September 2017

Demos report, *Giving Something Back, Measuring the social value of charity shops*. Authors: Ally Paget, Jonathan Birdwell. Publication date: November 2013

Demos report, *Measuring Social Value: The gap between policy and practice*. Authors: Claudia Wood and Daniel Leighton. Publication date: June 2010

4 September 2017

Children's Rights Alliance for England (CRAE) – written evidence (CCE0114)

1. The Children's Rights Alliance for England (CRAE) believe that human rights are a powerful tool for making children's lives better. So we fight for children's rights by listening to what they say, carrying out research to understand what children are going through and using the law to challenge those who violate children's rights. We campaign for the people in power to change things for children. And we empower children and those who care about children to push for the changes that they want to see.

2. We welcome the inquiry into citizenship and civic engagement and the opportunity to submit evidence. Our submission focusses on the participation of children and young people. CRAE would be very pleased to submit further information or give evidence to the Committee in person. We can also help to support children and young people to engage with the Committee directly.

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?*

3. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which the UK ratified in 1991, enshrines participation rights and respect for the views of children. It includes the right to express opinions, the right to information and freedom of association¹⁸³. Article 12 gives children a right to be listened to and to have their views taken into account in all matters affecting them.

4. However, these citizenship and civic engagement rights are often limited and not fully realised until adulthood. Article 12 is of particular importance as it is not only a right in itself but is a general principle of the CRC and plays a key role in the implementation of all the rights of children. Engaging these participation rights as children and young people mature also helps prepare them for lifelong active citizenship and civic engagement crucial to building a strong and stable society in the 21st century. Specific structures which seek to engage with children and young people are required to create meaningful opportunities for participation, where children and young people are able to make choices that shape their environment, direct their own development and have agency as responsible actors¹⁸⁴.

2) *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*

¹⁸³ Unicef (2017) *Rights under the Convention on the Rights of the Child* (2017) https://www.unicef.org/crc/index_30177.html

¹⁸⁴ Dilworth, John and Mcready, Sam (2014) *Youth Participation Literature Review* Youth Action Northern Ireland, Belfast

***force of law individually or be presented as reciprocal duties between citizen and state?
How should they be monitored and/or enforced?***

5. Currently children and young people aged under-18 have few formal rights of citizenship and their civic engagement is often overlooked entirely or is ineffective. In part, this is the result of a lack of compliance with Article 12 and a failure to take into account children's views. Recommendations made by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (the UN Committee) to the UK in its 2016 examination concluded that '*many children feel that they are often not listened to*'¹⁸⁵ by professionals who they interact with in everyday life. These included social workers, independent reviewing officers, paid carers, and teachers. The UN Committee recommended that systems and structures be established to ensure meaningful involvement of children in decision making at both national and local level, including in education, leisure and play and noted: '*Particular attention should be paid to younger children.*'¹⁸⁶ Such systems and structures would support civic engagement of children and give formal recognition to their citizenship rights.

6. To improve the civic engagement of children participation rights need to be formalized. The UN Committee has consistently advised that the most powerful driver for the realisation of children's rights within a nation comes through giving it direct force in domestic law. Since it ratified the CRC, the UK has been examined by the UN Committee five times and while some positive progress on implementation has been made this has been limited. In its 2016 Concluding Observations the UN Committee recommended the UK '*expedite bringing its domestic legislation in line with the Convention to ensure that the principles and provisions are directly applicable and justiciable under domestic law*'¹⁸⁷. While there has been some examples where participation rights have been directly enshrined in our laws this is patchy and there is no overarching statutory right for children to engage in decision making, particularly at the national level.

3) 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?

7. CRAE strongly supports lowering the voting age and is a founding member of the Votes at 16 Coalition.¹⁸⁸ In Scotland 16 and 17 year olds can vote in local election and elections for the Scottish parliament. In 2014 around 100,000 16- and 17-year-olds cast votes in the Scottish Independence referendum. Globally many countries already allow 16-and-17-year olds to vote including Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Nicaragua, East Timor,

¹⁸⁵ UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (2016) *Concluding observations on the fifth periodic report of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*

¹⁸⁶ Ibid

¹⁸⁷ Ibid

¹⁸⁸ <http://www.votesat16.org/>

Ethiopia, Indonesia, North Korea and Sudan.¹⁸⁹ Yet, in 2016, 16- and 17-year-olds throughout the UK were denied the opportunity to vote in the referendum on the UK's membership of the European Union - the most significant political decision in a generation, and one which will affect them for the rest of their lives. While amendments to the European Union Referendum Bill to allow 16 and 17 years old to vote were accepted in the House of Lords these were subsequently overturned in the House of Commons. From our experience of working with young people we know that this exclusion has led to anger and disillusionment with mainstream politics. Key findings in research carried out by the University of Oxford¹⁹⁰ suggest that when 16- and 17-year-olds are given the vote, they become as politically mature as older voters. (CRAE supports the submission by the British Youth Council which gives more detail on this question).

4). 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?

8. Citizenship education is likely to be more impactful in creating active citizens if it begins at a young age. For educational institutions providing compulsory education for children and young people up to the age of 18 in England, citizenship has been a compulsory part of the curriculum since 2015¹⁹¹. Changes in the education system with the shift to free schools and academies, which are not bound by the national curriculum in the same way as state schools,¹⁹² provides a challenge to guaranteeing consistent delivery of citizenship education nationally.

9. For citizenship education to be really successful, schools need to have an ethos which supports children's participation rights and offers meaningful opportunities to engage in democratic structures such as school councils. Of 840 children aged 5-17 who completed a survey carried out by CRAE in 2015, 44% reported they had no say in how their school was run and 1 in 5 said their school hardly ever listens to what children say, one 15 year-old commented: *'In school you're just a number...All they care about is your grades being top notch. They don't care about anything else'*.¹⁹³ Unless the ethos of schools change to be of a

¹⁸⁹ Arnett George (2015) *Votes for 16-and-17-year-olds-where else outside Scotland?*, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/datablog/2015/jun/18/votes-for-16--and-17-year-olds-where-else-outside-scotland>

¹⁹⁰ Peto, Tommy (April 26th 2017), *Politics, Philosophy and Economics*. 'Why the voting age should be lowered to 16', Sage Publications.

¹⁹¹ Citizenship Foundation (2017) *What is Citizenship Education?* <http://www.citizenshipfoundation.org.uk/main/page.php?286>

¹⁹² The Commons Library (2015) *Academies and Free Schools: Key Issues for the 2015 Parliament*, <https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/research/key-issues-parliament-2015/education/academies-and-free-schools/> Accessed 6th September 2017.

¹⁹³ Children's Rights Alliance for England (2015) *See it, Say it, Change it. Submission to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child from children in England*

participatory nature efforts to promote engagement and active citizenship though citizenship education will be undermined. The best way to teach this to children is through a lived experience of school life that fosters and promotes children's participation rights.

5) 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?

10. The National Citizenship Service is one example of how active citizens can be created. However, smaller grass roots projects and initiatives for children and young people of all ages, which are built around developing self advocacy and providing opportunities for active campaigning and political engagement, are also very important. Such projects are often most successful if they run over a period of a year or more to allow children and young people to build skills and confidence and begin to take on leadership roles. Below is a case study of CRAE's *See it, Say it, Change It* project which provides an alternative example of a project that contributed to creating active citizens.

The *See it, Say it Change it* project was set up by CRAE in 2015 with funding from the Paul Hamlyn Foundation, a charitable trust. The project supported children and young people in England to tell their side of the story to the UN Committee as part of the 2016 examination of the UK Government. It supported them to engage in the UNCRC reporting process in a number of different ways including researching and writing an alternative report, attending meetings with the UN Committee in Geneva and observing the UK Government examination.

In February 2015 the *See it, Say it Change it* steering group was formed. A group of 22 children and young people age 7-18 from all over England who would lead the project. Many members of the group were new to children's rights and participation and we successfully engaged children and young people whose rights are most at risk including those growing up in foster and residential care; children facing homelessness; transgender children; children who had been in trouble with the law; disabled children; children with SEN; children from minority ethnic and religious groups; and children from rural areas. With support from CRAE this inspirational group of children and young people researched and wrote the report from children in England to the UN Committee.

The children's report was submitted to the UN Committee in July 2015 alongside other alternative reports. Submitting the report was a key milestone in the *See it, Say it, Change it* project and preceded some of the most important and inspiring examples of Article 12 being put into action by the project. In October 2015 17 members of the steering group travelled to Geneva to present evidence at the pre-sessional and attend a special meeting

between children from across the UK and the UN Committee. At a meeting in the run up to the trip the children and young people had self-organised into working groups deciding who would attend the pre-session; the meeting between children and the UN Committee; and lead a social media and blogging group. This allowed the group to work effectively to support one another and share their experiences in Geneva more widely.

At the pre-session, CRAE and members of the steering group presented alongside other children, and representatives from National Human Rights Institutions, NGOs, and Children's Commissioners from across the UK. Four members of the See it, Say it Change it steering group attended the pre-session where they read out statements on children's rights issues highlighted in the report and were able to respond directly questions from the UN Committee. Key areas raised by the children at the pre-session were: life in care, violence against children and experiences of Islamophobia.

As well as participating in the pre-session, children and young people had their own private meeting with members of the UN Committee. This was attended by eight members of the steering group as well as by other children from across the UK.

The UN Committee released its Concluding Observations on the UK in June 2016. Though recognising some positive progress on implementing the CRC, the UN Committee made over 150 recommendations for action, many of which respond to issues identified specifically in the children's report and which had been highlighted by steering group members in their meetings with the UN Committee.

The recommendations made in the Concluding Observations provide a strong tool for advocacy on key children's rights on issues including housing, life in care and mental health. Children involved in the project have taken different kinds of action including written blogs and regular meetings with parliamentarians and government including the then Children's Minister, Edward Timpson. Two members of the group also attended the Government Examination by the UN Committee in May 2016. They group also increased their knowledge of human rights and how to take action and published a series of 'Children speak out' briefings on areas of concern highlighted in the Concluding Observations and the See it, Say it, Change it report including youth justice and life in care (CRAE, 2016/17).

In 2016 CRAE successfully gained funding from Comic Relief to continue the project into a campaigning phase, Change it! This project supports children and young people to campaign on an issue highlighted in the UN Committee's recommendations. Through deliberative discussion and voting the group selected homelessness as the focus of their campaign. In their recommendation's the UN Committee said that the UK needed to stop housing children in poor quality, temporary accommodation for long periods of time – an issue which had been highlighted in the children's report and is of public concern.

Increasingly members of the steering group have become active citizens; writing to MPs and engaging other children and young people to join campaign actions. Members of the group have gone on to study law, become community volunteers and join other participation forums including the Mayor of London's Peer Outreach team and these members have stated that participating in See it, Say it, Change it helped them build confidence and knowledge that allowed them to engage in these future opportunities.

6) 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?

11. As stated above, Article 12 of the CRC gives children a right to express their views and have them taken into account in all decisions that affect them. In its General Comment on Participation, the UN Committee states that article 12 '*addresses the legal and social status of children, who, on the one hand lack the full autonomy of adults but, on the other, are rights holders*'.¹⁹⁴ An important way to realise Article 12 and for Government to support civil society initiatives to increase civil engagement of children is to ensure children have opportunities to be involved in national policy making.

12. This is especially important because:

- Children in the UK are not able to vote in national and local elections (with the exception of Scotland) and hold government to account at the ballot box
- Government decisions tend to have a particularly strong impact on children due to their dependence on public services, such as education. This is particularly the case for particular groups of children for example disabled children, children with mental health needs and looked after children.
- Research has also shown that listening to children and young people results in better decision-making by allowing relevant experiences and perspectives to be considered.
- It has many benefits to a child's personal development in terms of news skills and self confidence and self-worth and can help demonstrate the importance of active citizenship to them.
- It sends out a wider message of the value of respecting children and listening to their views which supports their civic engagement.

13. Despite these strong arguments for involving children in policy making there is currently a lack of commitment to this agenda by the Government. Positive developments such as the

¹⁹⁴ <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/crc/docs/AdvanceVersions/CRC-C-GC-12.pdf>

production of child friendly consultation documents and the 'youth voice' initiative, which helped to involve older children, are no longer in place. The 2013 Government report *Twelve actions to Professionalise Policy Making* includes an action that 'each Departmental Head of Policy Profession will champion Open Policy Making as part of their core responsibilities'.¹⁹⁵ Yet despite this, we have seen little action taken to include children as part of the policy making process. Unless there is a strong programme of work on this issue, children will remain excluded.

14. There are also many ways in which parliamentarians could further engage with children and young people. Examples include MP surgeries for children, child friendly versions of calls for evidence for inquiries and more opportunities for children and young people to attend meetings. Currently children regularly attend the APPG on Children but attendance of children and young people could also be extended to other parliamentary meetings.

7) 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?

15. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights emphasises the inherent dignity and equal and inalienable rights of all people and provides an excellent guide for values that all of us who live in Britain should share and support. However the current policy context is extremely challenging for human rights, including children's rights. The UK Government has publicly stated that it plans to repeal the Human Rights Act and replace it with a British Bill of Rights, a move that will restrict protections to certain groups. This is part of a wider narrative suggesting an intentional move away from universal international human rights standards. In 2015 the revised Ministerial Code removed a reference to international treaty obligations. In contrast the previous version stated: '*overarching duty on Ministers to comply with the law including international law and treaty obligations and to uphold the administration of justice*' but now it simply states that Ministers must comply with '*the law.*' CRAE is concerned that the removal of this reference will mean that Ministers will take their obligations under the CRC and other human rights treaties less seriously, which of course includes children's participation rights.

8) 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?

16. Age is a barrier to active citizenship. Despite some progress, on the whole children are still not given enough opportunities to have their voices heard and have their views taken seriously, which undermines the civic engagement of children. This barrier is magnified for children from marginalised groups, particularly those from poorer backgrounds, disabled

¹⁹⁵

https://civilservicelearning.civilservice.gov.uk/sites/default/files/twelve_actions_report_web_accessible.pdf

children and refugee children Currently formal decision making processes, especially in relation to policy development and political decisions are not child friendly. It's crucial that child friendly processes and materials are developed. CRAE has demonstrated that even complex documents can be translated into child friendly formats, see for example, our child friendly version of the UN Committee's recommendations to Government:

<http://www.crae.org.uk/news/new-child-friendly-resources-on-childrens-rights/>

Recommendations

1. Action must be taken to further the implementation of the CRC, particularly their participation rights. Their access to active citizenship and civic engagement must be improved.
2. The voting age must be lowered to 16.
3. Citizenship Education should be compulsory for all primary and secondary schools.
4. Support must be given to schools to develop meaningful participation structures which can create an ethos of participation for children.
5. Central government resources should be made available to support children and young people to become active citizens and develop self advocacy.
6. Barriers to active citizenship should be addressed by developing materials that can help children understand and engage with democracy and Government policy making. For example a government commitment to involving children in policy making, sustainable mechanisms put in place, and child friendly versions of policies and consultations.

Children and young people are able to offer excellent insight into their own experiences of citizenship and civic engagement. We hope during the course of this inquiry the Committee will take evidence directly from them. CRAE can help facilitate this process, if helpful.

7 September 2017

Christopher Santos-Lang – written evidence (CCE0014)

It is not controversial that different people are better than others at filling different social roles, but there is little general agreement about what those roles happen to be. Some people may even think that we get to invent the way society is divided into social roles—that we have no natural social positions.

I have gathered evidence about the natural structure of society, and it can be found at https://figshare.com/articles/Measuring_evaluative_computational_differences_in_humans/4003407/1

The summary is that humans divide into types that play different roles in a larger machine, much as cells are parts of a human body. The parts are equal in the sense of being interdependent, but not equal in the sense of having equal potential to fill all roles.

This evidence has profound implications for citizenship and civic engagement. Most importantly, what makes the machine we form together valuable is its ability to discern moral truth—individual humans are mere parts of that machine and therefore incompetent to discern moral truth and therefore incompetent to fill the roles usually assigned to them by typical models of citizenship. Of course, this evidence could be misleading, but that is a matter to be investigated, rather than assumed.

The first problem with this evidence is that it probably isn't final. The evidence is a lot like evidence that matter can be divided into elements—over time we may find many more elements than the original evidence could support.

The second problem with this evidence is understanding how to make practical use of it. Trying to respond to this second problem, I have recently written two articles about how the practice of social engineering would need to change to account for interdependence:

<http://grinfree.com/the-political-and-economic-philosophy-of-corporantia/>

<http://grinfree.com/marriage-employment-and-interdependence/>

If you are genuinely seeking an evidence-based understanding of the appropriate relationship between individuals and communities, then these articles are an appropriate response. When the British economy was entangled with slavery, it was inconvenient to genuinely seek an evidence-based understanding of the appropriate relationship between people of different races, and these articles may be inconvenient in a similar way, but inconvenient evidence is better known than hidden.

7 August 2017

Church Urban Fund – written evidence (CCE0179)

1. About Church Urban Fund

- 1.1. Church Urban Fund's (CUF) vision is to see people and communities across England flourish and enjoy life in all its fullness.
- 1.2. We work relationally, inclusively and effectively to bring about change through three core programmes:
 - **Together:** A national network that resources local churches and other groups to respond to social and community issues collaboratively.
 - **Near Neighbours:** Building social cohesion by bringing together people of different faiths and none, developing leadership skills, and providing opportunities for people to work together to improve their communities.
 - **Just Finance Foundation:** Helping shape a fairer finance system, including through financial capability training, work with credit unions, promoting savings, and raising awareness.
- 1.3. As the Church of England's social action charity, we have unique access to local communities across England through the parish network. This ensures that all we do is rooted in and informed by real life experience.
- 1.4. Our submission focusses on five of the sets of questions raised by the Call for Evidence. We do not address all the questions in each set, but focus on those on which relate most closely to our work in, and learning from, local communities.

2. (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?

- 2.1. For us, civic engagement or active citizenship means playing an active part in civil society. This can take many forms from volunteering through to fundraising, advocacy, community-building and political participation or activism.¹⁹⁶ For a healthy society and democracy, it is important that none of these forms are overlooked, or overemphasized at the expense of others.
- 2.2. Civil society can be understood as a space 'between the citizen and the state', characterized by freedom of association, the expression of diverse values and views and the socialization of individuals as 'citizens'.¹⁹⁷
- 2.3. We have identified four of functions of civil society which we believe are of vital importance for civic engagement in contemporary Britain:
 - Fostering cohesive communities in which people can belong, connect and contribute.
 - Building citizenship skills, and the motivation and confidence to use them.
 - Maintaining a healthy democracy by giving expression and representation to diverse views, beliefs, and experiences, including through political participation.
 - Bringing events, activities and projects into being in communities, for community benefit.

¹⁹⁶ Adler, R. P. and Goggin, J. (2005) 'What do we mean by civic engagement?', *Journal of Transformative Education*, 3, 236-253.

¹⁹⁷ Foley, M. W. and Edwards, B. (1998) Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and Social Capital in Comparative Perspective, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 42, 5-20.

- 2.4. Through our Together and Near Neighbours programmes, CUF is actively involved in furthering all four of these purposes in communities across England. For example, Catalyst, our youth leadership training programme, equips young people to work together to make a positive difference, giving them the skills and confidence needed to be influencers and engaged citizens in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic society.
 - 2.5. Civic engagement matters because it occurs in an intermediate – and therefore a connecting – space between the state and the people that make up society. What happens in that space determines which voices are heard in public debate; who feels that they ‘belong’; who shapes local and national decision making; and, in turn, whether individuals and communities perceive themselves to be ‘of worth’ to wider society.
 - 2.6. CUF’s work in communities is underpinned by a belief in the dignity, agency, strengths and potential of each individual, and a recognition that everyone has something valuable to contribute within their community and to wider society.
 - 2.7. Civil society, then, is the poorer if any group is excluded (or self-excludes) from civic engagement, whether because of the way in which engagement is sought (or not sought), their education, social norms, lack of financial resources, time poverty, or a perceived or realistic sense that their involvement would make little or no difference.
 - 2.8. Voluntarism is an important facet of civic engagement. However, government and statutory bodies can play an important part in increasing the extent and depth of civic engagement, across all social groups (see Section 4).¹⁹⁸
 - 2.9. 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.
 - 2.10. An important function of civil society is to serve as a space within which alternative narratives and perspectives about how we can live together well emerge, are formulated, and are shared and diffused within society. Civic engagement can help ensure that these alternative narratives are communicated in ways that reach into and shape political discourse and policy, ensuring that it is informed by a range of life experiences, beliefs, and understandings of the world that is reflective of the diverse society in which we live.
- 3. (6) Do voluntary citizenship programmes such as the National Citizen Service do a good job of creating active citizens? [...] Should they be compulsory, and if so, when? [...] What other routes exist for creating active citizens?**

¹⁹⁸ Rose, N. and Miller, P. (2010) Political power beyond the state: the problematics of government, *British Journal of Sociology*, 61: 271–303, p. 277.

- 3.1. Seeing active citizenship as something that takes place largely within the domain of civil society is an important reminder that it is not something that can be imposed by government. It seems unlikely that a compulsory citizenship programme, beyond that delivered as part of school curriculums, would produce life-long ‘active citizens’: as with other components of compulsory education, there is the risk that those who don’t enjoy it simply feel resentful for being forced to engage, and thus become more entrenched in disengagement once the essential requirements have been dispensed with.
- 3.2. Over 430 young people have taken part in **Catalyst**, Near Neighbours’ exciting and inspirational (voluntary) programme for young people aged 16-30. Catalyst helps participants develop:
 - A positive identity for living in a multi-faith, multi-ethnic Britain.
 - The skills and experience to play their part in building a strong civil society.
 - The confidence and commitment to act as agents of change in their neighborhoods.
- 3.3. Catalyst gives participants practical experience of working towards shared goals with people of different faiths, ethnicities and backgrounds. An evaluation of Catalyst by Coventry University found that 87% of participants felt more prepared and enabled to take on leadership roles within their community. One participant, Jasmin, said:

‘The programme taught me so many new communication, leadership, social, and interfaith skills ... We are not often taught about parliament and politics in school and I must say the sessions we had really pushed my passion in wanting to become an MP and giving back to my town ... I have also been involved in many more initiatives, campaigns, programmes in my community that I would not have dreamt of doing before the programme.’¹⁹⁹
- 3.4. Another way to create active citizens is to give people opportunities to ‘give it a go’. Between September 2011 and March 2017 our **Near Neighbours Small Grants** programme, funded by the Department for Communities and Local Government, awarded grants to 1,433 projects bringing people from different faith or ethnic groups (including people of no faith) together to make a difference in their communities. Near Neighbours Coordinators can provide guidance at all stages of project development, making the programme a great way for people to ‘get started’ in their communities.
- 3.5. Near Neighbours is having a positive impact on civic engagement. 84% of project leads reported an increase in volunteering in their communities. 69% of projects stated that they would be continuing after the Near Neighbours funding had finished.²⁰⁰
- 3.6. CUF’s **Together** programme is revitalizing civil society by providing churches and other groups with encouragement, advice, assistance with applying for funding, and relevant training, as they seek to engaging effectively in their communities. An

¹⁹⁹ Church Urban Fund (2017) *Impact Report 2016*, <https://www.cuf.org.uk/impact-report-2016%20>

²⁰⁰ Figures based on impact reports submitted by 737 projects.

evaluation of the programme during 2016 reported ‘many positive stories of people being encouraged and developed to become volunteers for the first time’.²⁰¹

- 3.7. In 2016 Together Development Workers supported over 550 projects and activities, and assisted other organisations in securing more than £1,000,000 for community and social action initiatives. Our Together Small Grants scheme supported over 90 community projects in 2016, 69% of which involved local volunteers, helping people develop skills, confidence and experience as active citizens. One such project in the Tees Valley linked newly arrived refugees and asylum seekers with local residents through weekly friendly football matches. These have begun to generate real friendships, dispelling myths and prejudices and building social cohesion.²⁰²
 - 3.8. Places of Welcome, an initiative that emerged from Together, now sees over 150 community spaces being opened up each week to bring people together, encouraging them to actively participate. Some share a skill or interest with others who come along, others help serve drinks or clear up. These may seem like small steps, but they help nurture a sense of belonging, an important precondition for civic engagement.²⁰³
- 4. (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?**
- 4.1. We suggest three main ways in which government can support increased civic engagement, in collaboration with other sectors:
 - **Resourcing** citizens with the skills, inspiration and confidence to engage.
 - **Receptivity and responsiveness** to civic engagement, demonstrating that it makes a difference.
 - **Reshaping** culture in the public sphere.²⁰⁴
 - 4.2. **Resourcing citizens:** Associational activity is an important context for socialization into civic engagement.²⁰⁵ Besides investment in specific programmes that train young people and adults in leadership and citizenship skills (see Section 3), the resourcing of trusted civil society organisations that have strong relationships amongst social groups known to be less active in civic engagement is an important way in which government can help build social capital and civic capacity amongst these groups. The Near Neighbours programme exemplifies this approach.
 - 4.3. Such support needs to be targeted so that it contributes to greater equality of participation in civil society, whilst also deepening integration and cohesion. Supported groups should therefore be able to demonstrate active partnership and collaboration across more than one cultural, religious, ethnic or demographic group.

²⁰¹ Coventry University (2017) *Together Network Evaluation 2016*.

²⁰² Church Urban Fund (2017) *Impact Report 2016*, <https://www.cuf.org.uk/impact-report-2016%20>

²⁰³ Buckingham, H. (2016) *Places of Welcome Evaluation*.

²⁰⁴ Montgomery, V. (2015) 'Participation and integration: the contextual factors influencing minority and migrant participation', in Barrett, M. and Zani, B. *Political and civic engagement*, Routledge, Hove, pp. 71-84.

²⁰⁵ Putnam, R. (2000) *Bowling Alone*, Simon & Schuster, New York.

- 4.4. **Receptivity and responsiveness:** A vibrant civil society is a vital component of a healthy democracy, and a key role for government in sustaining such a civil society is to engender trust that it is indeed listening to the diverse voices emerging from it.
- 4.5. People need to see multiple, clear examples of ways in which civic engagement is ‘worth it’, both at local and national level. This is particularly the case amongst sections of the population who feel disconnected from, and poorly served by, the political status quo.
- 4.6. This might require a new approach to communicating with the public about policy decisions. This could involve something as simple as producing ‘You said..., We did ...’ graphics for use on social media, like those used by businesses to indicate that they are listening to their customers. Making the impact of community consultation on policy-making more transparent could incentivize future engagement.
- 4.7. **Reshaping culture:** ‘Public institutions and political systems need to include the identities and concerns of minority communities to encourage them to participate fully in society’.²⁰⁶ Some positive changes have already taken place in this respect: for example, we now have the most diverse UK Parliament in history. However, further progress is needed, particularly in relation to the representation of people from different socio-economic and educational backgrounds in society-shaping professions such as politics, law, and media. In addition, consideration needs to be given to the meta-narratives underpinning public debate. Whilst secularity has an important part to play in holding the public sphere open for all to participate, a lack of genuine engagement with alternative meta-narratives, such as those of Christianity, Islam and other faiths, can compound segregation and close down opportunities for greater mutual understanding and inclusion.²⁰⁷
5. **(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?**
 - 5.1. **Socio-economic divergence:** Many communities and groups feel ‘left behind’ because, in terms of access to financial, political and cultural power, they have been. Earlier this year the Social Mobility Commission reported that new divides have opened up geographically, across income groups, and inter-generationally, and that these are likely to widen.²⁰⁸
 - 5.2. **Individualism:** The construction of personal identity through achievement and consumption have become dominant cultural currents within our society. These currents inevitably exclude, marginalize and disempower those who are less able to consume, and who do not achieve highly in the particular ways that society has come to value.
 - 5.3. We are now seeing the unravelling of the illusion of the sufficiency of this individualistic narrative. Revitalizing civil society and rediscovering social cohesion

²⁰⁶ Barrett, M. and Zani, B. *Political and civic engagement*, Routledge, Hove, p. 28.

²⁰⁷ [Data](#) from the latest British Social Attitudes survey show that 47% of adults in Great Britain regard themselves as belonging to a religion.

²⁰⁸ Social Mobility Commission (2017) *Time for Change: An Assessment of Government Policies on Social Mobility 1997-2017*.

will require us to rebalance a proper sense of individual agency, creativity and responsibility with a renewed sense of mutuality, reciprocity and inter-dependence in relationship with others. In this, there is much to be learned from the solidarity and reciprocity that are often more intuitively valued and sustained within more economically deprived communities, and amongst some migrant and ethnic minority communities.

- 5.4. **Language and cultural barriers:** Limited English skills and particular cultural or religious traditions and beliefs can affect people's ability to be active citizens. There are particular concerns, for example, about the limited opportunities that some Muslim women have to engage with wider society. Experiences of prejudice, discrimination, abuse, or harm – or fear that these may happen in future – can also prevent participation, particularly for religious, ethnic or other minority groups.
 - 5.5. Cultural effects on civic participation are not limited to religious or ethnic minority groups. The decline of the associational life that was once central to white working-class communities, for example, has seen many such communities becoming increasingly characterised by cultural norms that tend towards a lack of civic engagement.
 - 5.6. **Economic pressures** on households can reduce the time, resources and even emotional capacity for civic engagement by their members. Working hours, working conditions, housing costs and wage levels and the normalization of dual-income households all have a bearing on people's availability to get involved in voluntary activity.²⁰⁹
- 6. (10) How do you see the relationship between citizenship and civic engagement on the one hand and social cohesion and integration on the other? [...] How can diversity and integration be increased concurrently?**
- 6.1. We believe diversity is to be celebrated. It brings a richness and creativity to our workplaces, communities and national life that can benefit us all. However, growing diversity along religious, ethnic and cultural lines means that we all have to work harder at living together well, particularly during times of change.
 - 6.2. Where the lives of individuals or groups are shaped by divergent traditions, beliefs or life experiences, it is likely to take considerable time, effort and commitment for a sense of safety, mutual understanding and partnership to be built. This has not always been sufficiently acknowledged from a policy perspective. Many communities have undergone substantial change in terms of the ethnic and religious composition of their populations, with little recognition or practical support given either to help the pre-existing population adjust to, interact with and begin to understand incoming groups, and vice versa.
 - 6.3. Language barriers make integration much more difficult, and the provision of appropriate English language and cultural education is important. However, these are tools, rather than solutions in their own right. Integration itself is primarily a relational process, worked out at a local level, but in the context of national and international discourses and policies. In this regard, we need to concern ourselves

²⁰⁹ Office for National Statistics (2014) 'Families in the labour market, 2014'.

not only with interactions across ethnic and religious boundaries, but also socio-economic ones.²¹⁰

- 6.4. What seems to have happened is that a version of ‘tolerance’ coined by a liberal elite (whose experience of multi-cultural Britain has often been very different from that of people living in many deprived communities) has been imposed unthinkingly on wider society, particularly through mainstream media. This has closed down space – both in public debate, and to some extent in communities too – for the legitimate discussion of the pain, loss, conflict, competition, and sense of segregation that has resulted from the changing composition of some communities. For some, this contributes to a stronger sense of marginalization and alienation from wider society, whilst others turn to more extreme views and more damaging ways of expressing them.
- 6.5. Integration requires **interaction** across diversity, encompassing an **honest acknowledgement of tensions and differences**, a genuine desire to **understand the experiences and perspectives of others**, and a commitment to trying to **see all people as valuable and unique** fellow human beings. Through our Near Neighbours and Together programmes, Church Urban Fund are actively engaged in facilitating these kinds of connections and relationships in local communities, and our newest initiative, ‘Real People Honest Talk’ is designed specifically to generate the kinds of genuine interaction and relationships across difference that we believe are crucial to a more cohesive society.

8 September 2017

²¹⁰ Research by the Social Integration Commission shows that people in social grades A and B are in fact the least socially integrated. See: Social Integration Commission (2014) ‘How integrated is modern Britain?’, p. 14.

CitizED – written evidence (CCE0119)

CitizED is an international network of academics focusing on many aspects of citizenship education with particular emphasis on research and scholarship about and for teacher education and school-based learning and teaching. An international journal published by Intellect (*Citizenship Teaching and Learning*) was launched by CitizED in July 2005 and allows for the publication of academic empirical and philosophical articles that are professionally relevant. It is the journal of the Children's Identity and Citizenship European Association (<http://www.cicea.eu/>) Since 2005 an annual citizED conference has taken place bringing together academics and professionals from around the world. Since 2010 our conferences have taken place at St. Andrews University, UK (2010); USA (2011); York, UK (2012); Japan (2013); Birmingham, UK (2014); Singapore (2015); Birmingham (2016); Seoul (2017). CitizED works in partnership with a wide variety of individuals and organisations (e.g., recent work has taken place at a character education and citizenship education seminar involving many of the key NGOs and professional bodies for citizenship education in England, hosted by the Jubilee Centre, University of Birmingham and citizED at St. George's House, Windsor in June 2017; the Children's Identity and Citizenship Education Association at their international conference in Bruges in June 2017; and also with very many national bodies through our international conferences). Further details can be found on the CitizED web site (www.citized.info). This statement is submitted following discussion and endorsement at the editorial committee of *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*.

1. Background to citizenship education

Although there were some exceptions, explicit and professional forms of citizenship education have developed only since the 1970s.

There are several factors that justify the need for citizenship education. Research shows that children and young people have the ability and interest to understand societal issues, need to know about the world around them and require support in order to understand and develop the skills to take part. Evidence of weak understandings and low engagement needs to be continually addressed.

The educational response to societal challenges has been mixed. Various forms of social studies education have been prominent at different points. This in part has been helpful insofar as it indicates dynamism and a willingness to innovate. It also indicates the risk of instability where there are shifting characterisations in the face of current political preferences without the achievement of an academically coherent, professionally established and broadly accepted body of knowledge. The 1970s saw the rise of political education and political literacy that focused on issues, procedural values and developing a proclivity to action; the 1980s witnessed the rise of adjectival or so-called new educations (global education, development education, peace, anti-sexist, anti-racist and others) which was seen by some as fragmented, and politically motivated (or engaged) and, in some cases,

closely connected with the affective; the early 1990s saw a form of citizenship education that emphasised the so-called “4th dimension” of volunteering. Crick’s characterisation of citizenship education as social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy was a refreshingly high status, well considered commitment. The version of the national curriculum for citizenship up to 2013 was informed by much research and professional reflection highlighting key concepts (rights and responsibility; democracy and justice; identities and diversity); key processes (critical thinking and enquiry; advocacy and representation; participation and taking informed and responsible action); and content (local, national and international). Until approximately 2013 citizenship education was researched and evaluated principally by the National Foundation for Educational Research (see <https://www.nfer.ac.uk/research/projects/cels/>) and Ofsted (see <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/citizenship-consolidated-a-survey-of-citizenship-in-schools>) and many other organisations and individuals (e.g. see Professor Paul Whiteley’s ‘Does Citizenship Education Work?’ <https://academic.oup.com/pa/article/67/3/513/1457180/Does-Citizenship-Education-Work-Evidence-from-a>). Citizenship education has been retained as a National Curriculum subject since 2014.

2. Key issues

- Extensive research and evaluation (see above) shows citizenship education - up to 2013 - to be successful in helping young people to understand and develop the skills to take part. There has been only limited wide-ranging research or evaluation in England since 2013. The current characterisation of citizenship in the National Curriculum for England (UK government; UK law and justice system; volunteering; thinking critically about political questions and managing money on a day-to-day basis) is not based on research, not evaluated and low status.
- Since approximately 2008 and very noticeably since 2010 there has been an obvious decline in official support for citizenship education. This is in part due to a more precisely focused approach on other school subjects; significant changes in teacher training with less input by higher education where expertise is to be more easily found than in schools; and a more centrally directed and locally devolved approach to school governance in which attention is less likely to be focused on lower status subjects such as citizenship.
- The above policy changes have led to operational difficulties for citizenship education. There is regional imbalance in the availability of expertise; it is particularly difficult to develop work in the primary phase where subject expertise can be under-developed; the links between initial teacher education and professional development for serving teachers are weak.
- Challenges remain in relation to many areas in citizenship education e.g., assessment of young people’s understanding and skills of engagement; learning and teaching

methods to support learning about and for and through diversity; learning how to use social media as new forms of democratic engagement; European and global matters; exploring connections with personal dimensions of public life through character education.

3. Recommendations

3.1 *Strategic development*

We believe there should be an explicit five-year strategy on citizenship education to develop work in this area. The strategy would cover issues related to initial teacher education and continuing professional development and ways of developing collaboration between key networks and groups within and beyond higher education, government departments and agencies and NGOs. This should apply to all phases of education from early years through to compulsory and post compulsory contexts. In our international network we are alert to the significant and possibly increasing challenges to education for democracy in many countries. It seems to us obvious that we need now perhaps more than ever before to improve citizenship education and there are clear opportunities for the UK to (again) take a leadership position in this important work.

3.2 *Necessary investigations and initiatives*

(a) Explore and clarify the nature of subject knowledge for teaching citizenship. This will help the process of selection and recruitment to programmes of teacher education as well as ensuring that tutors can assist the development of trainees' and teachers' understandings and practices with more skill than sometimes occurs currently.

(b) Develop understanding of assessment.

(c) Develop teachers' roles in promoting democratic understanding and practice appropriate for a diverse society.

(d) Emphasise international dimensions. This should be done to ensure an appropriate status for citizenship education and thus assist with the process of implementation. It will also ensure that we will develop citizenship that is appropriate within a nation state and elsewhere. (Recent work in Australia where a National Curriculum is being developed for the first time is of particular immediate interest and potential benefit to our thinking and practice). Notions of global citizenship are important within and beyond England.

4. Statement on citizenship education

We wish to draw to the attention of the Committee to a Statement on citizenship education which has been an indication of our core views for many years.

Citizens in a democratic society have a fundamental responsibility to engage in public life. Teachers and students have an obligation to promote equality, justice, respect for others and democratic participation.

These ideals should be integral to cultures of educational institutions and embedded within and beyond the curriculum beginning with the youngest age group and continuing throughout, and after, compulsory phases. Education for democratic citizenship is therefore a core purpose of teaching and learning within and beyond schools.

Citizenship education has a strong conceptual core. Subject knowledge for teaching is increasingly defined and distinctive and includes rights and responsibilities, government and democracy, identities and communities at local, national and global levels.

A curriculum for citizenship will be enquiry based, with students making connections between their own and others' experiences, learning to think critically about society and take action for social justice.

Educational institutions where this is achieved embody learning for citizenship in their organisational leadership and in their self-evaluation. Citizenship education enhances the professional values and practices of teachers and others.

Citizenship education requires students to consider public and individual issues of an ethical and political nature. These issues will be topical and often controversial. Effective education for citizenship includes the integration of conceptual understanding and the skills for civic engagement.

Citizenship education requires an integrated approach to assessment which incorporates evidence about knowledge, skills and understanding, values, dispositions and social action. The overall assessment must integrate learners' self-evaluations and reflections which take account of others' observations and the teachers' evaluations of pupils.

Citizenship education is drawn from a shared values framework and informs a wider educational strategy and ethos.

Specialist citizenship teachers thus possess distinctive knowledge, skills and dispositions. They have a strong sense of the specific potential of their work and through purposeful teaching, learning and assessment engage and empower young people.

8 September 2017

Citizenship and Civic Engagement Working Group Faculty of Humanities, The University of Manchester – written evidence (CCE0171)

The Citizenship and Civic Integration Working Group is a group of academics within The University of Manchester's Faculty of the Humanities, convened to discuss the questions and wider issues raised by the Committee's call for evidence.

Summary and recommendations

Three key themes recur throughout our answers, and form the basis of three overall recommendations we would like to advance from the beginning:

- Diversity, of culture, language, and communities, is not only the truth of Britain today, but has been a central part of British society for centuries. A new approach to British citizenship must proceed from the recognition of diversity as a historical and contemporary norm of life in Britain and acknowledge that many of the values we celebrate today are neither exclusive to Britain, nor originated here. **We recommend that policymakers move away from any backward looking attempt to derive 'British values' from an imagined mono-cultural and mono-linguistic past, and base this new drive toward a renewed civic engagement on the strength and connection to the world that our diversity gives us in the present, and in the future.**
- We consistently return to the value of *demonstration*, 'showing, not telling'. Broadcasting values, whether through the television or the classroom, will not help them to take root in our society. People learn through *lived experience*. **We recommend that the Committee prioritises activities and initiatives that allow individuals and groups (potential citizens, new citizens, and established citizens) to meet, interact, communicate, and *practise* the civic values we seek to encourage.**
- Finally, it is essential that the Committee avoids making a responsibility to conform a concern only for 'problem' groups who do not 'fit in'. **We recommend that the Committee pays particular attention to the measures it goes on to recommend, and ensures that, wherever possible, the obligations and responsibilities are identified as *collective* and the values we seek to promote derived from honest conversation *between* groups, rather than an imposition of one particular tradition or group of traditions over others.**

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?

1.1

Citizenship and civic engagement matter because there can be no functioning democracy without them. A democratic society cannot be sustained without a meaningful concept of citizenship, and a citizenry with the capabilities and opportunities to meaningfully enact it.

1.2

The relationship of citizenship to identity is complex, but it is essential that the former is not reduced to a question of the latter. Identity too often builds a common bond in opposition to, and at the expense of, an 'other'. For a concept of citizenship to genuinely build cohesion in a complex and diverse society, it must be a positive and unifying vision, not simply a repetition and legitimisation of an existing 'us and them' mentality.

1.3

We are concerned that too close a proximity between a concept of citizenship and the idea of 'national identity' risks excluding groups who do not subscribe to, or recognise, the vision of the nation contained within the latter. Further, we must remain mindful that civic engagement should include and be open to those who are not citizens but are long-term residents in Britain (who we may term 'denizens').

1.4

Any concept of a 'national identity' that seeks to privilege one aspect of that history, or the history of one of Britain's many cultural communities, over another will only result in the exclusion of citizens from participation on the basis of a misunderstanding of the United Kingdom's history and traditions.

1.5

The fact is that the United Kingdom has never existed as a mono-cultural or mono-lingual society; diversity has been a constituent part of our nation's history for the entirety of its recorded history. This diversity, and the wealth of connections to other peoples and places that it represents, should be the foundation for any modern sense of 'British' citizenship or 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?

2.1

Citizenship ceremonies developed from a broad-based perspective with a view to reconciling UK communities. However, we are concerned that making ceremonies exclusively for new arrivals has the unintended consequence of turning immigrants into a perceived ‘problem group’, who require additional measures to join the community of citizens.

2.2

Citizenship ceremonies also play into the sense that citizenship is *prescriptive*. That is, that it is the place of the state to define a series of political and cultural values to which people must conform in order to be citizens. We believe that there are better ways to confer, celebrate, and to deepen a sense of citizenship.

2.3

We recommend the British government plays a key role in showing, rather than telling, citizens about ‘British’ values. Leading by example, rather than attempting to teach a way of life ‘by rote’, would make for a more engaging and participatory approach to encouraging civic engagement among citizens.

2.4

Currently, citizenship ceremonies are *private*, but we believe that there is a role here for wider public engagement. We note the example of Canada, whose citizenship ceremonies often bring in the wider community. We recognise that this already occurs to a limited extent in the UK, but central and local government could consider a more systematic approach to, for example, bringing schools into citizenship ceremonies, both as venues and school-age children as attendees.

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?

3.1

We believe that the ambiguities surrounding contemporary citizenship reinforces the need for the United Kingdom to consider a codified, written constitution, with a clearly enumerated bill of rights and responsibilities.

3.2

This should proceed on the basis of a wide-ranging consultation exercise, developing into a constitutional convention. This exercise must be designed to take in the widest variety of viewpoints, opening a genuine conversation with the groups and communities that do not currently engage in formal political processes.

3.3

An example of how this could be accomplished can be found in Canada's experience of developing its "New Charter of Rights and Freedoms".

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?

4.1

We believe that the extension of the franchise to 16 and 17 year olds, and the implementation of lifetime electoral registration, would both be positive developments for political and civic participation in this country.

4.2

‘Political literacy’ should be an important part of civic education. Young people and new arrivals should be taught about the structure and opportunities to participate in each different level of UK government, and also the political parties, ideas and issues that make up our political landscape.

4.3

Civic education should not be limited to schools and other educational and immigration-related institutions. We recommend that the committee investigate the ways in which civic engagement can be promoted and facilitated in the workplace and through existing social and civic spaces, for example, sports clubs, churches, trades unions. For a genuine commitment to civic participation to take hold, all citizens must have the opportunity and encouragement to continually practise, maintain and enhance their status as a citizen.

4.4

We would note that UK higher education has taken some positive steps towards facilitating these kinds of activities through their ‘social responsibility’ initiatives. We believe that these initiatives would be useful examples for the Committee to examine closely while developing proposals for encouraging political engagement.

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?

5.1

Education has a fundamental role in supporting *all* citizens to be active citizens. We must begin with the caveat that making children and immigrants the two focuses for citizenship education and intervention represents what is known in academic circles as a ‘deficit approach’. Through it, we risk identifying groups of people who are missing something and sets out to correct *their* deficit, rather than focusing on the wider obligations of the public sphere *to* those groups and the importance of participation and civic engagement among every class, group, or community in the UK today.

5.2

We would observe that the current form of citizenship education in schools is highly prescriptive, which is problematic in two ways; it attempts to teach, rather than to *show* (i.e. through participatory activity), and it funnels citizenship education into a curricular/qualification approach that may be appropriate for basic literacy, numeracy, and science skills but is wholly inadequate for the preparation of young people for civic participation.

5.3

We recommend restructuring our approach to civic education to prioritise activities that will give young people genuine experience of connecting with their communities and interacting with people from a diverse range of backgrounds and perspectives. We believe that these activities, with an emphasis upon mutual recognition and respect, will do more to give students the capability to exercise civic engagement than any amount of ‘broadcast’ lessons that set out values without offering any form of demonstration or experience to reinforce them.

5.4

Part of these activities should also be the discussion of political issues, even those of a controversial nature. Children must be encouraged to reflect on, and contribute to, the issues that face us all as a society. In the course of these discussions, the values of respect must be reinforced (both respecting the right of each student to their opinion, and ensuring awareness that each student’s right is based on their responsibility to respect that right for others). Of course, such discussions must be carefully and sensitively managed, but if we are to place the expectation of responsible citizenship upon our young adults, we have to treat them *as* adults and properly prepare them to contribute to our national conversations when they become citizens.

5.5

Finally, we would reflect that the power of example also has to extend to schools themselves. For example, the value of democracy is unlikely to grow deep roots in a learning environment that does not offer the opportunity for democratic participation. We believe that [this example in the German education system](#) show how schools could successfully begin to integrate more student participation into their organisations, and in so doing, mitigate the risk of an apparent

Citizenship and Civic Engagement Working Group Faculty of Humanities, The University of Manchester – written evidence (CCE0171)

double standard between the values taught in a civics lesson and the values practised every day in the corridors and halls.

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?

6.1

Our main reservation with the National Citizenship Service, in its current form, is that the experience and skills required to build the capacity for civic engagement is being diluted by the Scheme's focus on job skills and UCAS statement-building activities.

6.2

The focus of the NCS should be upon the experience and commitments of citizenship as a specific aspect of people's lives, and the ways in which that citizenship can be enacted in society. What we actually appear to have is a National Volunteering Service, which is worthwhile in itself but is not a preparation for the rights and responsibilities of active citizenship. It is on this basis that we recommend either the abolition, re-branding, or substantial restructuring, of NCS activities to reflect the objectives it aims to meet – whether that is as a skills service, volunteering service, or citizenship service.

6.3

We would also draw attention towards more positive ways to celebrate citizenship. In Australia and Canada, for example, there are public celebration days that celebrate citizenship. Events which encourage all citizens to celebrate citizenship together should be commissioned and promoted by all levels of government in order to forge closer social bonds between different generations and communities.

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?

7.1

Key to this question remains the kinds of activities that constitute civic engagement. Civic engagement cannot just be a euphemism for volunteer work, especially not if that work consists of traditional ‘employability’ skill-building, or as a free replacement for essential civic and social services that have been withdrawn as a result of funding cuts.

7.2

Essential to supporting genuine civic engagement activities is support for the spaces that enable citizens to meet and to act in common. Across the country, these spaces have been closed, but these closures preclude any chance for citizens (no matter how well educated in their rights and responsibilities) to realise their role as citizens and participate in the shared life of their communities.

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?

8.1

The framing of these values is of crucial importance. We believe that any attempt to claim values as distinctly 'British' will perpetuate the kinds of exclusionary, 'us and them' thinking, from which our country must move on.

8.2

We recommend recognising that the values that sustain citizenship in the United Kingdom as values shared by countries and cultures across the democratic world. Rather than imply a sense of distinctiveness, and risk generating attitudes of superiority, in the pursuit and enjoyment of freedom, we recommend anchoring the values of UK citizenship in the common pursuit of shared objectives with citizens of other countries. Building this connection will also engage our citizenry in the collective pursuit of maintaining and strengthening liberal democracy around the world.

8.3

We would caution against the language of 'threats' to values, which tends to become a tool for targeting and stigmatising groups within our society. Whilst there will always be criminal elements in every community who claim political and ideological justification for their actions, we believe that government focus should remain on the confident and positive demonstration of Britain's civic values, and not on the defensive pursuit of perceived 'threats'.

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?

9.1

We have to recognise the implementation of spending cuts as a major barrier to civic participation. When the pressures of low wage growth, precarious employment, reduced state benefits, and reduced support services make subsistence a key day-to-day issue facing many families and individuals, it is not surprising that meaningful civic engagement comes as a low, if not non-existent, priority.

9.2

We must also recognise the challenges presented by evidence of increasing racism and xenophobia in Britain’s national discourse, and on our streets. Especially in the period following the ‘Leave’ vote in the EU referendum – although we must be clear that this was not the beginning of this trend. Hate crimes, hate speech, and the general perception of increasing discrimination in the UK, all inhibit individuals and groups from minority communities within the UK from entering the public space or from participating fully in the political life of our country. It is essential that this barrier, and its causes, are urgently recognised and 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?

10.1

We want to begin by emphasising that ‘integration’ needs to be understood as *participation*, not *assimilation*. Any attempt to think in terms of integration necessarily calls forth a monolithic concept of ‘society’ or ‘identity’ into which the particular individual must be integrated. This is a recipe for continuing exclusion, as no such monolithic entity actually exists and every individual, group, and community will constantly be under scrutiny to live up to a mythical and unachievable ideal.

10.2

British society is diverse. It is multi-cultural and multi-lingual. Social cohesion requires social and intercultural *communication* between the diverse traditions and perspectives that constitutes our shared society. It also requires resistance to stereotyping of how different communities or groups behave and the values that they hold and recognition of the multiple identities and affiliations that all of us possess in society. We recommend that the language of ‘integration’ be replaced by the language, and the objective, of ‘participation’.

10.3

The key to concurrent increases in diversity and participation is communication. Communication and interaction across cultural and social distinctions, such as class, race, religion, and so on. Cohesion can be achieved through communication, participation and interaction between diverse individuals and groups.

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?

11.1

We are concerned that the focus on English language skills is misplaced, and plays again into the ‘deficit discourse’ that forces a responsibility to conform onto individuals who don’t ‘measure up’ or ‘fit in’. It is regrettable that multi-lingualism is often viewed with suspicion, rather than being celebrated as an important asset in a globalised world.

11.2

We believe that that Britain’s status, centuries-long, as a genuinely multi-lingual country should be recognised and celebrated as one of our greatest values. Instead of painting multi-lingual Britain as a symptom of a fractured or divided country (often, on the basis of a history that is misrepresented as mono-lingual), the connections that our diverse language communities represent between Britain and the rest of the world should be seen and celebrated as a source of power and pride.

11.3

Nonetheless, the provision of ESOL classes is key for newcomers to the country. Local authority provision of ESOL classes has been cut drastically and this needs to be reversed. A model to examine would be that of Germany where newcomers have access to subsidised or free language courses and orientations to the country. This should all form part of a more holistic approach to language education for a diverse society in a diverse and interconnected world. It should not be seen as a remedy to manage assimilation or address deficits.

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?

12.1

We would draw attention to the 2012 Olympic Games as a stand-out example of ‘showing’ our values, not ‘teaching’ our values.

12.2

We also believe that great examples can be found in the artists, sportspeople, and leaders who have overcome exclusion and discrimination in their personal lives, but gone on to achieve great success and become role models for inclusion and openness in modern Britain; examples include:

- Mo Farrah
- Sadiq Khan
- Benjamin Zephaniah
- Ruth Davidson

We would recommend learning from these, and the hundreds of other great examples that exist in British public life. Once again, *demonstrating* values, rather than using the ‘bully pulpit’ approach of telling somehow ‘deficient’ individuals the values that they need to live up to in order fit into a preconceived notion of British society.

12.3

Finally, we would reiterate our belief that successful social cohesion in the contemporary UK cannot be achieved by ‘heavy duty civics’ lessons, nor by the expectation that it is the responsibility of the individual to change *who* they are in order to fit in. The values of modern British citizenship must be derived from an open and inclusive conversation between every individual, community and group that makes up modern Britain.

12.4

Those values will only be learned by *shared experience* and the focus of government efforts should be on removing the obstacles and creating the conditions for these experiences to take place.

Citizenship and Civic Engagement Working Group Faculty of Humanities, The University of Manchester – written evidence (CCE0171)

Working Group on Citizenship and Civic Engagement

The Working Group on Citizenship and Civic Engagement comprises academics from within The University of Manchester's Faculty of Humanities with research expertise in areas cognate to this Committee's inquiry.

Working Group

[Professor Bridget Byrne](#); [Dr Joanne Deakin](#); [Dr Richard Fay](#); [Dr Sarah Marie Hall](#); [Dr James Laurence](#); [Dr Sherilyn MacGregor](#)

Response Authors

Professor Bridget Byrne

Bridget Byrne's main research interests are in the area of citizenship, race, class, gender and education. Her 2006 book, 'White Lives. The Interplay of 'race', class and gender in everyday life' was based on extensive research on the construction of white identity in Britain, looking at the experience of white mothers of young children in two areas of London.

Dr Richard Fay

Richard Fay's research explores intercultural communication and intercultural education; intercultural aspects of language education (e.g. TESOL) and distance learning / elearning; and, appropriate methodology (of language education, language teacher education, and distance education)

Dr Sherilyn MacGregor

Sherilyn MacGregor is one of a small number of scholars in the UK specialising in the interdisciplinary field of gender and environmental politics. Her research explores themes of environmental (un)sustainability, gender (in)equality, and theories and practices of citizenship.

8 September 2017

Citizenship Foundation – written evidence (CCE0195)

Summary

The Citizenship Foundation is pleased to provide evidence to the Select Committee. For 28 years, we have helped young people become active, engaged and motivated young citizens – through our citizenship programmes and through our advocacy of high-quality citizenship education within schools. However, we live in extra-ordinary times, with faith in democratic society undermined and society more polarised. We are calling for Government to take the lead in developing a national consensus on action to breathe new life and confidence into democratic society, through encouraging active citizenship.

Recommendations:

Question 1

- (a) *We recommend that action should be particularly focused to help younger generations become active citizens, especially but not exclusively through the education system.*
- (b) *We urge Government, alongside Parliament, to take a lead in developing a national consensus on action to breathe new life and confidence into democratic society, through encouraging active citizenship.*

Question 2

- (c) *We urge that citizenship ceremonies and events do not become a distraction from the more important tasks of encouraging action and engagement, and equipping people with the tools they need to act.*
- (d) *We would like to see Government and others encourage pride in being an active citizen – making a positive contribution to your society to the best of your ability – whether that is be at a local, national, or global level, rather than focusing on encouraging pride in being British.*

Question 3

- (e) *We recommend that Government should consider setting down citizenship rights and responsibilities in the form of a Citizenship Compact.*
- (f) *They must include a **responsibility** for citizens to actively participate in their society; and a corresponding **right** to the education they need in order to have the knowledge, skills and confidence to actively participate.*

Question 4

- (g) *The vision should be for a society of active citizens where voting is the starting-point of engagement, rather than the end-point.*

- (h) A review should be undertaken on the potential impact on attitudes towards voting if it became compulsory.*
- (i) We recommend that Government seeks mechanisms, for example, through the National Insurance system, to auto-enrol citizens on the electoral register. Colleagues and higher education institutions should be required to register all of their students en masse.*
- (j) Serious consideration should be given to lowering the voting age to 16, to encourage the habit of voting from the start.*
- (k) We urge the Government to reconsider extending the franchise to those residents who have demonstrated a long-term commitment to the UK and may be active citizens if not UK citizens.*

Question 5

- l. We urge Government to fully commit to supporting citizenship education for all students, from primary through to university level.*
- m. Citizenship as a national curriculum subject should be extended to include primary level as well as secondary; furthermore, it should become a statutory right in the same way that religious education is – and thus include **all** schools regardless of their status. No child should be excluded from learning essential citizenship knowledge and skills.*
- n. Provision and promotion of citizenship opportunities for all students should become a requirement of further and higher education institutions, in the same way that it is a requirement on them to make provision for the prevention of extremism.*
- o. The content of the Citizenship National Curriculum Programmes of Study should be reviewed, to incorporate more opportunities for active citizenship experiences, and active learning.*
- p. The DfE should provide support for the development of Citizenship teaching, including: evaluation of current standards of teaching through a continuation of the longitudinal study, provision of support for citizenship teaching through training and resources for teachers.*
- q. Support should be provided to NGOs which support schools with active citizenship schemes, to relieve pressure on schools, and enable NGOs to help all schools regardless of their ability to pay.*

Question 6

- r. We urge that support from government for citizenship programmes should reach beyond NCS, to ensure that there are a multiplicity of opportunities at different points in young people's journeys rather than a one-size-fits-all approach which would reduce choice. Involvement in NCS will then be an important milestone on a continuous active citizenship journey.*

Introduction

The Citizenship Foundation is pleased to provide evidence to this Inquiry into Citizenship and Civic Engagement. In our view, it is very timely. There is an urgent need for co-ordinated action by Government, and others, to strengthen the opportunities for all people, and particularly young people, to engage in democratic society.

The Citizenship Foundation is a UK-based charity. We have 28 years' experience in helping young people gain the knowledge, skills and confidence they need in order to make an effective contribution to society, and help shape its future in a rapidly changing world. We work both in the UK and in partnership across Europe and globally. We deliver a range of projects and programmes to enable young people to have first-hand citizenship experiences. We also provide topical teaching resources, and training for teachers. We work alongside other organisations to advocate for a national consensus on the importance of high-quality citizenship education for all young people.

Examples of our work include:

- Our *Mock Trials* competitions²¹¹, which give tens of thousands of young people the opportunity to understand the legal justice system - held in real courtrooms, supported by legal professionals and overseen by senior judges and magistrates.
- Our 'SMSC'²¹² resources for primary school children, which help prepare young children for life in the modern world.
- Our child-led *Make a Difference Challenge*²¹³ social action programme for primary schools, which supports our youngest citizens in making a positive difference to their communities.
- Our *Experts in Schools* programmes²¹⁴, which support volunteers from the legal, financial, and political professions to go into schools to help pupils understand about aspects of the law, or the economy, or politics which are particularly relevant to young people.
- Our *Young Citizens Passport*²¹⁵, in its 16th edition, distributed to generations of young people, which is a succinct and accessible guide to young citizens' legal rights and responsibilities.

²¹¹ <https://smartlaw.org.uk/mock-trials/>

²¹² <http://www.gogivers.org/> SMSC stands for Social, Moral, Spiritual and Cultural – a term used in UK schools

²¹³ <http://www.gogivers.org/teachers/make-a-difference/>

²¹⁴ <http://www.lawyersinschools.org.uk/index.php?page=home> and [Boom, Bust, Crunch](#)

²¹⁵ [Young Citizens Passport](#)

- Our *Brexit for Young People*²¹⁶ pack, which helps young people decide what’s important for them from the Brexit negotiations, so they can articulate these as citizens.

We have focused our responses on the first six questions, which are most pertinent to our work.

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?

1.1 How we define Citizenship: When the Citizenship Foundation talks about ‘Citizenship’, we are referring to an activity - participation in society - rather than ‘membership’ of Britain by virtue of fulfilling certain criteria, or the passive holding of certain rights and responsibilities. In so doing, we set the bar for Citizenship at a high level. It entails the duty, as well as the right, to participate actively in the life of our democratic society to the best of one’s opportunities and abilities. Alongside this goes the right to the opportunities to learn the knowledge and develop the skills and attitudes needed to be able to participate.

1.2 We choose this definition because we believe the more that people are engaged and motivated to take action to improve their communities, the more effective our democratic society will become. The more effective our democratic society, the more our society will be fair and inclusive. Conversely, the more people become passive, disengaged and unmotivated to make a positive contribution, the less effective democracy will be, and the more fractured and unfair our society will become.

1.3 Why this matters: We are extremely concerned that this latter description has been the direction of travel in recent years. Our society is facing serious challenges, with many people’s faith in the way that our democracy operates being shaken. Healthy scepticism towards politics has turned into contempt and even hatred, and this has spread to other institutions including the legal system, the media and even charities. Society feels more polarised, and lack of opportunities for integration – as highlighted most recently by the *Casey Review* into Opportunity and Integration – make it less likely that people will engage with those holding different views.

1.4 The urgency of the situation means that urgent action is needed.

Recommendations

- (a) We recommend that action should be particularly focused to help younger generations become active citizens, especially but not exclusively through the education system.*
- (b) We urge Government, alongside Parliament, to take a lead in developing a national consensus on action to breathe new life and confidence into democratic society, through encouraging active citizenship.*

²¹⁶ [Better Brexit for Young People](#)

1.5 This will involve people understanding how our democratic institutions work, developing the sense of agency that they can make a difference, no matter who they are, and the confidence to take part. It will also involve them in developing the skills to engage in debates and the decision-making processes – and then taking action.

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?

2.1 Potential distraction of citizenship ceremonies/events: Whilst there may be a role for such ceremonies and events, and for encouraging people’s identity as “member-citizens”, we believe that this is not the solution to the great challenges described above. Indeed, because such events are tangible and easily organised/measured, they might be latched onto as easy fixes, and distract attention from the more difficult but infinitely more important tasks of encouraging action and engagement, and equipping people with the tools they need to act. It would be the equivalent of focusing all the attention on the degree ceremony and little on the work needed to get the degree. 2.2 There might also be a danger that a focus on highlighting ‘citizenship-as-membership/identity’, if overused, might raise barriers between people rather than promote integration.

2.3 Multiple levels of society, not just UK-wide: The focus of Citizenship should instead be about enabling people to play an informed and active part in their society. Different people will have different and overlapping ideas of what their society entails. For some, it will primarily be their local community or town. For others it might be their region, or their particular nation within the UK. For others it might be Britain. And for still others, they might identify more closely with international communities or global society as a whole – particularly for younger people, where they may feel members of global communities through social media. For many people, the reality is that it will be a combination of these. Playing an active and informed role in one does not have to be to the exclusion of another.

2.4 Pride in being an active citizen: Whilst there may be a place for encouraging pride in being British, in the context of the discussion around Citizenship, we do not believe that this is the correct focus.

Recommendations

(c) We urge that citizenship ceremonies and events do not become a distraction.

(d) We would like to see Government and others encourage pride in being an active citizen – making a positive contribution to your society to the best of your ability – whether that is be at a local, national, or global level.

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?

3.1 Citizenship Compact: We believe that the process of leaving the European Union gives an opportunity for the UK to re-appraise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. There should be a national debate led by Government on what constitutes the rights and responsibilities of citizenship in the UK, with the intention of producing a Citizenship Compact.

3.2 We accept that this will be controversial, and that there will be many views on what the extent those rights and responsibilities should be. However, the debate itself – in raising the questions of what explicitly should be expected of individuals to contribute, and how individuals can expect to be able to take part – will be extremely valuable. The Government has led a similar debate on what constitutes British Values. Whilst the values themselves are hotly contested, the debate has encouraged many to consider what values they would like Britain to have, and how they feel Britain measures up to them.

3.3 We also believe that such a Citizenship Compact would be useful within an education context, in helping young people to understand, and critically engage with, their rights and responsibilities.

3.4 As explained above, we believe that the rights and responsibilities should not be focused on a set of passive ‘rules of the club and rights of the club members’ – but should focus on active participation.

Recommendations

(e) We recommend that Government should consider setting down citizenship rights and responsibilities in the form of a Citizenship Compact.

*(f) They must include a **responsibility** for citizens to actively participate in their society; and a corresponding **right** to the education they need in order to have the knowledge, skills and confidence to actively participate.*

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?

4.1 Voting: In line with our view that the focus of Citizenship should be active participation in society, we would encourage Government to review current laws to remove such restrictions on participation where they exist:

- We are struck by the apparent anomaly that it is a legal duty, as a citizen, to take part in a jury in a trial of a fellow citizen when called on to do so; but it is not a legal duty, as a

citizen, to take part in the election of a government. We believe there is a strong moral **responsibility** to take part in voting, if not also the need for a legal duty to do so too. There are cases where legislation has helped to change long-standing social norms: compulsory wearing of seat-belts, and the ban on smoking in confined public areas are two examples.

- It is a disgrace that many citizens are not even registered to vote. This has been a particular problem affecting young people. We also note that in the Referendum on Scottish Independence, high numbers of 16-18 year olds were motivated to take part, and that this is likely to have a positive impact upon future voting turnout – because voting is habit forming.
- We are struck by the number of long-term residents in the UK, who are not ‘citizens’ of the UK in the sense of ‘citizen-members’ and thus do not have a vote in some elections, but are very much active citizens within society.

4.2 Voting as a start-point: Notwithstanding these comments, making it a responsibility (and as easy as possible) to vote is not enough. Recent concerns about the impact of fake news on elections shows that it is more vital than ever that electorates have the means to think critically about the information they are being given, to question why they are being told what they are, and to come to their own conclusions having weighed up the information. In short, the need for informed, engaged, politically-literate, and confident citizens has never been greater.

4.3 The Citizenship Foundation believes society should be aspiring for so much more from its citizens than simply putting a cross on a ballot paper every few years. That might be through volunteering, involvement in politics, campaigning, or another form of social action.

Recommendations

- g. The vision should be for a society of active citizens where voting is the starting-point of engagement, rather than the end-point.*
- h. A review should be undertaken on the potential impact on attitudes towards voting if it became compulsory.*
- i. We recommend that Government seeks mechanisms, for example, through the National Insurance system, to auto-enrol citizens on the electoral register. Colleagues and higher education institutions should be required to register all of their students en masse.*
- j. Serious consideration should be given to lowering the voting age to 16, to encourage the habit of voting from the start.*
- k. We urge the Government to reconsider extending the franchise to those who have demonstrated a long-term commitment to the UK.*

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?

5.1 *Citizenship education for all young people – nobody excluded:* The role of the education system is, in our view, pivotal to our vision of active citizenship. Every young person has a right to the high-quality citizenship teaching they need to develop the knowledge, skills and confidence to be active citizens. As a society we should no more accept exceptions to this than we would accept exceptions to young people having high-quality English or mathematics teaching. Nobody expects a young person to acquire numerical skills without being taught; neither should we expect young people to acquire citizenship skills without this.

5.2 We are far away from this ideal, and the direction of travel in recent years has been in the wrong direction. Whilst Citizenship has remained a National Curriculum subject at secondary level, the proportion of schools subject to the National Curriculum (local authority controlled) has declined rapidly with the growth of academies and free schools. Moreover, the Programmes of Study which have been in place since 2015 put a stronger emphasis on constitutional history and volunteerism, and are weaker on active citizenship and involvement in the political process. The regulatory focus on the new English Baccalaureate has meant a narrowing of the subject focus in many schools – not all National Curriculum subjects are treated equally. From 2001-10, the *Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study*, run by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) and funded by the Department for Education, was invaluable in assessing the quality and impact of citizenship education, and helping to raise standards. There is currently no national evaluation study, and this makes it extremely difficult to support schools to improve provision. The findings of the longitudinal study²¹⁷ had shown that where citizenship education was taught regularly and consistently from a young age through to 18, planned by coordinators trained in Citizenship, taught by specialist teachers, and included planned assessment, whether through GCSE or another means, it had the greatest impact on young peoples' confidence, engagement with local issues, future voting behaviour, and future participation in their community. Yet bursaries to train new citizenship teachers have been cut, and there is little support for training current teachers. Numbers of specialist citizenship teachers continue to decline. Support for organisations like the Citizenship Foundation, which provides resources, training and advice to teachers on citizenship education, has been withdrawn – and we now have to charge schools to help cover costs. With school budgets increasingly focused on the English Baccalaureate, many schools struggle to pay despite wanting our support.

²¹⁷ <https://www.nfer.ac.uk/research/projects/cels/resource1/>

Recommendations

- l. We urge Government to fully commit to supporting citizenship education for all students, from primary through to university level.*
- m. Citizenship as a national curriculum subject should be extended to include primary level as well as secondary; furthermore, it should become a statutory right in the same way that religious education is – and thus include **all** schools regardless of their status. No child should be excluded from learning essential citizenship knowledge and skills.*
- n. Provision and promotion of citizenship opportunities for all students should become a requirement of further and higher education institutions, in the same way that it is a requirement on them to make provision for the prevention of extremism.*
- o. The content of the Citizenship National Curriculum Programmes of Study should be reviewed, to incorporate more opportunities for active citizenship experiences, and active learning.*
- p. The DfE should provide support for the development of Citizenship teaching, including: evaluation of current standards of teaching through a continuation of the longitudinal study, provision of support for citizenship teaching through training and resources for teachers.*
- q. Support should be provided to NGOs which support schools with active citizenship schemes, to relieve pressure on schools, and enable NGOs to help all schools regardless of their ability to pay.*

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?

6.1 We agree that it is important that all young people have the opportunities to practice being active citizens from a young age. This active learning approach puts them in good stead to continue being active citizens into adulthood.

6.2 Since 2010, the National Citizen Service has been the focus of government efforts to support voluntary citizenship programmes for young people. We support the NCS, in being an important rite of passage for young people on their citizenship journey, and NCS evidence is that it is an experience which is valued by the young people who take part.

6.3 Notwithstanding this, we believe it is important that:

- NCS should not to the detriment of the many other excellent citizenship programmes which are run by voluntary sector organisations, and which in recent years have had government support reduced or withdrawn. The Citizenship Foundation’s *Giving Nation* programme, for example, has been running for 15 years but in the past few years has

had to reduce its scope because government funding support has been withdrawn. It encourages young people to take the lead in devising projects to support a social cause, and then to run that project. Originally funded by the Cabinet Office, it involved giving £50 per class as a float to buy materials, with the aim of putting £50 back at the end of the project. (Indeed, the average class has returned £305 on a £50 seed capital). They would promote the success of their project via blogs and the website. 315,000 students have been directly involved in *Giving Nation*, £1.7 million (£259 per class) has been raised for good causes, and 1.6 million volunteer hours have been accumulated, and there have been more than 3,500 local, national and international intermediaries.

- The NCS experience should not be seen as an isolated ‘citizenship island’ for young people. We believe that the earlier that young people have citizenship experiences, the more effective they will be in creating lifetime habits of taking part. Indeed, it is never too young to start. The Citizenship Foundation runs the Make a Difference Challenge for primary school children, where classes of children choose for themselves an issue that they want to make a difference about – whether that be local, national, or international. They are then helped to draw up a plan to take action, which might involve fundraising, letter-writing, volunteering, or campaigning. They then carry out their action plan – and finally they review what they did, looking at the difference they made and what they learnt. In 2014 the *Make a Difference Challenge* was chosen by the Cabinet Office to participate in a randomised controlled trial relating to the impact of Youth Social Action²¹⁸. It was found to be very effective in increasing empathy levels, problem-solving, grit and community skills. Children who took part shared, on average, a level of empathy 6% greater than those who didn’t. These children were also adept in problem-solving, and showed a level of grit significantly above that of the children who did not participate. Similarly the level of community investment was considerably higher. The trial also found that those who took part in the project have a more positive outlook; stating that things in life are worthwhile more often than their peers, and also reported lower levels of anxiety (**a decrease of 22%**). Similarly, if there are opportunities beyond NCS, then young people can use the experiences from NCS to develop their citizenship skills still further.

Recommendation

We urge that support from government for citizenship programmes should reach beyond NCS, to ensure that there are a multiplicity of opportunities at different points in young people’s journeys rather than a one-size-fits-all approach which would reduce choice.

²¹⁸ <http://www.behaviouralinsights.co.uk/publications/evaluating-youth-social-action/>

Involvement in NCS will then be an important milestone on a continuous active citizenship journey.

City Year UK – written evidence (CCE0105)

Executive Summary

1.1. City Year UK is a youth social action charity and throughout this paper will argue that **full-time social action can help strengthen citizenship and civic engagement** in young people and all of society. While it is acknowledged that full-time social action programmes for those aged over 18 may not necessarily *create* socially and civically engaged citizens, they most certainly do help to make these nebulous concepts real, consolidate them and give tangible experiences for young people to draw lessons from.²¹⁹

1.2. The Government defines full-time social action as volunteering on a full-time basis i.e. undertaking at least 16 hours a week social action for 6 months or more.²²⁰ Therefore, for the purposes of this paper when referring to full-time social action in the UK we will use these criteria.

1.3. This paper will demonstrate:

With reference to young people, what citizenship and civic engagement means in the 21st century and why it's important [question 1].

- a) That specific changes to electoral law (voter registration) and volunteering law (granting a legal status to full-time volunteers), would help improve citizenship and civic engagement [question 4].
- b) Full-time social action programmes in the UK have proven to strengthen citizenship and civic engagement. This response demonstrates that City Year UK's programme in particular has achieved this as well as improved school performance and the work-readiness skills and employment rates of its young volunteers [question 4]
- c) The need for balance between the role of formal education and youth social action initiatives in strengthening citizenship and civic engagement [question 5].
- d) While National Citizen Service does an excellent job in creating active citizens, but it cannot thrive in a vacuum. Government-backed national full-time social action programmes currently used in numerous countries e.g. France, Germany, the USA strengthen national cohesion, citizenship, civic engagement and promote social integration among their participants. We contend that the UK should establish a similar programme [question 6].

²¹⁹ Renaisi: Shaping Civic Leaders: The impact on City Year UK alumni, 2015.

²²⁰ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/call-for-more-opportunities-to-support-young-people-volunteering-in-the-community>

- e) While the Casey Review painted a worrying picture of social integration in the UK, youth social action can play a prominent role in countering this problem [question 10].

1.4. The paper will also give a brief background of the Department of Digital, Culture, Media and Sport's independent review into full-time social action by young people. The review will investigate legal and regulatory barriers to full-time social action in the UK, consider the merits of a legal status for full-time volunteers and recommend actions the Government can take to increase the number of participants and programmes. We urge the Committee panel to pay particular attention to the recommendations of the Review and seek the opinions of its Chair and panellists when making its own recommendations to Government.

Introduction

2.1. City Year UK welcomes the House of Lords Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement's call for evidence and would be delighted to provide further written or oral evidence if required.

2.2. City Year UK is a youth social action charity which challenges 18 to 25-year-olds to tackle educational inequality through a year of full-time voluntary service. As mentors, tutors and role models in schools, they support pupils growing up in some of the most disadvantaged communities in the UK, ensuring that no pupil falls behind education owing to their socio-economic background.

2.3. City Year UK launched in London in 2010 and has since expanded to the West Midlands and Greater Manchester. During this time the organisation has partnered with almost all types of primary and secondary state schools, including academies, free, community and faith schools. This year, 142 volunteers are supporting pupils in 23 primary and secondary schools.

2.4 City Year UK initially identifies potential school partner by the percentage of their pupil premium population - typically of no less than 30 per cent and often much higher.

2.5. City Year UK Volunteers become an integral part of each school, working in teams of between 6-10 volunteers in to help to make it an enjoyable place to be and a natural place to learn. They develop positive relationships with the children and support them by:

- giving one-to-one or small-group tutoring and coaching regularly late or absent pupils
- running before and after-school clubs and social action opportunities
- providing in-classroom support
- being a presence on the school playground at break times
- organising and leading events, celebrations and projects to unite the school and community.

- coaching to encourage positive character traits crucial to strengthen citizenship and civic engagement such as responsibility, sense of duty, optimism, perseverance, self-control, emotional resilience, confidence and ambition.

2.6. City Year UK also works alongside each school to identify 10 per cent of its population for closer support. Typically, these pupils exhibit poor attendance, disruptive behaviour and low achievement in English and maths. Evidence shows that the service provided by its full-time volunteers leads to improvements in the attendance, behaviour, grades and attitudes of the pupils they support.²²¹ Consequently, City Year UK has been praised in eleven OFSTED reports since September 2013.

2.7. Full-time social action helps volunteers to develop the transferable skills vital for transitioning from education to employment. Independent research of City Year UK's alumni from its first six years found an unemployment rate of 3 per cent, dwarfing the national figure of over 12 per cent. What's more, 91 per cent are in employment or full-time education within just three months of finishing the programme. Evidence within this consultation response will also show the programme's significant impact on strengthening citizenship and civic engagement of its participants.

QUESTION 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?

3.1. Citizenship is about understanding one's role and responsibility to others, as well as understanding society's challenges and working collectively to make a difference. A good grasp of what it is to be a citizen and a sense of civic duty are the key to an inclusive and prosperous society.

3.2. In a global and technological age, concepts of citizenship and civic participation are changing. Technology has made all corners of the world accessible for UK citizens and visa-versa. Social media and other digital technology have led to a rise in clicktivism (the word has even recently been added to the Oxford English Dictionary) meaning the way people engage in their society is changing. The Charities Aid Foundation found the proportion of people who said they had filled out a petition within the past year increased from 21 per cent in 2015 to 56 per cent in 2016.²²²

3.3. The role of citizenship and belonging in society has seldom been so important. Britons' sense of unity is being tested on a number of fronts. Brexit, Scottish Independence and

²²¹ Statistics available on request.

²²² Daily Telegraph online: Brexit drives a rise in 'clicktivism' as armchair activists signing online petitions more than double, 2017.

terror²²³ are all highlighting our differences at a time when being united by a shared identity would provide strength.

3.4. While the traditional rhetoric of citizenship and civic engagement may not resonate with the public and especially young people, this does not mean they are disinterested in becoming active citizens. Annual levels of civic participation and civic consultation have increased from 33 per cent to 41 per cent and 16 per cent to 18 per cent respectively between 2015-16 and 2016-17.²²⁴ In 2016-17, 60 per cent of adults had engaged in some form of civic engagement (participation, consultation, or activism) and/or formal volunteering, an increase from 2015-16 (55 per cent).

3.5. Worryingly though, youth awareness and engagement of social action is much lower than older citizens.²²⁵ This is because unlike older citizens, young people are not given the time and space to explore youth social action, which is known to have a positive impact of citizenship and civic participation. As a part of The Scout Association's A Million Hands social action programme, a survey of 3,000 young people found that 82 per cent of 12-24 year olds across the UK believe it is important that young people help to solve some of the biggest social issues in this country, but only 36 per cent believe they were given that opportunity.

3.6. City Year UK believes and demonstrates below, that citizenship and civic engagement are strengthened through practical application of values and ideals and full-time social action can provide a impactful platform for this. There must be focus should be on helping young people to understand their communities and giving them the opportunities to express themselves and make a positive contribution independently.

3.7. While work is still to be done to strengthen the citizenship of the adult population, City Year UK feel it is imperative to place significant emphasis on targeting young people when seeking to improve citizenship and civic engagement. We believe that if real change is to be achieved, policy makers will require vision and must be bold. What we propose through our suggestion for a national full-time social action programme would undoubtedly require these traits.

QUESTION 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?

Electoral law

²²³ Hope not Hate: Fear and Hope 2017, 2017.

²²⁴ Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport: Community Life Survey 2016-17, 2017

²²⁵ 50 per cent of those adults aged 75 and over were aware of social action in their local area in last year compared to 27 per cent of those aged 16-24. This same disparity between the age groups can be seen in those involved in social action at 20 per cent of those aged 75 and over, compared to 11 per cent of those aged between 16 and 24.

4.1. There is always a temptation to use the legal system to encourage active political engagement. Compulsory voting is used for example in Australia and votes for 16 year-olds have long since been championed in the British system (and have indeed been used in Scotland).

4.2. City Year UK sees merit in an opt-out system of automatic voter registration. The current system of individual electoral registration (IER), introduced in 2014, discourages engagement in formal politics through elections. The process of registering to vote is intimidating and cumbersome and therefore reinforces all the worst stereotypes levelled at formal politics. Placing the onus on young people in particular, who can lack awareness of the need to register, risks them missing out on the right to cast their ballot. Although, this is not only a youth issue and the process of voting registration must be made easier for every citizen.

4.3. For example, in spite of the good levels of political awareness engaging in full-time social action produced among City Year UK volunteers, following the announcement of a snap election there was a significant level of confusion regarding whether they needed to register and how to do so. In spite of advancements in technology and social media, this level of confusion and uncertainty must not be disregarded. Furthermore, election campaigns often ‘heat-up’ within the last month of campaigning (demonstrated by the 2017 General Election campaign), but by this time those who thought they were disinterested and had not registered may well have become engaged, but ultimately would be denied their right to vote.

4.4. While it must be acknowledged that attempts were made by the Labour Government of 2005²²⁶ to implement automatic registration of voters via the CORE system, which were later abandoned, City Year UK believes that this is still the best option to enable civic engagement in formal electoral politics. Lessons must be learned from this attempt and the issue should be readdressed.

Volunteering law

4.5. Nevertheless, use of legal changes which *explicitly focus* on political engagement are just one option at the disposal of policy makers. City Year UK believes a positive change to the current law which has the potential to improve citizenship and civic engagement, *without explicitly focusing* on electoral law, is the granting of a legal status to full-time volunteers.

4.6. In order to create more active citizens and increase civic engagement, it is imperative that young people are shown why they should engage with the process and not simply given more opportunities to do so. Without underpinning civic engagement with the ‘why’, further measures will fall victim of the same flaws present in the existing system.

²²⁶ House of Commons Library: Automatic Registration in UK Elections, 2016.

4.7. City Year UK has demonstrated that full-time social action can encourage active and engaged citizenship in a UK context through its ‘year of service’ programme. Volunteers are issued a survey at the beginning and the end of the year that assess their development across a number of areas. Evidence from this survey showed engagement with the programme, helps to shape positive social attitudes and create engaged citizens. Volunteers reported impressive attitudinal shifts over the course of our programme such as an increased likelihood to vote and take a leadership role in civil society and improved attitude towards other social groups (age, ethnicity and religion). For example:

- There was a 22 per cent rise in volunteers who said they were very likely to vote in the next General Election.
- There was a 40 per cent rise in volunteers who felt people in society could be trusted.
- City Year volunteers are over twice as likely as their peers to cite a responsibility to their community as a motivation to volunteer.
- Volunteers are more over 70 per cent more likely than their peers to take on a leadership role in civic society.

4.8. Furthermore, a 2015 study²²⁷ of City Year UK alumni which compared their attitudes and behaviours to civic leadership with that of those who had not completed the programme but had taken part in the 2013 national Community Life Survey (CLS), showed that City Year UK alumni were far more civically engaged than their counterparts. For example:

- By and large, the alumni are 9 times more likely to complete a paper or online questionnaire and 10 times more likely to be involved in a face-to-face or online group about local services or problems in your local area than a young person from CLS.
- Similarly, 74 percent of the alumni, compared with 37 per cent of young people from CLS (2013) believe that they can influence decisions affecting their area.
- City Year UK alumni are three times more likely than a young person who has not done a ‘year of service’ to volunteer.

4.9. While it must be acknowledged that full-time social action programmes for those aged over 18 may not necessarily *create* socially and civically engaged citizens, they most certainly do help to make these nebulous concepts real, consolidate them and give tangible experiences for young people to draw lessons from.²²⁸

²²⁷ Renaisi: Shaping Civic Leaders: The impact on City Year UK alumni, 2015.

²²⁸ Renaisi: Shaping Civic Leaders: The impact on City Year UK alumni, 2015.

4.10. Despite this, current law punishes full-time volunteers and discourages participation in full-time social action because despite the hours full-time volunteers currently dedicate to serving their community, the Government classes them as NEET (not in education, employment or training). They are in legal limbo, categorised as part of a huge social problem and therefore denied even the most basic support enjoyed by the unemployed, students or those in work.

4.11. Below are a number of ways the law makes it difficult to do full-time social action and therefore limits the expansion of programmes:

- **National Insurance Credits (NICs):** Full-time volunteers are not entitled to Class 3 NICs. They make a positive contribution to the economy and their communities yet because they have no recognised status they are unfairly punished by not being automatically granted the NICs that would protect their pension entitlements. Contrastingly, those looking for work while on benefits, caring for children or sick relatives and doing jury service do qualify.
- **Ill-health:** Full-time volunteers can be given expenses by their charity, but charities are forbidden from paying those expenses if the volunteer is ill for a day or two. That makes it hard for people to sustain their commitment over several months or a year.
- **Personal development training:** Full-time volunteers are forbidden from receiving personal development training, or help from the charity they serve with when they look for jobs at the end of their programme, even though career progression is a major motive for, and benefit of, taking part.

4.12. If the barriers to engaging in full-time social action were removed, there is potential for tens of thousands—rather than several hundred—of full-time volunteers to serve in the UK every year, through which strengthening their citizenship and civic engagement. As will be explored in response to question 6, this has been achieved in countries including the USA, France, Germany and Italy, where governments have put ‘civilian national service’ on a proper legal footing; establishing it as rite of passage for young people.

QUESTION 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?

5.1. The role of formal education plays in encouraging good citizenship and civic engagement is undoubtedly important. However, policy solutions in this area have paid too great an emphasis on the role of the curriculum and teaching in encouraging good citizenship.

5.2. Teaching of citizenship and civic engagement should be available from the earliest level of primary school through to the end of formal education as a minimum. But it must be acknowledged that more of a balance can and must be struck between what can and should be pursued in and outside of the classroom. It is universally acknowledged, teachers are already overstretched. Demands are made of them to cover every conceivable topic - especially ones where they cannot be expected to be experts (such a Government and politics). An academic qualification in citizenship is of course to be encouraged, but choice is important. More can and should be done to promote citizenship and political studies among young people, but coercion might not the best route.

5.3. More creative policy solutions are needed. Policymakers must look outside of schools and towards the youth social action journey to help supplement what is taught in school and to make sure it will be practically applied. Youth social action demonstrates to young people the values of citizenship and civic engagement through practical experience. Through programmes run by the Scouts, Girlguiding, NCS, Volunteering Matters, vInspired and City Year UK, young people can mix with people from different backgrounds and work in teams for the betterment of their communities.

5.4. Increased Governmental support for youth social action through funding, promotion and recognition, in tandem and with equal regard with measures taken to improve and promote citizenship education and civic engagement through formal education, are much more likely to be successful in reaching the objective of strengthening citizenship and civic engagement in our society.

QUESTION 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?

NCS

6.1. City Year UK wholeheartedly supports the NCS programme and believes it does an excellent job in helping the process of creating active citizens.

6.2. Compulsion is not the way in which to improve citizenship and civic engagement. Coercing people to undertake an activity in order to strengthen their understanding of citizenship will only foster an environment in which resentment towards participation can grow and have the opposite effect to what is desired.

6.3. We also agree with Lord Blunkett when he stated during the passage of the NCS Act, that at least aesthetically keeping Government at arm's length of the NCS programme will

encourage young people to participate.²²⁹ The moment the political element of NCS is noticeably increased, it will be transparent that this a Government-sponsored programme and risks turning young people off. The NCS brand is young, vibrant and celebrity-backed and in its own right now has reached 100,000 participants annually. It should be allowed the space to grow and develop organically without the added pressure to increase the political element of the scheme - especially since the NCS Trust is undergoing a period of change following the confirmation of the NCS Act and National Audit Office and Public Accounts Committee reports into its governance and delivery.

Beyond NCS

6.4. However, it must be remembered that NCS makes up part of a mosaic of volunteering opportunities for young people. It cannot thrive in a vacuum. It's vital, now more than ever, to give the next generation the chance to play their part in shaping our country and themselves through service to others. NCS at 16 should be the beginning and not the end of those opportunities to serve.

6.5. The governments of other countries have gone further than the UK has in relation to youth social action. Governments of France, the USA, Germany and Italy to name a few, have established full-time social action programmes to help tens of thousands of (mostly young) volunteers to pour 25 hours of their time every week, for up to 24 months at a time, into good causes and public services. Participants serve to help solve some of their society's biggest issues in areas such as:

- Health and social care
- Education
- Conservation
- Disaster relief
- Homelessness
- Drug and alcohol addiction
- Natural and man-made heritage

6.6. These governments usually establish such programmes through primary legislation and then set up bodies which; attribute a badged status to participant programmes that have passed quality assurance, monitor and scrutinise the programmes to maintain quality and, distribute funding to charities that run approved programmes so they can scale-up their service. Government funding typically goes towards the running of such bodies and to help

²²⁹ Hansard: Rt Hon. Lord Blunkett - NCS Bill second reading, House of Lords, 2016 (<https://goo.gl/ckJw2X>)

fund charities pay their participants a ‘living stipend’, which is often set above the level of benefits they would receive for being out of work, but below the wage they would receive for undertaking paid employment.

6.7. While the emphasis of the programmes can vary and many report significant impacts on public services and participants employability, they all facilitate their young participants to serve in teams to tackle significant social issues and share the objective to strengthen national cohesion, citizenship, civic engagement and promote social integration among their participants. The below summary of programmes in France, the USA and Germany therefore focuses on the impact of the programmes on the aforementioned areas.

France

6.8. France has a Government sponsored full-time social action programme called ‘Service Civique’. The initiative was launched in 2010 and aims to strengthen national cohesion and promote social diversity among its 16 to 25 year-old participants, who can engage in the programme for a period of 3 to 12 months. It can be carried out in 9 main areas: culture and leisure, international development and humanitarian action, education, environment, crisis intervention, memory and citizenship, health, solidarity and sport.

6.9. Such is the success of France’s ‘Service Civique’ it is to expand to 150,000 places per year by the end of 2017. The programme prides itself on producing civically engaged young people:

- 57 per cent of the young people who were not registered on the electoral roll before their Service Civique year, had done so since completing the programme or intend to do so.²³⁰
- 80 per cent of the volunteers intend to vote the next elections.
- 89 per cent of volunteers feel useful to others and to society
- 93 per cent said the programme is a good way to meet people of different backgrounds.

USA

6.10. In the USA, 80,000 young adults participate in full-time social action annually as part of ‘AmeriCorps’.²³¹ AmeriCorps is a network of local, state, and national service programmes that connects young Americans each year in intensive service to meet community needs in

²³⁰ Rivière et al (Kantar Public): Follow-up of youth volunteers ‘Service Civique’ Service Civique Agency, December 2016.

²³¹ AmeriCorps official website: <https://www.nationalservice.gov/programs/ameri-corps> [accessed 5 April, 2017].

education, the environment, public safety, health, and homeland security. Participants serve in full or part-time positions over a 10-12 month period. Upon completion of their service, members receive an education grant known as the 'Segal AmeriCorps Education Award' of up to \$4,725 to pay for college, graduate school, or to pay back qualified student loans. Since 1994, nearly one million volunteers have contributed over 1.4 billion hours of service to local communities.

6.11. Research²³² demonstrates that service through AmeriCorps creates empowered and prepared leaders who are civically engaged and committed to strengthening their communities. Alumni believe that the experience improved their ability to bridge divides and solve problems, while also developing skills and expanding opportunity to advance their careers and education.

6.12. Key stats include:

- 80 per cent of alumni feel confident they can create a plan to address a community issue and get others to care about it.
- 93 per cent of alumni said that after serving, they felt comfortable interacting with others different than themselves, as compared to 72 per cent before. 94 per cent said that national service broadened their understanding of society and different communities.
- 79 per cent of alumni are involved or plan to become actively involved in their community post-service, compared to 47 per cent prior.
- 94 per cent of alumni are registered to vote, well above the national average.

Germany

6.13. Germany also offers young people from this age the chance to engage in full-time social action as a transition year through three federal organisations: the BFD, Bundesfreiwilligendienst (German voluntary service); the FSJ, Freiwilliges Soziales Jahr (voluntary social year); and FÖJ, the Freiwilliges Ökologisches Jahr (voluntary ecological year). While all the programmes cater for young people, the FSJ and FOJ are aimed entirely at young people from the age of 15-27. The FSJ alone allows 50,000 young German's the opportunity to undertake full-time social action each year.²³³ These programmes allow a young person to volunteer full-time for between 6-24 months on a community project close to their hearts for public good.

²³² Corporation for National and Community Service: AmeriCorps Alumni Outcomes Study, 2016. https://www.nationalservice.gov/sites/default/files/evidenceexchange/AlumniMediaBriefingContent-01122017-1541_0.pdf

²³³ FSJ official website: <http://www.pro-fsj.de/> [accessed 5 April, 2017].

6.14. City Year UK is calling on the UK Government to create a similar programme, open to all young people. As demonstrated both at home through City Year UK and abroad through programmes in France, the USA and Germany, undertaking full-time social action gives young people a sense of civic pride and accomplishment, giving them a stake in their community and country, while also giving them the skills and experience to launch their future career.

6.15. Polling conducted by Censuswise on behalf of City Year UK of 2,002 people in December 2016 found overwhelming support for a recognised programme of full-time voluntary ‘civilian national service’ for young people in Britain. Over 90% of those polled think a recognised programme of full-time voluntary civilian national service should be on offer for young people in Britain. Furthermore, over half of 16-25 year-olds polled (1,000 in total) say it should definitely be an option for them, and nearly a third would consider signing up for such a programme, if it had a proper Government-backed status.

6.16. There has never been a better time to re-examine how the UK approaches full-time social action. In December 2016 the Department of Culture, Media and Sport announced the launch of the ‘Review of Full Time Social Action by Young People. This independent review is led by former CEO of National Grid Steve Holliday and featured Chief Economist at the Bank of England, Andy Haldane, as a panellist. It will investigate legal and regulatory barriers to full-time social action in the UK, consider the merits of a legal status for full-time volunteers and recommend actions the Government can take to increase the number of participants and programmes.

6.17. City Year UK, alongside the 10 organisations that make up the Full-Time Social Action Coalition²³⁴, believe this review is a once-in-a-generation opportunity to realise the potential of full-time social action and its impact on strengthening the citizenship and civic engagement of young people in the UK. **The Coalition is calling on the review to recommend a legal status for full-time volunteers.**

6.18. Commenting on the announcement of the review Dan Jarvis MP said:

“When the bonds of community are weakening, full-time volunteering brings young people together to serve the common good. This review provides an opportunity for the Government to be more ambitious with its vision for full-time volunteering and build on the foundations laid by the National Citizen Service. Service should be a lifetime mission rather than a month-long programme, and full-time programmes like City Year UK help achieve that ambition.”

6.19. Similarly, House of Lords Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement member, Lord Blunkett, stated:

²³⁴ Made up of; City Year UK, The Challenge, The Scout Association, Mayday Trust, vInspired, #iwill campaign, Year Here, Student Hubs, Demos and Volunteering Matters.

“A year of service has the potential to fundamentally change the attitudes and values of young people in our society. Young people have already shown they can be part of the solution to some of our biggest problems, such as educational inequality, through programmes like City Year UK. This review could form the vital catalyst for the expansion of full time volunteering in the UK.”

6.20. The review panel is due to report its findings back to the Minister of Civil Society in December this year. As this Committee is not scheduled to report the findings of this inquiry until March 2018, we urge the Committee panel to pay particular attention to the recommendations of the Review and seek the opinions of its Chair and panellists when making its own recommendations to Government.

QUESTION 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?

7.1. Citizenship and social cohesion go hand-in-hand. Sharing a common identity and values is crucial for the well-being of the UK. The Casey Review²³⁵ identified the six ‘British values’, such as respect for democracy, freedom of speech and the rule of law, which City Year UK would not dispute.

7.2. But one thing must be made clear - sharing a common identity and integrating does not require nor equate to homogeneity. A truly integrated society works to demonstrate and uphold its common values while celebrating its differences.

7.3. The Casey Review painted a worrying picture of social cohesion in the UK. For example, it demonstrated that recorded hate crimes are on the increase, socio-economic exclusion is particularly rife among British Muslims, high levels of segregation with poorer and immigrant pupils concentrated in the same schools and fewer social interactions than our population mix would suggest we should across ethnicity, age and social grade

7.4. Yet Dame Louise Casey did reserve special mention for ‘youth programmes that engage young people in altruistic activities’ regarding their ability to help people from different social-economic, racial and religious backgrounds to socially mix. The report pointed to evaluation of NCS which found that 84 per cent of young people on the 2013 programme felt more positive towards people from different backgrounds following participation - although it was observed that these programmes are yet to reach the scale where they can engage those in the most isolated communities.

²³⁵ Department for Communities and Local Government: The Casey Review: a review into opportunity and integration, 2016

7.5. Full-time social action through City Year UK is also proven to a positive impact toward young people's attitudes to those from different backgrounds. Over 50 per cent said that participation in the programme had positively affected their attitude toward those from different age groups and ethnic, religious and socio-economic backgrounds.

7.6. Nasima Akter, 21, City Year UK alumna, said:

"Serving in a school that's based in a small community, made us all become part of a close-knit community; where everyone knows each other and now about City Year and the bigger picture of why we are there. This has provided me with a sense of purpose; I know I am always welcome back here, and I know what I wish to do, which is to help young adults become integrated into society and have a sense of purpose and value. Being in a school that includes cultures and backgrounds different to what I have grown up around, furthered my knowledge and understanding of other cultures and perspectives. As well as this, I have broadened the mind of many students who are ambitious to learn. They were keen to learn about fasting in the month of Ramadan and some were inspired to experiment and try fasting for a day. This goes to show how eager they are to learn about different religions and traditions and accept individuals wholeheartedly."

7.7. Germany is a great example of where a Government has taken steps to improve citizenship, civic engagement and social cohesion and integration through its full-time social action programme. As well as having a national full-time social action programme for all, Germany has taken steps to extend this scheme to refugees to help them integrated into German society. In December 2015, the Bundesfreiwilligendienst (federal volunteer service) started a special programme for 10,000 refugees. This programme allows refugees people ages 17 and older to volunteer full-time for charity or state organisations for 6 to 18 months for over 20 hours per week, while the state pays for their health insurance and a small stipend to cover their living expenses. The programme is used to help refugees receive German language support, assimilate with German culture and demonstrate work experience in a German context.

Conclusion

8.1. Undertaking full-time social action gives young people a sense of civic pride and accomplishment, giving them a stake in their community and country, while also giving them the skills and experience to launch their future career.

8.2. We call of the Committee to recognise the role full-time social action can play in strengthening citizenship and civic engagement in its final report and ask that it pays particular attention to the recommendations of independent review of full-time social action by young people.

7 September 2017

CIVICUS – written evidence (CCE0128)

Written Evidence prepared by Dr Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah, Secretary General and CEO of CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation

Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah has been Secretary General and CEO of CIVICUS since January 2013. His previous roles have included Director of the Royal Commonwealth Society, Interim Director of the Commonwealth Foundation and Deputy Director of the Institute for Public Policy Research. Danny is the author of numerous reports and academic articles on international migration, economic development and integration issues. He sits on the boards of the Baring Foundation, Comic Relief and International Alert and was a member of the United Nations Secretary General’s High Level Panel on Humanitarian Finance.

Summary: In a time of growing and increasingly widespread curbs on civic freedoms around the world, there is a responsibility to protect ‘civic space’. Only by nurturing – not restricting – the conditions for citizens to organise, speak out and take action will democracy be buttressed. In the UK, we need to nurture new forms of active citizenship and everyday democracy, with a particular focus on promoting inclusion.

Civic space

1. There is a global emergency on civic space. Around the world, citizens’ fundamental civic rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly are facing unprecedented levels of restriction. In April 2017, the CIVICUS Monitor²³⁶ released civic space ratings for all UN Member States, as well as Kosovo and Palestine, the first time a global dataset has enabled us to visualise the true scale of what is happening to civic space around the world. Only 3 per cent of people live in countries with open civic space, where fundamental civic freedoms are fully respected. Almost one in ten people live in a country with closed civic space and over a third of people live in countries with repressed civic space. That means more than three billion people now live in countries where there are serious violations of freedoms of expression, assembly and association. Perhaps most concerning, this number includes established, mature democracies, including the United Kingdom (see <https://monitor.civicus.org/country/united-kingdom/> for our analysis of the situation in the UK).
2. Protecting civic space is vital to the health, stability and success of any open and democratic society. The restriction of fundamental civic freedoms undermines participatory democracy, sustainable development and efforts to reduce inequality. States have a duty - as a matter of principle and under international law - to respect,

²³⁶ <https://monitor.civicus.org>

protect and fulfil people’s basic rights to organise, protest and speak freely. Yet the restriction of civic space has become the norm, rather than the exception.

3. As levels of trust and engagement in traditional party politics fall, many governments purport to be seeking new means of citizen engagement. Yet, at the same time, many are either actively contributing to the restriction of civic space, or at the very least, doing too little to prevent it. Governments need to find new ways to support and nurture civil society, including its lobbying, advocacy and campaigning functions, in order to unlock citizen action and reinvigorate our sense of citizenship. In the UK, the assumption that political life is shaped by political parties, and by the centralised democracy of Westminster and Whitehall, is becoming outdated. An 18th century model of political democracy is no longer fulfilling people’s thirst for engagement. We need, instead, to accelerate the evolution of next generation political institutions.
4. People need meaningful, direct ways to contribute to and affect governance, ways of aggregating local level action to national policy making. This kind of everyday democracy would amount to much more than casting a vote every few years; it would amount to a democratic transformation, an expansion and enrichment of our democratic experience that could revolutionise civic space and cross-community relationships throughout our society.

Inclusion

5. The need for such a transformation has never been more obvious. In the Global South and North, even in countries long considered to be consolidated democracies, recent political shifts have seen right wing populist and neo-fascist leaders gain prominence. These leaders are harnessing the genuine anger of citizens who feel left behind, or adversely affected, by globalisation; those angry at the growing gap between the very wealthy and the vast majority; those who see established ways of life and traditional values being eroded; those who see political elites as remote and unwilling to listen, and as serving the interests of economic globalisation rather than their country’s citizens, those who, out of frustration and disillusionment, have rejected the competition of conventional politics and instead embraced extreme positions. These leaders are positioning themselves as political outsiders, able to disrupt elite consensus; they are encouraging citizens to unravel existing political institutions and to blame minorities and excluded groups for their society's ills. Their politics and worldview is fundamentally opposed to a civil society seeking to promote human rights, social cohesion and progressive internationalism.
6. Rising populism and extremism are fuelling falling levels of public trust in civil society and providing convenient cover for attacks. At present, progressive responses to these trends are proving weak and too often dismissed as part of conventional, elite-driven attempts that are part of the problem and not the solution. In many countries, it’s becoming increasingly easy to portray progressive civil society as being against national

interests, public security and traditional values. A stronger case needs to be made for why a diverse, resilient and independent civil society is a critical and constructive component of any polity.

7. The challenge for civil society - and for those governments seeking genuinely to protect and nurture civic space - is to understand the anger driving these political shifts, without appeasing racism, sexism or xenophobia and to build an alternative, positive message of hope, not fear. This will require the construction of broad-based, progressive alliances, bringing together citizens to promote an agenda of inclusion. CIVICUS' 2016 State of Civil Society report looked at how civil society needs to do more to promote inclusion. Much of civic life is about promoting inclusion. It is about amplifying the voices of the marginalised, tackling the causes of discrimination, and promoting equal rights and access to services. Put simply, civil society is often about people helping other people. But, for many millions of people exclusion remains a painful, everyday reality. And very few civil society actors have found effective ways of tackling exclusion. The Report contains 33 guest contributions that expose the common threads that characterise so many different types of exclusion, and also highlight the disproportionate affect that civic space restrictions have on excluded groups. The full report can be found at <http://civicus.org/index.php/socs2016>
8. One key challenge in the UK and elsewhere is to promote a better relationship between formal and informal civil society. Any healthy democracy needs both. We need citizens to be able to organise spontaneously and we need institutions to be there long after, continuing to press particular issues and to hold governments to account. We will need to harness the potential of new tools and techniques for mobilising, without losing touch with older forms of community organising. The successful civil society actors of the future will need to be able to combine the best of both. Governments will need to recognise the importance of investing in civil society platforms that can act as vital scaffolding for civil society space. Governments and other big funders have focused too great a share of their resources on discrete, time-limited programs and measurable, incremental change, delivered by fewer, bigger civil society actors. This has led to a siloed, corporatised civil society, weakening sector diversity, grassroots citizen action and innovation.
9. Another priority for UK civil society should be the promotion of minority inclusion. We know that minorities living in the UK have rich social capital and civic networks. Yet, too often, these networks exist quite separately to 'mainstream' British civic life, with no, or only very weak, links to the wider communities in which they are based. We need to create new mechanisms for bridging the civic life of different communities in the UK. The responsibility for tackling Islamic extremism, for example, must not be given over to the Muslim community, to be dealt with 'internally'. Instead, we must seek to meet such challenges by building bridges between communities, by integrating minority groups into wider social networks, and by sharing our social capital.

CIVICUS – written evidence (CCE0128)

8 September 2017

Civil Society Futures – written evidence (CCE0073)

Civil Society Futures is creating a space for a much needed conversation among those involved in all forms of civic action – from informal networks to large charities, Facebook groups to faith groups. The Inquiry runs from January 2017- January 2019. It is chaired by Julia Unwin the former chief executive of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and is guided by an independent panel of people with perspectives ranging from theatre making in South Wales to tech investment in Gaza, local government in the North of England to the world’s alliance of civil society organisations. This Inquiry is powered by a collaboration of four organisations: Citizens’ UK, Goldsmiths, University of London; openDemocracy; and Forum for the Future. The Inquiry has been funded by the Baring Foundation, Esmée Fairbairn, Barrow Cadbury, Paul Hamlyn, Lloyds Bank Foundation, City Bridge Trust, Lankelly Chase and Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Research support has also been provided by NCVO.

Through a series of open conversations between people across England – face to face and online – we are discussing how the world is changing, how civic action is changing, and how civil society organisations can adapt in order grasp those changes and steer us towards a better society. Community organisers are hosting events across the country, giving people the chance to come together and discuss how civil society is being changed and how it needs to change, what’s working well and who we can all learn from. Qualitative and quantitative research is being undertaken by a team at Goldsmiths to help us understand what’s going on in civil society and what people think needs to happen. Together, this work will contribute to a map of the future of English civil society. The inquiry will host a ‘Civil Society Lab’ to experiment with new forms of civil society organisation and test constraints and enablers for scaling successful elements of civil society today with the aim of learning how to strengthen civil society in the future.

Through our research, conversations and workshops we are investigating how to maximise the positive effects of civil society including those of citizenship and civic engagement. Although our work is only 6 months in the making we have done a survey of relevant literature and begun our qualitative research.

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?

1.1 Citizenship and civic engagement relates to the ability of individuals to be members of the public and participants in society and its democratic processes. The ability to exercise citizenship and civic engagement is situated in concerns about a democratic deficit. Prominent reports have observed, ‘[t]he need for change; the need to seek the voice of marginalised and disadvantaged people in decision-making processes is of undeniable and acute local, national and global relevance’ (RSA and JRF consultations, 2017).

1.2 This points to a need to focus on democratic institutions and engagement: how to ensure that marginalised voices are heard in the mainstream and how to create safe places for public debate, at a time of apparently increasing polarisation. Twenty years ago Benjamin Barber (2004:11) talked of ‘the growing incivility of our public discourse’ (betokening an uncivil society), yet after Brexit, and the 2016 US election, as well as the rise of trolling and other abusive behaviour on social media, it could be argued that this ‘incivility’ has reached a new low. Strengthening civil society could help promote a discourse that allows for:

‘The development of shared interests, a willingness to cede some territory to others, the ability to see something of oneself in those who are different and work together more effectively as a result – all these are crucial attributes for effective governance, practical problem-solving and the peaceful resolution of differences.’

(Edwards, 2004:55)

1.3 Yet in Britain, trust in political and other institutions is at a historic low. According to the Edelman Trust Barometer (2017), between October 2016 and January 2017 ‘trust in government fell from 36% to 26%; in business from 45% to 33% and in the media from 32% to 24%. The authors describe this steep plunge as a ‘crisis of trust’ and Britain itself as being ‘on a cliff edge’. Similarly polling by Ipsos MORI saw trust in politicians in the UK fall from 21% at the end of 2015 to 16% at the end of 2016.

1.4 Britain also has a significant ‘trust gap’ of 19% (second only to the United States) between ‘informed publics’ (‘in the upper income quartile, university educated and with a declared interest in politics and the media’) and those with an income less than £15,000. Moreover both groups have less trust in government this year than they did last year. Amongst the least affluent it has hit a new low of just 20%, but it has also fallen significantly amongst the wealthiest, from 54% in 2016 to 38% in 2017 (Edelman, 2017).

1.5 Citizenship relates to political participation. The Hansard Society’s 2016 Audit, undertaken before the Brexit referendum, found formal political participation had increased overall - with voter turnout in the 2015 general election at 65%, the highest since 2001, and more people claiming to be strong supporters of a political party (41%) than at any time since 2003 – but inequality had also increased: ‘there is now a 37 percentage point difference between the certainty to vote levels of those in social classes AB and DE, an increase of six points in 12 months’ (Hansard Society, 2016, p.6). The audit also highlighted a distinct generational divide, with more than twice as many people aged 65 – 74 years (80%) than 18-24 year olds (39%) saying they were absolutely certain to vote (*ibid*, p.55).

1.6 At the same time, overall confidence in the system, and especially in people’s ability to influence decisions, is low:

‘Only a third of the public think the system by which Britain is governed works well (33%) with those living furthest from Westminster most likely to be dissatisfied. Just 35% believe

that when people like themselves get involved in politics they can change the way the country is run. Only 13% feel they have some influence over decision-making nationally although 41% would like to be involved in decision-making. More people (46%) would like to be involved in local decisions but just 25% currently feel they have some influence at the local level.'

(Hansard Society, 2016, p.6)

1.7 This is the backdrop against which the EU referendum turnout of over 72% took place, apparently bringing to the surface deep divisions of class as well as generation that 'cannot be divided from the economic dislocation that has taken place since the 1980s' (Dorling et al 2016). Studies by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (Goodwin and Heath, 2016) and the Resolution Foundation (Clarke, 2016) both find that low skilled and working class voters in the most deprived regions were more likely to vote Brexit. This suggests that the 'democratic deficit' is not a sign of apathy: people will turn out to vote if they think it will make a difference. 60% of all 'new voters' (who had not voted in the 2015 election) voted leave. As Unwin has argued, 'people in the overlooked and too often ignored parts of the country ... voted leave because they weren't satisfied with what they have. And they didn't feel able to change things' (2016:4).

1.8 In this context, the voluntary and community sector becomes a vital part of a much wider civil society – not only a collective term for providers of services or meeters of need, but also a catalyst for voluntary action and participation; a promulgator of social values and social justice; and a voice for marginalised and mainstream users, members and communities. Much of the literature posits that citizenship and civic engagement requires an active and vibrant civil society as a vital pre-requisite for a healthy democracy, enabling different voices to be heard and different ideas about the good society, and the values that underpin it, to be contested and debated.

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?

2.1 Our qualitative research with communities around England is revealing the importance of place as a site of belonging. But this is most meaningful where networks of trust are strong and people feel that systems of (national and local) government are sufficient to listen and respond to their needs. Citizenship ceremonies or events are likely to quickly be seen as hollowed out of meaning if systems of democratic participation are weak. Dalton (2017) argues that there is a participation gap: the better-off are more engaged in policy while the poorest vote less and lack the resources to lobby for change. Drawing on evidence from the International Social Survey Programme that measured citizen participation in established democracies in 2004 and 2014 he notes that:

The decline in voting is an obvious and very troubling trend. However, the good news is that democratic institutional reforms and citizen innovation have increased the number and variety of access points that people can use to influence political outcome. The expansion in citizen skills and resources also enables more people to engage in these more demanding forms of participation.

2.2 He goes on to describe new forms of collective action that point to an interested and involved citizenry – more engaged than their parents’ or grandparents’ generation. However, he is at pains to also point out that while opportunities for participation may have increased they are not equally available to all and there is a sizeable and growing socio-economic participation gap across all types of political action – those with higher levels of education and higher income possess the skills and resources to enable them to participate beyond the voting process. As these opportunities grow so the gap widens between the rich citizenry and the poor citizenry. Our research echoes these findings with all groups recognizing equality as central to community well-being and citizen engagement.

2.3 The participation gap is further aggravated by the processes of privatization in the provision of welfare. It is argued that an emphasis on out-sourcing of council services has detached them from democracy, depoliticising decisions about public welfare and the public good (Croft and Beresford, 1996; Prior et al 1996; Cornwall and Gaventa, 2001, Lister, 2001). If civil society is to offer ‘room for us to engage with neighbours, friends, citizens, strangers who must of necessity live together’ (Barber, *op cit*), then there also need to be mechanisms to enable people to identify and negotiate their common interests. This space is inevitably reduced when councils are overseeing rather than delivering contracts. Our respondents consistently state the importance of feeling represented and being able to participate in local decision making – both elements of civic engagement that they perceive as lacking

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?

3.1 Encouraging active citizenship has been a recurring theme in public policy over at least the last two decades, from New Labour’s ‘Active Citizens’ and its emphasis on civil renewal (Blunkett, 2003) and ‘double devolution’ (D Miliband, 2006) to David Cameron’s ‘Big Society’ and the ‘localism agenda’ (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011). Yet there are inevitable limits to how much communities can do for themselves, as McCabe argues: ‘While communities can affect change, there are structural and global factors (from mass unemployment to the power of multi-national corporations and global warming) that cannot easily be solved at a nation-state level, let alone a “nano” community level.’ (2010:11). This is particularly true of those in more deprived communities

as 50 years of regeneration initiatives has found (see for example CDP Editorial Collective, 1977; Faith in the City, 1985; Lister, 2002).

3.2 This new localism has been introduced against a background of austerity and resulting state retrenchment, with a predicted ‘black hole’ in local government funding of £5.8 billion by 2020 (Local Government Association, 2015). Cuts of 40% to core local authority funding and welfare reforms have had a cumulative impact, hitting people hardest where deprivation is greatest, with older, industrial areas and seaside towns worst affected (Beatty and Fothergill, 2013; Wilson et al, 2013; Corfe, 2017). It is difficult for people and communities to be ‘makers and shapers’ (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2001) when local authorities are needing to be ‘cutters and shutters’. And it is especially difficult to find equitable solutions to social problems when resources are unevenly distributed and scarcest where they are needed most.

3.3 Barber (2004) argues that the state plays a vital role in providing a legal and regulatory framework to support democratic engagement and help to create a level playing field for citizen participation. But a Big Society does not mean a small state. Indeed, strong democratic institutions help to make society more civil; they are also necessary to tackle deeper structural problems and manifestations of social injustice that citizens and communities cannot reach.

3.4 Over the last 50 years there has been a succession of government initiatives aimed at tackling economic decline in such areas. Notable are the National Community Development Programme (CDP) of the 1960s and 1970s; Urban Development Corporations in the 1980s; City Challenge in the 1990s; and the New Deal for Communities in the 2000’s. Some constructed disadvantaged communities themselves as the problem (in lack of skills, motivation, and community). Some focused on local agencies and partnerships. Others emphasised ‘enterprise’. But all failed to address the underlying structural causes and consequences of industrial decline. As Faith in the City reported, then as now: ‘Viewed against the magnitude of the problem, government action has been pragmatic: treating the worst evidence of economic decline and poverty by small-scale intervention’ (1985:173). These same post-industrial areas remain ‘overlooked and too often ignored’ (Unwin, 2016:4).

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?

4.1 Current laws do not encourage active political engagement where this involves civil society organizations. In its 2012 report, Democratic Audit highlighted the role of independent voluntary associations in supporting and strengthening democracy, counterbalancing the power of the state and the market and holding both to account as well as ‘creating a space in which people can empower themselves in association with others’. The

Audit included an assessment of outcomes for civil participation and engagement, including ‘a healthy and vibrant civil society,’ since 2002. It concluded that there had been a modest improvement under new Labour, but the rise of the ‘contract culture’ was a risk to the sector’s independence - something the Deakin Inquiry had pointed out six years earlier.

4.2 While austerity measures have had both direct and indirect impacts on the sector’s voice and independence - for example, through ‘gagging clauses’ in contracts (Independence Panel, 2015) - even more pervasive have been changes in the political environment. Since 2010 there has been mounting criticism of charity campaigning, not least from within government. Organisations such as Oxfam and the Trussell Trust have been much criticised for drawing attention to poverty in the UK today, with both organisations accused of being ‘overtly political’ (Butler, 2014), and the Trussell Trust being accused by the Department for Work and Pensions (*ibid*) of ‘drumming up business’. The Red Cross has been admonished for ‘meddling in politics’ after it spoke out about the crisis in the NHS (Phillips, 2016).

4.3 The Institute for Economic Affairs continues to accuse voluntary organisations that campaign of being ‘fake charities and sock puppets’ (Snowden, 2012), arguing that charities should be helping poor people rather than campaigning against the causes of poverty. This argument has carried weight with some parts of government, leading to the now (mostly) rescinded ‘anti-advocacy clause’. It also appears to have implicitly informed Charity Commission guidance on campaigning by charities in the EU referendum, which was much more restrictive than that produced by its counterparts in Scotland and Northern Ireland (Charity Commission for England and Wales, 2016; Charity Commission for Northern Ireland, 2016; Office of the Scottish Regulator, 2016).

4.4 Other specific threats to the sector’s voice and independence are identified by the Baring Foundation’s Independence Panel (2015, 2016) and include:

- Commitments to recognise the sector’s right to campaign, and to be consulted at an early stage on policy developments, set out in the Compact between the government and the sector, have been watered down (National Audit Office, 2015);
- The Transparency of Lobbying, Non-Party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration Act 2014 (the ‘Lobbying Act’) has created a ‘chilling climate’ for charity campaigners and remains unchanged in spite of recommendations for reform identified by Conservative peer Lord Hodgson (2016); and
- Reform of Judicial Review, particularly the imposition of new financial restrictions, will make it much harder for voluntary organisations to challenge government decisions.

4.5 Civil society has long given rise to calls for social justice, from the abolition of slavery to the (on-going) campaign for the living wage. Its continuing ability to do so should therefore be of central concern to an Select Committee investigation into citizenship and

civic engagement: If ‘the space for civil society is closing’ and developments in the UK are ‘helping to legitimise regressive trends in the treatment of civil society organisations globally’ (CAF, 2016:2) then any attempts to enhance civic engagement should make clear the possible consequences.

4.6 Our own research and that of others has pointed to the enthusiasm amongst young people for civic engagement alongside the frustrations of not being listened to. In this regard, we would support lowering the voting age to 16.

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?

5.1 There is as much empirical evidence in support of the notion that civic education/citizenship studies leads to greater involvement in civic life and volunteering over time as there is against it (Edwards 2014). However, on the whole, those who participate in voluntary associations are more likely to participate in politics, especially if they do so at school or university. This would suggest that encouraging political engagement, citizenship and associational activities throughout education is important. Our respondents also regretted the demise of lifelong learning and felt this deflected from community tolerance and understanding difference. This should also be considered in light of research that points to the markers of poverty and low educational attainment as being the most important factors for civic engagement. Civic education may be useful but it can never replace political reform to alleviate poverty.

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?

6.1 In order to understand whether voluntary citizenship programmes work it is necessary to understand what the barriers to volunteering are. According to the Community Life Survey 2015-2016, commissioned by the Cabinet Office, the number of people volunteering has remained stable for many years. Other studies have shown that people are more or less likely to volunteer at different stages in their lives (Mohan, 2015, Brodie *et al*, 2011): students in full time higher education, are more than twice as likely to volunteer as other age groups (CAF, 2016).

6.2 Lack of time seems to be one barrier preventing more people from volunteering (or volunteering more), when people have busy lives and are already juggling paid work and

carrying responsibilities (Charities Aid Foundation (CAF), 2013, Brodie *et al*, 2011). Our research shows that the reality of working life for most people today - insecure, low paid, zero hours contracts - makes it extremely difficult for people to commit to regular volunteering when they are struggling to survive. It also renders calls for time off work to do so unrealistic (Mohan, 2015, Buckingham, 2012, Coote, 2010). In the current economic climate, when resources are scarce, people in low income areas tend to give less priority to community-based activities (Crisp *et al*, 2016).

6.3 It is equally important to understand what motivates people to participate. The evidence suggests that they do so for personal and social reasons, because of their ‘faith or values, their sense of community, whether of identity, interest or place, or simply a desire for friendship and conviviality’ (Jochum, et al, 2005:33). Studies show that most people choose to volunteer in the areas of sport and exercise (54%), arts, hobbies and recreational activities (40%) and children’s education / schools (34%) (Buckingham, 2012). In other words, people participate for their own reasons and not in response to government initiatives (Patel, 2016), unless of course they are taking part in action *opposing* government policy (McCabe, 2010), such as anti-war demonstrations or encouraging people to welcome and support refugees (Citizens UK, 2017).

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?

7.1 Edwards (2014) argues that a strong, diverse and independent civil society ecosystem is most likely to make associational life “a handmaiden of broader social progress” (p.110). Ensuring a strong, independent and diverse civil society requires the creation of an enabling environment for all associational life alongside support for specific forms that are missing from the civil society ecosystem.

7.2 A clear theme in the literature is the need for an active and supportive voluntary and community sector infrastructure that can build relationships within and between communities and between civil society and these other sectors (Crisp, et al, 2016, Bolton, 2015, Moore & Mullins, 2013). The value of infrastructure bodies and LIOs has also been recognised by the Independent Commission on Local Infrastructure (2015), convened by the National Association for Voluntary and Community Action. Organisations that can help groups develop and learn, co-ordinate their activities, represent their interests and connect them to resources and decision-makers. This poses a compelling case for long term investment in local infrastructure that is relevant to the needs and circumstances of the sector, but this requires new models of funding and provision to adapt and change (Independent Commission on Local Infrastructure, 2015).

7.3 In recent years charitable foundations have shown an interest in developing programmes focused on local people and places (see for example, IVAR, 2017, Bolton 2015,

2013, Telfer, 2013, Phillips *et al*, 2011). Recent projects in this vein include the Big Lottery Fund's 'Big Local' programme, which gave residents in 150 local areas £1million to use to improve their local area, with minimal strings attached (IVAR, 2015) and the RSA's project within the Connected Communities programme, which aimed to research and strengthen relationships within communities (Parsfield *et al*, 2015). There is now a growing literature setting out the lessons that can be drawn from such initiatives. It is clear from these studies that place-based initiatives do little to compensate for the massive withdrawal of place-specific statutory funding such as the abandoning of Labour's regeneration programmes.

7.4 When people in more deprived areas have less 'community wealth' to draw on and face greater challenges in securing the necessary skills, knowledge and contacts they need to achieve change (Lindsey, 2013, Moore and Mullins, 2013, Aiken, *et al*, 2011), voluntarism alone will do little to ameliorate the impact of austerity or the experience of long-term industrial decline on civic engagement. Proposals that seek simply to increase volunteering as a means to build community capacity without recognising the consequences of long term industrial decline and deeply felt, multi-layered forms of deprivation will not be able to effect social change.

7.5 Long-term support includes on-going funding. As Matthews and Pratt note 'intermittent or poor funding' is one of the main reasons that initiatives 'fizzle out' (2012:iii). In spite of a growing interest in community enterprise, in practice it is very difficult for community initiatives to be financially self-sustaining (Crisp *et al*, 2016, Moore and Mullins, 2013).

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?

8.1 If, as so many studies now argue, social, economic and political equality are vital for the health of our societies, our economies and our democracies then values that support equality such as tolerance, non-discrimination and non-violence are the ones most likely to engender trust, mutual understanding and cooperation. This has been broadly voiced by our participants who have focused on the need for more 'sharing and caring', for bridges rather than walls.

8.2 A challenge for future civil society may be to maintain a focus on human needs: not just recognising the assets within communities, important though this is (RSA, 2015), but developing people's capacity to be and do (Sen, 2010, Nussbaum, 2003) shifting attention from 'the means of living to the actual opportunities of living' (Sen, 2010:233). This draws attention to people's needs and aspirations and how these are shaped and constrained by 'often unjust background conditions' (Nussbaum, 2003:34) of social and economic deprivation, enabling us to ask different questions about how to promote human flourishing and the kind of society we want to live in. This might mean challenging the idea that

economic growth is the ultimate goal for societies, and market mechanisms the most effective way of determining human affairs, and increasing the space for, and autonomy of civil society and voluntary action. How do we promote ties based on moral obligations and relationships, rather than contracts? These questions are particularly important at a time when both economic prosperity and environmental sustainability are so fragile, and the need for fair and just solutions, both locally and globally, is so urgent.

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?

9.1 Looking at who volunteers and/or participates in civic activities, the Third Sector Research Centre has shown that there is a relatively narrow ‘civic core’:

‘ a group constituting less than 10% of the population contribute between 24% and 51% of the total civic engagement, depending on which dimension is examined. ... The social characteristics of members of these ‘core’ groups are analysed and it is shown that members of the ‘civic core’ are drawn predominantly from the most prosperous, middle-aged and highly educated sections of the population, and that they are most likely to live in the least deprived parts of the country.’

(Mohan and Bulloch, 2013)

9.2 Charitable resources are also unevenly distributed with many more located in more affluent areas (Clifford, 2012) where they are more likely to support cultural activities, rather than ‘urgent needs’, and less reliant on statutory funding or paid staff (Lindsay, 2013). Both Lindsey (2013) and Mohan (2015) attribute this to socioeconomic segregation and varying levels of poverty and affluence with more people in more affluent communities having the time, skills resources and connections to engage in this way. Lindsey and Bulloch (2013) asked respondents if they felt that ‘the communities they live in have the capacity to meet their own needs through volunteering’. While no-one felt very confident, some in more affluent areas were aware that there were ‘capable and committed’ people (often retirees) with the wealth, skills and time to give to local causes in their community. In contrast people in more deprived areas were more doubtful (Lindsey and Bulloch, 2013).

9.3 However, studies also show that the poorest in society tend to give the highest proportion of their income to charity. In 2010/11, a study by Li (cited in Pudelek, 2013) showed that the poorest 20 per cent gave 3.2 of their monthly income to charity, while the richest 20 per cent gave just 0.9 per cent. This would suggest that the composition of the ‘civic core’ is not indicative of a lack of civic intent on behalf of the poorest in society but rather that you do not have the luxury of time at your disposal to ‘volunteer’ when you are struggling to get by.

9.4 Economic inequality also maps on to disability, ethnicity and age with the young, disabled and people from Black and Minority Ethnic communities experiencing multiple forms of socio-economic disadvantage and often feeling cut adrift, misrepresented and excluded.

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?

10.1 In the most recent Community Life Survey, 89% of people agreed that ‘their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together’, an increase of 3% on the previous year - the highest level recorded since 2003 (Cabinet Office, 2016). While this finding is very welcome, it must be seen against a rise in reported hate crimes in recent years. Between 2014 and 2015 there was a 326% rise in reported street-based anti-Muslim incidents (Hansard, 29.6.2016). In the days after the EU referendum (23rd- 26th June 2016) there was a 57% increase in reported hate crime, with more incidents reported in areas that voted leave (Stone, 2016) a trend that was sustained for at least another month (Travis, 2016).

10.2 While some have linked a lack of community accord to the effects of spatial segregation, with high concentrations of minority ethnic communities living in separate neighbourhoods from their white British counterparts (Cantle, 2001; Cantle and Kaufmann, 2016), a recent comprehensive review of social scientific evidence has shown that income inequality and deprivation are far more important determinants of community discord in the UK (Demireva, 2015). In its response to the Casey Review (2016), the Runnymede Trust argued that these inequalities are ‘persistent and widespread’, they ‘remain a major barrier in modern Britain, and that responding to these inequalities and creating the condition for everyone to interact as equals should remain the starting point for any integration policy’ (Runnymede Trust, 2016).

10.3 In the media and elsewhere, diversity, integration and immigration are too often conflated in ways that are unhelpful (Demireva, 2015). Immigration has long been high on the list of people’s concerns, with successive polls recording significant majorities in favour of reducing the number of migrants entering the UK (Edelman, 2016, Blinder and Allen, 2016). However, ICM research on public attitudes towards immigration for British Future, undertaken after the Brexit referendum, suggest that ‘beyond the most vocal extremes’ public opinion is more nuanced with most people being ‘anxious reducers ..[...]..once one paints a picture of an actual person, rather than a generic figure, even if it is just by stating their job, people are more likely to give them a fair shot at joining our society’ (ICM 2016:12)

10.4 In response to this British Future suggests that a ‘national conversation on immigration is needed so that people’s views are heard and they can have a role in shaping policy in this area:

‘While immigration remains a high profile issue, we are not good at talking about it. This means we do not have the opportunity to put forward our views or to hear the opinions of others. Contested narratives are not articulated and renegotiated; communities are not offered a space in which to come to a consensus about immigration and integration. Talking about immigration and how we live together, and agreeing on what constitutes a decent debate, also helps communities to challenge hate crime and prejudice.’

(Katwala, *et al*, 2016)

10.5 It is unlikely however that this national conversation will be led by the commercial, mainstream media. This raises the importance of not-for-profit media operating in civil society and in the public interest to better represent the un/misrepresented and highlight important debates and providing a genuinely public sphere.

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?

[no response]

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?

12.1 Faith Groups also have a long tradition of service and action in civil society spaces. Many traditions have organisational structures which respond to the local, for example in the diocesan structures of the Anglican and Catholic churches. These often mean that they maintain a long-term and very rooted presence in every area, even where many other agencies may have withdrawn. Others draw on their long histories as providers of community support through established charitable organisations. Their values and relationality are often regarded as underpinning effective civil society participation. On the other hand, widespread ideas of faiths as oppressive, sexist, homophobic, evangelical and violent feed in to an idea of them as best kept to the private, not public realm. This tension plays out in a context which depends upon faith groups to plug gaps in services and communities, whilst struggling to talk well about them (Dinham 2015).

12.2 Other new forms of activism are emerging that are much less dependent on formal ‘bricks and mortar’ organizations. Digital technology has enabled people to self organise, building and sustaining new social movements and grassroots campaigns. As Fenton states,

this has led to ‘a new means of, and a new meaning of being political’ (2016:25). Social media has also enabled small producers, including local enterprises and small charities, to emerge and develop where previously this would have been difficult’ (McCabe and Harris, 2017a:13). This can be seen in local campaigns in the UK that have been enabled by digital communications, for example:

- Focus E15 is a campaign started in 2013 by young mothers threatened with eviction from the hostel where they were living, after Newham Council cut its funding, to be rehoused outside of London, away from their families and social networks. The campaign came to prominence in 2014 after they occupied a block of flats on a local estate that the council was planning to sell to private developers. Since then they have continued to be active, building links with and supporting tenants on other estates, including the Guinness Trust-owned Northwold estate in Hackney, a third of which is under threat of demolition, to be replaced by ‘luxury’ flats for sale at market prices.
- Acorn UK was founded in 2014 by private tenants in Easton, Bristol to campaign to ‘end evictions, rip-off tenancy fees and unhealthy housing’ and help communities to organise in support of more ethical housing. It now operates in 8 cities in England and has just successfully won its first national campaign, getting Santander to agree to drop a clause in its contracts requiring landlords to raise rents to the maximum.
- Just Space is an informal alliance of community groups, campaigns and independent organisations established in 2006. It aims to enable Londoners to participate in planning decisions and ensure that those decisions take account of community needs and not just the interests of developers. Recent actions include a public protest in Haringey against selling public assets to private developers (14.2.17) and working with the Chair of the London Assembly Economy Committee, encouraging people to tweet their views on the needs of small enterprises to inform the committee’s deliberations (21.2.17).

12.3 Digital technology changes the dynamics of communication, ostensibly facilitating opportunities for individuals to participate. But this on-line presence is most effective when linked to off-line activities and opportunities to build solidarity (Cammaerts, 2015, Gerbaudo, 2012, Taylor, 2015). For example, 38 Degrees, best known for organising e-petitions has begun to set up local groups, hosting events and organising meetings with MPs (Fenton, 2016). However, the internet and social media in particular, also stands accused of naturalising the segregation of society into echo chambers. Based on the notion that birds of a feather flock together the internet predicts who we are depending on who we follow on Twitter, who we ‘like’ on Facebook, the ads we linger over, producing network analytics that naturalises the segregation it finds and making a commercial and political virtue out of the fact that we tend to be similar to our friends.

12.4 Furthermore, connective activity online does not transcend social and economic inequalities. In the UK almost all of the wealthiest people use the internet while this falls to 58 per cent amongst the lowest income group (less than £12,500) (Dutton et al., 2013). Just as patterns of economic inequality are replicated in access to healthcare and educational attainment (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009) so they map onto access to and uses of technology (Pew, 2015). There is a ‘digital divide’: internet users are still younger, more highly educated and richer than non-users, and more likely to be men than women, and more likely to live in cities. Furthermore, the Oxford Internet Institute point out that the one aspect of internet usage that correlates with social class and educational attainment is use for informational or political purposes (Blank and Groselj, 2015). Social media does not exist in a vacuum. While it has the potential to bring new voices into political debates, it can also reflect and reinforce existing social relations and patterns of privilege. The internet may be democratizing, but more often than not its effects are felt most strongly amongst the middle classes (Fenton, 2016).

12.5 New approaches that promote a more tolerant and cohesive society do seem to be emerging: Community Mutuels, Credit Unions, Community Land Trusts, Co-operative childcare, skills-share schemes etc. While such community action can be valuable, it is often by its nature small-scale ‘and cannot be expected to tackle area-wide disadvantage in isolation’ (Crisp, et al, 2016:i).

12.6 The overriding conclusion of much research in the areas of citizenship and civic engagement is that wider social, political and economic context impacts not only on local areas, but also on people’s ability to participate and their power to influence the wider determinants of poverty and disadvantage that affect their lives and the life of their community.

References

M. Aiken *et al*, 2011, *Community Organisations Controlling Assets, a better understanding* London:IVAR <http://www.ivar.org.uk/research-report/community-organisations-controlling-assets/>

B. Barber 2004, *A Place for Us: How to make society civil and democracy strong* New York: Hill and Wang

Baring’s Panel on the Independence of the Voluntary Sector, 2015, Final report: *An Independent Mission* [pdfhttp://www.civilexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Independence-Panel-Report An-Independent-Mission-PR.pdf](http://www.civilexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Independence-Panel-Report-An-Independent-Mission-PR.pdf)

Baring’s Panel on the Independence of the Voluntary Sector, 2016, Follow-up report: *Independence in Question: The voluntary sector in 2016*

<http://www.civilexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Independence-in-question-the-voluntary-sector-in-2016webversion>

C. Beatty & S. Fothergill, 2013 *Hitting the Poorest Hardest: the local and regional impact of welfare reform* Sheffield Hallam University

http://www.shu.ac.uk/research/cresr/sites/shu.ac.uk/files/hitting-poorest-places-hardest_0.pdf

S Blinder & W Allen, 2016, *Public Opinion Towards Immigration: Overall attitudes and level of concern* Oxford: Migration Observatory (Briefing)

<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/uk-public-opinion-toward-immigration-overall-attitudes-and-level-of-concern/>

D. Blunkett, 2003, Active citizens, strong communities: progressing civil renewal. Scarman Trust Forum Lecture, 11 December.

M. Bolton, 2015, *Place based funding: developing the ecology of the social sector* London:

Barings Foundation <http://baringsfoundation.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Place-based-funding.pdf>

E. Brodie *et al*, 2011, *Pathways through Participation* London: NCVO

http://pathwaysthroughparticipation.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Pathways-Through-Participation-final-report_Final_20110913.pdf

H. Buckingham, 2012, *No longer a 'voluntary' sector?* Birmingham: University of Birmingham Third Sector Research Centre

<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tsrc/documents/tsrc/reports/futures-dialogues-docs/BPP2-NoLongerAVoluntarySector.pdf>

P. Butler, 2014, 'Charities that campaign in *The Guardian* 17.6.2014

<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/jun/17/oxfam-advert-campaigning-charities-stifled-by-government>

Cabinet Office, 2016 *Community Life Survey 2015-2016 Statistical Analysis*

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/community-life-survey-2015-to-2016-statistical-analysis>

T. Cantle & E. Kaufmann, 2016 *Is Segregation in the UK Increasing?* London: Open

Democracy <https://www.opendemocracy.net/wfd/ted-cantle-and-eric-kaufmann/is-segregation-on-increase-in-uk>

T. Cantle (Chair), 2001, *Community Cohesion: a report of the independent review team*

<http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/14146/1/communitycohesionreport.pdf>

L. Casey, 2016, *The Casey Review: A review into opportunity and integration* Department for Communities and Local Government <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-casey-review-a-review-into-opportunity-and-integration>

CDP Interproject Editorial Collective, 1978, 'Gilding the Ghetto: the state and the poverty experiments' in G Craig et al, 2011, *The Community Development Reader: History, themes and issues* Bristol: Policy Press pp 91-100

Charities Aid Foundation, 2013, *Britain's Civic Core* London: Charities Aid Foundation
https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-publications/caf_britains_civic_core_sept13.pdf?sfvrsn=5.pdf

Charity Commission for England and Wales, 2016 *The EU Referendum: regulatory guidance for charities*
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/510286/e_u_referendum.pdf

Citizens UK, 2017 *Citizens Panel on Islam, Participation and Public Life*
http://www.citizensuk.org/islam_public_life_commission Civicus, 2016, *State of Civil Society Report 2016*

S. Clarke, 15.7.16, *Why did we vote to leave: What an analysis of place can tell us about Brexit* Resolution Foundation <http://www.resolutionfoundation.org/media/blog/why-did-we-vote-to-leave-what-an-analysis-of-place-can-tell-us-about-brexite/>

S. Clarke et al, 2016, *The Housing Headwind: the impact of housing costs on living standards* Resolution Foundation <http://www.resolutionfoundation.org/publications/the-housing-headwind-the-impact-of-rising-housing-costs-on-uk-living-standards/>

D. Clifford, 2012, *Voluntary Organisations Working at the Neighbourhood level in England: patterns by local area deprivation* [Environment](#) and Planning A, 44(5)

Commission on the Future of Local Infrastructure, 2015, *Change for Good* Barrow Cadbury Trust /NAVCA <https://www.navca.org.uk/resources/55-change-for-good>

A. Coote, 2010, *Cutting It: The big society in an age of austerity* London: New Economics Foundation

A. Cornwall and J. Gaventa, 2001, *From Users and Choosers to Makers and Shapers: Public participation in the policy process* Brighton: Institute of Development Studies
<https://www.ids.ac.uk/files/Wp127.pdf>

R. Crisp et al, 2016 *Community led approaches to reducing poverty: A review of the evidence* Sheffield: Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research
<https://www4.shu.ac.uk/research/cresr/sites/shu.ac.uk/files/community-led-approaches-to-reducing-poverty-in-neighbourhoods.pdf>

S. Corfe, 2017, *Living on the Edge: Britain's Coastal Communities*, London: Social Market Foundation.

S. Croft and P. Beresford, 1996, 'The Politics of Participation' in D Taylor (ed) *Critical Social Policy: A reader* London: Sage

R. Dalton, 2017, *The participation Gap: Social Status and Political Inequality*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Deakin Commission, 1996, *Meeting the Challenge of Change: Voluntary Action in the 21st Century* London: NCVO

N. Demireva, 2015, *Immigration, Diversity and Social Cohesion*, Oxford: Migration Observatory (Briefing)
<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/immigration-diversity-and-social-cohesion/>

Department for Communities and Local Government, 2016, *Self-Sufficient Local Government:100% Business Rates Retention*
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/535022/Business_Rates_Retention_Consultation_5_July_2016.pdf

Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011, *A Plain English Guide to the Localism Act*
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/5959/1896534.pdf

Department for Work and Pensions, 2013 *Simplifying the welfare system and making sure work pays* <https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/simplifying-the-welfare-system-and-making-sure-work-pays>

D. Dorling *et al*, 22.12.16, *Brexit, inequality and the demographic divide*
<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/brexit-inequality-and-the-demographic-divide/>

Edelman, 2017, Edelman Trust Barometer 2017 – UK findings
<https://www.edelman.co.uk/magazine/posts/edelman-trust-barometer-2017-uk-findings/>

Edelman, 2016, Edelman Trust Barometer 2016 – UK findings
<https://www.edelman.co.uk/magazine/posts/trust-barometer-2016/>

M. Edwards, 2004, 2014 *Civil Society* Cambridge: Polity Press

Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2016, *Healing a Divided Britain*
<https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/publication-download/healing-divided-britain-need-comprehensive-race-equality-strategy>

Faith in the City. A Call to Action by Church and Nation, 1985, The Church of England: Commission on Urban Priority Areas.

N. Fenton, 2016, *Digital, Political, Radical* Cambridge:Polity

M. Goodwin & O Heath, 31.8.16, *Brexit Vote Explained: Poverty, low skills and lack of opportunities* <https://www.jrf.org.uk/brexit-vote-explained-poverty-low-skills-and-lack-of-opportunities>

Hansard 29th June 2016 Vol 612 'Hate Crime'
<https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2016-06-29/debates/16062966000002/HateCrime>

Hansard Society, 2016, *Audit of Political Engagement 13: The 2016 report*
<https://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/publications/audit-of-political-engagement-13-the-2016-report>

K Harris and A McCabe, 2017, *Community Action and Social Media: A review of the literature*
Birmingham: University of Birmingham Third Sector Research Unit
<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tsrc/documents/tsrc/working-papers/working-paper-139.pdf>

A Hastings *et al*, 2012 *Serving Deprived Communities in a Recession* Joseph Rowntree Foundation
<http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/communities-recession-services-full.pdf>

Lord Hodgson, 2016, *Third Party Election Campaigning: Review*
<https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/third-party-campaigning-review>

Ipsos MORI, 2016, *Enough of Experts? Trust and the EU referendum* <https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/publications/1896/Enough-of-Experts-Ipsos-MORI-Veracity-Index-2016.aspx>

IVAR, 2017, *A Historical Review of Place-based Funding* London: IVAR (forthcoming)

IVAR, 2016a *Thinking about Sustainability*, London: IVAR <https://www.ivar.org.uk/research-projects/sustainability/>

IVAR, 2016b, *Small Charities and Social Investment* London: IVAR
<https://www.ivar.org.uk/research-report/small-charities-and-social-investment/>

IVAR 2014, *Big Local Foresighting Report* Big Local Trust <http://www.localtrust.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/IVAR-Foresighting-Feedback-Report-FINAL.pdf>

V. Jochum, B. Pratten, K. Wilding, 2005, *Civil Renewal and Active Citizenship: A guide to the debate* London: NCVO

S. Katwala *et al*, 2016, *How to talk about Immigration* London: British Future
<http://www.britishfuture.org/publication/talk-immigration/>

O. Khan and N. Finney, 2016 *The Runnymede Trust submission to the Casey Review* London: Runnymede <http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/CaseyReviewLetter.pdf>

R. Lindsey, 2013, 'Exploring local hotspots and deserts: investigating the local distribution of charitable resources' *Voluntary Sector Review* 4(1) 95-116

R. Lindsey, S Bulloch 2013 *What the public think of the "Big Society": Mass Observers' views on individual and community capacity for civic engagement*, Third Sector Research Centre (TSRC) working paper 95, available at <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tsrc/documents/tsrc/working-papers/working-paper-95.pdf> (revised version forthcoming in Lindsey, R and Mohan, J (2018) *Continuity and change in voluntary action*, Policy Press.

R. Lindsey, Mohan, J et al (2018) *Continuity and change in voluntary action*, Policy Press, forthcoming

R. Lister, 2001, 'New Labour: A study in ambiguity from a position of ambivalence' in *Critical Social Policy* 21(4) 425-447

Local Government Association, 2015, *Future Funding Outlook for Councils 2019/20* <http://www.local.gov.uk/documents/10180/11531/Future+Funding+Outlook+interim/39ad19fb-e5d8-4a2b-81a8-bf139497782d>

A. McCabe, 2010, *Below the radar in a Big Society? Reflections on community engagement, empowerment and social action in a changing policy context* Birmingham: University of Birmingham Third Sector Research Centre <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tsrc/publications/index.aspx>

S. Matthews and J. Pratt, 2012, *Community led responses to Climate Change: http://www.resolutionfoundation.org/app/uploads/2014/05/Just-the-job-or-a-working-compromise-FINAL.pdf A review of the evidence* London: Big Lottery Fund

D. Miliband, 2006, *Empowerment and the deal for devolution* Speech at NLGN Annual Conference

J. Mohan, 2015, *Shifting the dials? Stability, change and cohort variations in voluntary action* Third Sector Research Paper 2015 <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tsrc/documents/tsrc/working-papers/working-paper-1352.pdf>

J. Mohan and S. Bulloch, 2013, *The idea of a 'civic core': what are the overlaps between charitable giving, volunteering, and civic participation in England and Wales?* Birmingham: University of Birmingham Third Sector Research Centre <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tsrc/documents/tsrc/working-papers/working-paper-73.pdf>

T. Moore and D. Mullins, 2013, *Scaling-up or going-viral: comparing self-help housing and community land trust facilitation* Birmingham: University of Birmingham Third Sector

Research Centre <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tsrc/documents/tsrc/working-papers/working-paper-94.pdf>

National Audit Office, 2015, *Central Government Implementation of the Compact: A follow up* <http://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Central-government%E2%80%99s-implementation-of-the-national-Compact-a-follow%E2%80%91up.pdf>

M. Nussbaum, 2003, 'Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements: Sen and Social Justice' in *Feminist Economics* 9(2-3) 33-59 <https://philpapers.org/archive/NUSCAF.pdf>

R. Patel, 2016, *The State of Social Capital in Britain* London: Understanding Society <https://www.understandingsociety.ac.uk/2016/05/24/social-capital-policy-briefing>

Parsfield *et al*, 2015 *Community Capital- the value of connected communities* London: RSA <https://www.thersa.org/discover/publications-and-articles/reports/community-capital-the-value-of-connected-communities>

D. Prior, J Stewart and K Walsh, 1996, *Citizenship: Rights, Community and Participation* London: Pitman

J. Pudelek, 2013 'Poorest people give highest proportion of income to charity' *Third Sector* 3.4.2013

A. Sen, 2009, *The Idea of Justice* London: Penguin Books

J. Stone, 31.7.16, *The Independent* 'Brexit: Surge in hate crime in areas that voted to leave the EU' <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/brexit-hate-crime-racism-immigration-eu-referendum-result-what-it-means-eurospectic-areas-a7165056.html>

D. Taylor (ed), 2015, *Critical Social Policy: A reader* London: Sage

S. Telfer, 2013, *What makes effective place-based working?* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

A. Travis, 7.9.16 *The Guardian* 'Lasting Rise in Hate Crime after the EU referendum, figures show' <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/07/hate-surged-after-eu-referendum-police-figures-show>

J. Unwin, 2016, *Where next for Civil Society? Inaugural lecture for Wales Council for Voluntary Action* <https://www.jrf.org.uk/where-next-civil-society>

T. Wilson *et al*, 2013, *The Local Impacts of Welfare Reform*, Local Government Association / Centre for economic and social inclusion http://www.local.gov.uk/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=a4fec9de-5c7e-4b32-af05-e4cfad6352b8&groupId=10180

6 September 2017

Dr Alistair Clark, Politics Department, Newcastle University – written evidence (CCE0081)

1. My expertise is in electoral integrity and administration in Britain, with several published research articles and reports on these themes, including an evaluation of electoral administration in the 2016 EU Referendum (<http://www.ncl.ac.uk/gps/staff/profile/alistairclark.html#background>). I write in a personal capacity, focusing on two specific aspects of interest to the committee: the impact of electoral law; and how civic engagement may be supported.

Impact of current electoral law

2. The government is committed to putting the onus on the individual to register. Recent registration drives and publicity around this at election and referendums have certainly helped increase the numbers of people registered to vote.
3. There remain clear issues with the system of individual electoral registration. The government have recently reintroduced annual canvasses for electoral registration. This is a system where electoral registration officers (EROs) write to the head of household to check who is registered at that address. This was already tried and tested before being abolished, and reintroduced. This will have added additional costs, both in staff time and financially, to local authorities who are already financially pressed.
4. The current system of individual registration has led to many people who are already registered reapplying, having seen publicity about registration during electoral events. In some cases this has been up to half of these applications. These duplicate applications still need to be checked by administrators; there is currently no way of individuals checking their registration status prior to reapplying. This leads to considerable pressure on electoral administration and registration teams.
5. Our research shows that the extension of the deadline in the 2016 EU Referendum after the Cabinet Office website crashed had a significant impact on the ability of 44% of electoral administration teams to deliver the referendum for example (Clark and James, 2016). Similar issues caused problems in the 2017 general election.
6. *There should now be an urgent move towards establishing a system where individual registration can be checked. All publicity should state clearly that if you are already registered, there is no need to re-register. I would recommend investigating a secure online database, located with either local authorities or the Electoral Commission, but funded by the Cabinet Office.*
7. Research by myself and Dr. Toby James into the experience of polling station workers in the 2015 general election found that 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) (Clark and James, 2017). 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. This was across eight local authorities in North East England and Norfolk. Scaling up, with around 380 local authorities administering elections, this difficulty with registration is likely to be a much wider problem. 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.

8. There is therefore a need for measures to resolve these difficulties. *Automatic electoral registration should be investigated by the Cabinet Office, with pilot work being begun into which government datasets might be useful for doing so.* Evidence on how this might be achieved may be drawn from American practice in some states where automatic registration is used.
9. *Alternatively a version of the American ‘motor voter’ law could be investigated, with information on electoral registration being prominent in communications from other government departments, and the ability to complete registration forms when visiting government departments provided.*
10. An additional proposal may help ensure those wishing to vote can be registered to do so. *On the day registration* is utilised in some American states. This has the benefit of leading to higher turnout. Investigation of this could provide a way of increasing engagement, with a longer term view to piloting it in local elections.
11. With the franchise devolved to the Scottish parliament for some elections, Scottish 16-17 year olds can now vote in local, devolved and other elections in Scotland, although not in those to the Westminster parliament. 16-17 year olds in England, Wales and Northern Ireland do not have such an opportunity, creating an anomaly in the franchise across the UK.
12. As an observer at the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum, I personally observed many 16-17 year olds voting. They took the process extremely seriously. Research has shown that voting is habit forming. Once the habit is acquired, it is likely to continue. *I would recommend extending the vote to 16-17 year olds for all institutions in England, such as PCCs, local government and Mayors, and provide the same powers over the franchise to Wales and Northern Ireland (when the institutions recommence) as Scotland. I would also extend the right to vote in Westminster elections to 16-17 year olds across the UK.*
13. Many EU citizens living in the UK are politically engaged, voting in, for example, local and devolved elections and making substantial contributions to British society and

economic life. Their electoral status has been thrown into extreme uncertainty after the Brexit result. *Urgent clarity is required for such citizens as to what their future electoral and civic rights will be post-Brexit.*

14. At minimum, existing electoral rights for EU citizens should be maintained. However, given their contribution to society and engagement more generally, *I would argue most strongly for extending this to including elections to the UK parliament for all who have been granted Permanent Residency or equivalent status.* This would go some way towards civic engagement and in creating goodwill among a section of society who have been little other than good citizens who have made the UK their home.
15. Our research into the EU referendum (Clark and James, 2016) demonstrated that there are problems with the system for British citizens overseas voting. Mail licences in some countries overseas are reported to not have been recognised, while dispatch dates do not always permit time to send the necessary documentation securely and in a fashion that it can be returned in time to be counted.
16. The government has promised to look at the franchise for overseas voters and the current 15 year limit. This is important. Much more important and pressing is enabling those registered to vote from overseas to do so in a reliable and timely fashion. *Given the ubiquity of online modes of voting in some countries, research should be carried out into how such a system might be developed in the limited case of overseas voters, with extensive pilots and evaluation carried out before final implementation.*
17. The government and Conservative backbenchers have placed considerable emphasis on the perception that there is considerable electoral fraud taking place across Britain. The Pickles Review into Electoral Fraud (which I contributed evidence to) recommended the piloting of voter identification. The Electoral Commission have also argued for and recommend voter ID. This is already practice in Northern Ireland. It is being implemented in local elections in parts of England in 2018. Many details are still to be arranged, such as which local authorities will take part.
18. Introduction of voter identification laws elsewhere, notably the United States, have in effect become a vote suppression measure with partisan consequences (Wang, 2012). Typically, groups which tend not to carry identification include lower socio-economic groups, students and minorities. There is no current legal requirement in Britain to carry any form of identification.
19. Our research into polling station problems in the 2015 general election suggested that electoral fraud was suspected on barely any occasion by polling station workers across the eight local authorities; 99% of respondents reporting no such problems or suspicions (Clark and James, 2017). While there may be localised problems in some

areas, influencing an election by large scale personation is logistically highly unlikely. Research by the Electoral Commission has underlined the rarity of electoral fraud, even if some continue to perceive it as a major difficulty.

20. As noted above, electoral registration is a much bigger problem. I would expect that, under current voter ID proposals, a larger number of people turned away than usual because they do not have any identification with them when they visit the polling station. They are unlikely to make a second trip. There will also be suspicions of vote suppression for partisan benefit, with voter ID requirements likely to hit similar groups to that in the US and hitting Labour support hardest.
21. *Implementation of voter ID needs careful and rigorous evaluation which is demonstrably independent from government.* This will be carried out by the Electoral Commission. If this policy not to negatively affect citizen engagement, it also requires independent academic assessment, and a pause to its implementation until the effects can be properly established. If the effects are shown to have unintended negative consequences, it requires a commitment from the government to rethink its approach in light of the evidence that electoral fraud in polling stations is actually extremely rare.
22. Our research into the 2016 EU referendum showed an increasing problem with the use of emergency proxy votes, creating difficulties for election administrators (Clark and James, 2016). One view was that this had increased because busy people are not always attentive to electoral deadlines for options such as postal voting.
23. To minimise such difficulties, a further American innovation might provide an answer. This is the option of using *early vote centres, where people can vote securely at selected local authority buildings in advance of polling day.* This may be more secure than postal voting, which is often criticised for problems with ballot secrecy. It would also provide a way of minimising the numbers of emergency proxies granted by local authorities by allowing voting up to polling day itself. This should be investigated.

Supporting Civic Engagement

24. There are currently some very good efforts at engaging the public with civic affairs. The parliamentary outreach service runs an excellent Parliament Week and year round programme. The Cabinet Office and Minister Chris Skidmore also deserve praise for reforms aimed at hard to reach groups, such as those who need to register anonymously having been victims of domestic abuse. These efforts must continue.
25. Such efforts are also likely to be effective at local level. Yet, electoral administrators have complained of inadequate funding of their vital service. For example, it can take up to two years for local authorities to be refunded the costs of running national

elections. Electoral registration activities are not reimbursed, even if the Cabinet Office did provide some funds for implementing IER.

26. Local authorities typically have small teams in their electoral services departments, with an average of around three members of staff (Clark, 2017b). This leaves them vulnerable to staff illness and pressure of work. This has been made worse by the recent cycle of electoral events. The Association of Electoral Administrators have complained about the physical and mental stresses on their members caused in part by inadequate resourcing of a vital service. Importantly, this limits considerably what electoral administrators can do to encourage civic engagement and improve the experience of voters with the electoral system.
27. My own data-driven research has shown that increased financial resource for electoral administrators leads to higher quality elections (Clark, 2014; 2017a; b). Much of this will be spent on staffing, but the physical provision of electoral infrastructure is also an important driver of electoral costs. The finding that more spending leads to better quality elections in Britain has come from two separate investigations into spending on the 2009 European and 2010 general elections.
28. Little is known about this. There is *an urgent need for more transparency around how much is spent on electoral administration in the UK*. Estimates are that spending on elections is increasing at a time where public spending in local authorities is being squeezed. Transparency and research into public spending on elections would enable efficiencies to be identified and best practice comparisons to be made across local authorities.
29. *The Cabinet Office should review the system of election funding, to ensure that local authorities are not out of pocket as a consequence of providing this vital service to electors*. This may include a review of time taken to settle accounts, transparency around allocated amounts and so on. Only with such a review will the link between capacity in electoral administration and its resourcing begin to be resolved.

Recommendations

30. I would make the following recommendations:
 - There is an urgent need for a system where individual registration can be checked. This should be investigated by the Cabinet Office and Electoral Commission.
 - All publicity on electoral registration should state clearly that if you are already registered, there is no need to re-register.
 - Investigation of a system where registration can be checked, which could take the form of a secure online database, located with either local authorities or the Electoral Commission, but be funded by the Cabinet Office.

- Automatic electoral registration should be investigated by the Cabinet Office, with pilot work being begun into which government datasets might be useful for doing so.
- A version of the American ‘motor voter’ law should be examined, to enable ease of registration when individuals interact with government departments
- Consider the possibility of providing on-the-day electoral registration and early vote centres
- Extend the vote to 16-17 year olds for all institutions in England, and provide the same powers over the franchise to Wales and Northern Ireland (when those institutions recommence) as Scotland. Extend the right to vote in Westminster elections to 16-17 year olds across the UK.
- Urgent clarity is required for EU citizens as to what their future electoral and civic rights will be post-Brexit.
- Extend the right to vote to include elections to the UK parliament for all EU citizens who have been granted Permanent Residency or equivalent status.
- Research should be carried out into how a system of online voting might be developed in the limited case of overseas voters
- Implementation of voter ID laws should be carefully evaluated in a manner which is demonstrably independent from government.
- Provide a commitment to transparency in election funding and a review of practices around the funding of elections to enable electoral administrators to encourage and maximise civic engagement

Conclusion

31. There are difficulties and inefficiencies in the UK electoral system which hamper civic engagement. This inquiry is therefore a welcome one. The recommendations provided may go some way to resolving some of the issues identified. We all want the best quality elections possible, where everyone eligible to vote can do so, with a minimum of difficulty. I remain happy to discuss these and related matters with the Committee or any stakeholder seeking to improve the operation of the electoral system. If I can be of any further assistance, or can elaborate further on any of these points, please do not hesitate to contact me.

References

Clark, A. (2014) ‘Investing in Electoral Management’ in P. Norris, R. Frank & F. Martinez I Coma (eds.) *Advancing Electoral Integrity*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp165-188.

Dr Alistair Clark, Politics Department, Newcastle University – written evidence (CCE0081)

Clark, A. and James. T. (2016) *An Evaluation of Electoral Administration at the EU Referendum*, London: Electoral Commission.
http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0008/214991/A-Clark-and-T-S-James,-Electoral-Administration-at-the-EU-Referendum-September-2016.pdf

Clark, A. (2017a) 'Identifying the Determinants of Electoral Integrity and Administration in Advanced Democracies: The Case of Britain', *European Political Science Review*, 9, (3), pp471-492.

Clark, A. (2017b) 'The Cost of Democracy: The Determinants of Spending on the Public Administration of Elections', Paper Presented to European Consortium of Political Research General Conference, Oslo, September.

Clark, A. and James, T. S. (2017) 'Poll Workers', in P. Norris & A. Nai (eds.) *Election Watchdogs: Transparency, Accountability and Integrity*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp144-164.

Wang, Tova. A. 2012. *The Politics of Voter Suppression: Defending and Expanding Americans' Right to Vote*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

6 September 2017

Nick Clarke, Will Jennings and Gerry Stoker – written evidence (CCE0196)

Nick Clarke is Associate Professor in Human Geography at the University of Southampton, and has research expertise on popular understandings of politics, political engagement and disengagement.

Will Jennings is Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at the University of Southampton and a Trustee of the Political Studies Association, and has undertaken research on a range of aspects of public opinion, political discontent and participation.

Gerry Stoker is Professor of Governance at the University of Southampton and Centenary Professor of Governance at the University of Canberra. He has research interests in governance, democratic politics, public participation and public service reform.

This statement is made in a personal capacity, drawing upon both published and unpublished work, including a forthcoming book (with Jonathan Moss) 'The Good Politician: Folk Theories, Political Interaction, and the Rise of Anti-Politics'.

Executive summary

- Negative attitudes towards politics have increased over time, in scope and in intensity
- Many factors have contributed to this development but a key one is the changing processes of interaction between citizens and politicians
- Negativity towards politics is widely shared among citizens but there are variations between social groups in types of expressions of discontent
- Levels and types of political participation vary across demographic groups
- Solutions to anti-politics need to address its underlying causes. New opportunities for interaction between citizens and politicians need to be pioneered

Anti-politics is growing

1. Defining anti-politics as citizens' negative sentiment towards the actors, activities and institutions of formal politics, our research has taken a long view by combining evidence from Mass Observation material capturing directly the views of citizens and original and longitudinal survey data stretching back to the 1940s, as well as focus groups conducted in the last few years. We have established that no 'golden age' of political engagement existed in the UK²³⁷. A substantial proportion of citizens even in the 1940s were dissatisfied with government, thought that politicians were 'out for themselves', viewed politicians as 'not straight-talking', expected contradictory things of politicians, or at least found politicians difficult to judge.

2. Notwithstanding this lack of a golden age we show that anti-politics increased in the UK over the second half of the twentieth century in three respects: social scope, political range, and intensity²³⁸. Most citizens from across all social groups now judge politicians and politics to be flawed. Disillusionment with politics is not confined to one social group – such as, for example, those left behind by economic growth. Furthermore, anti-politics has increased in political scope. Citizens hold more grievances with formal politics. As the twenty-first century gets into its stride, they judge politicians to be self-serving and not straight-talking, but also to be out of touch, all the same, and a joke. There is an increased intensity or strength by which the criticisms of politics found expression with citizens now describing their 'loathing' for politicians who made them 'angry', 'disgusted', and 'depressed'.

3. There are complex generational factors at work here. Grasso²³⁹ argues: 'the extent to which members of a generation will engage in politics – through whatever repertoires of action available to them – and demand political change of the world ...will depend in large part on the dynamics and political characteristics of the era in which they came of age and experienced political socialization'.

4. Britain is not alone in experiencing a trend towards anti-politics²⁴⁰. There are four patterns of decline to consider. Most countries can be grouped under one of four headings. Some are steady decliners (Britain fits this pattern along with the USA and Australia). Some are steep decliners (Ireland, Iceland, Portugal and Spain fit this pattern largely on the impact of economic crisis and associated scandals). Some are decliners from an already low base (Italy and Greece would approximate this pattern). Finally, some are modest decliners (Germany and the Nordic countries would match this pattern). Crucially from the British

²³⁷ Jonathan Moss, Nick Clarke, Will Jennings & Gerry Stoker (2016) 'Golden age, apathy or stealth? Democratic engagement in Britain, 1945-1950.' *Contemporary British History* 30(4): 441-462.

²³⁸ Will Jennings, Nick Clarke, Jonathan Moss & Gerry Stoker (2017) 'The decline in diffuse support for national governments: The Long View on Political Discontent in Britain.' *Public Opinion Quarterly* 81(3): 748-758.

²³⁹ Maria Grasso (2014) 'Age, period and cohort analysis in a comparative context: Political generations and political participation repertoires in Western Europe.' *Electoral Studies* 33: 63-76.

²⁴⁰ Gerry Stoker (2017) *Why Politics Matters (Second Edition)*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

perspective the rise of anti-politics predates both the parliamentary expenses scandal and the impact of austerity.

Explaining anti-politics

5. There are many possible causes of the rise of anti-politics. We would argue that the evidence of long-term slow decline suggests that the most plausible explanations are those that can match that pattern.²⁴¹

6. A neat distinction is sometimes drawn between demand and supply side explanations of anti-politics. The former focus on changes in the outlooks of citizens and one widely expressed idea is that anti-politics can be expressed by the decline of deference and its flipside the rise of critical or assertive citizens who are secure, educated, and keen to take the initiative in making societal decisions. But our evidence is that citizens were far from universally deferential in the 1940s and 50s and that their mood today is one of feeling terminally let down by the political system and frustrated by the behaviour of politicians. Supply side arguments stress how the politics on offer has changed. Here the most popular line is that a neoliberal consensus gripped formal politics from the late 1970s onwards and the more controlled and limited form of politics on offer pushed citizens away from politics. Yet the evidence of the 1940s and 50s tells us that citizens were not positively engaged with formal politics then, simply because politicians and parties were clearly distinguishable along ideological lines and partisan lines were more clearly delineated.

7. It is in the space between demand and supply side explanations that we think lies part of the answer to the rise of anti-politics. Popular images of the 'good politician' have changed and become more demanding, since these ask politicians to be not only *for* the people – to be honest, capable, moderate, and strong – but also *of* the people – to be 'normal' and 'in touch' with 'real' life and 'ordinary' people. In addition, the professionalisation of politics means that politicians are now less diverse as a group (in terms of career path), so they are less able collectively to represent the different virtues expected of them. Furthermore, the contexts of encounter between politicians and citizens have changed. The modes of interaction afforded by media events and professionalised campaigning (e.g. television

²⁴¹ Nick Clarke, Will Jennings, Jonathan Moss & Gerry Stoker (2017) 'Changing spaces of political encounter and the rise of anti-politics: Evidence from Mass Observation's General Election diaries.' *Political Geography* 56: 13-23

debates and stage-managed events) make it more difficult for politicians to perform virtues, and for citizens to calibrate judgements.

Demographic variation in anti-politics

8. We also find important variation in the sorts of political discontent expressed across demographic groups – using questions fielded in two surveys in 2014-2015.²⁴² Older voters, interestingly, tend to be more negative in general. Men are more negative specifically about the technical knowhow, leadership capabilities and short-termism of politicians. In terms of social grade, professional/middle class respondents tend to be more sceptical about the capabilities of politicians. In contrast, their working class counterparts are more likely to consider politicians as self-serving and working in the interests of the rich and powerful. Disapproval of the EU (and presumably now support for Brexit) is associated with disbelief that politicians have technical knowhow, can make a difference or possess leadership, are short-termist and self-serving. In this regard, anti-politics was inextricably a feature of the Brexit vote.

9. Looking at survey data from the recent British Election Study (Waves 11 and 12), we find slightly different patterns. Older respondents are more trusting of MPs and disagree that politicians don't care about people like them, but do tend to think that elected officials 'talk too much' and don't get enough done. This points to a possible difference in *generalised trust* compared to evaluations of the behaviour of politicians. Additionally, those with a higher level of education tend to be more positive towards politicians in general, while those on low incomes are more likely to be distrusting of MPs, as well as being of the view politicians don't care what they think, and agreeing that elected officials talk too much.

10. It is evident, then, that while anti-politics is a widespread phenomenon, there is some variation in how deeply it is felt in different parts of society and against which criteria politicians are judged by citizens.

Trends and varieties of political participation

11. While it is widely accepted that anti-political opinion has increased in recent times, there has arguably been more debate over whether political participation has been in decline or has instead been reinvented in more informal channels (rather than voting). In historical perspective, there is some evidence to suggest that political participation is waning among

²⁴² Will Jennings, Gerry Stoker & Joe Twyman (2016) 'The Dimensions and Impact of Political Discontent in Britain.' *Parliamentary Affairs* 69(4): 876-900.

the young, in particular compared to the post-war generation – especially when measured in terms of citizens contacting elected officials or taking part in protests.²⁴³ There is evidence, however, from the recent British Election Study (Wave 13) that the young tend to spend more time following politics on the Internet, and during the 2017 general election campaign were more likely to have shared political content on Twitter, instant messaging or other online platforms, though interestingly there no age differences for posting on Facebook (Wave 12). There is some prospect, then, of political participation moving online for younger generations – replacing traditional forms of civic engagement and activism.

12. Another important feature of political participation is whether it reinforces or reduces existing social and economic inequalities. Aside from variation in participation by generation, it is possible to consider levels of participation among working class and professional/middle class citizens, between ethnic minorities and white-British citizens, and also by Leave/Remain vote in the EU referendum of June 2016. Table 1 below reports the percentage of respondents to the British Election Study's post-2015 election survey (Wave 6) indicating they had taken part in each of the modes of participation, with the relevant demographic groups indicated by the column headings. Also included in the table are participation in various online channels during the campaign wave of the 2017 general election (Wave 12). Because survey respondents tend, on average, to be more politically engaged than the rest of the population,²⁴⁴ the percentages are best used for purposes of inter-group comparison rather than for estimation of absolute levels.

13. These data offer a range of interesting insights on how participation varies across social groups. Here the difference between younger and older citizens is less clear-cut, with the under-25s actually being more active in political parties or groups, and having boycotted products for political/ethical reasons. Interestingly, there are few differences by ethnicity, while in contrast there is a substantial divide between Leave and Remain voters, with the latter tending to be more politically engaged across a range of activities. As one might expect, those from the working class are slightly less likely to engage in the forms of political activity. When considering options for engaging citizens, then, it is important to consider their baseline level of participation, and the sorts of factors that might enable or discourage their engagement in particular activities.

²⁴³ Maria Grasso, Stephen Farrall, Emily Gray, Colin Hay, & Will Jennings (2017) 'The Aging of the Activist Generation: Generational replacement and the decline of political participation in Britain.' *Working Paper*.

²⁴⁴ Patrick Sturgis, Nick Baker, Mario Callegaro, Stephen Fisher, Jane Green, Will Jennings, Jouni Kuha, Ben Lauderdale & Patten Smith. (2016). *Report of the Inquiry into the 2015 British general election opinion polls*. London: Market Research Society/British Polling Council.

Table 1. Modes of participation, British Election Study Internet Panel, by demographic (percent)

Actions undertaken in last 12 months (Wave 6, 2015 general election)	Age		Ethnicity		Brexit		Social class	
	<25	>60	White British	Non-white	Leave	Remain	ABC1	C2DE
<i>Traditional/Offline</i>								
Contacted politician, government, local government official	16	23	18	15	17	22	20	15
Signed petition (not on Internet)	9	9	9	11	8	11	9	8
Done work on behalf of political party or action group	11	6	6	9	4	8	6	4
Donated to a political party, organization or cause	15	10	9	8	5	12	9	6
Taken part in a demonstration	4	2	3	4	1	4	3	2
Boycotted/purchased products for political/ethical reasons	20	12	14	14	9	20	15	12
Gone on strike or taken industrial action	1	1	2	3	1	2	2	1
<i>Online</i>								
Signed petition on Internet	50	37	38	35	33	44	39	34
During last 4 weeks posted/shared political content online (Wave 12, 2017 general election)								
Shared political content on Facebook	22	15	18	27	13	23	18	17
Shared political content on Twitter	28	19	19	32	12	24	20	17
Shared political content on e-mail	5	2	2	8	1	3	2	1
Shared political content via instant messaging	5	1	1	6	1	2	1	1

Solutions

14. If we are right about the complex dynamics driving anti-politics and political participation we would suggest the need for the search solutions to move beyond the usual suspects. Better political education is probably a good thing but it does not allow for experiences to calibrate and judge politics differently. Constitutional changes often favoured by elites are often viewed by citizens as the equivalent of moving deckchairs around on the

Titanic, it matters little to them if one group of politicians has more say than another. Multiple experiments in democratic innovation show that citizens can engage in policymaking effectively but there is little evidence that most want, or have the time, to do that on a sustained basis. We need to make representative politics work better and that means changing the way it works, the way that citizens can experience it and the way therefore they judge its inevitably flawed processes and practices. We have institutionalised a marketised, media-driven and shallow form of political exchange. As our long-view shows politics is unlikely to be comfortably embraced by but it could be better received, we argue, if it changed its institutional practices to make them more open, more engaging, richer, and more interactive. There is a need for a period of rethinking and experimentation to achieve that objective.

Victoria Clutton – written evidence (CCE0001)

My name is Victoria Clutton. I am a citizen submitting this document in a personal capacity.

1. I think citizenship is belonging to a particular a particular political system and associated set of social institutions. This encompasses both the benefits and responsibilities associated with that membership.

I think civic engagement is the ability to participate in the political process, run for political office, and make your issues and voice heard.

These things matter because if a political system does not honestly reflect the needs and wishes of the populace it governs then people aren't able to live the best, most effective versions of their lives. In the most extreme cases ignorance of the needs and wishes of the populace causes unnecessary suffering, death and loss of human rights. I think this illustrates the relationship between identity and citizenship or civic engagement. Identity is a useful concept as a short hand for a particular set of needs and beliefs and cultural norms. Identity has limits as a concept because most people don't fit neatly within the agreed modal incarnation of a particular identity but as base heuristic, making sure that the identities that make up your citizenship all have access to means of civic engagement is a really good idea. If you want to make sure a political system reflects the populace then a good start is having the political ruling class embody or at least engage with the full range of identities represented in the populace.

2. Speaking as a disabled person, you could take our human rights seriously, take including us in society seriously and engage with us better when making decisions about our lives. Accessibility to the political process is a problem, accessibility to legal support is a problem. If you want disabled people to feel more like citizens, giving them the same rights (not the same outcomes, the same rights) as other citizens would be a great place to start. For evidence that disabled people do not currently enjoy the same human rights as the rest of the populace, please see the UN report on human rights in the UK (accessible at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CRPD/Pages/InquiryProcedure.aspx>)

4. I would like to see the voting age lowered to 16. If you can legally have a child and drive a car, you are deemed legally responsible for your life the lives of others. Voting is being responsible for your life and the lives of your fellow citizens, it doesn't make sense to me that we deem people responsible for those things at different ages.

Voting registration legislation should not be tightened, eg requiring a driving license or a passport to register. Voter fraud is a tiny tiny problem, well below the threshold where it could ever be expected to be statistically or absolutely significant. Tightening voter registration disadvantages the poor, the elderly, the disabled, immigrants and women through a combination of creating a financial and accessibility bar to entry for the right to vote and/or making it more difficult to vote if your name or personal details change.

I would like to see us move away from a first past the post system. It encourages 2 party

politics, partisanship, encourages gerrymandering and decreases civic engagement because people know how much their vote matters depends strongly on where they live. Why bother to vote if you live in the safe seat of another party. At the very least I would think that a voting system that didn't so strongly distort the vote would give the government more information to go on and a better idea of what people actually want.

8. Freedom, tolerance, equal rights, human rights, fairness, openness, prudence, opportunity for all, innovation

Our Syria policy is a threat. Our welfare policy is a threat to the poor and disabled and elderly. Our general lack of tolerance is a particular threat to Muslim and disabled people if the hate crime statistics are anything to go by.

9. Please see everything I've said previously about the disabled, poor and elderly. Much of our welfare policy isolates people in these groups and punishes them, sometimes in ways that are arguably criminal. Stop doing that.

10. I think I've already defined my view of the relationship between citizenship and civic engagement. I think social cohesion is about defining our society in terms of what we care all care about (freedom, equal rights, opportunity, etc) and encouraging tolerance. Focus on what ties us together instead of cultural or religious differences. Explicitly define British values in our public discourse as a set of values that are independent of cultural or religious norms and show people that other differences don't really matter that much.

27 July 2017

Kate Coleclough, Head of Religious Studies, PSHE and Citizenship, Sir Thomas Boteler CE High School – written evidence (CCE0029)

Kate Coleclough, Head of Religious Studies, PSHE and Citizenship, Sir Thomas Boteler CE High School – written evidence (CCE0029)

I have been a teacher since 1999 and as part of my PGCE opted for Citizenship to be a supplementary subject as I felt it would complement my Religious Studies training and give me a wider understanding of society beyond my own experience. I soon realised the value of Citizenship education and its role in promoting active members of society and socially responsible citizens. I have since been a firm advocate for the subject and have sort out many different learning opportunities for my pupils to participate in, even being involved in the creation and pilot of a Young Leaders Award endorsed by the Archbishop of York. Of course Citizenship is important, how on earth do we hope to inspire the next generation to become socially responsible and exercise their democratic rights if they don't understand what they actually are or have a skewed, self entitled approach to their place in the world?

Over the years I have seen cohort after cohort become involved in charity fundraisers as part of a school charity event often relying on non-uniform days and cake sales at break to raise funds for the local hospice, which in itself is admirable but there is so much more to being an active citizen and engaging with the issues which face us as a modern society. I have seen the rise in interest in the subject at my school, we offer it as an option at GCSE, I have seen individuals with bright ideas and idealistic values looking to make a difference in the world, some wish to go on to a career in public services or law and therefore hold a genuine interest in the topics covered. Then there are some, who at a loss of what to choose have pulled the subject 'out of the hat' to 'give it a go, my mate says its easy' and of course it is easy for some, but not all. Unfortunately, particularly since the focus on E-bacc subjects, I have had more of this pupil category in my classes as they have been 'encouraged' or steered towards my subject so as to not affect the results from another curriculum area.

Feeling a little bit like a last resort is a challenge but alongside the ones who have chosen the subject and are passionate about it some balance is created and an interesting climate for debate. It is therefore essential to engage the pupils and use whatever resources are available. I find it is essential that they all get the opportunity to visit Parliament and see where decisions are made, to participate in the workshops provided by the Parliamentary Education Centre and ask any questions they want without fear of ridicule. I offer this visit every year and although it is a long way to travel and I get very little sleep, it is a small price to pay for the experience the young people receive visiting the capital.

I have noticed over the years that pupils have been more willing to engage in active citizenship, at first it was because of the coursework project and something that has to be done, but now more and more projects are springing up and many more pupils asking for support with charitable actions and civil engagement. Where as in the beginning pupils would opt to do a 'campaign' about fair trade or litter, where they would do a survey of

Kate Coleclough, Head of Religious Studies, PSHE and Citizenship, Sir Thomas Boteler CE High School – written evidence (CCE0029)

family and friends and interview the canteen and caretaking staff, I'm finding much more gritty topics being chosen in recent times. This past year I had two pupils visit a local primary school and deliver E-safety workshops to each class – extremely high quality workshops that made me very proud. In a similar way two further pupils looked at xenophobia in the town after being inspired to look at this after the Brexit referendum. They went so far as to write to the local press and had a letter published, this turned into a rather public debate where they were able to maturely and sensibly promote a balanced and well informed argument setting their opinions out clearly and diplomatically. One of these young men, as a result, has expressed a desire to work in politics in the future and in my opinion, he will be an asset!

Topics such as human trafficking, LGBTQ+ rights, race relations, xenophobia, foodbanks, the migrant crisis and other such contentious issues have replaced the airbrushing of models in magazines, recycling and litter as issues the pupils choose to campaign about. We filled a transit van full of supplies to be sent to Syria and the refugees in camps around Europe, another example of a pupils altruistic approach, she said that not only did she want to encourage others to change their views but also wanted to practically help at the same time. Seeing young people really step up to the mark and challenge those in the local community and within their families about some of the most important issues in today's world is what Citizenship is all about. The actions are taking place outside of school much more than ever before with very few taking the easy road of a class survey and interview with a member of staff.

Never have young people been more interested in politics and elections than in recent times. I always run a mock election to mirror the national ones, it is interesting to see how 'voter engagement' has increased in the last 2 years and how pupils are wanting to discuss in their form groups the different issues associated with the elections. It is interesting to see some pupils arguing (politely and appropriately) with staff the different social issues and the political parties approaches to them and disagreeing with each other, its challenging and inspiring to see so many young people with strong opinions and ideals, that respect the British values and are prepared to stand up for what they believe in. You see, citizenship is so much more than learning how voting systems work, what your human rights are and how the UK plays a part in the world, it is about how you can be all you can be and how you can contribute to society in a way that is much more than a good grade on a certificate. It's about how the law is there to keep us safe and enable us to achieve great things and change the world, justice is a thing to be celebrated as is democracy as citizenship enables us to accept the views of others, we don't necessarily agree with them, but they have their views just as I have mine and citizenship promotes respect.

Looking at issues that affect society in an objective manner enables young people to develop their own views and opinions, I have seen the pupils who have taken the subject on a whim become inspired and achieve so much more than a grade; confidence and resilience is developed as well as a sense of pride in our national values. No longer repeating

Kate Coleclough, Head of Religious Studies, PSHE and Citizenship, Sir Thomas Boteler CE High School – written evidence (CCE0029)

xenophobic phrases about benefits claimants and migrants heard in the local communities these young people are asking questions for themselves and seeking out the answers they require from numerous sources and developing the value of tolerance as they realise the benefits of a multi-cultural society and recognise the perpetuation of negative media coverage as not necessarily representative of the issue.

Citizenship is an essential subject area, I know we deliver a full GCSE option but it is a subject that goes beyond the qualification, we have a strong school council and pupil ambassador program. Our young people are proud of the school and what to be a part of it, they are keen to give back and support those joining us in the future, both pupils and staff. Pupil voice plays a part in the school and representatives from the school council report to the governors regularly on what they are doing. Good citizenship education gives young people a purpose and opportunity to get involved with the things that affect them, gives them a voice and the chance to participate in change.

We are a very different society today from the ‘make do and mend’ Britain of the WW2 era but we have not forgotten the values that we have fought so hard to keep, our young people are valuable and citizenship education needs to be quality and engaging, not a ‘make do’ curriculum paying lip service to what once was. The pupils are the future and we have a duty to equip them with the very best of tools so when they leave us and venture out into the world they can be useful and contribute positively to society. Not all will respond positively to the issues and opportunities given but there are those who will and the seeds that have been sown may be cultivated well into the future and challenge those who disagree. In a modern world pupils are plugged in to what is happening, they are more aware of world events and different opinions perpetuated from different groups thanks to social media. It has been essential to address the issue of ‘fake news’ and explain that sources of information needs to be verified and supported with evidence. Pupils are becoming more discerning and question the validity of some articles and stories presented to them, however, this can lead to them questioning me and my information! I would much rather have this though, than blind acceptance of an inappropriate ideology.

As a society we are facing many difficult issues that young people have questions about that are not always easy to answer, the recent terror attacks are galling and as adults we are often unable to coherently articulate how we feel about this. In response to the Manchester bombing, not that far away from us, we painted 22 bees around school as a lasting reminder of those who lost their lives, the pupils helped select the locations for these. Many pupils knew people in attendance and needed some way to process what had happened, some staff struggle to deal with the questions generated by such acts, citizenship can help address issues but also enable pupils to make some sense of the world when it appears to be broken.

To conclude, my personal view is based on my experience and passion as a teacher to deliver the best citizenship education I can, I am enabled and supported by my school and

Kate Coleclough, Head of Religious Studies, PSHE and Citizenship, Sir Thomas Boteler CE High School – written evidence (CCE0029)

SLT in this as the subject is valued and timetabled well alongside other subjects. The best Citizenship education encompasses quality first teaching, the engagement of learners, visitors from the local council, MP's, the Mayor, Magistrates, Environmental Officers to name a few, in addition to visits to London, Parliament, the town hall and other appropriate venues. As much thought and planning needs to go into the subject as any other curriculum area, the pupils will see the value if the school celebrates the subject and promotes the value of Citizenship Education.

21 August 2017

Community Channel – written evidence (CCE0213)

About Community Channel:

Broadcasting on free-to-air television 24 hours a day into all UK homes, Community Channel changes lives and communities, inspires new ideas, new conversations, volunteering and community engagement.

Launched in 2000, Community Channel audiences continue to grow, with over 10 million unique viewers watching Community Channel content last year. Our BARB-rated TV audiences are over 9 million a year, based on unique individuals who watch for at least 3 minutes, and on average 20 minutes.

In July 2016 following a successful ‘community shares’ Crowdfunder campaign, Community Channel moved out of Media Trust ownership to become a charitable Community Benefit Society (CBS), owned by its new community shareholders, who range from individuals in communities across the UK through to charitable foundations and media companies.

The Channel broadcasts free-to-air across the UK, on Freeview, Sky, Virgin Media and Freesat, and most content is available online. Media and digital partners donate bandwidth, content and marketing support. The demographic we reach (35+, and lower demographic) are still major television consumers.

“Watching Community Channel has literally changed my life. It inspired me to leave the house, to join a local group as a volunteer, and then to get a job. Now I in turn mentor others. Thank you.”

Response to the call for evidence to the Committee:

1. The Community Channel response emphasises:
 - the importance of the media and digital sector in promoting, reinforcing, inspiring and defining citizenship and civic engagement in the 21st Century
 - the importance of supporting civil society, communities and citizens across the UK to communicate through a range of media, from mainstream media to social media, to

participate in content creation directly and indirectly, to ‘have a voice’, and to be seen and heard by as wide an audience as possible.

- The role of government and regulators in enabling, encouraging the media and digital sectors to play a lead role in bringing people together, at local and national levels, and promoting engaged citizenship through both face2face and digital activity.
2. Our experience of many decades working across the media and civil society, through Community Channel’s 17 years of existence, the 23 years of the Channel’s original parent charity Media Trust, and the social action broadcasting work of Community Service Volunteers that inspired Media Trust’s founding, underpins our belief that civil society, civic engagement, positive approaches to citizenship and identity, all rely immensely on positive reflection across media, and that media, whether mainstream or digital, national or local is a key, if not THE key, force that can create either positive or negative social values.
 3. It is vital not to take for granted the long-fought-for media ecology of the UK, with its old and new institutions. We urge the Committee to look seriously into the role and potential role of the media in encouraging and fostering citizenship and civic engagement as part of the report, and would be happy to provide further evidence in more depth. Below are just a few areas for consideration:

4. Public Service Broadcasting and The Communications Act 2003

4.1 Ofcom's principal duty, as set out in section 3(1) of the Communications Act 2003, includes “furthering the interests of UK citizens in relation to communications matters.” (1) Ofcom should be more actively involved in future discussions around citizenship and civic engagement and how its regulation of communications can support this area. Pressure on Ofcom and government from public service broadcasters to reduce their social action and citizenship roles, particularly on the high impact free-to-air UK-wide broadcast platforms, has led to a significant reduction in the visibility of positive civic engagement. Television remains by far the most watched, and influential medium in the UK, including among young people, and should not be disregarded by the Committee (2).

The creativity and resource that can be put into encouraging the UK to bake, thanks to ‘The Great British Bake Off’, could also be channelled into innovative content that inspires social action, volunteering and civic engagement.

4.2 Clearly the growing and widespread influence of digital, social and ‘user-generated’ content has enormous influence for both positive and negative behaviours.

4.3 We would like to encourage Ofcom and the newspaper (self-)regulators to play a more active role in countering and minimising negative portrayal of various communities across the UK, across mainstream media, and digital media, to minimise reinforcement of negative attitudes and behaviours, and to inform, and inspire, positive civic engagement, including formal and informal volunteering and social action. The ultimate extreme of ‘hate crime’, and related ‘fake news’ can be minimised through positive campaigns and engagement with the wider media and digital industry.

5. The unique role of The Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport (DCMS):

5.1 DCMS has a unique potential role to bring together the media and digital sectors, the lottery distributors, and the wide range of civil society organisations, from the tiniest community groups through to the largest charities, and the growing movement of social enterprise, co-operatives and mutuals.

5.2 We would encourage the Office for Civil Society to collaborate more closely and pro-actively with the broadcast, media and digital teams in DCMS with a specific purpose of inspiring citizenship and civic engagement. The power of bringing together the different parts of DCMS

5.3 We encourage DCMS to lead the way in supporting civil society organisations to have the resources to use media and communications effectively, to give a voice to the people and communities they support and represent, and to inspire others across the UK to engage in civil society, to develop new forms of mutual, co-operative and voluntary activity, using both mainstream and digital media to share best practice, tell stories and inspire social action and civic engagement.

5.4 We would encourage the DCMS and other government departments to widen their support to older people, indeed those above 25! The growing 50+ population has much to offer, both in taking active roles themselves, but also in inspiring, mentoring and supporting others.

5.5 A sustainable future for content creation and distribution, focussed on social action, citizenship and civic engagement:

We encourage DCMS to ring-fence a significant amount of the ‘Contestable Fund’, the new pilot £60m fund within DCMS created with BBC funds, for content that is related to education, religion, and social action (3). We expect that this fund will become available in early-2018, following the recent DCMS consultation on its purpose (see also Community Channel response to the consultation). Part of the fund’s wider purpose is to create public service content for broadcast (free-to-air), into all UK homes, creating content that reflects issues, voices and communities not seen on mainstream public service platforms. There is great potential to develop a dedicated high impact content fund for social action, with opportunities for co-production and co-funding from media and digital partners. We are also encouraging major funders, particularly across the lottery distributors, to add match funding to this fund, for both broadcast and digital content that reflects our shared visions and ambitions to support, strengthen and empower people and communities across UK.

6. **Cross-government collaboration:** We would welcome a more formal, regular, structured and influential cross-departmental activity around the areas of citizenship and civic engagement, to minimise duplication of effort and resources, and increase sharing of best practice.

7. The potential impact of Community Channel

7.1 We would encourage support for and investment in the Community Channel, to continue to grow its mainstream TV audiences and its digital and social media audiences, alongside its partnerships with mainstream and digital media. It is a unique UK platform for content and voices related to civil society, civic engagement, volunteering and social action, faith and ethnicity, bringing together the inspirational diversity of the UK communities and UK citizens, of all ages and backgrounds.

7.2 Amy, just one of our millions of viewers, told us:

“Community Channel connects me with local communities, not only my own but others around the country and the world. It makes real human lives feel like they are connected to me, no matter how far, everyone counts, alone we are nothing, together we are something. In a world of disconnection, mainstream media control, and faceless internet groups, the

Community Channel – written evidence (CCE0213)

Community Channel provides a connection to others and to community action, in a way no other media outlet has managed.”

Amy Rose Taylor, Community Channel viewer, aged 35-44.

Thank you for considering this response.

Caroline Diehl MBE,

Chairman & Founder, Community

References:

- (1) [www.ofcom.org.uk/ data/assets/pdf file/0025/92248/Citizens-and-communications-services.pdf](http://www.ofcom.org.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0025/92248/Citizens-and-communications-services.pdf)
- (2) <http://www.thinkbox.tv/Research/Nickable-Charts/TV-viewing-and-audiences>
- (3) <https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/public-service-broadcasting-contestable-fund-pilot-phase>

Community First Yorkshire – written evidence (CCE0075)

Q1 What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

Citizenship and civic engagement concerns people feeling part of something and taking social responsibility. It enables societies to flourish by mobilising the energy of people within a particular community. It matters because people will have connection with one-another and feel part of a ‘home’ by birth, naturalisation or residency however long or short. It does relate to questions of identity and people identify with being part of different groups and communities. Not feeling part of or identifying with a community is less likely to engender civic engagement.

Q2 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?

Yes and pride needs to be rooted in part on a culture of respecting diversity.

Q3 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?

Q4 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?

Q5 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?

Secondary school curriculum changes have seen the removal of hours devoted to extended school activities and extra curriculum time and teacher/support worker resources to broaden students involvement in outside school projects. School activities and initiatives

should be extended to include young people furthering their study at FE colleges. The national and regional FE Review led by the Education and Skills Funding Agency, through LEPs and other partnership structures does not give any insight into citizenship and civic engagement activities for learners taking this route. The same message is relevant to young people taking Apprenticeships, with time and resources provided to engage in civic activities.

Q6 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?

From local experience of youth groups, the view held is that the active citizen agenda with young people needs to be more than just a few hours of volunteering that NCS provides.

Support for citizenship activities needs a wider focus and should acknowledge the role of work done by a wider range of organised group activities – youth clubs come through strongly and rightly so, but so should organised sport, arts etc. Any forum where young people can engage together in productive activities or social action and where they can move on to leadership roles is key. These organised activities also provide good role models – a young person may become a coach and latter support the village hall that is their changing rooms and eventually join the Parish Council etc. A gradual developing of a sense of citizenship. These wider groups should be linked in and seen as follow-on to NCS involvement to maintain young people’s interest and provide on-going activities.

For a significant number of NCS participants, the experience is really good and they produce some really useful social action but as with any programme that is so prescriptive a lot of participants will simply go through the process and some have a terrible time.

A colleague who was at a Police and Crime Commissioner Youth Crime Commission meeting a couple of years ago heard one young person say publicly to a sizeable audience:

‘that NCS was the worst experience of her life.’ Comment made at an event at The Priory Street, York in front of a large number of influential people.

Do voluntary citizenship programmes such as the National Citizen Service do a good job of creating active citizens?

Overall things like NCS are great as a standalone programme that young people can enjoy but to suggest that this would create more active citizens is not something that is actually occurring. Significant amounts of young people are not engaging with NCS (the amount of

unfilled spaces each year evidences this) and with the reduction in youth work support they are being left on their own, potentially vulnerable and ultimately as the issues build are far less likely to be active citizens, and are likely to become those that need more active citizens to help them.

Are they the right length?

The issue with NCS is that it is over too short a period of time. The programme last around 6 weeks. It appears from experience on the ground and comments from young people, that six weeks is merely tokenistic and does not provide the opportunity for effective and on-going support to produce active citizens. Those that will become active will do it despite NCS not because of it. What is missing is a support mechanism to encourage further social action once the programme is over. If NCS is the first experience of volunteering for young person how do they continue? Who helps them find new opportunities?

Q9 Should they be compulsory, and if so, when?

No. Involvement by choice creates a far more motivated and participative learner.

The North Yorkshire and York Volunteering Strategy 2015- 2020 has specific actions to engage young people in volunteer as part of creating a longer term engagement in communities. This strategy was produced in partnership by members of the VCS Strategic Leaders group to provide a context for collaboration and planning. The table provides relevant extracts relating to young people and citizenship.

Government should look to supporting the development of strategic plans for communities (be they geographical or communities of interest), to bring together key partners involved in planning and funding work with people and communities to create stronger and more sustainable communities. This approach would mirror the economic plans of LEPs, and provide the social context to complement economic development activities.

Extracts relevant to young people and citizenship taken from –			
North Yorkshire and York Volunteering Strategy 2015- 2020			
Strategic Aim 1 To provide every individual, no matter what their background, with the opportunity to volunteer and contribute to their community			
	Objectives	Specific Actions	Resources
1.1	North Yorkshire has clear and accessible information on what volunteering is, what	Awareness campaign developed across strategic partners, establishing common messages, briefing key local	Grant sources to be looked at for an awareness/

	opportunities there are, and how to get involved	media, explore having a 'volunteer' vacancy column and case studies	communication campaign
1.7	Schools, universities and colleges are engaged to embed the idea of volunteering within the consciousness of children and young people to ensure a future generation of volunteering	Identify how volunteering can contribute to the Extended curriculum for schools and colleges. Links to the strategic priorities and groups to be made, and briefings eg: Children and YP Plan, Higher York, FE Principals	
STRATEGIC AIM 2 To make volunteering more recognised, visible and valued in the community and more widely			
	Objectives		Resources
2.1	Positive images of volunteering capturing the breadth of opportunities is promoted	Use of case study stories, anecdotally and in the media	Strategic partners
2.2	Volunteers and volunteering in the community is recognised and celebrated	Volunteer Week, Trustee Week and other awards to be timetabled for collaborative action, Include in media plan	Partner communication plans

Should they include a greater political element?

To help young people understand the political landscape and how to engage with decision makers would be useful but not sure NCS is the right vehicle to explore complex views – simply because of the timescales involved. The need to join up with appropriate curriculum subjects within local schools is important to provide this context.

Are they good value for money?

No. The money invested in NCS could be distributed across the country to support youth work (or other programmes) much more effectively. It would provide year round support and opportunities for young people to become active citizens and provide a significant amount of added value through the relationships that can be built up. Helping to spot things like CSE, Radicalisation, At risk of teenage pregnancy, at risk of entering the criminal justice

system and so on. As an example the £8 million spent on advertising NCS would have kept a significant amount of youth services open. The audit commissions report on NCS said it all – too expensive what it provides. NCS certificated experience can be met through a number of infrastructure routes, which local your support organisations can make available and provide support to ensure achievement.

What other routes exist for creating active citizens?

To actually provide the support for young people to become active citizens the money should be invested into youth work or specific volunteering programmes such as Involved (previously millennium volunteers). The rational being that youth workers provide year round support and can run many volunteering events within the time periods that young people want – not just over the summer holidays (there are other options but again are quite prescriptive). The added benefit is that they can support young people with many other issues, they are well qualified, work across a variety of age groups (11 – 19) and therefore can create the active citizen habit. I started as a youth club member that was encourage to volunteer and I've volunteered in a number of roles since then, as an example.

Support for citizenship activities needs a wider focus and should acknowledge the role of work done by an wider range of organised group activities – youth clubs come through strongly and rightly so, but so should organised sport, arts etc. Any forum where young people can engage together in productive activities or social action and where they can move on to leadership roles is key. These organised activities also provide good role models – a young person may become a coach and latter support the village hall that is their changing rooms and eventually join the Parish Council etc. A gradual developing of a sense of citizenship.

A recent announcement is the NCS will now provide mental health training for young people on NCS – youth workers do this as part of the on-going support process and would start at 11, not 16 which by the press releases own admission is up to 2 years behind, as a lot of issues start at 14. It is also after the GCSE exams and there is no help earlier, especially for those young people struggling with exam worries etc.

Q7 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?

Recognise and acknowledge the role of work done by an wider range of organised groups– youth clubs, organised sport, arts etc. Any forum where young people can engage together in productive activities or social action and where they can move on to leadership roles is

key. These organised activities also provide good role models – a young person may become a coach and latter support the village hall that is their changing rooms and eventually join the Parish Council etc. A gradual developing of a sense of citizenship. Links to these in any local area should be part of the vision for NCS.

In York, North Yorkshire and the East Riding VCSE Strategic Leaders Group work together within a shared strategic context to make a difference in the civic/community life of our communities to make that difference. The Volunteering Strategy is a key document for the Group setting out the aims and priorities to 2020, and used as part of conversations with funders and planners to shape local investment. Government could look to supporting the development of strategic plans for communities (be they geographical or communities of interest), to bring together key partners involved in planning and funding work with people and communities to create stronger and more sustainable communities. This approach would mirror the economic plans of LEPs, and provide the social context to complement economic development activities.

A recommendation from recent research into the BME communities in North Yorkshire suggested funding should be available for a training programme to:

- provide information about how our health, housing, education and other civic functions work. These could be through ESOL learning programmes such as those designed by the Workers' Education Association, which also incorporate confidence building and empowerment approaches. They could have a wider application to more than BME groups,
- improve the 'voice' of BME groups by developing skills in advocacy, campaigning and articulating needs
- provide skills in group development for BME and other groups using the skills and resources already existing in local support and development organisations.

This programme of learning could usefully be delivered by some of the people already involved in running and supporting their own groups where they exist. This includes volunteers involved in the admittedly small number of formally constituted community groups. Provision could be made for Training for Trainers courses which would equip people representative of some of the groups mentioned above with the skills and knowledge necessary for empowering themselves and others.

Q8 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?

Q9 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?

Research conducted on behalf of the North Yorkshire Equality and Diversity Strategic Partnership into BME communities in North Yorkshire identified BME groups are often invisible to policy makers and service providers because their numbers are small and people are often not concentrated together. Invisibility is a barrier to all types of engagement. This lack of engagement in active citizenship and lack of visibility can lead to the absence of culturally appropriate approaches to engagement and services. Invisibility and absence of organised groups was reflected by the difficulty faced by the researcher to identify many organised groups, and the need to adopt other methods to find people to interview, which included attending children's centre groups and English classes. This led to a good depth of views from a diverse range of individuals, with very little reference to groups.

The statistics and views of the people and groups interviewed, showed a level of super diversity – of nationalities, races, religions, social class, age and reasons for living in North Yorkshire. This reflects the diverse nature generally as different districts of the county have attracted migrants and settlers for different socio economic reasons across the generations, all with different histories and needs. This diversity mitigates against a critical mass sufficient to influence and engagement. As a result of this super diversity, there is little scope for generalising about the experiences of people belonging to BME groups of receiving services and, in fact, it would be dangerous to do so. There were differential expectations about public services and different people and groups experienced different issues.

There were, some common themes and barriers including the complexity of accessing both health services and social housing, the cost of paying for ESOL classes for people very willing to learn English and, most importantly, the stressful working conditions that some people faced without recourse to enforcement and advice agencies.

The results of the research led to recommendations about a need for greater awareness of the needs of a very diverse population and adopting a ‘needs not numbers’ approach to service provision. The results provide intelligence to be used to inform planning to attract funding for a learning programme that can provide not only learning about how our systems work but also equip people and groups with a voice by developing their skills in advocacy, campaigning and articulating needs. This voice could be further enhanced by the forming of a reference group of people representing the groups visited and of individuals who took part in the research. Consideration will need to be given to family and work constraints of

those who want to be involved and the costs of travelling across a county like North Yorkshire.

Rural areas have unique barriers to getting involved in social action or volunteering as a first point of citizenship. Transport, distance, sparsity of children, sparsity of people to lead activities and lack of places for young people to congregate and get involved are all very real issues for young people in rural communities, especially for those whose parents are for many reasons unable to take their children to groups and activities. Youth clubs and other groups help to counter this at a very local level. Public facilities such as village schools could be opened up more for use by wider groups in the communities.

Q10 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?

Q11 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?

Recent research among the BME community in North Yorkshire highlighted a lack of or the cost of ESOL classes in FE colleges and elsewhere were seen as a barrier to people learning English in order to feel confident to engage in community, social and economic activity.

Q12 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?

The idea of youth Parish Councils could be adopted more widely, where communities have one and take it seriously it gives young people a really good first taste of holding a role of worth and having their views heard and acted on.

Supporting process for parish plans to be developed with the aim of bringing together the views, needs and opportunities from across diverse populations, would help develop everyone's understanding of one another and involvement in shaping services and activities to suit everyone's interest and needs. Parish plans have in the past brought communities together and led to more civic engagement in local planning and activities.

David Sharp, Chief Executive of North Yorkshire Youth, the co-author of this response, has a career background of working with and engaging young people in community activities. David is very interested in attending the committee to share his knowledge of working with

Community Organisers Ltd – written evidence (CCE0200)

young people generally and more specifically his experience of doing this across the largest county in England and the particular challenges that poses with young people living in both urban and deeply rural areas.

Response on behalf of: the voluntary and community sector North Yorkshire and Rural Community Council for North Yorkshire, one of 38 ACRE Network members (Action with Communities in Rural England).

Response from: Co-authors:

- Caroline O’Neill, Policy and Partnerships Officer, Community First Yorkshire
- David Sharp, Chief Executive
- North Yorkshire Yo

6 September 2017

Community Organisers Ltd – written evidence (CCE0200)

- 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. Trust in the institutions that influence, shape and govern our society are at an all-time low. According to the Edleman Trust (2017) they identified that 53% of people interviewed felt that the system had ‘failed them’. This is unacceptable.
3. Over recent decades the destabilisation of industry, the erosion of geographic boundaries and the instability in the political sphere has led to people feeling more disconnected than ever before from those that affect their decisions.
4. Despite this, the underlying human condition that relates to the need for people to belong remains. Disillusionment with the ‘system’ means that people are seeking belonging in other ways. It is paramount that the ‘system’ seeks to rebuild trust with citizens. By rebuilding trust we can start to reconnect with people and reshape what identity, citizenship and civic engagement means in the 21st century.
- 5. 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?**
6. Citizenship is defined as being;

- the state of being vested with the rights, privileges, and duties of a citizen.
- the character of an individual viewed as a member of society; behaviour in terms of the duties obligations, and functions of a citizen

(source: *Dictionary.com Unabridged*. Random House, Inc. 6 Sep. 2017)

7. This definition suggests that citizenship is more about the legal rights and duties that an individual is entitled to rather than the sense of belonging that they might feel to a place. Belonging is derived from holding a personal connection to a common identity and shared interest determined by an individual's own perception of self in relation to the wider world rather than the rights ascribed to them.
8. Ceremonies, events and other activities may play one step in creating a connection between the individual and the state but to build a relationship where rights and associated responsibilities are widely shared and understood is part of an educative and ongoing process where all parties are part of the learning process.
9. The state needs to create the conditions for dialogue to enable a shared sense of understanding with those with whom it seeks to engage as citizens. It needs to act as a facilitator or enabler to create a sense of 'we' breaking down the dichotomies between I (as an individual), 'US' and 'THEM'.
- 10. 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?**
11. We live in a democracy in which power to effect decisions resides in the hands of people. We (as people) have the tools to change the decisions that affect our lives.
12. The General Election this year saw the highest voter turnout since 2001. Interest in the political sphere is growing amongst young people who are actively calling for change.
13. It is crucial, therefore, that the political system is reflective of the people for whom it makes decisions on behalf of.

14. It does seem obscure that you can get married at 16, pay taxes at 16 and drive at 17 yet not able to have a say over the laws that govern our relationships, how taxes are spent or on decisions on motoring until the age of 18.
15. The legislature of the United Kingdom has enshrined in law the Localism Act 2011 which has given greater power to citizens to influence, inform and take control of the assets, services, places in which they live.
16. However, despite the rule of law and such acts as the Localism Act, the determining factor that encourages active political engagement is the level of agency that an individual has to influence the decisions and world around them.
- 17. 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?**
18. Whilst Citizenship education is statutory for KS3 and KS4, 61% (2,075 out of 3,381) of secondary schools in England are Academies and consequently not bound to follow the National Curriculum. There should be more teaching and encouragement of active citizenship from primary school through to college and university. A KS5 option should also be available.
19. Schools, colleges and universities do not exist within a vacuum. If students can recognise that they are part of an institution, that the institution is part of the local area, and understand the ways in which they could influence what happens in the local area, they would feel more powerful. As well as a discrete subject this should be integrated into the curriculum of existing core subjects with teachers having a shared responsibility for delivering an active citizenship curriculum
20. Whilst acknowledging that citizenship education is vital, so is ensuring that the delivery of an active citizenship curriculum promotes politics with a small 'p'. Teaching in England is heavily unionised and it is paramount that the delivery is politically neutral and does seek to advance or promote a personal organisational agenda.
- 21. 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?

22. According to the NCS website, NCS provide an opportunity for those who participate to ‘live away from home, develop skills to boost your CV and meet amazing people’. And ‘make your mark and build skills for work and life’. This definition to attract participants is a highly personalised and individualised interpretation of the Programme (i.e. what is in this for me).
23. Active Citizenship is underpinned by the belief that a responsibility resides in citizens to engage in democratic process. By definition, it suggests that an individual has power and influence to shape the world around them.
24. It is perhaps too early to evaluate the impact of Programmes such as NCS in creating ‘active citizens’ particular when the primary objectives, as defined by its own website, seemingly are preparing people to enter the labour market rather than as citizens with power to influence and shape the democratic process.
25. Having said this, NCS does have a ‘social action project’ built into phase 3 of the ‘adventure’. Social Action is defined as, ‘young people taking practical **action** in the service of others in order to create positive **social** change that is of benefit to the wider community as well as to the young person themselves” (Young Foundation, June 2013).
26. This definition, and the use of the word ‘service’, is challenging to the definition of active citizenship. Active Citizenship assumes that we each hold power and agency as an individual to effect change in the world around. Service, assumes that individuals hold power to effect change for and on behalf of those less fortunate or powerless, doing for them to aid them to live a better life.
27. This approach to development can lead to imbalance of power and perhaps a reviewed definition of social action should be used to reflect power and agency and how power can be built to effect change.
- 28. 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?**
29. In 2010 David Cameron PM stated at the Conservative Party Conference that, ‘The goal of the Big Society is to transfer power from the state to individuals, neighbourhoods or

the lowest possible tier of Government, in that priority. What remains of state power will be used galvanising, catalysing, prompting, encouraging and agitating for community engagement and social renewal’

30. Regardless of political persuasion this ambition to ensure that all people can participate fully in society and in democratic process is unquestionable.
31. To achieve this, the Coalition Government along with the establishment of such legislation of the Localism Act committed to training a new generation of Community Organisers.
32. The National Community Organiser Programme (2010 – 2015) built a new network of over 5000 individuals, who came from all walks of life and political background, to catalyse new forms of social action and leadership in communities. The legacy of this being The Company of Community Organisers. A national membership and training organisation to support local leaders to understand the values and principles of community organising.
33. Community Organisers begin by talking to local residents. At the heart of the approach is listening to residents about the changes they believe their local area needs; before bringing people together and supporting them to take action on the issues they care about. Community Organising is active citizenship and civic engagement in action.
34. This approach acknowledged that it is people and not government that hold the answers to tackling local problems. It set out the belief that no-one knows more about what an area needs to thrive than the people who live and work there. This inside knowledge and connection to their local communities that Whitehall just can’t rival. This is the reality that has driven Government’s ambitions for localism and devolution in the last six years – with more power, flexibility and control pushed out from the centre than ever before.
35. Increasingly organisations have been evolving their strategies to move towards using community organising approaches. Outcomes have been, mobilising local communities to take collective action on a given issue, or developing professional practice to work with people in a different way that focuses on strengths and assets rather than needs and deficits.
36. Community organising inspires community led action. It invites people to think about how they relate to each other and what collectively can be done to change the conditions in communities and organisations to enable growth in confidence and an ability to take control of their own lives.

37. Participatory approaches, community development and community organising should be supported by Government; not controlled by Government. Policy decisions and investment should continue to reflect the needs for power and control over decision making to reside at the most local level.
38. 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?
39. There are a many reasons why some communities and groups feel ‘left behind’. In a recent study by the Resolution Foundation it says that a combination of stagnant wages, rising inflation and £12billion welfare cuts is seeing millions of families worse off with the poorest families having their income drop by an average of 2% by 2021. By contrast the richest fifth of households will see their wealth increase by 5% over the same period.
40. This, is perhaps, the biggest barrier to active citizenship. If economic policy is driving greater polarity between the richest and poorest in our society then, according to Maslow’s hierarch of need, if basic human need cannot be fulfilled then how can people effectively contribute as active citizens?
41. As individuals, seek to address basic need and ‘make ends meet’ by working multiple jobs at low pay then this is increasingly making individuals ‘time poor’ to contribute to wider society.
42. To overcome this there needs to be a commitment to ensuring that we, as citizens and government, take collectively responsibility to ensuring that we work collectively to alleviate the root causes of poverty and disadvantage.

Conservative Muslim Forum – written evidence (CCE0150)

The Conservative Muslim Forum (CMF) is an integral part of the Conservative Party. All CMF members are full members of the Party and we believe that the fundamental values of the Conservative Party such as recognising the importance of the family, scepticism of state control, a belief in private enterprise, low taxes and personal responsibility are values that appeal to British Muslims. Our aims and objectives can be found on our website at <http://www.conservativemuslimforum.com/about-us/objectives>

1 Being precise about terms

Citizenship and civic engagement are two separate issues and, an issue in their own right. Conflating them risks causing poor quality thinking.

1.1 Citizenship

Citizenship is an unavoidable legal concept that all states must deal with since the planet is divided into separate states, and each state must know which person are its citizens, and to be able to identify which foreign state a person may belong to. Some states permit dual citizenship while other states do not.

At its most fundamental, citizenship is purely a legal relationship. Becoming a citizen of the UK (whether by birth or naturalisation) gives an individual numerous legal rights set out in UK domestic law and in international law. At the same time, it causes the UK state to have certain rights over that individual such as the power to conscript that individual into the UK's Armed Forces.

These legal relationships exist and continue irrespective of the attitude that the individual may have to the state. An individual who is completely alienated and who spies for a foreign power (such as the famous Cambridge spy ring) continues to be a citizen even though he may be guilty of treason.

The word citizenship is also used to describe an individual's psychological and emotional relationship with a state. However, it would be better to use alternative wording such as "active citizenship" or indeed "civic engagement" to avoid confusing a clear legal relationship with an emotional relationship that varies from person to person and may vary within one person over time.

1.2 Civic engagement

Civic engagement is an entirely separate issue from citizenship. One can be a citizen of a state without having any level of civic engagement with it. For example, by virtue of his birth CMF Chairman Mohammed Amin is a citizen of Pakistan although he last set foot in the country in 1952, and his civic engagement with Pakistan is essentially zero. Conversely a foreigner residing in the UK can be involved in civic engagement while having no right of

citizenship. However, in order to help society, flourish in a peaceful and harmonious environment civic engagement should be encouraged and things taught should help people in practical ways.

Civic engagement is clearly a moral responsibility of all individuals. People who have a religious belief are normally required by their religious beliefs to have concern for the health and welfare of their fellow believers, but normally also to have concern for the rest of humanity. That is certainly the case with Judaism, Christianity and Islam. However, we risk going wrong when we attempt to codify moral responsibilities into law.

Civic engagement is in part about the way that an individual residing in a state (who may or may not be a citizen) engages with the organs of that state (for example by voting in elections). Perhaps much more importantly, civic engagement is also about how individuals residing in a state deal with fellow members of their society and become involved in civil society organisations, such as political parties, trade unions, think tanks, charities, religious organisations etc. Civic engagement is protean and dynamic by nature and not compulsory. This means that anyone can take part even if they are not a citizen. Globalisation and the rise of social media now means that one can be halfway around the world and still participate in civic life. Furthermore, civic engagement is means by which citizens shape and redefine the relationships between them and the government. This can take the form of referendums, elections or by protesting.

There is in practice some linkage between citizenship and civic engagement since those who don't have citizenship rights can feel left out and excluded from society.

2 Promoting civic engagement

2.1 The role of education

Education plays a fundamental role in mentoring children from a young child into a good human being. Unfortunately, much of the educational system appears to have forgotten that with its obsessive focus on the transmission of factual information and commercially valuable skills.

At every stage of the educational system, focus is required to ensure that the education is contributing towards producing an individual who will be civically engaged and a “good citizen” in the classically understood meaning of that phrase.

It is with regret, recent evidence suggests the greatest impediment is the large-scale presence of left-wing teachers who are hostile to the state and hostile to civic engagement.

Good citizenship should be encouraged through the education system up to the age of 16 GCSEs. The education system does not actually ask you to think but rather to regurgitate facts.

As part of ‘good citizenship’ the CMF believes there should be more political engagement both in and outside the class. Politics controls and shapes the decisions we make through the policies and taxes that are implemented. As such, because it affects everyone it should be part of combined syllabus with citizenship.

2.1.1 In the classroom

The CMF proposes this could be implemented by enabling schools to put significant effort into developing debating societies so that pupils understand how to argue a point and learn how to see through poor quality arguments.

The CMF believes the curriculum should change so that it focuses on a smaller number of core subjects in order to create space for the teaching of active citizenship combined with history. It is impossible to teach more of something, without teaching less of something else.

The problem is that there is a general unwillingness to take tough decisions. An example is the level of outrage when the then Secretary of State for Education Michael Gove introduced the so-called English E-Bacc so that only a small number of specified subjects would count towards a particular league table for English schools. There were howls of outrage from teachers of subjects that were not included.

It is highly desirable that citizens of Britain should have a positive attitude to the state and a positive attitude to the generality of their fellow citizens. An essential part of this is appropriate teaching of history, which is why history in all countries is almost always the most contentious item in the school curriculum. In that regard, the Curriculum for Cohesion project which Mohammed Amin is a patron had much useful to say in its submission to the 2013 review of the National Curriculum for History. See their document “A Broader, Truer History for All” which can be downloaded via the link

<http://curriculumforcohesion.org/read/submission-to-national-curriculum-review/>

2.1.2 Out of the classroom

The National Citizenship Service has been a resounding success, notwithstanding its slow start. The writer Attic Rahmans’ daughter has recently attended an NCS programme which brings together many teenagers from all backgrounds all of whom are required to interact and solve problems through tasks which build on interaction and teamwork. Another example, is the Duke of Edinburgh awards. The CMF supports such programmes and, proposes more is done to encourage and support them.

Whether they should become compulsory, raises some very hard questions. For maximum effectiveness, citizenship programmes should be compulsory. Every Jewish citizen of Israel (apart from the Haredim which is a separate political issue) is required to serve in the Israeli Defense Force and this is a strong contributor to civic identification.

However, there is a significant cost involved, both in terms of direct government expenditure and in the lost earnings represented by the time spent during military service.

There would be much to be said for a six month compulsory UK National Citizen Service obligation, which took the individual away from their home and had them involved in social action combined with intensive absorption of history and political understanding. However, massive political objection can be expected to any such proposal.

2.2 Addressing the Electoral System

There is no panacea to achieving greater civic engagement. Instead, lots of specific actions are required at all levels of government. For example, many citizens live in constituencies which are very safe for either the Labour Party or the Conservative Party. It is perfectly rational for voters in such constituencies to not bother voting.

A change to the electoral system, preferably having larger multimember constituencies with the election being counted using the single transferable vote would dramatically change the situation because suddenly every vote would count. There would no longer be rational for any voter to not bother voting.

Similarly, some local authorities are dominated by one party or the other. Mohammed Amin lives in Manchester where every single councillor is a member of the Labour Party, and that has been the case for many years except when a Labour Party councillor defects for a limited period of time.

Accordingly, it is rational for voters in Manchester to abstain. A change in the electoral system to ensure that every vote mattered (as outlined above) would again produce a significant difference in voter turnout and in the engagement of voters.

2.3 Changing the voting age

As we mention above and elsewhere, political engagement should be encouraged from an early age, on the basis it invites debates and encourages participation in a process which has a fundamental effect on their lives and livelihood, both in the present and future.

The process from teaching in school to beyond the classroom can be put to effect, for example by lowering the voting age to 16. There is no evidence that today's 16-17-year-olds are any less well-informed than many much older people who may have had very little education when young and added very little to it during their lives. Indeed, the opposite was shown to be true in the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum. Another example, and we say with caution, is the overwhelming support for Jeremy Corbyn in the 2017 General Election. Both examples showed, the younger generation are very much interested in politics and have a desire to play a part. Such enthusiasm is a credit to society and, our political leaders should bear this in mind when they are next invited to a live TV debate.

Lowering the voting age is a positive step towards encouraging young people to get involved in the world around them at a young age which bodes well for the long term prosperity of the UK. It also strengthens democracy.

2.4 Creating more diverse schools and workplaces

Building civic engagement beyond narrow ethnic and religious groups requires making more diverse the environments where people spend most of their time.

As far as workplaces are concerned, the law against discrimination set out in the Equality Act 2010 is excellent. However specific changes in practice are required. For example, building on points that David Cameron and Theresa May have made before, the law should mandate name-blind recruitment application forms throughout not just the public sector but also the private sector.

Regarding schools, the most pernicious factor reducing diversity is the overwhelming weight given to geographical proximity when allocating school places. This leads to clustering by wealth around successful schools. Furthermore, it means that schools amplify existing geographical residential segregation.

The CMF suggests a specific change. For each state school, a particular radius should be specified (different within cities and rural areas). All applicants for places who live within that circular radius should be regarded as having equal geographical proximity. The school should also be given the obligation when allocating places to achieve a diverse pupil body that matches, as far as possible, all of the young people residing within the specified radius. This would significantly increase school diversity.

2.5 Learning from other countries

The UK could learn much from the way Countries such as the USA have always promoted allegiance to the country through their written Constitution.

Such allegiance is practically implemented through their education system – learning the national anthem and reading of America’s history; flying the national flag outside all public buildings and outside individuals’ homes etc. The UK, by contrast doesn’t have a codified written constitution and, takes no such steps to build a sense of allegiance.

3 Vulnerable groups

It is the CMF’s view, there are no ‘vulnerable groups’ when it comes to citizenship or civic engagement. We refer to an attack on ‘British’ values below – they are two distinct matters. The way to strengthen the citizenship of say for example, women or minority groups is the same way that we should strengthen the citizenship of every citizen. Ensuring that people can exercise their rights, using the full force of the law against those who deny people their rights, and appropriate citizenship education.

The CMF as a forum engaging with the BAME and Muslim population, finds those who feel “left behind” do so because:

- They feel a sense of entitlement. Most of those who express this sentiment are white British people who feel superior to ethnic minorities and superior to European migrants.
- They are aware that their economic circumstances do not match their sense of entitlement.
- Expressing resentment at being left behind is an easier course of action than making changes in their own lives that would improve their economic circumstances.

There may also be some amongst ethnic minorities who share the same three factors, but in general ethnic minorities do not feel the same sense of entitlement that is felt by some marginalised poor white British people.

Barriers to active citizenship, are primarily those of perception. For example, making the English language a mandatory requirement led to some resentment, although there are sound reasons for having such a requirement. The CMF believes part of the problem is that the government has spent too much time talking about the importance of learning English while reducing funding for the teaching of English outside the school environment.

It is important to provide English classes without charge to everyone living in the UK who wishes to access them. This is relevant particularly to newcomers to Britain who chose to take up citizenship. Encouraging them to take up learning to read, write and speak the English language is much better way to achieve a tolerant society, than an arduous citizenship test, which many people born and brought up in Britain may struggle to pass.

As another example, if someone believes that they will be discriminated against are not accepted into a group, they will often avoid even trying to join that group. Mohammed Amin suspects that this is the main reason why ethnic minorities are less well represented in mainstream political parties than are people who are white British. The same point applies to young people. With a Conservative Party that is on average somewhat geriatric, it may appear somewhat forbidding for a teenager to seek to join that party.

However, the perceptions of such ‘barriers’ can be overcome by (a) teaching young people to be more self-aware and to be more self-confident. As indicated earlier, the education system appears to place insufficient emphasis on this; and (b) encouraging and supporting integration of people from different backgrounds, culture, beliefs in shared values in a tolerant and cohesive society.

4 Citizen’s rights and responsibilities

The fundamental rights of British citizens arise from UK law – whether such rights emanate from primary legislation and/or the common law. In addition, British citizens also benefit from rights that are set out in key international documents such as the United Nations

Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights. An example of why the ECHR is needed is that on many occasions British citizens have had to litigate under the ECHR because the UK state was attempting to deny them rights which it had promised under the ECHR to uphold.

The only legal duty a citizen owes the state is to obey the law – this is the primary obligation. Herein lay an argument for a list of “responsibilities”, for example, to pay all taxes due. However, this is nothing more than a repetition of what is already an obligation in law.

Everything beyond the primary obligation to obey the law, such as the moral responsibility to be civically engaged, and to care for other members of society, concerns things which are not suitable for legislation. Put simply, the rights of a human cannot be said, to be contingent upon their acceptance of responsibilities. A person has a right not to be tortured, regardless of whether he is generous to others or selfish, and indeed regardless of whether he is law-abiding or a criminal.

For these reasons, the CMF believes the state’s power to monitor and enforce must be limited to the law. We appreciate, the lines can sometimes be blurred when we consider the first priority of the state is to protect the nation and its people, both from threats within its territory and from elements who try to enter its territory. It is also right and proper however, in its exercise of such powers, the State must have regard to the rights of its citizens.

5 The voter registration system

The voting registration process and the voting process both need to balance two separate objectives. They need to be easy for the individual but at the same time they need to minimise the risk of fraud by the individual and also fraud by the state in the form of manipulation of the count.

6 British values

This is a very broad question. The Department for Education has published a list of values, and that list is reproduced below, quoting from the Department for Education’s model funding agreement for academies, September 2015 version:

“2.47. The Academy Trust must ensure the Academy actively promotes the fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs.”

The list is fine although Mohammed Amin has explained at the link below why it is counter-productive calling them “British values.” 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.

Convenors of the UK Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Young People's Politics – written evidence (CCE0087)

http://www.mohammedamin.com/Community_issues/Theresa-May-March-2015/Home-Secretary-Extremism-speech-23-3-2015.html

However, one chooses to describe or ascribe to “British values”, the CMF believes citizens should learn to accept responsibility for their behaviour, show initiative, and to understand how they can contribute positively to the lives of those living and working in the locality and to society more widely. For example, encouraging respect for other people, cultures, traditions. But also, respect for democracy, our public institutions and democratic processes.

This should lead to a further tolerance and harmony between different cultural traditions through an appreciation for and respect for their own and other cultures.

While authorship of the quote is disputed, few would dispute that “the price of liberty is eternal vigilance.”

Our society's values are today under threat from racist groups who seek to deny equality to ethnic minorities, religious bigots who seek to deny equality to adherents of minority religions such as Islam, anti-Semites, extremist Muslims seeking to impose a caliphate who vilify Muslims who vote in British elections, to name but a few. Such people are in the minority.

There are plenty of examples of role models promoting a positive vision of a tolerant and cohesive society, including the CMF's President, Lord Sheikh and members of the Executive Board (although less well known), Sir Mo Farah, and our former and current Prime Ministers, David Cameron and Theresa May.

8 September 2017

Convenors of the UK Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Young People's Politics – written evidence (CCE0087)

Dr Emily Rainsford, Newcastle University

Dr James Sloam, Royal Holloway, University of London

Professor Jacqui Briggs, University of Lincoln

Dr Ben Kisby, University of Lincoln

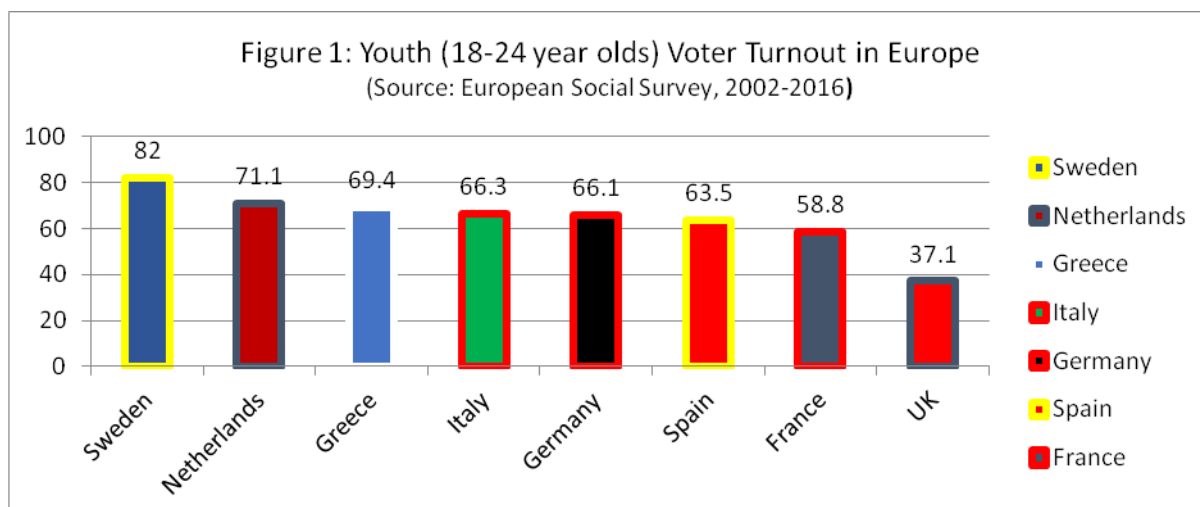
Section 1: Introduction

1. **One of the most pressing issues of concern in British democracy is the lack of public engagement in representative politics and democratic governance**, which some have viewed as a crisis in citizenship (Stoker 2006; Hay 2007). The evidence presented here focuses on trends in the civic and political engagement of younger citizens. Young people are the ones who react most to the changing social, economic and political environment, and so offer us a glimpse of the future of our democracy.
2. On the one hand, **younger citizens are interested in politics and engage in many forms of civic and political action** (Norris 2003; Sloam 2016). On the other hand, **they have low levels of knowledge about politics, low levels of trust in politicians and political parties, have little contact with politicians or government officials**, and are reluctant to participate in representative democracy.
3. This submission concentrates on questions 1, 4, 5, 7 and 9 of the Committee's call for evidence: the civic and political engagement of young people; the current laws on the political franchise; the role of government, political institutions, schools and universities in promoting democratic engagement; and the particular barriers faced by different groups of young people (according to socio-economic status, gender and ethnicity) in participating in the British political system.
4. It makes specific **recommendations about how interactions between young people and politicians and public officials might be intensified**, and **how educational interventions** (through schools and higher education institutions) **could better promote civic and political literacy**. Together these proposals would increase young people's internal efficacy (confidence in their ability to participate in democratic politics) and their external efficacy (belief that they can make a difference) (Kisby and Sloam 2009, 2012).

Section 2: Youth Civic and Political Engagement in Comparative Perspective

1. Young people have become increasingly disenchanted with electoral politics. This is particularly the case in the UK, where **younger citizens are much less likely to vote in general elections than older generations, previous generations of young people, and their peers elsewhere in Europe**. Around 63% of 18 to 24-year-olds voted in the 1992 general election, but this figure fell to about 40% between 2001 and 2015. In other large European democracies, youth turnout in national elections ranges between 59% and 82% (Figure 1) (Sloam 2016).
2. **Young people in the UK are interested in politics** – as interested as their peers elsewhere in Europe – **but are put off by the political system**. They have developed new conceptions of 'citizenship' and 'politics' (Marsh et. al 2007), and have turned to alternative, issue-based modes of civic and political engagement (Norris 2003): from voting, to ethical shopping, to online petitions, to demonstrations, to poetry slams. These non-electoral forms of participation have been facilitated by new technologies, which have reduced the costs and increased the speed of political communication

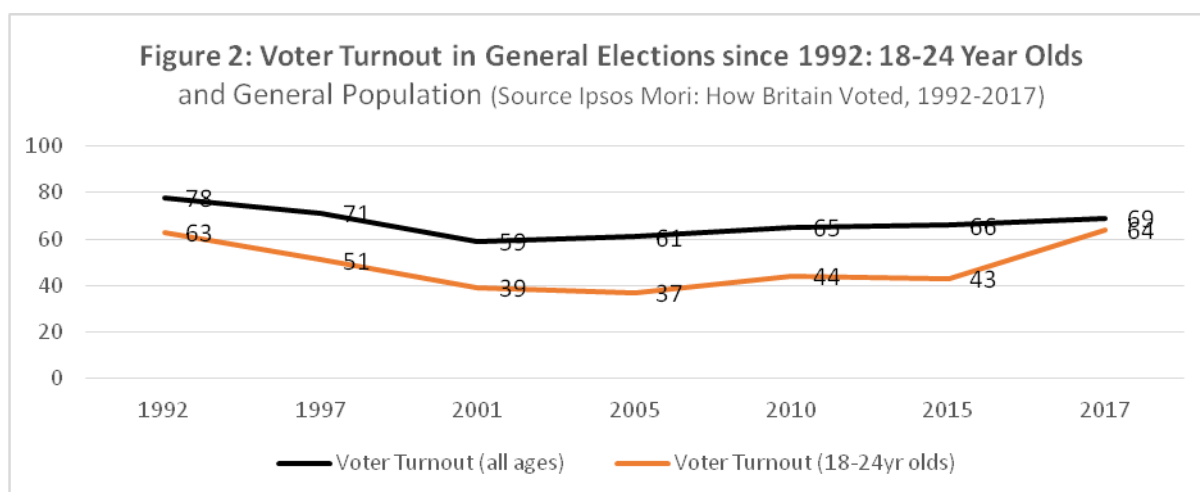
(Bimber et al. 2005). The challenge for politicians and government officials is to adapt to these changes in young people’s politics.



The 2017 UK General Election

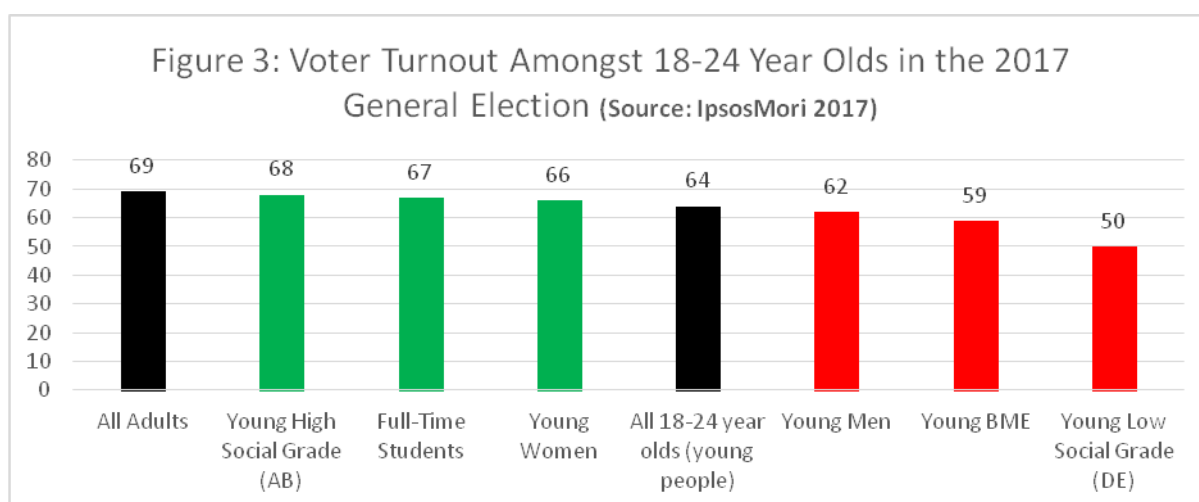
3. The increased youth turnout in 2017 can be seen as something of a success story.

According to IpsosMori data, the participation of 18 to 24-year-olds rose 21 points to 64% – from 43% in 2015 and a low of 37% in 2005. Figure 2 illustrates that youth turnout returned – for this election at least – to the levels of the early 1990s. 2017 was a youth surge rather than a general increase in electoral participation. So, the difference between the participation of 18 to 24-year-olds and all citizens shrank from 23 points in 2015 to five points in 2017.



4. However, it should be noted that youth turnout remains well below (by nine points) the turnout rates of 55 to 64-year-olds and over 65s (both 73% in 2017).

5. There are important intra-generational differences in voting patterns. Figure 3 displays turnout levels for 18-24-year-olds by social grade, student status, gender and ethnicity. It is immediately apparent that social grade has a significant bearing upon electoral participation. 68% of 18-24-year-olds of a high social grade voted, compared to 50% of those of a low social grade. As expected, full-time students were also more likely to turn out to vote than the average young person (at a rate of 67%). So, we might say 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 young people from deprived backgrounds or of low socio-economic status.**



6. The unexpected gap in participation between young women and young men (66% to 62%) is statistically small and may be explained by the strong support of young women for the Labour Party in 2017. The lower than average participation of young Black and Minority Ethnic (BMEs) citizens (at 59%) is a cause for concern, but the results are hard to interpret without separating BMEs into distinct ethnic groups.
7. The higher youth turnout in 2017 also reflected strong support for the Labour Party (62% of 18 to 24-year-olds), which mobilised young people by addressing the issues they cared about with concrete policy proposals, e.g. on housing, the NHS and higher education. **The engagement of young people also reflected disillusionment and anger with the negative impact of public policy on younger generations after the financial crisis.**
8. Despite the unprecedented levels of youth support for Labour in 2017, this state of affairs is not inevitable. In 2010, the proportions of 18 to 24-year-olds voting Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat were almost identical (around 30% apiece). So **there is no ideological reason why political parties other than Labour cannot (successfully) tailor their policies to appeal to younger generations.**

Systemic Barriers to Youth Participation

Convenors of the UK Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Young People's Politics – written evidence (CCE0087)

9. In the UK, the first-past-the-post electoral system is problematic with regard to youth participation. Young people in the UK have less viable parties to vote for, and many constituencies can be seen as 'dead rubbers' where only one party and candidate have a realistic chance of winning. **In other countries, with proportional systems of representation, turnout rates tend to be much higher, and resources for party campaigning are spread more evenly across the country.**
10. **Another factor that inhibits higher turnout amongst young people is the prioritization of older generations in public policy in recent years**, e.g. the triple lock on pensions, the trebling of university tuition fees. If young people already feel detached from mainstream electoral politics, this is likely to make them even less likely to vote. If this happens, politicians are even more likely to ignore them. And so the vicious circle continues.
11. In Germany, by contrast, public policy succeeded in shielding young people from the worst effects of the financial crisis, e.g. youth unemployment actually fell during this period.
12. In the UK, there is also the additional issue of voter registration. [With the introduction of Individual Voter Registration in 2014, over a million citizens \(disproportionately young people\) fell off the electoral roll.](#)

Section 3: Pathways to Youth Civic and Political Engagement

Political Contact

1. In the existing body of research, one of the most interesting comparative findings is that **young people in the UK have the lowest level of contact with politicians and government officials out of all established European democracies** (Sloam 2013). This is problematic in that the existing literature also highlights the effectiveness of such direct engagement between citizens and political activists, politicians and government officials (Green and Gerber 2004).
2. Recommendations:
 - i. **Each UK MP should commit to holding at least one interactive session (discussions over concrete issues) in each school (primary and secondary) in their constituency over the course of a five-year parliament.**
 - ii. **Each local councillor should commit to holding at least one interactive session (discussions over concrete issues) in each school in their ward over each term in office.**
 - iii. **The work of school councils should feed into these sessions and be monitored by Ofsted.**

Political Youth Organisations

Convenors of the UK Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Young People's Politics – written evidence (CCE0087)

3. Political youth organisations, such as political parties' youth factions and the British Youth Council, are important pathways for young people to channel their political interest and learn the important civic and political skills they need to participate actively throughout their lives. For those young people under the legal voting age, it may also be the only way to express their political preferences and interests. However, recent research on the members of these groups shows some worrying results (Rainsford, forthcoming).

First, the members of party youth factions come from similar socio-demographic backgrounds. **Unless the youth factions become more diverse we are likely to see a continuation of a non-diverse group of elected politicians at all levels.** The political youth organisations themselves are therefore potential barriers for certain groups of young people to engage politically.

Second, **parties' youth factions are less likely, in comparison to other organisations, to use their members for recruitment.** The decline in their membership may thus have less to do with the changing attitudes of young people and more to do with their recruitment strategies.

Finally, **even though the BYC has close links with Parliament, their members do not trust actors in the political system.** This is concerning because these young people are engaging with politics, and many will have some experience of meeting politicians, but they still do not trust them.

4. Recommendations:

- i. **Political parties' youth factions and the BYC should reflect on their recruitment and engagement practices to recruit and retain a more diverse membership.**
- ii. **Political parties' youth factions should use their members to actively recruit new members.**
- iii. **MPs and councillors should reach out to the BYC and their local youth councils or parliaments to build up a working relationship on important issues.**

Political Literacy

5. Another problem that hinders youth participation in democracy is lack of civic and political knowledge. It is well known that **citizens who know more about democracy and how it works are more likely to become engaged** (Galston 2001). **Yet levels of knowledge about politics and democracy in the UK are relatively low.** This situation is made all the more problematic by the **proliferation of news sources** (online or through the social media) and the **deliberate use of 'false news' by populists and even foreign powers.** The EU referendum was a clear case where false or exaggerated arguments were used (unscrupulously) on both sides of the debate.

6. **Citizenship education (which we strongly support) was introduced into all English secondary schools in 2002** through its inclusion as a compulsory subject in the National Curriculum. It was introduced as a means of promoting active and responsible citizenship, with 'political literacy' one of its three core strands (Kisby 2012). A clear aim of citizenship lessons was to increase levels of civic engagement and the evidence clearly suggests some success in this regard (see e.g. Keating et al. 2010; Whiteley 2014). Following a consultation exercise, a new slimmed-down citizenship curriculum has been taught in schools in England since September 2014. This represented a significant change, with a **shift away from a focus on understanding political concepts and civic and political participation** towards constitutional history and financial literacy, and an even greater emphasis on voluntary work (Kisby 2017).
7. In addition, although citizenship remained a compulsory subject in the National Curriculum, Academies and Free Schools have been given the freedom to opt out of following the National Curriculum. At the same time, the development of the English Baccalaureate (EBacc) and the focus on the EBacc subjects (English, mathematics, history, geography, the sciences, languages) has had the effect of undermining the National Curriculum and non-EBacc subjects, such as citizenship (Kisby 2017). In our view, **all young people should receive citizenship lessons, irrespective of the kind of school they attend.**
8. Preventing people from voting until they are 18 means that many citizens do not get a chance to participate in general elections until they are into their 20s. In our view, political literacy would be enhanced by lowering the voting age to 16, as it would provide an opportunity to re-focus citizenship education on electoral politics. **If young people were allowed to vote while still at school, it would also increase the likelihood of them participating in electoral politics in later life.** As voting is habit-forming (Gerber et al. 2003), this would have a positive, long-term effect on electoral turnout. **Lowering the voting age would also mean that 'youth' issues and the views of young people would be more likely to be included in the policy-making process** (Briggs 2016).
9. Recommendations:
 - i. **Ensure that all schools provide citizenship lessons to secondary school pupils.**
 - ii. **Provide the resources needed to train significantly more specialist staff to deliver citizenship lessons.**
 - iii. **Strengthen citizenship education in schools by increasing the time that schools devote to the subject in general, and the teaching of political literacy in particular.**
 - iv. **Strengthen the role of Ofsted in inspecting citizenship education by providing distinct measures (including level of teacher training) that have (or need to be) reached.**

Convenors of the UK Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Young People's Politics – written evidence (CCE0087)

- v. **Provide resources to existing organisations, such as the Association for Citizenship Teaching, to establish a national network to monitor these changes.**
- vi. **Mandate that universities and HE colleges, as part of their widening participation and community engagement commitments, hold democracy days in local schools (and provide support to citizenship teachers) as a means of promoting civic and political literacy.**
- vii. **Lower the voting age to 16 for all elections.**

References

Bimber, B., Flanagin, and Stohl, C. (2005) 'Reconceptualizing Collective Action in the Contemporary Media Environment', *Communication Theory*, 15(4): 365-388.

Briggs, J. (2016) *Young People and Political Participation: Teen Players*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan).

European Social Survey Rounds 1 to 6 (2002-2016) Data file editions 2.3., 3.3., 3.5., 3.6., 4.4. and 6.5, Norwegian Centre for Research Data, www.europeansocialsurvey.org [last accessed 6 September 2017].

Galston, W. (2001) 'Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4: 217-34.

Gerber, A., Green, D. and Shachar, R. (2003) 'Voting May be Habit Forming: Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment', *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(3): 540-550.

Green, D. and Gerber, A. (2004) [Get Out the Vote! How to Increase Voter Turnout](#), (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press).

Hay, C. (2007) *Why We Hate Politics*, (Cambridge: Polity).

IpsosMori (2017) *How Britain Voted in 2017*, <https://www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/how-britain-voted-2017-election> [last accessed 6 September 2017].

Keating, A., Kerr, D., Benton, T., Mundy, E. and Lopes, J. (2010) *Citizenship Education in England 2001–2010: Young People's Practices and Prospects for the Future: The Eighth and Final Report from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study*, (London: DfE).

Kisby, B. (2012) *The Labour Party and Citizenship Education: Policy networks and the introduction of citizenship lessons in schools*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Kisby, B. (2017, forthcoming) 'Politics is ethics done in public': Exploring Linkages and Disjunctions between Citizenship Education and Character Education in England', *Journal of Social Science Education*.

Convenors of the UK Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Young People's Politics – written evidence (CCE0087)

Kisby, B. and Sloam, J. (2009) 'Revitalising politics: The role of citizenship education', *Representation*, 45(3): 313-324.

Kisby, B. and Sloam, J. (2012) 'Citizenship, democracy and education in the UK: Towards a common framework for citizenship lessons in the four home nations', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 65(1): 68-89.

Marsh, D., O'Toole, T. and Jones, S. (2007) *Young People and Politics in the UK: Apathy or Alienation?*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave).

Norris P. (2003) 'Young people and political activism: From the politics of loyalties to the politics of choice?' in Report for the Council of Europe symposium: 'Young people and democratic institutions: From disillusionment to participation'.

Rainsford, E. (forthcoming) 'Exploring youth political activism in the United Kingdom: What makes young people politically active in different organisations?', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*.

Sloam, J. (2013) 'Voice and Equality': Young People's Politics in the European Union', *West European Politics*, 36(4): 836-858.

Sloam, J. (2016) 'Diversity and Voice: the Political Participation of Young People in the European Union', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 18(3): 521-537.

Stoker, G. (2006) *Why Politics Matters: Making Democracy Work*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave).

Whiteley, P. (2014) 'Does Citizenship Education Work? Evidence from a Decade of Citizenship Education in Secondary Schools in England', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 67(3): 513-535.

7 September 2017

Coram – written evidence (CCE0113)

Coram Children’s Legal Centre (CCLC), part of the Coram group of charities, is an independent charity working in the UK and around the world to protect and promote the rights of children, through the provision of direct legal services; the publication of free legal information online and in guides; research and policy work; training; and international consultancy on child rights. The CCLC’s legal practice specialises in education, community care, family and immigration law and CCLC operates several free advice phone lines including the Child Law Advice Service. The Migrant Children’s Project at CCLC provides specialist advice and legal representation to migrant and refugee children and young people as well as legal guidance and training to practitioners on the rights of young refugees and migrants. CCLC is chair of the Refugee Children’s Consortium, a coalition of over 50 organisations working for promote and protect the rights of young refugees and migrants.

Coram’s Young Citizens is a voluntary programme for young people from migrant and refugee backgrounds. It enables young people to work with children, young people and professionals to improve the experiences and integration of migrant children and young people and increase public understanding of their needs and experiences. The Young Citizens see the UK as their home and want to contribute to British society. They challenge discrimination and negative stereotypes by promoting positive messages and championing their contributions.

The evidence in this submission comes from the work of the Migrant Children’s Project, the views of the Young Citizens programme members and from research undertaken by Coram Life Education to inform the co-production with Young Citizens of resources for schools.

What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

1. When discussing citizenship and civic engagement, Coram believes it is important to acknowledge the place and importance of young people who have grown up in the UK, who feel strongly that they are British and who want to contribute to society in the same way as their British counterparts, but who are not citizens in law. Coram works with a significant number of children, young people and families who are prevented from fully being part of British life because the immigration and nationality systems in this country are complex, expensive and often unfair – blocking putative citizens from securing settled status even if they have lived most or all of their lives here.

2. Five years ago the University of Oxford estimated that there were 120,000 undocumented children in the UK, 65,000 of whom were born here.²⁴⁵ Despite growing up in the UK, thousands of children and young people are living in a form of legal limbo, unable to regularise and fully contribute to society, due to lack of free legal advice, high application fees and an inaccessible immigration system.²⁴⁶ Often these children and young people are in the UK with their families, but neither they, nor their siblings have made an active choice to come to live here. Some of those who are undocumented have been unsuccessful in their asylum claims, but many long-term undocumented children and young people are not in need of international protection. A young person who has leave to remain in the UK on the basis of their family or private life will usually be granted 2 ½ 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.
3. If you have no leave to remain you cannot work, cannot access benefits, cannot open a bank account, cannot rent a property and cannot hold a driving license. Many children and young people with limited leave to remain are blocked from accessing further and higher education. Student loans and home fees for university, for example, are only available to someone who is over 18 if they have spent half their life in the UK and been able to regularise their status at least three years previously.²⁴⁷ Therefore a 19 year old who has lived in the UK since the age of ten may still be blocked from accessing higher education. The problems with the current immigration system mean that many young people fall back into undocumented status.
4. Case study

Agnes is 20 year old and has been in the UK since she was nine. She had lawful leave to remain for around nine years, had gone through the education system and was making plans to attend university. But her family could not afford legal advice and representation when she was turning 18 and needed to renew her visa. Her application was rejected and her leave ran out. Although she was later granted leave again, by that point she had been through a period of being undocumented, which means she now must wait another ten years before she can get permanent status. She has an offer of a place to study

²⁴⁵ University of Oxford, 'No way out, no way in: Irregular migrant children and families in the UK', 2012, at https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/media/PR-2012-Undocumented_Migrant_Children.pdf

²⁴⁶ Coram Children's Legal Centre, 'This is my home': Securing permanent status for long-term resident children and young people in the UK', June 2017 at <http://www.childrenslegalcentre.com/this-is-my-home/>

²⁴⁷ Following the case of *Tigere* in the Supreme Court, anyone applying for a student loan must have been ordinarily resident in the UK for three years prior to the first day of the course. See *R (on the application of Tigere) (Appellant) v Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills (Respondent)* [2015] UKSC 57

biochemistry, but has been blocked from going to university because her status means she cannot access student finance. In her words: “The impact of being undocumented for so many years weighs heavily. It’s stress, it’s heart-breaking and most of all you feel as though you don’t belong in the one place you call home.” British Citizenship is the most secure position for a child. If a person has British citizenship, they are not subject to immigration control: they do not need leave to enter or remain in the UK. They can apply for a passport and travel freely, enjoying protection from British embassies abroad. The stability British citizenship brings is important for the child’s development, wellbeing and sense of their own identity, and is important for children and young people’s political participation. Citizenship is permanent and can only in very rare cases be revoked. By contrast, if someone has indefinite leave to remain and they are convicted of a criminal offence, it is likely that the Home Office will consider revoking their leave and deporting them. Too many young people in the criminal justice system, including those who have been in care, face having their leave revoked and being deported, sometimes to a country they have not been to since they were an infant. Some of these young people could have obtained British citizenship if only the right application had been made for them.

5. While many young people face a long immigration process before they can naturalise as British, a significant number of children are already eligible to be registered as citizens but are unable to do so. Nationality applications have, since 2007, been subject to the same escalation of fees as immigration applications. As of 6 April 2017, the fee for citizenship applications is £973, of which £587 is profit to the Home Office. In many of these cases what is being charged for is a pre-existing entitlement under the British Nationality Act 1981, where the Home Office has not been asked to grant but is merely required to register the child’s citizenship – to recognise the child’s pre-existing right at the time of his or her registration application. Where an application is made for discretionary citizenship by children without a pre-existing right, then decision-making has also been found to be inadequate.²⁴⁸ Children requesting discretionary citizenship are often those who have spent long periods in care, and whose future is assessed as being in the UK, or whose parents and siblings are settled or are citizens. These problems block many children from registering as British Citizens.
6. The government view is that ‘citizenship can never be an absolute right, nor is it necessary in order for a person to reside in the UK and access our public services. A person who is settled in the UK is not required to become a citizen by a certain date: they can remain here until they can meet the criteria for doing so, including payment

²⁴⁸ See Project for the Registration of Children as British Citizens (PRCBC), Systemic obstacles to children’s registration as British citizens: Legal research report, November 2014, at <https://prcbc.files.wordpress.com/2015/08/systemic-obstacles-on-the-registration-of-children-as-british-citizens.pdf>

of the required fee.²⁴⁹ Yet, its own guidance states that ‘becoming a British citizen is a significant life event. Apart from allowing a child to apply for a British citizen passport, British citizenship gives them the opportunity to participate more fully in the life of their local community as they grow up.’²⁵⁰

7. Coram is raising these concerns because there are thousands of young people in the UK who are citizens in all but name: who have grown up in the UK and are socially integrated members of our communities. They are trapped in a vulnerable and precarious state by the laws and policies that determine their access to permanent status. Coram recommends increased support for long-term resident children and young people to engage with immigration and nationality systems which must be fair, efficient, affordable and accountable. Assistance in accessing routes to regularisation should be available to all children and young people through, for example, confidential support at college, within local authorities and through specialist legal advice. As a result, communities will benefit from the full economic and social contribution of newly-enfranchised and motivated young citizens already in their midst.
8. Identifying citizens by their entitlement to hold British nationality is exclusionary, and even where couched in positive terms, risks discriminating against those who do not hold citizenship. There are many children and young people who are born abroad living in the UK, including EU children, who do not hold British citizenship. In addition, a great many children have parents who were not born in the UK, and 28% of births in 2016 were to mothers born outside the UK.²⁵¹ Citizenship and nationality should be separated; many young people do not hold British nationality but feel strongly that they are citizens of the UK, and engage in their civic duties here.
9. Ambassadors on the Young Citizens programme were asked what ‘citizenship’ means to them. Their responses were: responsibility; help; security; belonging; identity; home; community; and shared interests and values. Although many of the young people on the programme do not have legal citizenship, they deserve to be seen as equal members of society, and to feel a sense of belonging, community and security in the UK.
10. With the vote to leave the EU, it is likely that young people from European countries who are unclear about the future relationship between the UK and the EU are unsure of their futures. Citizenship of an EU member state provides someone with the same protections in the UK as in their country of nationality, and this has meant

²⁴⁹ HL Deb 21 March 2016, vol 769, part 129, col 2217, available at:

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201516/ldhansrd/text/160321-0004.htm#16032216000138>

²⁵⁰ Guidance on the MN1 form on which children register as British

²⁵¹ ONS, Parents Country of Birth, England and Wales 2016

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/livebirths/bulletins/parents-country-of-birth-england-and-wales/2016>

that many EU families and children have not taken any additional steps to demonstrate their entitlement to remain in the UK. However, this reciprocity of citizenship will end with Brexit, and during the negotiation period, the Home Office has more strictly applied criteria for removal and hate crimes have increased.²⁵² Whilst there is a settlement offer for EU nationals, it is inevitable that some people, particularly those who rely on the rights of family members and may be third country nationals themselves, will find themselves forced to use the immigration system.

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?

11. CCLC cautions against any discussion of additional formal rights for ‘citizens’ of the UK. The post-war human rights framework recognises ‘the inherent dignity ... and inalienable rights of all members of the human family’²⁵³ and it is vital to remember that people have basic rights by virtue of being human. The idea of earned rights risks diminishing the rights available to the most vulnerable in our society. Rights are not earned by paying taxes to a particular government and do not come with possession of a particular passport. As the recent treatment of migrants and asylum-seekers across Europe has demonstrated, it is often non-citizens, in law and in practice, who are most often in need of human rights protection.
12. Human rights are universal in nature and are not dependent on the moral worth of the individual in concern. For example, a person cannot be denied a right to a fair trial because they are suspected of having committed a crime. The Human Rights Act already requires rights to be read together with Article 17 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which provides that the Convention does not give anyone a right to do anything that would destroy or unduly limit other people’s human rights.²⁵⁴ A wealth of criminal and civil law exists to ensure that people act in accordance with their responsibilities to the state and other individuals.
13. Past research carried out on behalf of the Ministry of Justice warned that the focus on responsibilities in the rights context may represent ‘an opportunity to introduce new restrictions on human rights’ and concluded that ‘[j]urisdictions with liberal democratic traditions tend, on the whole, towards implicit or rhetorical recognition of duties’.²⁵⁵ It warned that even rhetorical or aspirational statements about duties

²⁵² Fullfact.org ‘Hate Crime and the European Referendum’ <https://fullfact.org/crime/hate-crime-and-eu-referendum/>, accessed 24 August 2017

²⁵³ Preamble to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

²⁵⁴ See section 1(1) of the HRA and Article 17 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

²⁵⁵ Liora Lazarus, Benjamin Goold, Rajendra Desai and Qudsi Rasheed, University of Oxford, The relationship between rights and responsibilities, Ministry of Justice Research Series 18/09, December 2009, available at: <http://www.justice.gov.uk/publications/docs/research-rights-responsibilities.pdf>

could ‘risk undermining rights by implying that the fulfilment of duties is an essential prerequisite to the enjoyment of certain rights’.²⁵⁶

14. A more effective means of encouraging civil engagement and highlighting the importance of individual responsibility would be to inform people about their existing rights and correlating responsibilities. Education of this kind would significantly improve public understanding and ownership of human rights. As part of its recommendation to lower the voting age, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child recommended the use of ‘active citizenship and human rights education in order to ensure early awareness of children that rights are to be exercised as part of citizenship, with autonomy and responsibility’. It also recommended making ‘children’s rights education mandatory’.²⁵⁷ We would support those recommendations; education on rights, and on respecting the human rights of others, is an important part of citizenship and civic duty.

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?

15. As outlined above, universal human rights are a framework for rights and responsibilities within a value system. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights emphasises the duties towards ones community that is a part of respecting the rights of others.²⁵⁸
16. Values of mutual respect and tolerance of those with different ethnic origins, race, nationality and beliefs are important to promote from a young age. Personal, social, health and economic (PSHE) and Citizenship lessons can give students the opportunity to unpack viewpoints they may not have previously questioned. It is important that this type of education is given precedence within the curriculum. With increased attainment and financial pressures, these subjects can end up being deprioritised.
17. Members of the Young Citizens group have expressed concerns regarding misinformation about migrants and why they come here. This can lead to xenophobia and fear, as well as isolation of communities with different groups avoiding mixing with those from different countries. Many in the group have been on the receiving end of racist views or been affected by negative press around migration, which can be a threat to values of respect and tolerance. They feel that the public don’t hear enough about the people behind the numbers and that the voices of migrants need to be more prominent in the debate in order to give a true

²⁵⁶ Ibid p 30

²⁵⁷ Para 72 (g)

²⁵⁸ Bright Blue, Fighting for Freedom, 2017, at <http://brightblue.org.uk/images/Fightingforfreedom.pdf>

picture of the reality. This includes highlighting the skills and contributions of migrants in the UK and cultures and traditions that enrich the country.

18. Young Citizens group has also highlighted the importance of treating those new to the country with equal respect. During the immigration process, many experienced suspicion about their circumstances and age, and did not feel they were treated as individuals. More support is needed to help young people assert their rights, including explaining the law to them in their own language.

How do you see the relationship between citizenship and civic engagement on the one hand and social cohesion and integration on the other? How can diversity and integration be increased?

19. All the young people in the Young Citizens group want to integrate. One young person felt ‘you should learn about British people if you live here’. They felt the best way to learn about British people was to mix with them but for some they lacked the opportunities to do so: ‘I don’t have much contact with people who were born here in college. I haven’t had opportunities to mix as all classes are with ESOL students’. They observed that migrants do sometimes stick together – moving to areas with people from the same country and mixing with people from their own community. This was understandable as people want to be with those that are similar to them, who have the same native language and who relate to their experiences. People need to feel welcomed and have opportunities to meet people outside their own community. The group felt that the government had a role to play in running programmes to help people integrate, and then ‘people will then give more back to the country because they’re in a position to do so’.
20. Young people could benefit from guidance and support to help facilitate their integration. This could include supporting them to get involved in activities such as sport, youth clubs and places of worship that are core to the local community. Involvement in volunteering can also help build skills and facilitate integration, but should not be obligatory. They felt that by giving them responsibility, young migrants would feel empowered and able to take control of their lives.
21. One young person said that the government should ‘help the community not isolate new arrivals’. They said it was important for local people to understand what young people moving to the UK may have been through in order to have empathy for their situation. And felt it was the combined responsibility of everyone in the community to accept each other’s religion and beliefs. One young person said it was important ‘to increase the host community’s awareness of cultural issues, language issues and what it means to be a person of colour’. They suggested welcome events or local activities and enrichment days to share cultures. Within schools they suggested support that could be put in place, such as buddy systems, linking children up with

organisations and activities, showing them around the local area and giving them information on their rights and entitlements.

22. The group also felt that young people from migrant backgrounds want to integrate, but that it is important they feel secure, settled and safe in order to be able to do so. To improve the situation, they felt that local authorities needed more funding to support migrants more fully to access their entitlements and enable them to settle. Access to English classes was also recognised as a key part of assisting integration.
23. Teachers have reported to us that minority groups can often feel stigmatised within schools, with children feeling fearful of disclosing their immigration status to teachers and their peers. It is important that a focus on citizenship does not become divisive, and stigmatise those without British nationality status. Teachers fed back that a mix of ethnicities and nationalities can be a real asset, as ‘students become part of the teaching resource and can learn from each other. A cultural mix in schools enables children and young people to thrive in the 21st century and progress’. Personal, social, health and economic (PSHE) and Citizenship education can help to increase understanding of different cultures and beliefs. However, it can be harder to make lessons meaningful in majority white British schools when students feel more detached from the topic and do not regularly come into contact with people from different backgrounds. This means it can be hard to truly embed it into the culture of the school.

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?

24. Coram’s Young Citizens network is an ambassador group of 16-25 year olds from migrant and refugee backgrounds. It is an example of a project working with young people who do not all have legal citizenship but who see the UK as their home and are involved in civic engagement, making an active contribution to UK society. They act as positive role models who are passionate about making a difference and using their experiences to improve the situation for children and young people new to the UK. Ahmed, one of the Young Citizens ambassadors has ‘always wanted to give back to the society’ and wants to use his stories ‘to motivate and encourage young people’.
25. Through public engagement at institutions including British Museum and Southbank Centre and through local and national press activity, the Young Citizens promote positive citizenship and a society where everyone can contribute and belong. They have co-produced a teaching resource with specialist educators Coram Life Education, requested by schools to increase social cohesion and inclusion. Interactive lesson plans and films explore what it means to belong from the perspective of children and young people born both in and outside the UK. The teaching resource enhances Personal, Social, Health and Economic education (PSHE)

Coram – written evidence (CCE0113)

and enriches school values, including empathy for others and respect for diversity. Feedback from the pilot lessons has been overwhelmingly positive with one teacher reflecting that ‘Coram gave us the chance to reinforce [the school’s values] and helped us assess the children’s understanding of belonging and their part in making others feels welcome and valued.’

7 September 2017

Professor Emma Crewe – written evidence (CCE0207)

Citizenship, civic engagement and shallow democracy

Both Houses of the UK Parliament have made huge strides in outreach and public engagement in recent years but need for deeper citizen engagement in politics remains urgent. These observations and suggestions are based on in-depth research on the House of Lords and House of Commons and on Parliament and public engagement in other countries (see E Crewe's *Lords of Parliament*, 2005, and *House of Commons: an anthropology of MPs at work*, 2015 as well as SOAS/Hansard Society [project](#)). I am only addressing the questions you pose in your call for evidence that relate to my research.

1. Conceptualising citizenship and engagement

Our political rhetoric often focuses on either individuals (e.g., citizens) or on structures and systems (e.g., society) rather than on what connects them (e.g., processes and relationships). Implicit in some of your questions is the idea that you are asking us to identify problems and solutions that will be delivered by Parliament or government in consultation with the public. But some aspects of citizenship are beyond your (and anyone's) control. Asking what values we 'should' have as British people conveys the idea that if we can name them, and promote them, people will fall into line. But 'values' do not develop in cultures in this way; they emerge over time in relationships between people. Unless we develop more sophisticated processes for improving the relationship between Parliament and citizens, we will remain a shallow democracy.

2. Innovating processes of engagement – Parliament

Parliamentary outreach has been transformed. The House of Commons website, outreach programme and education work are outstanding and their public engagement is innovative and world-leading.²⁵⁹ Parliament Week has 100s of partners and events throughout the UK.

²⁵⁹ Parliament has won New York International Film and Video awards, Bett awards, Group Travel Awards TripAdvisor 7/852 of London attractions; the Parliamentary Outreach Service featured in the Hansard Society's 2012 review of good practice in public engagement and academics have documented the huge strides made in public engagement, e.g, Cristina Leston Bandeira editor of a special issue of *Journal of Legislative Studies*, on

Committees in both Houses expanded their outreach, holding sessions around the country, partly thanks to officials. Connections with higher education institutes have become far stronger, with at least two academic fellowship programme being established in recent years. The handling of the media (both traditional and digital) by Parliament has vastly improved, with far more and better informed coverage. All of these deserve still more investment.

However, the potential for a deepening of the relationship between citizens and politicians in both Houses is clear within all these activities. To take Committees as just one example (because I have observed them over some years):

- 2.1. Parliament aims to be inclusive. However, it was only when the LSE reported on the identity of witnesses to Parliamentary committees that details about progress on this aim became publicly available. In 2013 only 25% of witnesses to Parliamentary committees were female.²⁶⁰ Looking at academic witnesses specifically, 83% were male (and as many as 44% of them came from London). When committees in both Houses take evidence from witnesses they should monitor their not only their gender but other aspects of their identity such as, but not only, religion, age, ethnicity, where they travelled from, and profession. They should set targets to improve and report on progress.
- 2.2. Parliament has stepped up its efforts to broadcast calls for evidence across society. I would encourage both Houses to expand their partnerships to encourage other organisations not only to alert people to opportunities to express their views but also offer advice and guidance.
- 2.3. Inclusion is not just a question of numbers. *How* people engage should be considered also. Parliament should learn from witnesses about how they experience the process of engagement. The scholarly literature about the existing limits to participation and consultation in general points to its superficiality and tendency to collect opinions in lists, rather than enable discussion and debate. Participation tends to be dominated by elites. Furthermore, in my observation of encounters between politicians and citizens during the scrutiny of law, it was informal APPGs that often achieved far more useful discussions rather than formal committee sessions. While the court-style interrogation of witnesses is entirely appropriate for holding Ministers to account, a more gentle and (where possible) discursive style generates more interesting engagement. It is only lawyers who appear to be totally at ease in the court-like atmosphere.

Parliaments and Citizens, 2012, vol.18, 3/4, and Alexandra Kelso, 2007. Parliament and Political Disengagement: Neither Waving nor Drowning. *The Political Quarterly*, 78(3): 364–373.

²⁶⁰ http://www.democraticaudit.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Democratic-Audit_Who-gives-evidence_January-2014_final.pdf

- 2.4. In my personal experience of giving evidence to committees, the tone of the committees members has ranged from respectful to the opposite, despite my status as a 'friendly witness'. In one case this arose when I was expressing an unpopular opinion. Such bluntness is uncomfortable even for those accustomed to public speaking, which discourages further participation.
- 2.5. Committees could engage more openly with witnesses about the source and rigour of their evidence. Knowledge and evidence are produced in different ways by scientists, lawyers and social scientists, as examples, and they all tend to denigrate the kind of evidence produced by others. Flawed assumptions are often made about the value of evidence: e.g. randomized control trials are often described as the 'gold standard' but they are appropriate for some situations (e.g., testing medicines), and unsuitable for others; and personal testimony is treated inconsistently (sometimes as the only valuable knowledge, at other moments as invalid and partial). Officials, library researchers and committee specialists do an incredible job weighing up different types of evidence. But time allocated for politicians and citizens to debate and compare the value and rigour of evidence is inadequate.

3. Innovating processes of engagement – constituencies

Representation of up to 70,000 constituents by Members of Parliament is taken for granted by politicians and citizens. With MPs visiting their constituencies far more frequently than they did up until the 1970s, opportunities for new kinds of engagement have opened up and innovation is needed in how they engage with those they represent. MPs not only hold surgeries, and visit organisations and groups in their area, but some increasingly prioritise specific issues and discuss these with those concerned. However, they rarely account for how they spend their time in their constituencies, how they find out what their constituents need, want or demand and what they are doing to further their interests and concerns. Bearing in mind the fabulous diversity in any community, never mind a whole constituency, we need to know: who are they talking to and how and why are they prioritizing some issues above others? Explaining themselves to their constituents, and being available to debate progress and setbacks on their efforts both in the constituency and in Parliament (or, if relevant, government), could be relatively easily achieved through meetings, digital media and facilitation by partner organisations (such as schools, colleges, charities, enterprises and so on).

4. Innovating processes of engagement – schools

Citizenship and political engagement should be taught from primary school upwards and it should be compulsory at all levels (not just secondary). Some aspects of ‘promoting good citizenship’ are less contested. Young citizens recognising the rights of others is already in the curriculum and getting more practice at doing so in discussion would be an obvious place to expand further. Teaching people from a young age to learn about how to test the rigour of claims, and understand more about the source of different types of knowledge and evidence, is essential. The digital revolution has meant that far more information has suddenly become available, but our curriculum needs to ensure careful explanation throughout our education of the relationship between politics and knowledge. Young people need the skills to navigate the increasing complexity of plural and conflicting views and deal with uncertainty, accelerating change and the pressures of social media. But other aspects – such as what responsibilities we have to each other and how we deal with conflicting rights – are so complex and contestable that teaching could only be done by facilitating debate. MPs, peers and academics could be encouraged to support citizenship education in centres of learning even more than they do. As the world becomes more unpredictable, globalized and conflict-prone, learning how to develop democracy so that it keeps the peace rather than inflames tension, will become increasingly vital. A deeper democracy will not be possible until our education catches up with our aspirations and expectations.

Professor Emma Crewe, SOAS, University of London

Dr Rod Dacombe, Department of Political Economy, Kings College London– written evidence (CCE0174)

Dr Rod Dacombe, Department of Political Economy, Kings College London– written evidence (CCE0174)

This submission draws on the author's expertise on research investigating civic engagement and also on the results of recent conducted by the author, funded by the Leverhulme Trust (award number ECF/2010/0393).

Executive summary

The benefits accrued by an engaged and active citizenry are widely known and have a significant impact on society. For some time, scholars and policy-makers have recognised that a wide range of activities fulfil important social and political functions and can have a positive effect on the lives of the individuals taking part. Civic engagement of this kind is also a fundamental principle of citizenship, an underpinning element of a healthy democracy, and is important in the development of cohesive, tolerant communities.

Despite this, recent evidence points to a decline in civic engagement in many countries. In general terms, people are less likely to become involved in civic life across a wide range of different activities. Recent survey evidence has traced a decline in electoral turnout, civic activism, volunteering and numerous other settings for civic action.

This is troubling in itself but the real issue is the fact that participation is highly stratified in favour of the most affluent groups in society. Put simply, people living on lower incomes are far less likely to vote, volunteer, become involved in their communities, or participate in a number of activities that would be associated with an engaged and vibrant citizenry. This inequality in civic participation is supported by a wealth of research evidence and has serious implications for the health of democracy, and of society at large.

There are solutions to these problems. Recent evidence suggests that targeted initiatives focused on increasing civic engagement in deprived areas can have a positive effect on the level of engagement. Investment in the civic infrastructure of deprived areas can also pay dividends and help arrest the decline of civic engagement.

The evidence presented here suggests that:

- A significant and problematic divide in civic engagement exists on the basis of socio-economic status.

- This disparity in participation has a wide range of negative impacts on society, both for individuals, communities and for the quality of government.
- Previous attempts to encourage civic participation have met with mixed success because they generally fail to address the problem of inequality in participation.
- Some areas of the country maintain social structures which inhibit participation. These are usually areas of high deprivation.
- Targeting resources and democratic innovations on deprived neighbourhoods like these is essential if attempts to promote civic engagement are to be successful. A focus on developing the civic capacity of deprived areas might also prove valuable.
- A fuller account of the points made here can be found in Rod Dacombe, *Civic Participation in Theory and Practice*, London: Palgrave, 2017

I What is civic engagement? And why is it valued?

1.1 The foundation of a healthy democracy is the engagement of citizens in a wide range of activities which serve to underpin both the functioning of government and a cohesive society. Established thought on citizenship and democracy holds that it is only through engagement in civic life that individuals can realise their potential as citizens, and a high level of civic participation is prized as an indicator of strong democratic performance.

1.2 There are many forms of civic engagement. At one end of the spectrum we might think of formal political action such as voting, organised protests, signing a petition or writing to an elected representative. Other forms, such as participation in voluntary associations, engagement in community activities or informal civic action, are less obviously connected to the formal structures of democracy but are nonetheless still important to the proper functioning of society.

1.3 Coherent and effective democratic societies rely on a multiplicity of different kinds of engagement. Indeed, a diverse and vibrant civic life has been demonstrated to be essential to democracy – declining citizen participation is a strong indicator of poor democratic health. It is therefore a cause of concern that participation in many forms of civic activity has consistently fallen since the latter half of the twentieth century.

1.4 In order to understand the true extent of its importance, it is important to clearly spell out the range of benefits associated with participation in civic life. There are numerous values associated with an engaged citizenry that have been understood from the earliest writing on democracy. These have now been empirically-verified through decades of research and include (but are not limited to) the following.

1.5 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.

1.6 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.

1.7 Beyond this, there are also wider social gains that can be made based on the 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.

II The Problem of Inequality in Civic Engagement

2.1 Despite the importance of these activities, it must be said that civic life in the UK is in poor health. Civic participation in the UK has dropped dramatically in recent years. For instance, interest in public affairs has declined markedly since the turn of the century. People are today less likely to attend public meetings, sign petitions and demonstrate a working knowledge of public issues. Voting and democratic participation has been experiencing a broad period of decline (particularly in local politics). Formal volunteering has fallen, declining by 15% in the last decade. Community activism can often be the preserve of a very few committed individuals, rather than diffused throughout society.

2.2 From a democratic perspective these indicators of declining civic participation might not be of particular concern if they occurred uniformly across all social groups. But the overwhelming weight of evidence tells us that this is not the case, and in fact civic participation is highly polarised. Although there are distinctions in the level of participation between a wide range of social groups, the most emphatic finding of the research in this area is of stark inequalities in civic engagement based on socio-economic status (SES). In short, people living on higher incomes, with higher levels of educational attainment, in

white collar employment and exhibiting a wide range of other indicators of high SES are far more likely to participate in almost every form of civic engagement.

2.3 Research evidence suggests this is the case across almost all forms of civic action. People living in high income households are twice as likely to engage in civic activity than people on low incomes. Figures from the Office of National Statistics suggest that 57% of adults in England and Wales with annual household incomes of £75,000 or more participated in formal volunteering; nearly twice the proportion of those living in a household with an income of £10,000 or less. These inequalities in participation are deeply problematic, and constitute nothing short of a crisis in democracy in the UK.

2.4 When it comes to formal democratic participation, recent decades have seen the emergence of a significant divide in electoral turnout on the basis of social class. As is the case with other forms of citizen engagement, the distinctions between voters and non-voters on the basis of SES has increased significantly over recent years, and there are few indications that this is changing.

2.5 This is a fairly new phenomenon. Until relatively recently, turnout at General Elections was consistently high across all SES groups, exceeding 80 per cent in the 1980s. However, recent elections have revealed a stark, and increasing differentiation of the electorate, with turnout amongst the poorest in the UK declining at a faster rate than other social groups, and remaining consistently lower.

2.6 The corollary of all this is that civic engagement in the UK is increasingly polarised. This problem is supported by clear research evidence and should not be understated. Indeed, the worsening divide in citizen participation constitutes nothing more than a crisis of democratic and social life in the UK.

III The Consequences of Inequality in Civic Engagement

3.1 There are numerous consequences that follow from the situation sketched above. The underlying problem is obvious but worth restating: given the numerous benefits that recent research has associated with civic participation, it is deeply concerning that these are less likely to be enjoyed by the poorest groups in society.

Dr Rod Dacombe, Department of Political Economy, Kings College London– written evidence (CCE0174)

3.2 Low participation amongst deprived social groups results in clear democratic problems. At the 2010 General Election 75% of the richest citizens in the UK voted, in comparison with 53% of the poorest. The resulting lack of electoral voice given to the poorest has significant consequences: research evidence suggests that the preferences of the wealthy are more likely to be reflected in policy outcomes than other SES groups.

3.3 There are also effects of the disengagement of the very poorest that are felt on the structure of society in the UK. The most deprived citizens are less likely to enjoy the opportunity to develop the kinds of civic skill required to advance in public life. Consequently, the majority of elected officials, senior positions within the judiciary, the diplomatic service and FTSE 100-listed directors are comprised of people from high-SES backgrounds.

3.4 But this is not simply a matter of representation and democratic control. These issues actually raise wider problems for individuals, for society, and for good government. If the benefits associated with civic engagement are not enjoyed by the most deprived groups in society, then the development of the norms of tolerance, civic-mindedness and positive orientation towards the actions of government will similarly be concentrated amongst the wealthiest groups.

3.5 As a result, the social potential of people living in deprived areas is not realised, with the opportunities and voice associated with civic engagement concentrated amongst the best-off. Low civic engagement amongst the poor can be linked to health inequalities, educational disadvantage and disconnection from the labour market. Put another way, low civic engagement can be seen as part of the condition of poverty.

IV Tackling turnout inequality

4.1 Despite the weight of the research findings presented above, there are ways to effectively address these problems. The existing evidence points to a series of interventions which, if properly implemented, can encourage participation amongst the poorest citizens, and can develop civic infrastructure in deprived areas.

4.2 However, change is needed. Recent attempts to increase civic engagement have consistently failed to affect participation amongst the most deprived groups. A wide range of different initiatives have been put in place over recent years. Attempts have been made to promote citizenship education, specific social groups have been the target of initiatives

Dr Rod Dacombe, Department of Political Economy, Kings College London– written evidence (CCE0174)

aimed at increasing turnout, and nationally-focused attempts at increasing the level of volunteering have been put in place. Initiatives like these have failed to arrest the decline of participation amongst deprived groups.

4.3 Any attempt to encourage civic engagement needs to confront the issue of inequalities in participation. Broad brush initiatives aimed at tackling the decline of citizen engagement in general are unlikely to succeed and may be counter productive.

4.4 Civic education programmes, and participation schemes which are not focused in this way risk exacerbating the problem. Inequalities in civic engagement might actually be increased by such schemes as they are usually most effective amongst the wealthiest citizens. By providing more opportunities for participation, many public engagement schemes simply end up increasing levels of participation amongst these groups, widening the divide in participation between rich and poor.

4.5 Instead, attention needs to be focused on deprived communities. The evidence suggests that two strategies can be effective here: targeted public engagement schemes, and investment in civic infrastructure.

4.6 Participation schemes focused on deprived areas can be a low cost-high gain means of addressing these issues. They work when targeted on specific problems - evidence exists for the benefits of community policing schemes, participatory budgeting programmes, local school initiatives, alongside a wide range of other initiatives (Fung and Wright, 2001).

4.7 Each of these schemes shares similar features. First there is a commitment on the part of the public agencies involved to genuinely engage citizens in decision-making, rather than simply consult. This has been demonstrated to maximise the benefits of citizen involvement while increasing citizen confidence that their participation is making a difference (Fung, 2004).

4.8 Second, successful programmes generally involve a degree of co-design at an early stage. 'Top down' solutions do not work well in deprived neighbourhoods. Too often, participation schemes are presented to citizens as complete, with questions over scope, format, location and so on settled before local people are involved. Recent studies have shown that the design of civic engagement schemes is critical to the inclusion of

Dr Rod Dacombe, Department of Political Economy, Kings College London– written evidence (CCE0174)

disadvantaged people, and that many widely-accepted practises serve to exclude these groups (Dacombe, 2017).

4.9 Finally, such schemes need to be sustained over time, and citizen participation should become an accepted part of the work of public agencies. The most successful examples of such initiatives are able to make civic engagement a part of everyday life in deprived communities.

4.10 Maintaining regular participation over time in this way has a number of benefits. The results of participation can be communicated to participants, holding public agencies to account and increasing citizen confidence that their participation is effective. Sustained participation also means that initiatives can work as 'schools for civic engagement', increasing the participants' knowledge of the issues addressed and also developing a wider range of important skills such as public speaking, the ability to understand complex arguments, and budgeting. Successful schemes can also broaden participation over time, as more citizens come into contact with the work of the scheme.

4.11 Alongside targeted initiatives such as these, the potential for increasing civic engagement in deprived communities is increased by investment in the civic infrastructure of areas exhibiting high levels of poverty.

4.12 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 organisational based in such areas tends to be low, communal facilities are often lacking and organisational infrastructure such as shops and leisure facilities are missing.

4.13 Deprived areas like these are often described as suffering from 'concentration effects' of the poverty suffered by their residents, where the cumulative effects of deprivation mean that the opportunities for engagement are far more limited than in areas where the social profile is more diverse. In short, it isn't simply having a low income that is the issue – rather, the root cause of the problem lies in the combination of factors affecting areas suffering from high levels of deprivation. This evidenced by the spatial data on deprivation, which indicates pockets of intense deprivation corresponding to areas exhibiting low levels of civic engagement.

Dr Rod Dacombe, Department of Political Economy, Kings College London– written evidence (CCE0174)

4.14 Tackling this problem is complex but effective steps can be as simple as opening up public spaces and buildings for community use, or publicising volunteering opportunities to local people – both approaches successfully employed in recent years.

4.16 It might also involve investment in local voluntary organisations. Using local councillors' discretionary funds to provide grants to support informal community activities is one way to address this issue. Similarly, investment in the capacity of voluntary organisation through training in areas such as grant applications and accounting has proven successful.

4.17 Initiatives like these work because participation is a habit. Gains made in some areas of civic life can be felt elsewhere. People who volunteer are more likely to vote, become active in civic affairs and become more generally involved in community activities.

4.18 To conclude, the crisis in civic engagement can be addressed. But only if it is correctly diagnosed and the problems of inequality of participation positioned at the core of any attempt to tackle the decline in participation that has been traced in recent years. Introducing targeted programmes aimed at increasing civic participation in deprived areas can be effective, as can investment in civic infrastructure. But without steps such as these, the crisis outlined in this submission can only worsen.

References

Dacombe, R. (2017) *Civic Participation in Theory and Practice*, London: Palgrave

Fung, A. (2004) *Empowered Participation: Reinventing Urban Democracy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Fung, A, and Wright, E. (Eds.) (2001) *Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*

London: Verso

8 September 2017

Davido Ltd – written evidence (CCE0007)

Belonging and not treated as a second class citizen or national on race, gender, faith, sexual orientation or on social status, as it matters to belong to a nation state in a collective unit.

Yes “Britishness” must be promoted, encouraged and championed to embed values for integration and assimilation as a core preamble.

Mediums of social media, seminars, workshops, trainings at educational providers, facilities and organisations and the establishing of a National Commission for Civic Education as practised and done in Ghana, a British Commonwealth nation.

Voting age should start at 16 years, as like in the due date anniversary of receiving a National Insurance Number and consent to SEX. And British nationals away or settled or residing abroad/overseas as dual nationals been allowed to vote by proxy or postal vote.

Education is the key essential ingredient, teaching of history, culture, diversity, inclusion, integration, assimilation and universal British values as a model for points/credits to be awarded for naturalisation and settlement in schools, colleges and universities.

National Citizen Service is the key for improvement for the youth, to channel energy, talents and creativity, teaching, support, spending time training in the Home Guard or Military service, teaching, volunteering, as done in Ghana, Peace Corps in USA.

More investments, funding needed to combat austerity, hardships, spending cuts hitting vulnerable communities more across the UK, as Brexit heading to the UK in Business, Pension, Education, Training, Mentoring and Apprenticeship Schemes service and Housing and social services in health.

Promotion of mutual respect, cooperation, National Day of Engagement, Been more caring, sharing, more communication avenues, all inclusion of faiths and a UK citizen's day slated by parliament at Westminster.

To prevent austerity measures, discrimination, classism, social exclusion, racial profiling, religious intolerance, more inclusion, investment, affirmative action for minorities and engagement with communities by communities appointed prefects or governors.

Both are the same ,diversity must be in practice, practice what you preach ,for people to believe, and not just box ticking and checking list, to generate feel good factor for target and performance based government, public and business organisations.

When in Rome speak as the Romans, English is the Lingua Franca and the medium of communication to speak, listen and be understood, and express yourself, there should be no exception, English is the tool of verbal proof of been British as the nation state of the UK, and Great Britain, so more ESOL classes. Newcomers, immigrants face integration issues due

Davido Ltd – written evidence (CCE0007)

to circumstances, citizenship test must be inclusive of British values ,History and vision as a British, to earn a noble title as a British citizen.

Role Models like Theo Paphitis, a successful entrepreneur and Tycoon, James Caan an entrepreneur and Tycoon, Mo Farah a successful global brand, athlete award winning Olympian, Major Twumasi Royal Household Cavalier of Windsor and Buckingham Palace of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth The Second of England.

3 August 2017

DECSY Development Education Centre South Yorkshire – written evidence (CCE0120)

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?

As Osler and Starkey (1996) have usefully described, citizenship comprises status, feeling and practice. Citizenship means all people in this country becoming aware (from an early age or from being accepted as a Citizen) of their status as citizens with concomitant rights and responsibilities to their local, regional, national and global communities. They should also develop a feeling of belonging and identity within their communities at different local to global levels. They should then be aware of how to put citizenship into practice at these different levels. Civic engagement means finding different ways to engage people as citizens, from voting to online and face to face community fora. It matters because large sections of society feel alienated from the structures of the current political system, feel they do not have a voice and are likely to fall prey to those offering simplistic and extreme solutions. As implied in the definition of citizenship above, people need to feel a sense of belonging and acceptance in the communities they live in and inhabit, but also a sense of agency, a belief that their views matter, that they see themselves as active citizens, capable of making changes for the better in concert with others.

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?

Identity as citizens could be strengthened through the education system (see Question 5). For those who become naturalised citizens, some form of induction should take place, but beyond the simplistic citizenship test. Some understanding of the journey towards democracy in Britain should be developed and an awareness of one's rights and responsibilities as a citizen locally to globally. A sense of pride in being part of an evolving story should be developed, but national citizenship should be balanced with a sense of the global and responsibilities to all of humanity and the planet we all share.

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?

Civic engagement should be encouraged through education – all young people should have the opportunity to take part in voluntary activities in their community as part of schooling. A culture of civic engagement should be developed by experience and practical example, not

by force of law. The government should investigate and implement the New Economics Foundation's '21 Hours' campaign²⁶¹, for the normal working week to become 21 hours, so more work was available for all, with more leisure time, as well as more time to volunteer in the community.

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?

In combination with more active and explicit Citizenship Education in the school curriculum, the voting age should be lowered to 16. The first-past-the-post system should be replaced with proportional representation to ensure a wider representation of political views and a more dialogue-based decision-making system.

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?

Citizenship Education should be a compulsory subject at primary and secondary school, and should be available in Further, Higher and Adult education. It should encompass developing knowledge of local to global politics, but also skills for engagement and a much greater emphasis on active citizenship. Early Years and Key Stage 1 should develop skills such as dialogic learning, critical thinking and collaborative learning. From Key Stage 2 young people should have the opportunity to devise projects for active citizenship in their school and community. All schools should engage in discussion around topical issues (more should be done to promote Global Learning – see the work of the Global Learning Programme²⁶²) and should put into practice voting procedures for School Councils and practice Mock Elections, as these have been shown to improve understanding and develop a culture of civic engagement. Very few schools take Citizenship Education seriously and most secondary schools are failing their statutory duty to teach it (it is often hidden in PHSE and pupils are unaware of the difference between the two subjects). The number of trained Citizenship teachers is tiny and there is no incentive to encourage them in ITE or whilst in post. The E-Bacc has led to many schools dropping Citizenship at GCSE and there are no plans to continue with 'A' level Citizenship, so the subject has lost even more status. GCSE and A level exams should include assessment of active Citizenship projects. Ofsted should produce regular reports on how well it is being taught.

²⁶¹ <http://neweconomics.org/2010/02/21-hours/>

²⁶² www.glp-e.org.uk

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?

The NCS should continue, but do more to encourage young people from all sections of society to take part, as well as encouraging more to take part in the International Citizenship Service. Better Citizenship Education and a broader culture of civic engagement (see Question 3) would lead to more 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?

All organisations should encourage a culture of civic engagement and volunteering (this would be much easier if the 21 Hours campaign mentioned in Question 3 were adopted). It should be seen as part of work-life balance in all areas of employment.

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?

The so-called ‘Fundamental British Values’ should be re-named ‘the values to which we broadly subscribe as a society, as it is erroneous and divisive to call them ‘British’. They should also include the values of justice and solidarity. More needs to be done to break down the barriers of white, male privilege which prevent the advancement of many women and people from ethnic minorities. Good Citizenship Education should develop a greater sense of agency, articulacy and community engagement amongst all sections of society.

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?

Many people feel removed from politics and civic engagement as they do not feel their views are represented or that the political process does little to help them. Many feel that the political system has been bought by corporate and vested interests. State funding of political parties who obtain more than 5% of the vote in elections should be brought in to create a more level playing field and restore faith in the lobbying system. Proportional representation would give more say to a greater number of views and reduce the binary nature of political arguments. More focus should be made on the work of Select Committees at national and local level, where people from different political parties and experts in the field have to work together in dialogue to find solutions. Members of the public should also be invited to take part. The promotion of PMQ-type exchanges in the

media puts people off and trivialises politics. Methodologies such as Philosophy for Children and Philosophy in Communities can develop a culture of dialogue where people learn to be more open-minded and accept different perspectives and world-views. Such skills and learning are crucial for community cohesion and to begin to solve complex problems in a world facing an uncertain future.

8 September 2017

Democracy Club Community Interest Company– written evidence (CCE0138)

4. Introduction

- 4.1. Democracy Club is a non-profit community interest company. Our vision is of a society in which democracy thrives through knowledge, participation and openness. Our mission is to use open data, design and technology to give every citizen the information and participation opportunities they need, in a way that suits them. We are non-partisan and we work openly.
- 4.2. We do not pursue a particular view of an ideal democracy; we aim to make constant iterative improvements to the democratic process based on the need of individuals or groups. We judge those needs based on what voters search for online, public research and the feedback we receive directly from voters. Currently our data and services allow people to look up their candidates online and, for ~60% of the UK, to find their correct polling station via searching online too.
- 4.3. Our response to this call for evidence is based on our experience in increasing civic engagement through technology. We are part of a growing field known as ‘civic tech’. The questions set out in the call have guided our response, but we have not followed them precisely. We believe that more and better civic education and engagement will help reduce feelings of disenfranchisement, increase trust in government and improve people’s belief in their ability to create change. The result will be increased wellbeing (see, e.g. O’Donnell, G. and Deaton, A. and Durand, M. and Halpern, D. and Layard, R. (2014) Wellbeing and policy. Legatum Institute, London, UK).

5. Modern civic engagement

- 5.1. In the 21st century we should expect a significant role for technology in civic education and engagement. At its simplest, we should expect engagement in our existing process of representative democracy to be improved with digital information. People should be able to receive notifications of elections, learn about their candidates, engage with those candidates, and find out where to vote, who won, and what happens next, via digital means. If, in the digital age, the UK is unable to solve these basic informational elements, then the value of a discussion about modern citizenship and civic engagement is questionable.
- 5.2. At a more complex level, interesting questions of digital civic engagement arise. As people conduct more of their lives online, as they build and curate identities online (e.g. how they represent themselves, who they ‘follow’, what they write/photograph or film) — what does that mean for civic identity? How does

one act in a civic-minded way in the digital space? What role should the privately owned digital giants, like Facebook and Google, play?

6. Identity

- 6.1. You have called for evidence at a time of great political, constitutional and societal flux in Britain. A time of anger at the ‘political class’ and the ‘elite’. And a time of perhaps unparalleled technological change. This moment presents an opportunity to push digital civic engagement as a defining characteristic of a forward-focused, modern British identity. Today’s technology makes vast levels of always-on engagement inexpensive. It makes it easier to experiment, and to engage those not online (less than 10% of the population) too.
- 6.2. A parallel example can be seen in Switzerland, a country that only exists due to the commitment made to democracy at the point of confederation. Today, the Swiss’ methods of public decision-making are a critical part of what it means to be Swiss.
- 6.3. Participation in the democratic process could represent a modern British value. For citizens it represents both a right and responsibility. The state has a role to play in ensuring that this responsibility can be exercised in a way that’s appropriate to how people live their lives today, that it is receptive to modern means of civic engagement — and the people have a responsibility to take part.

7. Law

- 7.1. 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.
- 7.2. Legal changes could also improve voter information. Currently, certain elections (e.g. Mayor of London, PCCs) require a returning officer to produce, print and deliver to all homes a booklet in which candidates can publish a message to voters. We believe this should be the case at every election.
- 7.3. Our polling station finder service would benefit — as would many potential new civic engagement services — from open address data, which the UK Government has previously committed to producing. We are unsure of the present status of this commitment.

8. Civic education

- 8.1. The websites run by Democracy Club give users the options to leave written feedback. This is always useful in keeping us grounded about the problem we are trying to solve: the lack of knowledge of the democratic process that such comments often demonstrate is alarming. Notably, the day after the EU Referendum, the top UK search term online was ‘What is the EU?’. The absence of quality nationwide civic, political or democratic education presents a significant barrier to civic engagement.
 - 8.2. Quality civic education in schools is vital, but adult civic education must also be considered important; political education should be seen as a lifelong process, a responsibility of both state and citizen as part of a fulfilling life as a member of society. We see some of the biggest current gaps in the public understanding of local government, but the needs will change over time — the goal should be to provide a holistic, practical education.
9. How to do it
- 9.1. Currently, civic engagement is not being taken seriously enough by the state, by most of the third sector — and apparently not at all by the private sector, which should not be excluded from this debate.
 - 9.2. Existing organisations, like ourselves, dedicated to improving civic education or engagement, represent a small group of underfunded, piecemeal efforts. If our shared aim is a modern British identity based on civic engagement, then this is not good enough.
 - 9.3. Our democracy is necessarily complex: people will always need education and assistance through the process. British society faces a range of global, continental, national and local challenges and if we want democracy to survive and thrive, all of us — every institution — need to consider how to protect and strengthen it. This is not going to happen without sustainable funding. A democracy with high levels of civic engagement is not a societal default; it will not happen by accident.
 - 9.4. Funding for civic education and engagement efforts must be sustainable and independent, likely funded by taxation, due to the difficulty of raising donations for a ‘meta-cause’ like engagement. The funding should be independent of government, to ensure its non-partisan nature.
 - 9.5. The Royal Charter that allows for the funding of the BBC may be a model to follow — or the BBC itself could undertake new activity in this space. Its trusted brand, audience, high level of resource, and its ability to innovate as demonstrated on projects like iPlayer, could be highly beneficial to the civic education and engagement. The budget requirements are relatively low; much could be achieved with an annual budget of £1-2 per head of population.

- 9.6. Alternatively, it may be necessary to consider an entirely new institution. Germany's *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung* should provide inspiration. It has 200 staff and eight-figure budget with a mission to strengthen democracy from the ground up. It produces high quality, non-partisan content in all formats for a range of audiences. It runs training for journalists, students and teachers, as well as funding many third sector civic engagement projects. The idea of *politische Bildung* refers to something greater than education: the need for constant, lifelong training or self-cultivation towards becoming better citizens.

8 September 2017

Democracy Matters – written evidence (CCE0265)

Written evidence submitted by Titus Alexander, founder of Democracy Matters, in personal capacity. Titus is an educator and author of several books on citizenship: *Pedagogy of Power: Learning for Democracy* (2017, UCL IoE Press) which makes the case for teaching practical politics; *Campaigning is OK!* (2009 Novas Scarman); *Learning Power* (Campaign for Learning 2007); *Family Learning: foundation of effective education* (Demos 1997), *Citizenship Schools: a practical guide to education for citizenship and personal develop* (Campaign for Learning 2001); and *Unravelling Global Apartheid: An overview of world politics* (Polity 1996).

Democracy Matters is an alliance of civil society organisations and education providers founded in 2009 to promote learning for democracy and practical politics. This submission supports our objectives and may not represent views of all members, who may make their own submissions.

Summary

Citizenship *with* civic engagement matter because they give people

- 1) A shared identity and values, making society more cohesive and resilient;
- 2) A constitutional framework (even if unwritten) for resolving conflicts by peaceful means;
- 3) Opportunities to tackle social problems and improve society.

Effective citizenship is created by 1) legal **rights**, 2) social **conditions** and 3) personal **capabilities** of confidence, skills, knowledge and contacts. Personal capabilities and social conditions are necessary for formal rights to be effective.

These three areas are part of the “social capital” which largely determine people’s life chances. They include the UK’s privileged position in the world, which gives citizens many benefits and makes it an attractive destination for people who fear persecution or destitution elsewhere. Differences in citizenship rights between countries therefore matters for our own wellbeing.

UK citizenship is being changed at all levels:

- a) Devolved assemblies and city mayors create unequal citizenship rights across the UK;
- b) Diffusion of accountability in many public services makes it difficult for citizens to know who is responsible for what and how to have a say;
- c) Leaving the EU will create a complex hierarchy of citizenship rights among residents, and give employers, landlords and public services more responsibility for policing citizenship;
- d) Powerful online tools enable some people to have a stronger voice and influence.

These changes are increasing inequality of influence between well-connected minorities and the majority, thus widening the participation gap. To address this, we need better education and support for citizens to learn how the system works and how to have an effective say.

Q2: A sense of citizenship and belonging begins within families, communities and school, so the state should create civic signposts and support at significant times in life.

Schools should become the constitutional foundations of a learning democracy.

Promoting “Britishness” is counter-productive, but national pride comes from achievement.

Q3: Serious consideration should be given to compulsory voting; to giving citizens an annual statement on what their taxes pay for, as well as national assets and liabilities; and to creating a national recognition scheme for civic contributions to public life.

Q4: Current laws, policy and social attitudes discourage civic and political engagement, particularly the Lobbying Act, for which there is substantial evidence.

I favour lowering the voting age to 16 and providing better political education in schools.

Q5: The UK should use the Council of Europe’s [Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture](#) to inform provision of education for democracy.

Democracy Matters has called for a new Speakers’ Commission on Learning for Democracy. We are holding a consultation on this with St Georges House at Windsor Castle and would like to make a more substantial contribution on this question following this event in October.

Q6: Constant changes in government support for community development and citizenship engagement has undermined trust in government-sponsored initiatives. We need a cross-party commitment to sustained investment and support for effective citizenship engagement.

Q7: We should learn from Germany’s [Federal Agency for Civic Education](#) (bpb) and create an arms-length agency for political education, possibly modelled on the BBC and British Council, funded through the license fee.

The BBC is not very good at supporting participation by the majority in the democratic process and should urgently be reviewed, while those interested in politics are well served.

Local Government should set up impartial “democracy hubs” to support civic engagement.

Q8: The biggest threats to our core values are

- a. people feeling that their voice is not heard so there is no point in taking part;
- b. a political culture which turns many people off from politics;
- c. a partisan press willing to distort information to support its editorial line. : a robust independent press is a vital part of democracy, but respect for evidence and pluralism

within newspapers is as important as between papers, and should not detract from a strong and distinct editorial view.

Q10: Well-managed diversity strengthens social cohesion and Britain's role in the world.

Q12: Members of Democracy Matters will provide many examples from the St George's House consultation in October, but to mention just four major initiatives here:

- a) Family learning, Sure Start and neighbourhood family centres like Pen Green in Corby
- b) The national Community Champions Programme from 2001 to 2007;
- c) Cooperative schools, of which there are over 400;
- d) UCL's annual Global Citizenship programme to explore global challenges and develop skills.

Full response to questions

I. What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

1. Citizenship *with* civic engagement matter because they give people
 - 1) A shared identity and values, making society more cohesive and resilient;
 - 2) A constitutional framework (even if unwritten) for resolving conflicts by peaceful means;
 - 3) Opportunities to tackle social problems and improve society.
2. Civic engagement is prior to formal citizenship, since citizenship rights are often created by people taking action, such as the women’s suffrage movement and Chartists in the UK, the civil rights movement in the United States, and the world-wide movements for democracy.
3. Formal citizenship rights are not enough to make citizenship meaningful or effective: the conflict in Northern Ireland and inner-city riots of 1981 and 2011 showed what can happen when people feel they do not belong and cannot resolve matters by peaceful means. The votes for Scottish independence, Sinn Fein and Brexit show how many people think our current political framework does not give them an effective voice or identity as citizens of the UK and EU. It is unlikely that leaving the EU will resolve many of the reasons why people voted to leave the EU, unless there is a massive increase in support for effective engagement.
4. When people are engaged in their community, they show their sense of identity through mutual aid and community activities. Engagement strengthens their identity with a specific place, faith, football club, ethnic group and other associations in which they are engaged. Community engagement and identity are often formed in adversity, when times are hard and people feel their backs are against the wall or others are against them. For young people engagement and identity can be expressed through youth movements like mods, rockers, hippies, punks, grunge, etc.; organisations like the Boys Brigade, Scouts and Woodcraft Folk; or gangs. Cooperatives, trades unions, evangelical churches, community organising and many other social movements are more sustained responses to adversity, creating identity through engagement. They also created political organisations and parties which still give people a voice in local and national government.
5. On the other side of the social divide, public schools, elite universities and social networks also create opportunities for engagement and access to the political process.
6. These networks of civic engagement, at all levels, are vital parts of our ‘social capital’ and more important for our collective well-being and prosperity than many realise.

Herbert Simon, a Nobel-prize winning economist, observed that differences in average incomes between rich and poor nations ‘are due to differences in social capital that takes primarily the form of stored knowledge (e.g. technology, and especially organizational and governmental skills). ... When we compare the poorest with the richest nations, it is hard to conclude that social capital can produce less than about 90 per cent of income in wealthy societies’ (Simon, 2000; see also Van Parijs, 2000). Thus, people in the UK are more productive and earn seven times more than people in Nigeria (in purchasing power; 18 times more in cash terms) because our social, political, legal and other institutions made possible the industrial revolution, trade, mass education and public services, not because we work harder.

7. The contrast between North and South Korea is the most dramatic illustration of the difference social capital makes to well-being and prosperity, but well-documented differences in life chances, health and mortality rates between rich and poor in UK also reflect wide disparities in social capital among British citizens.
8. Effective engagement and voice matters for the whole of society, because citizens’ action drives social improvement. No one would have been killed in Grenfell Tower if authorities had listened to residents’ concerns about fire safety. Like the Hillsborough families, Mid-Staffs Hospital action group and survivors of historic sexual abuse, their voices were not heard and people suffered as a result.
9. Effective citizenship is created by 1) a set of legal **rights**, 2) social **conditions** and 3) personal **capabilities**, which largely determine an individuals’ opportunities and their sense of belonging in society (see Annex 1 for more detail). Each of these three areas make a distinct contribution to citizenship.

Legal conditions for citizenship include:

- Political and human rights, enshrined in domestic and international law.
- Accessible, impartial rule of law and means of judicial redress equally available to all.

Social and economic conditions for effective citizenship include:

- Freedom from fear of destitution, exploitation and persecution, which in turn depend on enforcement of rights as well as social provision and protection.
- Civic associations through which people are involved in society, get support and express their voice, such as business associations, faith communities, pressure groups and trades unions.
- Economic opportunities and freedoms to find work, create enterprises, trade.
- Tolerance and mutual respect which enables people to be themselves.
- Opportunities to learn about the political system, rights and responsibilities.

Personal capabilities include a sense of personal power, confidence knowledge and skills needed to take part effectively.

10. If people lack one or more of these conditions it is difficult, if not impossible, to be a full and equal citizen. The relationship between these conditions is complex. People may lack legal rights of citizenship, like Nelson Mandela in apartheid South Africa, but he had the courage, knowledge and association to campaign for equal citizenship rights. Many people in the UK have legal rights but lack the confidence and knowledge to use them. Some people have the confidence to campaign, but lack the knowledge or skill to be effective, and conclude that they are powerless to influence society or take action which is counter-productive.
11. Differences in citizenship rights between countries matters as much to our peace and prosperity as differences between people in the UK, and between its nations and regions. When people fear persecution or destitution, they will risk their lives to find safety and opportunity, becoming refugees or migrants.
12. Nationality creates a hierarchy of citizenship among the world's people, so that UK citizens can visit 173 territories without a visa (out of 218), near the top of the table. At the bottom, citizens of Pakistan can travel visa-free to only 28 countries, Iraqis to 27, and Afghans to 24, ([Henley & Partners Visa Restrictions Index 2017](#)). Below them are at least ten million stateless people.
13. So long as the gap in global citizenship rights and opportunities is so wide, the UK will be a magnet for people seeking safety and greater equality of opportunity, following Norman Tebbit's injunction to "get on their bike" to find work. As one of the most privileged, and wealthy countries of the world, the UK has a choice about whether to enforce a form of global apartheid or to seek greater equality in conditions for citizenship worldwide.
14. When we were a colonial power, residents of colonies and dominions were subjects of the Crown and Britain drew up the national borders for many countries. British nationality and citizenship has evolved over centuries in response to globalisation and domestic political pressures. Decisions about UK citizenship must be made in relation to the rest of the world or we increase the risk of conflict within Britain and the UK.
15. British citizens belong to a small minority of countries which have the most extensive rights and freedoms in the world, including permanent representation in the UN Security Council, NATO, Bretton Woods Institutions and Council of Europe, as well as visa-free access to 80 percent of countries. But low levels of engagement and political literacy means that most citizens are not aware of their rights and privileges, or how these are being changed under the biggest ever constitutional reform of the UK now underway.
16. **UK citizenship is being changed** at many levels:

- a) Devolved assemblies and city mayors give some citizens more access to decision-making, alongside changes in funding for local government, thus creating even unequal citizenship rights across the UK.
 - b) Diffusion of accountability for public services in an unstable institutional landscape makes it almost impossible for citizens to know who is responsible for what or how to have a say in many policy areas: School Commissioners, the Education & Skills Funding Agency (ESFA), Ofsted, Local Economic Partnerships, Clinical Commissioning Groups, Health & Wellbeing Boards, Housing Associations, Tennant Management Organisations, and other bodies allocate a large proportion of taxpayers' money and exercise power without direct political oversight.
 - c) Leaving the EU will remove European citizenship from people who do not have an EU connection (e.g. Irish ancestry) and create a complex hierarchy of citizenship rights and identities among UK residents. Employers, landlords and public service providers will have more responsibility for policing citizenship. The UK is also likely to fall in world visa rankings (it has fallen from first to fourth tier since 2014; Germany is now at the top) and lose influence in international decision-making forums (which may not be a bad thing, but will affect on life in the UK).
17. At the same time, the internet offers citizens a growing number of powerful tools for engagement for those who know how to use them, including
- Official websites like Parliament.UK, GOV.UK and data.gov.uk;
 - Petition sites like Change.org and 38 Degrees,
 - TheyWorkforYou, WhatDoTheyKnow, WritetoThem, and Democracy Club,
 - Mobilising tools such as Meetup.org, [Campaign Partner](#), [Citizen Space](#), [D-Cent](#), [Ecanvasser](#), [NationalField](#), [NationBuilder](#) and [many more](#).
 - Google, Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter and other social media.
18. This changing constitutional landscape increases inequality of influence. It makes it easier for lobbyists, think tanks, professional campaigners, pressure groups and activists to get information, mobilise support and target decision-makers. At the same, most people do not know how the system works and get lost in institutional labyrinths. Politicians themselves are often powerless to act on behalf of citizens grappling with officials following rigid procedures and appeals processes designed to protect them. People who know how to use the system are empowered by new rights while the majority are excluded by invisible barriers, thus widening the participation gap.

19. To address this, we need to increase education and support for all citizens to learn how the system works and how to have an effective say, as proposed in response to the following questions.

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?

1. Research shows that the sense of citizenship and belonging begins within families, communities and school, so we need to prioritize activities which support a sense of belonging through families, communities and school.
2. Most people do not feel the state and public services ‘belong’ to them, and that this is often their biggest area of expenditure after housing. Voting and civic engagement are how we collectively decide what the state and public services should do. The state should therefore empower people as citizens by creating “civic signposts” at significant moments in life, such as:
 - a) At birth, every parent could be given a ‘welcome bag’ with their Personal Child Health Record (or 'red book'), a summary of [entitlements](#), [support from the NHS](#) and their NHS number and recognition as a new member of the community. Parents often get a ‘goody bag’ of commercial baby products and free books from Bookstart before school to help families read together, which should include information about the UK and meaning of citizenship.
 - b) When they start school, every child and their parent could be welcomed into their learning community, introducing parents to the ‘civic structure’ of education, from class meetings and the governing body, to the education authority or Multi-Agency Trust, Schools’ Commissioner, ESFA, Ofsted and DfE.
 - c) Before every election voters should get a factual summary of the powers, responsibilities and budgets their representative will make decisions about (council, assembly or parliament), and information about independent voter information sites, such as Votematch, [Vote for Policies](#), etc.
 - d) When young people reach 18 they should get a letter and/or email from the Speaker, with an outline of their rights and responsibilities as citizens, the powers and responsibilities of Parliament, the name of their MP (about 700, - 800,000 per year) and an online guide to the role of their MP and Parliament, tax and spending.
 - e) Every school, college, university and apprenticeship provider should work with their local authority to organise high-profile “citizenship ceremonies” for young people reaching voting age, to celebrate and inspire democratic citizenship.

- f) Every citizen should get an annual statement on what their taxes pay for, as my local authority does; national assets and liabilities; and where to get more information, making it clear that decisions are the responsibility of politicians elected by them, as citizens.
3. Schools should become the constitutional foundations of a learning democracy, enabling people to develop confidence, skills and knowledge through participation in the school community, as proposed in *Citizenship Schools* (summary in Annex 2).
 4. Promoting “Britishness” and “British” Values is counter-productive, since it:
 - alienates citizens who do not identify with Britain for any reason;
 - promotes a sense of ‘them’ and ‘us’ between the UK and all other nations;
 - inhibits evolution in values and social attitudes: if adopted in 1986 it would have prohibited discussion of homosexuality in schools, while today schools are encouraged to prevent homophobia.
 5. People have multiple identities and can feel pride in them all. Pride in being British comes from actions by British citizens, in sport, arts or even international affairs. It also arises when the country does things well, or people take part something bigger than themselves, such as the Olympics or an election.
 6. It is ironic that young people are taught that democracy is a “British Value”, but often do not develop the confidence, skills and knowledge to take part in democracy, and have very few opportunities for democratic participation in education.
- 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?
1. Serious consideration should be given to compulsory voting, as a civic duty to share responsibility for our collective affairs, with the option of 12 hours community service rather than a fine for people who do not vote without good reason.
 2. Paying taxes is a reciprocal duty of citizenship and this should be made clear with tax statements, as proposed in 4.2.f above.
 3. We should create a national recognition scheme for civic contributions to public life, including volunteering; serving on a Parent Teacher Association, Governing Body or magistrates bench; and membership of a political party.

- 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?
1. Current laws and policy as well as social attitudes actively discourage civic and political engagement. There is substantial evidence that the Lobbying Act has a negative effect.
 2. I personally favour lowering the voting age to 16. The experience of Scotland shows that young people do engage, and it will give schools a greater incentive to provide meaningful, impartial political education.
- 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?
1. How we encourage citizenship starts at birth: the only question is whether we want to foster active, informed and effective citizens who shape their future together, as advocated in this response; or whether we want people to stay in the dark and get lost in the complex maze of modern life. The UK should use the Council of Europe's [Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture](#) to inform provision.
 2. Democracy Matters has called for a new Speakers' Commission on Learning for Democracy and is holding a consultation on this with St Georges House at Windsor Castle at the end of October, so we would like to make a more substantial contribution on this question following this event (Annex 2)
- 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?
1. Constant changes in government support for [community development](#) and citizenship engagement, from the Community Development Projects (CDP) programme (1969-76) through Active Learning for Active Citizenship (ALAC) and Take Part to the Big Society and community organising from 2010 undermines trust in government-sponsored initiatives – for which I can provide evidence. We need a cross-party commitment to sustained investment in support for effective citizenship and community engagement. We need to encourage the spectrum of activity from

volunteering to standing for office and taking part in governance at all levels of society.

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?

1. We can learn a lot from the German [Federal Agency for Civic Education](#) (bpb), which actively promotes political literacy for adults and in schools. The UK should aim to create an equivalent arms-length agency to provide political education, on the model of the BBC and British Council, possibly as a joint project. Joe Michell of Democracy Club has suggested that the BBC license fee could be used to fund it.
2. The BBC provides excellent current affairs news coverage, but its role in “Sustaining citizenship and civil society” was reduced in the last Charter review. Its purposes still include providing information and analysis so that audiences can “participate in the democratic process, at all levels, as active and informed citizens.” While people interested in politics are well served by the BBC, it has never done this well for the majority. A major review of the BBC’s role in supporting participation in the democratic process is long overdue.
3. Local Government should be encouraged to set up impartial “democracy hubs” to inform and support civic and political engagement: there are a few examples of prototypes (see outline in Annex 4).

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?

1. The biggest threats to our core values are
 - a. people feeling that their voice is not heard and nothing they say or do can make any difference, so there is no point in taking part;
 - b. a tribal political culture which creates a perception of opposing gangs and turns many people off from politics;
 - c. a partisan press willing to distort information to support its editorial line: a robust independent press is a vital part of democracy, but respect for evidence and pluralism within newspapers is as important as between papers, and should not detract from a strong and distinct editorial view.

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?

No space to discuss this, but I hope some of these factors are addressed in the analysis above.

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?

No space to discuss this, but I hope some of these factors are addressed in the analysis above. When managed well, diversity strengthens social cohesion and integration, and benefits Britain’s role in the world, from arts and sports to security and trade.

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?

1. There are many examples from all areas, which we will include in our report from the St George’s House consultation, but to mention just four major initiatives:
 - a) Family learning, Sure Start and neighbourhood family centres like Pen Green in Corby
 - b) The national Community Champions Programme from 2001 to 2007;
 - c) Cooperative schools, of which there are over 400;
 - d) UCL Global Citizenship brings together students from across UCL for two weeks in June to explore our biggest global challenges and develop skills, from negotiation to presentation, photography and film-editing, through workshops, placements and projects;

Annex 1

Definitions of Citizenship

“The proprietor of stock is properly a citizen of the world, and is not necessarily attached to any particular country,” Adam Smith, 1776.

Citizenship can be defined in terms of nine distinct but interdependent elements:

Legal

1. **A constitution**, written and unwritten rules governing the place of citizens in society.
2. **Political and human rights** including enshrined in law and UN Conventions
3. **Membership** of a state, society and the world
4. **Democratic values**, eg freedom, fairness, social justice, respect for democracy and diversity.
5. **Civic involvement and responsibility** (‘active citizenship’). Rights create obligations on others and ‘duties to the community’ are part of the Universal Declaration (Article 29).
6. **Accountability** means those responsible for decisions are answerable for their actions.
7. **Participation in democratic decision-making**
8. A **sense of personal power**, self-esteem and confidence to take part.
9. **Knowledge and skills** needed to take part

*[From Titus Alexander, **Citizenship Schools**, UNICEF-UK/Campaign for Learning, 2001*

“Citizenship requires both legal rights and the ability to exercise those rights in practice. In international law there is no ‘world citizenship’, only citizens of sovereign states. In this respect, individuals are recognised only in terms of their group identity. As in South Africa, there is a hierarchy of group rights:

1. citizens of the USA, UK and France, with veto powers in the Security Council, NATO and IMF, World Bank and global economic regimes;
2. OECD and Western Alliance, who have the vote, access to courts and Western solidarity;
3. other independent states represented on a regional basis and party to human rights conventions
4. independent states which do not adhere to human rights conventions;
5. occupied territories and peoples without states;
6. refugees, asylum-seekers and stateless person.

Although not explicitly classified by race, this hierarchy is banded by colour. ... Nationality laws of most countries, and the European Union, explicitly enshrine this ‘classification’.”

*From **Unravelling Global Apartheid**, Polity Press, 1996*

Annex 2

Citizenship Schools:

Learning democracy, raising attainment, building community

By Titus Alexander, Convener, Democracy Matters,

author of *Citizenship Schools*, Campaign for Learning, 2001

Every school is a community and political entity, through which people learn how to behave and take part in society. The school's ethos and 'hidden curriculum' has as much influence on pupils as the content of lessons. What most pupils and parents learn is that they must do what they are told, their voice doesn't count except when asked and they give the right answer, and management decides. However, many schools encourage some participation. These areas of participation could be developed to make schools the foundations of a democratic society.

Citizenship education should be more than a subject on the curriculum. It could enable all members of the school community to learn how to take part as active citizens, in the life of the school, the local community and wider society. An active school could enable local people to lead the democratic renewal of their area from the bottom up.

This article summarises the case for encouraging schools to put active participation and democratic citizenship at the core of their ethos, as described in my book of the same name²⁶³.

Citizenship and the cooperative schools' movement

In recent years there has been a rapid growth of co-operative schools which put democratic governance at the heart of schools and develop active participatory skills needed to build civil society, personal development and wellbeing. By 1 June 2013 there were 444 co-operative trust schools with about 100 more in the consultation stage. A unique characteristic of the co-operative model is that it enables key stakeholder groups to become members. This kind of bottom-up movement with national support from an independent, democratic agency is more likely to lead to sustain improvement in schools and their local areas than the top-down initiatives of the past 25 years.

Why citizenship schools?

When people lose their sense of civic duty and engagement, societies become vulnerable to extremism, as happened in ancient Rome, Weimar Germany and many other countries. Today the sense of powerlessness and disillusionment with politics is one of the greatest threats to our future as a society. But if we can inspire teachers and young people to recover their sense of power over their own lives, we can unleash creativity and innovation to transform our economy and society for the better.

²⁶³ *Citizenship Schools: a practical guide to education for citizenship and personal development*, Titus Alexander, Campaign for Learning, 2001

Although the national curriculum requirement to teach citizenship comes from central government, schools have considerable freedom to decide how it will be taught. This makes citizenship a way of improving schools and their community from the bottom-up.

Politicians on all sides of the political spectrum call for participation, empowerment and civic renewal. Local schools and colleges have the potential to play a major role in empowering people to take an active part in renewing society. Schools are one of the few institutions which can connect a large part of local communities, reaching people through children and their families. Extended schools connect even more services are through local schools. This gives schools the opportunity to become foundations of a democratic learning society, through which young people learn how to take part in decision-making and develop a real sense of civic responsibility.

Increasing participation in school also increases attainment and motivation. A study for CSV by Derry Hannan found that “in terms of low exclusions, good attendance, staff and student assessment and exam results” schools with high levels of student participation “performed better than might have been expected” by comparison with schools with a similar intake²⁶⁴.

Citizenship is about enabling people to develop the abilities, knowledge, and understanding to take an effective part in society. The citizenship curriculum explicitly aims to make pupils “more self-confident and responsible both in and beyond the classroom. It encourages pupils to play a helpful part in the life of their schools, neighbourhoods, communities and the wider world. It also teaches them about our economy and democratic institutions and values; encourages respect for different national, religious and ethnic identities; and develops pupils' ability to reflect on issues and take part in discussions.” It would be a mistake, therefore, to see the citizenship as simply another subject to be squeezed into the timetable.

Citizenship is an active discipline

Citizenship must be practised as well as taught. You would never teach football by getting people to study the rules and history or analysing games. You take them onto the pitch to train and play matches against other teams. So too with citizenship. The curriculum offers schools many opportunities to involve staff, pupils and parents in the life of the school and its community in response to our rapidly changing world.

Participation and democracy in school is not a soft option. It requires reflection, planning, training and implementation to ensure that all members of the school community are involved. They must experience it as a benefit, not a burden. To be effective, people must experience it as a way of making life better for themselves, the school and the local area.

Citizenship requires a shared vision, values and commitment based on fairness, mutual respect, democratic participation, human rights, social justice and diversity. These are values to which the nation aspires in signing the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. But they are much easier to agree than to live them in practice.

²⁶⁴ *The Hannam Report*: [The Impact of Citizenship Education](#), Derry Hannam, CSV (2001)

Every school is a political entity. Charles Handy compared schools with city-states (Handy, 1987), with every form of governance from dictatorship to the radical democracy of Summerhill.

Institutional change and school improvement require political skills to engage and persuade people to do things differently. The citizenship curriculum should give all members of the school community an active part in continuous and democratic school improvement.

What is a citizenship school?

Any school in which citizenship is practiced as well as taught could be called a “citizenship school”. A central aim of citizenship is to give young people the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in society. It aims to make pupils “more self-confident and responsible both in and beyond the classroom. It encourages pupils to play a helpful part in the life of their schools, neighbourhoods, communities and the wider world. It also teaches them about our economy and democratic institutions and values; encourages respect for different national, religious and ethnic identities; and develops pupils' ability to reflect on issues and take part in discussions.” If done well, it will equip young people to thrive in a world of constant change –starting with the introduction of the citizenship curriculum itself. It would be a mistake, therefore, to treat citizenship as simply another subject to be squeezed into the timetable.

But the timetable has a vital role in developing citizenship in schools. First of all, subject status is enshrined in the timetable. Citizenship has to be there, alongside maths, English and the rest. Second, the timetable tells pupils and parents that citizenship matters. Third, citizenship requires specialist skills and knowledge which need to be developed with a skilled teacher who knows the subject and how to teach it. This means setting aside time for teaching. Citizenship can enrich other subjects on the curriculum. At least 20% of the strands in citizenship can be developed through other subjects and a citizenship specialist can also provide issues, concepts and activities that enhance understanding of other subjects. In addition, citizenship has an important place in moral, pastoral, social and extra-curricular activities, such as form-time, assembly, behaviour policies and community links.

The concept of ‘citizenship school’ aims to bring these different aspects together into a whole school approach. It is drawn from schools across the country which give pupils, parents, staff and local communities an active role in school life. It is a practical embodiment of the citizenship curriculum, enabling pupils to “play a helpful part in the life of their schools, neighbourhoods, communities and the wider world.” A citizenship school aims to give every pupil an apprenticeship in active citizenship, by learning how the system works and taking part effectively. For this to happen, schools need to ensure that every member of the school community can be heard, have a say in decisions and influence school life.

A ‘citizenship school’ offers a sophisticated model of democracy, involving activities such as circle time, peer mediation, pupil responsibilities and parents’ councils. But the essential starting point is a commitment to use the citizenship curriculum to transform the way school is run by giving all young people direct experience of decision-making and the issues they face in growing up. These must be real decisions, with real consequences, in which

young people have to seek compromise and consensus among themselves as well as with adults.

To be credible, the citizenship curriculum has to pervade all aspects of school life, including its culture and ethos; its approach to learning and teaching; and its decision-making processes. Teaching young people about the structures and processes of democracy without giving them an effective say in the life of their own school is a lesson in cynicism and powerlessness.

Citizenship schools could unleash greater creativity and commitment to learning in schools and their communities. As Derry Hannam's research shows, involvement in participatory activities enhances learning across the curriculum, leading to higher than expected levels of attendance and attainment at GCSE.

Elements of a citizenship school

The following outline describes the essential elements of a citizenship school, based on current practices in schools today. They are based on co-operative vision and values, the Rights of the Child and the citizenship curriculum.

1. Create a democratic constitution and ethos

Every cooperative trust school has a constitutional framework which consists of its legal status and obligations; its aims, policies and development plan; and is embedded through the norms, values and decision-making structures that govern the lives of its members while they are at school. The articles of association for co-operative schools include an ethos based on the globally shared co-operative values of self help, self responsibility, democracy, equality, equity and solidarity and the ethical values of honesty, openness, social responsibility and caring for others.

In making its constitution explicit, a co-operative citizenship school aims to:

- recognise all members of the school community as learning **citizens**, with explicit rights and responsibilities;
- build a shared commitment to a **democratic vision and values**;
- involve everyone in creating **fair rules or boundaries** consistent with those values;
- involve pupils in maintaining peace through **peer mediation and conflict resolution**;
- develop meaningful **responsibilities** for all pupils.

2. Create an empowering curriculum,

A co-operative citizenship school applies co-operative values and co-operative learning and citizenship across the curriculum. This means enabling all members of the school community to develop the ability to take responsibility for their own learning, which includes:

- Active development of a **sense of self** as a person, learner and agent in the world.

- **Equal partnership with parents** as a child's first educator.
- **Shared responsibility for learning** with pupils.
- Exploration of **values and purpose** in all subjects.
- **Emotional literacy**.
- **Thinking skills**, applied to real as well as hypothetical and historical problems.
- **Learning to learn**.
- **Enquiry skills**, including listening, researching, writing and discussing.
- Co-operative and collaborative learning skills
- **Peer education** and mentoring.
- Skills of **participation and action**, including negotiating, decision-making and planning.
- Participating in a campaign or **project for change**.
- Co-operative enterprise
- **Political understanding, sustainable development, consumer education and financial literacy**.
- **Self-assessment and evaluating** the work of others.

For a rapidly changing society, in which the total amount of knowledge is growing exponentially, it is particularly important that young people learn how to take responsibility for their own learning.

3. Develop active participation in decision-making, based on cooperative models

Citizenship has to be experienced as well as taught. For pupils this means:

- **Learning partners** and **teams** to develop mutual support and confidence.
- **Circle time** to develop empathy, relationships and values as well as resolve problems.
- A **pupil council** with elected representatives from each class and a meaningful role in all decision-making.
- **Pupil representatives** on the trust members forum and on the governing body.
- **Co-operative enterprise**
- **Local and national representation** by young people in decision-making.

4. For parents, participation takes place through

- **Class meetings** (or associations) of all parents of children in each class, meeting two or three times a year to discuss the curriculum, concerns about the class and issues affecting the school, as well as to socialise and support the class;

- **Parents’ councils** consisting of elected representatives from each class;
- **Parent representatives** on the trust members forum, the governing body and a whole school council;

5. The co-operative community school

The school's co-operative Trust will demonstrate a commitment to citizenship through its engagement with the wider local community - for example, provision of facilities for youth activities and adult learning, active involvement with local issues, regular review of the way in which the school is responding to local needs.

Staff are involved through staff meetings, joint working groups with pupils, parents and community representatives, the governing body and school meeting or council. For youth and community groups using the school premises, citizenship schools could create a **community association** or **council** to run facilities and activities.

Each of these elements takes time and skill to develop, because it is important that they are done well. But however well one prepares, they involve an element of risk, because real learning and real democracy is never risk free. Most of the time, creativity and innovation are stimulated, bringing about greater enjoyment and improvement in their wake. The Campaign for Learning, UNICEF UK and the Gulbenkian Foundation have published a practical guide by me on how schools can transform themselves into “citizenship schools”, drawing on the experience of schools across the country. Sometimes, however, it is best to start small.

Conclusion

The creation of citizenship schools could bring about the most important constitutional reform since the achievement of universal adult suffrage. Citizenship schools would give every young person the skills, knowledge, experience and confidence to use the democratic process to improve their lives. It will require, of course, inspired teaching of citizenship in the classroom, but it must rest on foundations of confidence forged through experience in the corridors of school and community. The creation of “citizenship schools” could herald a bottom-up process of change that will bring about both higher levels of attainment and more confident, capable and responsible citizens.

As active citizens, pupils, parents and members of the local community will also develop the skills and confidence to transform their school and local area, so that they become masters of their own destiny.

References

Handy, Charles, *Understanding Schools as Organisations*, Pelican, 1987

Hannam, Derry, (2002) *The Hannam Report: [The Impact of Citizenship Education](#)*, CSV
Exploring Well-Being in Schools, By John Peter White (2011)

Mental Health and Social and Emotional Learning: Evidence, Principles, Tensions, Balances,
by Katherine Weare, Taylor Francis (2011)

Cooperative Values Make a Difference in the Curriculum and Governance of Schools by
Mervyn Wilson and Cliff Mills, The Cooperative College

Annex 3

Skills for Democracy

Satellite event for the World Forum

20 October 2016, House of Commons, UK

This event was hosted by Lord David Blunkett of Brightside and Graham Allen MP, Nottingham North. It aimed to give an overview of the state of education for democracy in the UK and identify priorities. **Speakers**

- David Blunkett, Professor of Politics in Practice at Sheffield University, MP for Brightside & Hillsborough 1987-2015, Education and Employment Secretary, Home Secretary, Work and Pensions Secretary, Leader of Sheffield City Council, 1980 – 87.
- James Weinberg, Research Associate of the [Crick Centre](#), and Chair of the Political Studies, Association Early Career Network, on the state of citizenship and political education in schools;
- David Kerr, [Association of Citizenship Teachers](#) (ACT,) and Professor at University of Reading;
- Samira Musa, [Bite the Ballot](#), on engaging young people;
- Ruth Spellman, CEO, [Workers Educational Association](#), on adult education;
- Sue Tibballs, CEO [Sheila McKechnie Foundation](#) on campaign training and support for civil society
- Sarah Allen, [Involve](#), on participation for a stronger democracy
- Ashok Viswanathan, Deputy CEO, [Operation Black Vote](#) on engaging minorities
- Rosemary Bechler, Editor, [openDemocracy](#) about the young reporters at the World Forum
- Dan Gallacher, [Parliament's Education Service](#);

The government was invited to send a speaker or comment, but has no policies on education for democracy.

Skills for Democracy survey

We surveyed participants beforehand and 68% had NOT heard about the World Forum for Democracy. Only 37% had heard of the Council of Europe's Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship, although almost 60% said their work was about education for advocacy, citizenship, democracy or politics.

Key points and next step

The three main messages from the meeting were

- 1) The need for a movement to promote the right to political literacy, like Make Poverty History.
- 2) The sorry state of citizenship education and political literacy in schools today; and
- 3) The wide range of initiatives in adult education and civil society.

Summary

The presentations gave a detailed overview of education for democracy, including the following points:

1. Political knowledge and participation is very unequal, particularly among younger, poorer people, but sustained, focused work makes a difference, of which there are many examples;
2. Citizenship education in schools is disappearing, due to being merged with PSHE; the lack of specialist teachers, political support and support from school leaders; and the [Progress 8 Indicator](#) for school accountability, in which Citizenship is a third tier option competing with Art and Design, Drama, PE and other subjects. Citizenship ceases to be an A-level subject from 2017, although Politics A level will continue.
3. The government priorities of Prevent, British Values and character education could be addressed through good citizenship education, but they have a much narrower, more functional focus.
4. The [National Citizenship Service](#) offers young people aged 15-17 one residential week of adventure, social action and citizenship skills: David Blunkett is on the Board of the NCS Trust and the [National Citizenship Service Bill](#) goes to the Lords on 25 Oct (follow progress [here](#)).
5. The UK is going through rapid constitutional change without any coherence (the Queen and House of Lords are the most stable parts), which makes the need for political literacy greater than ever.
6. Universities need to revive their historic role of outreach to communities, through extra-mural education and community action.
7. Social movements need to engage with the formal political process to influence power structures.
8. The BBC needs to be bolder in providing political literacy.
9. Social media can engage young people on their own terms.
10. [Bite The Ballot](#) showed the importance of engaging young people from the beginning, so they can share their experiences and be part of the process of building the skills for democracy
11. We need automatic voter registration when people turn 18: Lord Roberts of Llanduluno has tabled a Private Members' Bill for [Automatic Electoral Registration \(School Students\)](#) – get [email update here](#)
12. Just 6% of government education spending goes on post-19s, including apprenticeships.
13. School premises should be used for education in evenings and weekends, including political literacy.
14. The [Sheila McKechnie Foundation](#) runs campaign training for charities and community activists, and an annual campaigners' award.

15. There is widespread lack of knowledge about how parliament works, how change happens and how to influence government, even among experienced campaigners.
16. The Lobbying Act has had a chilling effect on campaigning by charities and voluntary organisations.
17. Deliberative democracy promoted by [Involve](#) creates more inclusive ways for citizens to have a say in decision-making (see their [Participation Compass](#) and [People and Participation programme](#), or the [Open Government Network](#), the [Participation Works Partnership](#), [What Works Scotland](#) and the [Citizen Participation Network](#))
18. [Operation Black Vote](#) has championed political participation by black and ethnic minorities since 1996 and run an MP shadowing scheme since 1999: former participants include the Mayors of Bristol and London, MPs Clive Lewis and Helen Grant.
19. [openDemocracy](#) is organising a youth citizens' newsroom at WFD2016, where some of the 70 young people from around the world will work cover the World Forum for Democracy in November.
20. Young people can have a voice through organisations like [Student Voice](#), Youth Councils, and the [Youth Parliament](#), for which 11 – 18 year olds elect representatives to debate issues in Parliament chosen by ballot through [Make Your Mark](#), involving 978,216 young people in choosing topics for debate on Friday 11 November.
21. Parliament's [Education](#) and [Outreach](#) services are a fantastic resource for schools, universities, adult and community education, providing training and support across the UK as well as in Parliament.
22. [Use Your Vote](#) is a new all-party and non-aligned national campaign to build political literacy and enhance democratic engagement and active citizenship across all age groups.

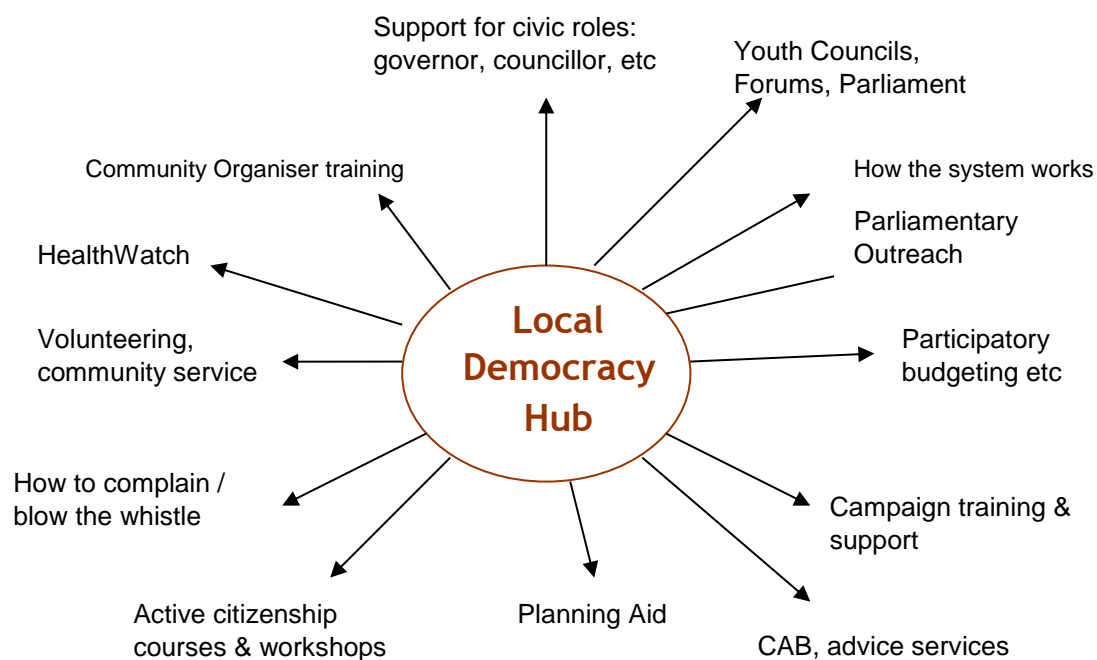
[Parliament Week](#) (14 – 20 November) is a programme of activities to connects people with Parliament and democracy across the UK.

Annex 4

What is a Democracy Hub?

A “Democracy hub” is an independent local contact point for advice, information, education and support for people to take part in democratic decision-making, as recommended by the [Power Inquiry](#) (www.powerinquiry.org).

A network of local agencies can form a hub by sign-posting support for people to have a say and take part in politics. A hub could be accessed through local agencies, cafes, health centres, libraries, supermarkets and schools, with a resource centre in a volunteer bureau, community venue, adult education centre or shop front.



Members of a local Democracy Hub would:

1. **Encourage** people to understand how the system works and get involved through Citizens' Days, Democracy Week, Speakers' Corners, election hustings, festivals and outreach as well as adult, further and higher education courses and workshops.
2. **Promote opportunities** to have a voice, including elections, public forums, campaigns, pressure groups and civic roles of school governor, magistrate, health forum, local councillor, mayor, MP etc.
3. **Show people how to use** democratic tools such as Councillor or MP surgeries, petitions, www.theyworkforyou.com, www.democracymatters.info, Freedom of Information, etc;
4. **Provide independent information, advice and support** for people who want to complain, campaign, stand for election or get involved in a public issue or institution;
5. **Connect agencies** which support participation in politics, including adult and community education providers, campaign training and support services, Civic Societies, community associations, Parliamentary Outreach, trade associations, unions and voluntary sector infrastructure bodies.

Since 2010 a great deal of support for local democracy participation has gone, such as Take Part Pathfinders, Empowerment Partnerships and Community Empowerment Networks. However, community councils, Councils of Voluntary Action and local authority democratic services do some of the things a democracy hub would do. For examples, see end of this document.

At national level [Parliamentary Outreach](#) has many of these roles in relation to Parliament.

What we need now is more active cooperation between agencies, greater visibility and much easier access and support for the public to take part.

Why Democracy Hubs?

Society benefits when *all* citizens are involved in the political process, including the poor, disadvantaged and disenfranchised who are under represented in decision-making and formal politics. When people are unable to have an effective voice, they often become apathetic or angry and express themselves through anti-social behaviour or aggression which may be counter-productive.

When people have a voice, they can influence society to take account of their needs and aspirations, and they are more likely to be involved in addressing problems effectively.

Principles for local democracy hubs

Democracy hubs would uphold Nolan's [seven principles of public life](#): accountability, honesty, integrity, leadership, objectivity, openness and selflessness, as well as the principles of practical political education:

1. **pragmatic**: start from where people are and help them achieve what they want;
2. **pluralistic** in funding, forms of provision, content and values
3. **participative** to develop confidence, communication skills and critical thinking
4. **practical**, to include techniques, knowledge and analysis relevant to active politics
5. **peaceful**: violence is a failure of politics
6. **pro-poor**: prioritise provision for individuals and areas who have had the least chances.

How to set up a Democracy Hub?

The main steps to set up a hub are:

1. an individual or organisation takes a lead and sounds out local agencies such as adult and community education, WEA, CAB, Civic Society, Youth Council or Parliament, Speakers' Corner Trust, university politics department, students unions, Take Part Pathfinder, Chamber of Commerce, trade council or unions, Empowerment Partnership, Community Empowerment Network, advocacy services or networks, HealthWatch, CVS, Parliamentary Outreach and local authority democratic services, participation unit, equalities organisations, including people with disabilities and other marginalised or excluded groups to identify what provision exists;
2. recruit a few committed local champions from key agencies to form an action group and draw up a shared vision of a local democracy hub – its purpose, why you want it, what difference you want it to make and what it would do to achieve that;
3. identify what's already going on to support your vision in whole or part and see who you might work together;
4. identify what's missing and draw up a plan to make it happen, including easy, low-cost first steps and ways in which you will measure effectiveness;

5. consult and involve local people and agencies, to generate a sense of excitement and shared ownership, as well as improve your plans;
6. make it happen: organise, raise funds, and get the message out.

The hub need not be a formal organisation. A loose network and forum with a written cooperation agreement and strong shared branding and promotion are key.

Branding

All agencies involved in a local democracy hub could share a logo and materials to signpost support for active citizenship. We would be very glad to work with local hubs under a “Democracy Matters [your area]” and provide links to local areas through our website.

Elements of a Democracy Hub

Many areas had elements of a democracy hub under different names, although they do not do everything suggested here. For example:

- [Southwark Democracy Hub](#) was a Take Part Pathfinder, which has an excellent series of “how to” guides, which it is willing to make available for other areas to adapt.
- [Sefton Community Empowerment Network](#) (CEN) is a 'network of networks' that brings together voluntary and community organisations that provide services to local communities and enable them and under-represented communities to have a voice in local decision-making'
- [York Democratic Services](#) provides information on how the city council works, how to influence decisions and where to find out about other local agencies
- [Thanet Knowledge Hub](#) provides information on the area, including local democracy
- Rural Community Councils run [community-led planning](#) which aims to involve everyone who lives and works in an area to create a vision and action plan for it.

The Democratic Society – written evidence (CCE0095)

The Democratic Society is a not-for-profit organisation operating across the UK and Europe to achieve more and better democracy, creating opportunities for people and institutions to have the desire, opportunity and confidence to participate together. We work to create opportunities for people to become involved in the decisions that affect their lives and for them to have the skills to do this effectively. Yet **we are acutely aware that what it means to be a citizen in the UK today is a complex and challenging question to answer**. It is all too easy to generate a rose-tinted view of Britain and argue that the core principles of

citizenship – and of ‘Britishness’ – remain static. In some ways they do, yet in many others the society we see today bears little resemblance to that previous generations would recognise; never in human history have we experienced such a rapid transformation of human civilisation, driven by technological as well as social change.

Our world is now smaller, due to air travel and the internet, we shop less on the high street but more in out-of-town malls and online, we no longer wait by the telephone, use paper maps, and we are as likely to meet our life partners online as at a party. Ironically, and despite the enormous rise in opportunities to hear different voices, we tend to seek out like-minded forums to reinforce our views, and the much-heralded democratisation of media has created the spectre of ‘fake news’ and an ever-more critical need for information literacy and civic cohesion. **We are more connected, yet more of us report that we are lonely.**

For many, the speed that we live our lives at has accelerated and with it so have our expectations, firstly, of getting a rapid (if not immediate response) and, secondly, to be part of the process. The world has shifted from passive to active, but where is democracy in this?

Citizenship in the 21st century means being actively involved in the things that affect our lives, not a passive bystander. And yet there is a tension in the competing world-views and the rich tapestry that our country has become; between our institutions and the public, between young and old, urban and rural, rich and poor, etc. **Public institutions have not transformed at the same pace as society, they have been slow, often resistant. The public sees this and demands more.** It demands more openness, greater access to information and genuine involvement in decision making. Parliaments and governments must respond, the democratic models of the past have reached their use-by-date and are ripe for renewal, indeed they must be reinvigorated if they are to retain their relevancy in the future. **As a nation, we can build a more connected and participatory society but, to do so, our institutions must be willing to change and our citizens better resourced and supported.**

In our submission, we hope to address these challenges and to put forward ideas that will support positive change, enabling greater participation to happen. We would, of course, welcome the opportunity to discuss this directly with Committee.

Dr Andy Williamson Managing Partner

Michelle Brook Director of Strategy and Development

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?

- 1.1. We have lived through an age of emerging individuality, the emergence of a multi-cultural society and the effects of globalisation, and yet there are some who feel uncomfortable and who feel left behind. **Citizenship must be as much about cohesion as individuality.** And, generally speaking, we have been poor at educating future generations in what being a ‘citizen’ entails. Now, more than ever, we must have these conversations.
- 1.2. The UK Parliament has a long-standing record in attempting to make itself more open and accessible to citizens, with the Puttnam Commission²⁶⁵ being the catalyst for much excellent work around outreach and engagement. Both Houses have recognised the need for a robust, multi-faceted engagement strategy that can strengthen Parliament’s reputation with the public, enhance respect for and trust in it as an institution.²⁶⁶ Looking at how Parliament can open itself up in the digital age, the Speaker’s Commission on Digital Democracy made some clear and far-reaching recommendations about the modernisation of the House of Commons, which we largely support, but note that follow-through has been at best slow and often non-existent²⁶⁷. This is unfortunate because actions will fix democracy, not words alone.
- 1.3. Identity today is multi-dimensional – family, faith, friends, personal interests, politics, location (at multiple levels and across time and even generations) and popular cultures all define who we ‘feel’ we are, identify as and with, and how we think about the world. **It is impossible to model a system of civic engagement as a one-size-fits-all solution, this would simply end up as a mediocre compromise, unsatisfactory to everyone. We must consider civic engagement in terms of multi-channel, multi-media and across space and time.**

Effective engagement is not just a cold church hall on a rainy Thursday night, but a range of physical and online spaces, where as many people as wish to be are engaged, informed and heard in ways that suit them.

- 1.4. The good health of civic engagement is vital for many reasons. Strong and effective civic engagement means that decisions will be informed by the lived experience of citizens and their active participation. It is possible for citizens to hear other perspectives, consider the complexities of decision making, understand the value of their input, and be better informed about how outcomes are reached. It means that

²⁶⁵ Puttnam Commission, The, (2005). *Members Only? Parliament in the Public Eye*. London: Hansard Society.

²⁶⁶ Williamson, A., M. Korris, et al. (2011). *Connecting citizens to Parliament: How Parliament can engage more effectively with hard to reach groups*. London, Hansard Society.

²⁶⁷ See: <http://www.parliament.uk/business/commons/the-speaker/speakers-commission-on-digital-democracy/ddc-news/digital-democracy-commission-report-publication>

citizens are more likely to embrace decisions, even when the outcome is not what they originally wanted.

- 1.5. Involving people early means that more options are considered. There are many opportunities where the ‘wisdom of the crowd’ can be advantageous over the current models of limited evidence taking from selected self-interests and consultations that appear far too late in the process to affect real change. **Above all, seeking a wide range of views as early as possible lowers the chance of mistakes and therefore the cost of rectifying flawed policy decisions after they have been implemented.**
- 1.6. Listening matters but so does transparency. If we are to rebuild trust in our public and political institutions (and we must if they are to retain their legitimacy) then citizens must be able wield their powers for scrutiny and accountability in an effective and informed manner. **As society becomes increasingly complex and technology creates both the opportunity for and expectation of effective participation, ensuring that citizens feel they can shape their society and community is vital for trust, legitimacy and for citizens to feel that they are invested in a collective project to which they are inclined to contribute.**
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?
 - 2.1. We agree that citizenship, on one level at least, is about membership and belonging but it is not binary. We can feel ourselves to be citizens of multiple places and ‘citizenship’ is about more than a passport or a piece of paper. Many of us feel many loyalties and shared identities, whether it is to a homeland beyond the UK, to the nations of the UK or the towns, regions and even estates we live in or were brought up on.
 - 2.2. Citizenship ceremonies are certainly a way to instil a sense of pride and belonging for many new arrivals but it is more important to foster a wider sense of openness, tolerance and understanding. Culture lives on and can seed a positive view of citizenship, whereas a ceremony is but a single bloom. **Belonging is about the long-term building of connection, trust and shared values; it is about building strong social capital**, but this is a double-edged sword and can result in the rise of hatred and discrimination against others, especially when some people feel forgotten, left out and lack any sense of a future for themselves or their families.
 - 2.3. Education from an early age is critical to ensure that our society feels a joint sense of belonging, embracing its many differences as enriching and not closing-down to fear and a mind-set of scarcity and ignorance.

We must encourage and support our future generations to think critically, understand the information that they are presented with, discuss, debate and value dialogue.

This means teaching young and old that a society that works together, even through difficult choices, is ultimately stronger and that respecting a diversity of opinion is critical to this.

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?

3.1. The latter part of the 20th and early part of the 21st centuries were marked by a dramatic professionalisation of the civic sphere; NGOs grew bigger and louder²⁶⁸. As the concept of a civil society was fractured by the advance of technocracy and the mantra of individualism, this monolithic approach suited the needs of both government and the sector. With the advance of digital and social tools and the normative adoption of the internet, however, society has changed. Small groups and individuals can now coalesce, quickly start campaigns and expect to be heard by those in power. They can equally quickly dissipate and vanish only to reappear somewhere else or for other purposes. This is the age of ‘loose ties’, when informal connections and networks are built across time and shared interests.

Broadly speaking, for governments and legislators, this is more of a process issue than a legal one. However, apart from Scotland, it can largely be said that the legal position on citizen engagement predates the digital age.

3.2. Scotland has recently introduced the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015, which attempts to strengthen and enforce the rights of citizens and the responsibilities of the public sector towards them. The UK could consider following suit. Whilst this would be a good thing, it does not fundamentally change the perceptions of the value of engagement nor the attitudes to it, at least in the short-term. Though we are largely positive about it, this Act might be seen as a stick rather than a carrot by some. Whilst it may prove to be useful, it is only ever going to be part of the solution.

Good law is needed but should remain a last resort for the intransigent or avoidant. It is much more effective to encourage and support the transformation of processes and services to be more citizen-focussed, open and transparent. Education and encouragement through demonstrable benefits (for both sides) is a better way to promote wider civic engagement and more likely to embed a cultural change and build trust.

²⁶⁸ Williamson, A. (2011). Disruption and empowerment: Embedding citizens at the heart of democracy. Journal of eDemocracy and Open Government.

- 3.3. **We all have a right to participate in the democratic process and institutions have a responsibility to ensure that this happens.** But it must happen in a timely and effective way, not pay ‘lip service’ or consult after decisions have been made. The question of whether citizens have a duty to participate is more difficult and nuanced; we would like people to feel that they can participate but we would be reluctant to suggest that this should be anything other than by choice.

Coercion and compulsion seem poor bedfellows for an active democracy.

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?

- 4.1. Active political involvement goes significantly beyond voting. Laws relating to the franchise relate to only one part of enabling and encouraging political (or civic) involvement.

We believe that the biggest weakness in the current UK democratic process is the lack of engagement between elections. That said, we would support widening the franchise for voting at all public elections throughout the UK to fall in line with electoral law in Scotland.

- 4.2. It has been suggested by some commentators that changes to the electoral registration process have caused a significant loss of enrolments and that this is most prominent amongst young people. Conversely, online enrolment has been demonstrably successful at getting people to register. However, **the current online enrolment ‘system’ is a rather disconnected process and we would encourage the UK government to consider implementing a seamless end-to-end voter enrolment system.**

- 4.3. Accepting that the devolved nature of electoral enrolment to local government presents some challenges to this, there are already systems in place (such as National Insurance) that could be used to automatically enrol voters as they reach the age of franchise. We note that such automatic voter enrolment is commonplace in other countries.

- 4.4. We also note concerns over postal voting but see the potential for fraud in this area as low and remain disappointed that the UK has failed to embrace more up-to-date methods of voting, such as online. Whilst we acknowledge doing so is challenging, we believe that this is about understanding both the risk profile and appetite for risk in the electoral system and that those who dismiss online voting as ‘insecure’ are naive, failing to compare like-with-like or understand the wider societal context and impacts.

- 4.5. In terms of civic engagement in the electoral process, we are seeing some small respite in the long-term decline in voting. However, we are also seeing an increasing

distrust in the process and the perception of the misuse of processes by politicians. Most notably there is public scepticism about media bias, campaign tactics and campaign funding. The behaviour of some politicians in the Brexit Referendum was unfortunate, to say the least. We note that whilst a candidate for a Parliamentary seat is forbidden from intentionally misleading the public to get elected, the Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act 2000 contains no such restriction on the official sides in a referendum campaign. This is unacceptable and it undermines the integrity of our democracy.

Referendums are a poor fit for the UK's system of representative democracy and appear more likely to be used as political tools rather than as a legitimate plebiscitary mechanism. It is hard to argue that a binary response is an effective way to settle a highly complex and contested issue.

- 4.6. There is ongoing debate about the 'fairness' or otherwise of the First Past the Post system used for elections to the UK Parliament. We do not particularly wish to add to this debate other than to note that the current system does not appear to effectively capture the views of the entire electorate and does privilege incumbency in a way that could be considered detrimental to a more open and representative democracy. Electoral systems can present confusion for the average voter too. They can be faced with a dizzying array of electoral systems. Voters in Scotland, for example, have in the very recent past engaged in two binary referendums (one binding, the other not), a first-past-the-post election to the UK Parliament, Additional Member election to the Scottish Parliament and a Single-Transferable Vote election to their local council (the same system used in Elections to the European Parliament). **We would encourage Parliament to bring forward an independent review of the electoral system, such as in the manner of the 1985 New Zealand Royal Commission on the Electoral System. We believe that this is long-overdue.**
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?
 - 5.1. There has been little meaningful and coordinated national policy debate about what constitutes 'good citizenship' in the UK today, which makes it difficult to define a role for education. This is really where we should start. We would, however, strongly argue that there is a need to rethink the way citizenship and civic education is conceived and delivered, and that any initiatives to develop citizenship education actively seek the involvement of a diverse range of people in shaping it.

- 5.2. The challenge of educating for the complexities of the modern world and preparing citizens for participation in civic life should not be understated. Opportunities to understand how decisions affect your life, how you can help shape them, and how you can get involved, in addition to navigating difficult conversations with people that hold different views, should be available at every level of existing formal / compulsory education. Additionally, there are huge opportunities in further, higher, informal, digital and lifelong education settings, although this submission will not be able to provide the focussed attention that they each deserve. These opportunities might come in the form of information about political systems and representative democracy, but we would argue that this, in isolation, is not good enough.

The absence of public consultation in the formation of the British values cited in recent educational policy documents suggests that these values were not co-produced with the public. This makes it difficult to extract deeper understanding of public interpretation of what the values mean, or how they should be ‘actively promoted’.

- 5.3. There are some pertinent questions to ask when considering what form citizenship education should take, what British values mean, and how this is determined. It’s interesting that it is only England that has formally adopted a requirement for schools to actively promote ‘British values’ (of which there is no evidence the other countries governments have agreed to, although the Prevent duty also applies in Wales).
- 5.4. Citizenship has a range of competing identities to consider, which includes the hyper-local, regional, national and global. How schools navigate these complexities in practice to instil a sense of citizenship seems to depend on decisions made by the leadership, which are steered by Government guidance, but they are also influenced by external forces.
- 5.5. Current practice raises some red flags. Firstly, the imposition of values, instead of the co-creation of values following dialogue across the nations involving a diverse range of people, does not secure the necessary buy-in and trust from citizens to make it useful, or advance conversations about participatory democracy. Secondly, values and how they are played out can be subjective, which raises issues for school leaders and teachers, but also standards inspectors. Any future guidance around ‘good citizenship’ must be clear, and cognisant of Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights²⁶⁹.
- 5.6. Arguably, there is mixed messaging being given to young people across the UK as the result of a global educational agenda that is driven by increased

²⁶⁹ See: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx>

individualisation, which plays out through “the rise of the measurement culture”²⁷⁰. We believe that education is crucial to strong civic engagement and that it cannot start early enough. **Citizenship must be measured by active participation and engagement, not by awards and qualifications; it is inherently a practical and applied subject.** Schools should embrace strong citizenship education as a core skill that our young people grow up with. Educational institutions can also draw on democratic principles and embed these into the way they function.

Raising a generation of children to become adults who understand why citizenship matters and how to take part in a constructive, connected and active way is vital. But we must not stop there, very few of us, whatever our age, have received sufficient education to take part in civil society with confidence and effect.

- 5.7. Life-long and just-in-time learning of civic skills remains critical too - people often engage in a democratic process because a problem has arisen, at this point they need right the knowledge and skills to be effective. Without these, democracy can feel like a ‘black box’ designed to work for others and this leads to disconnection and disenfranchisement.
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?
 - 6.1. There is no evidence to suggest that NCS has delivered any significant benefits in terms of developing a culture of active citizenship amongst young people. As the Public Accounts Committee recently noted, current evidence “does not in itself justify the level of public spending on the programme, nor demonstrate that NCS in its current form will deliver the proposed benefits to wider society.”²⁷¹
 - 6.2. When it comes to other routes for creating active citizens there is much to be said for government, particularly local government, allowing and supporting citizens to take a more active role in their communities. Whether this is creating mechanisms for more and more meaningful involvement in local decision making or passing control of assets to local communities (a process already being enabled in Scotland).
 - 6.3. The barriers to engagement tend to be lower at the more local levels of government, yet the opportunity to create some real lasting and living change is greater. Building up local civic activism is a proven track record to both greater

²⁷⁰ Biesta, G. (2009). Good Education in an Age of Measurement: On the Need to Reconnect with the Question of Purpose in Education. *Educational Assessment Evaluation and Accountability*. 21.

²⁷¹ See: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmpubacc/955/95502.htm>

community cohesion and individuals becoming more engaged and empowered. It is critical in this process that the public body is receptive and open to new methods of participation. It is better still if they are willing to co-create solutions with communities and methods such as Participatory Budgeting are showing promise in terms of widening involvement and taking decisions back to the community. These participatory methods, when they are done well, serve too to build trust between actors, a cornerstone of strong democracy.

We must be cautious; We all too often lament ‘the usual suspects’ and lobbyists who dominate the conversations, but creating new models, and particularly new online ones, risks alienating some members of our communities and creating new [digital] elites. This must be guarded against and new democratic processes must be designed to be open and accessible to all who wish to participate.

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?
 - 7.1. If we are to improve the quality and quantity of civic engagement then we must also change the way that decision-makers in government and parliament work. Civil society will not remain engaged if the outcome is the same, the process disappears into a ‘black hole’ or the decision-making process is not clear, transparent and auditable.

We do not support the idea of replacing representative governance, but we strongly agree that our representative system can and must become more accessible and participatory if it is to remain relevant.

- 7.2. Greater involvement can also encourage greater initiative from citizens ourselves. But greater involvement is also a vital part of building a more aware citizenry who can help scrutinise decisions and exercise accountability in an effective way.
 - 7.3. There are a variety of ways through which this can be done. Examples of good practice exist but more could be done to embed their use. This is true across all levels of government in the UK, and in the work of the UK Parliament, Scottish Parliament and particularly evident in the work of the National Assembly for Wales. When it comes to building a more collaborative and engaged relationship with citizens, local government is a particularly promising place to build this. This level involves smaller constituencies, more tangible areas of work, and matters which are directly relevant to the lived experience of citizens. However, effective engagement has a cost and it is critical to ensure sufficient funding is made available. Whilst there are long term cost-savings made possible by better, higher-quality

engagement, the short-term cost of doing more (or of doing something where before it was missing) is always going to be higher.

- 7.4. It is worth drawing attention to some of the range of techniques available to government and legislatures at various levels within the UK to try and work in a way that is more open to input from citizens, and supportive of collaborative relationships with them. They range from enabling the public to raise concerns or suggestions in an open way; consulting early on plans; collaborate closely with stakeholders outside government to design and implement policies and services; facilitating feedback on services or new laws; and allowing citizens to take on more responsibilities themselves such as running services or managing local assets. Allowing people to deliberate peer-to-peer can be built into many of these settings.
- 7.5. There are many ways this can be achieved in practice. Often consultation is seen in a negative light: treated as rubber-stamping decisions that have already been made. Instead of this, effort can be made to consult at an earlier stage of policy development, and in such a way that those consulted can add more valuable insights and suggestions. A more deliberative format can also be employed, using peer-to-peer engagement rather than the traditional (and too often adversarial) 'us and them' style interaction with government.
- 7.6. Allowing comments on texts, the collaborative editing and drafting of documents online is a way that the wider public can be engaged with in a more involved, collaborative way. There are also tools to encourage engagement with evidence, such as embedding evidence in questionnaires, or using simulation to encourage people to play with different variables and consider their attitudes about how these should be weighed up.
- 7.7. Such approaches are not just available to government at different levels, but can also be used in the work of legislatures. Taiwan and France are examples of where civil society initiatives have received support from elected members. In both cases, allowing citizens to use online tools to collaboratively scrutinise and develop legislation. The legislatures of Brazil and Chile have developed platforms for allowing direct public participation in their legislative drafting processes. Participatory Budgeting is a technique for involving citizens directly in the allocation of public budgets. From its origins in Brazil it is now used extensively through the world, from large scale public spending programmes in Paris to the Community Choices fund in Scotland, that aims for 1% of local authority spending to be allocated by the public.
- 7.8. Digital techniques like these are often those that need most explaining to government and legislators, but this does not mean that offline engagement, and techniques needed to do this effectively, are not important. Using well-facilitated small-group discussions, targeted at key groups, increases reach. Approaches such

as appreciative inquiry can help focus discussions on what opportunities there are to collaboratively do more.

We appreciate the potential of digital tools but strongly caution against the reification of them as a panacea for democratic renewal – they are not, and only become sustainably effective where they are used as part of the transformation of the underlying processes and the culture.

- 7.9. There is also more that civil society itself can do, and which government can support. A criticism sometimes raised of parts of civil society is that there has been a movement towards civil society operating in a way that treats the public as funders or numbers for petitions dealing with already defined, and narrow, political goals (many NGOs are in themselves inherently undemocratic and opaque in the way they operate). Civil society actors can encourage public awareness of evidence and debates, to take more active roles in sharing their own insights, developing policies and in taking direct actions to address issues themselves. There are promising examples of what this kind of healthy relationship between government, civil society and the wider public should look like. For example, a Department of Health consultation on unpaid carers made available a ‘DIY consultation toolkit’ to encourage people to run offline events where they could discuss this issue and feed ideas into the consultation; and during the consultation informing the Digital Britain report, a civil society activist actively helped enable people around the country to run their own discussions about the topic and feed in their views.
- 7.10. Having a conversation about how civil society could be helped to do more is a promising area of further inquiry. Though it will not happen overnight, strengthening and then making use of civil society relationships is one part of recognising how relationships and opportunities can best be used to reach out to the public. This kind of opportunism is important for building sustainable engagement and should come at a lower cost.
8. 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?
- 8.1. Alienation - from the wider society and from democratic processes - is often the product of multiple identifiable characteristics of deprivation or exclusion, of which there are a considerable number of possible combinations. These diverse identifiers make it extremely difficult to precisely identify causes and challenging to develop strategies to engage with such groups. Some broad characteristics include: lower socio-economic status; low levels of educational achievement; geographic location; disability; and ethnic and linguistic minorities. Additionally, there invisible groups

who are intrinsically hard to identify (often because they do not wish to be), such as the travellers, homeless, sex workers, criminal groups and non-openly LGBTQ people. Citizens who feel that the way politics is conducted, reported on and how public institutions engage are not relevant to them present a significant challenge.

Citizens' interests are more likely to be piqued by relevant, particularly local, issues and there is a symbiotic relationship between participation in the democratic process and everyday forms of civic engagement that can be harnessed over time.

8.2. In seeking a trigger point for engagement, it is important to recognise that this is likely to need a sustained approach and that there is no 'silver bullet'. There is, however, a clear causal link between interest and action. Those who are not interested and view political or social participation as a low priority are less likely to engage or become involved in civic activity. Though this is not some marginal group at the outside of society, virtual half of the people in the UK do not engage.

8.3. Those who are not members of interested and organised groups or experts in a field, those with low levels of internet access, those without a working understanding of the policy process, young people who are outside formal education or are disengaged from their studies, the geographically remote and those who feel alienated from mainstream political culture are all groups missed by current engagement initiatives for a variety of reasons. Research carried out by the Hansard Society identified six key factors that must be addressed when building sustained and effective engagement with democratic institutions²⁷²:

1. The importance of face-to-face contact;
2. An interest in becoming more informed about politics and democracy;
3. Overcoming a strong feeling that democratic institutions are not listening;
4. The importance of the local area;
5. The importance of institutions coming out to the people; and
6. The utility of placing information about democratic institutions in accessible places where citizens live out their daily lives.

8.4. Over time, the barriers to engagement can be overcome by increasing knowledge and awareness of democratic processes, increasing the citizen's level of confidence and helping the citizen to understand how engaging with public institutions will benefit them. However, this is not a one-way-street.

²⁷² Williamson, A., M. Korris, et al. (2011). Connecting citizens to Parliament: How Parliament can engage more effectively with hard to reach groups. London, Hansard Society.

Public institutions must adapt to become more open, accessible and willing to engage in genuine dialogue, demonstrating that public input to their processes is not only valuable but actively sought. They must adopt processes that encourage as broad a range of participation as possible.

7 September 2017

Demos – written evidence (CCE0233)

Sophie Gaston, Deputy Director and Head of International Projects, on behalf of Demos think tank

1. Demos considers that citizenship in the modern age should encompass more than the rights and responsibilities we experience in our life in Britain, but also to extend towards education on global citizenship. In particular, to better emphasise learning about the value of positive international relations and connectivity, and the benefits these offer on a range of economic, social, cultural and diplomatic levels.
2. Citizenship education is often defined within the confines of the nation state, but the school system can play a stronger role in developing civic mindsets that extend beyond parochialism, to consider our individual and collective responsibilities and rights in a globalised world. There is an opportunity to develop an understanding of both our patriotic and dutiful citizenship as it pertains to Britain, and also our common interests and shared agency to address challenges on a global level.
3. In an age of truly international flows of information, greater physical mobility and interdependence between markets and national interests, it is critical that we ensure that all young Britons are able to develop an understanding of Britain's place in the world and our role in promoting global security and prosperity.
4. This knowledge will be valuable both in terms of fostering national support for our important multilateral institutions and bilateral relationships, and also to open the opportunities that international engagement offers to a greater proportion of the next generation. It is also an important pathway to empower citizens to feel agency around their individual and shared capacity to influence global outcomes. Moreover, educating young Britons about the importance of cultural and educative exchange for Britain will help to promote greater social cohesion, tolerance and understanding of the benefits that diversity can bring in communities at home.
5. The [Global Learning Programme](#), funded by the UK Government 2012-17, has made positive strides towards embedding a global consciousness in its participating schools, yet its programme is largely focused on a lens of development and sustainability. While these are also essential learning areas, there exists a gap in the resources available to teachers and students to build knowledge around the importance of foreign policy, strategic cooperation and economic interdependence – in addition to the important humanitarian perspectives it currently promotes.
6. Demos recommends that greater cooperation is promoted between DfE, the FCO and the British Council, to support the development of a more comprehensive agenda of compulsory 'global citizenship' education in schools. As part of this initiative, we suggest that Britain's diplomatic corps and FCO staff, as well as

Members of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee, could become more involved in making school visits – particularly to less socio-economically prosperous communities typically less likely to be able to participate in formal and informal international activities.

7. Furthermore, while [Key Stage 4](#) requirements for citizenship education stipulate that students should be taught *local, regional and international governance and the United Kingdom's relations with the rest of Europe, the Commonwealth, the United Nations and the wider world* – Demos would like to see this explicitly include teaching about the *value*, both strategic and symbolic, of these relationships, as is made clear in the areas of the curriculum focusing on individual citizenship.

Department of Curriculum Pedagogy and Assessment, UCL Institute of Education – written evidence (CCE0166)

Response to Citizenship and Civic Engagement Committee question 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?

1. The values that underpin public life in Britain are formally expressed in legal conventions that successive UK governments have committed to since the Second World War. In particular the UK has a formal binding commitment in international law to adhere to the standards set out in the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and abide by the rulings of its court. The ECHR is administered by the 47 member Council of Europe, not the EU.
2. The UK is also signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and this instrument also provides clear definitions of the principles, standards and values that inform education and services for young people.
3. In the absence of a written constitution, the most consensual formulation of the principles and values underpinning public life in the UK, and which all living in Britain should be expected to share and support is found in these international conventions. This was made explicit in domestic law through the 1998 Human Rights Act.
4. Since 2014 the Department for Education (DfE) has promoted guidelines that oblige schools in England to promote ‘fundamental British values’ of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs. However, in the absence of a formal definition of national standards and values set out in a constitution, the minimalist DfE definition may be perceived as expressing the opinion of a government at a particular point in time.
5. Citizenship education has evolved to meet the challenges of violent and anti-democratic ideologies through a focus on the positive liberal agenda of respect for human rights and open debate. However, ‘fundamental British values’ are expected to be promoted through a whole school ethos rather than through Citizenship where human rights issues can be discussed and debated.
6. ‘Fundamental British values’ may set up an unfortunate imaginary binary opposition between Muslim values and British values. Consequently a more inclusive frame of reference for fundamental values is required. Reference to human rights and fundamental freedoms is to be preferred.

8 September 2017

Supplementary evidence from the Department for Education – CCE0268

Contribution for Citizenship Select Committee - FBV resources

The Committee asked about press reports concerning a letter from Lord Agnew about a “fundamental British values curriculum”. The background to this is that the Department for Education is currently considering how we can further support schools in meeting the requirement to promote fundamental British values (FBVs) by embedding teaching about values in the mainstream curriculum. This will involve analysing the existing programmes of study to highlight opportunities to promote FBVs through the teaching of mainstream subjects; identifying what resources exist to enable teachers to do so; and where necessary commissioning additional resources. Any resources and guidance would be designed to reduce teacher workload and provide material that could be adapted to the needs of individual schools. The Committee should note that this work will not involve imposing any additional requirements on schools: it is about providing support to schools rather than creating a dedicated curriculum or specifying what action they should take to promote FBVs. The Department firmly believes that individual schools are best placed to decide how to meet their responsibilities to promote FBVs in the light of their specific circumstances. DfE already makes a range of resources and guidance available to school via our *Educate Against Hate* website and the aim of this exercise is to enhance that support.

We want to develop our approach in partnership with practitioners and stakeholders. As a first step, Lord Agnew wrote to a small number of practitioners with an interest in this area to take part in an informal discussion about scoping the work. We will engage with other interested parties, such as the subject associations, following this initial discussion.

Dr Derek Edyvane, University of Leeds – written evidence (CCE0158)

I am submitting this evidence as Associate Professor in Political Theory at the University of Leeds. My research expertise lies in theories of citizenship, civic engagement and community, and civic virtue and public ethics. I seek to address the following two questions:

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?
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?

1. We usually think about citizenship in quite formal terms, as a legal status embodying a bundle of rights, or as a collection of civic duties, or again, as a condition of membership in the polity. And we usually fill out these dimensions of citizenship by reference to an ideal picture of the ‘good citizen’. But by thinking of citizenship in this way, we are likely to miss important aspects of its character and value. Namely, we are likely to miss much of the character of what might be called ‘ordinary citizenship’ – the kind of citizenship that most of us hope to enjoy most of the time. The ‘ordinary citizen’ is part of the political vernacular of democratic societies, and yet we have only a limited grasp of its meaning. In the context of our present uncertainties and anxieties about citizenship, it is imperative that we learn to make sense of what it means to be an ordinary citizen.

2. To understand ordinary citizenship, we do well to turn away from our idealistic pictures of good citizens and to take the perspective, instead, of those at the margins of citizenship – those who have been denied, or who struggle to enjoy, its basic decencies. By reflecting on what they lack, we will be able to appreciate more fully what ordinary citizenship is and why it matters. And we will also be able to shed new light on the character of civic engagement and on its relationship to social cohesion and integration.

3. Ordinary citizenship is not, as often portrayed, just a legal status or a membership badge, but nor is it the kind of dedicated participation cherished by republican political thinkers. There is what might be termed a ‘dignity’ of ordinary citizenship that consists simply in the normal participation in the routines of everyday life, and in a secure sense of one’s good standing (not just membership) in the community.²⁷³ It is the sort of thing we take for granted, at least until we are deprived of it. The ordinary day-to-day experience of citizens is typically not about voting, writing to MPs, community organising and participating in protest marches. It is more often a matter of everyday cooperation, modest sacrifices, and small-scale resistance to low-level injustice. These are the difficulties of everyday democracy in a free and diverse society, especially in urban settings: the way we dress (e.g. debates about Islamic veiling practices), the way we talk to each other (insulting speech, proselytism), the way we moderate our public behaviour (‘manspreading’ on public transport, spitting in the street), and the way we speak out for each other in the face of unfairness (everyday racism and sexism).²⁷⁴ It is ultimately a question of how we relate to one another: with kindness or suspicion, with respect or contempt. These mundane transactions and micro-encounters are easily overlooked, but they compose the raw fabric of a democratic culture and underpin effective engagement. Those deprived of citizenship, and those who have seen their citizenship emaciated by political change, only seldom seek the glamour of deep civic involvement. It is easy to underestimate ordinary citizenship, but its dignity has been appealing enough to those who have struggled and died in its pursuit.

4. And from the perspective of ordinary citizenship, there is an intimate link between citizenship and social cohesion, because a fundamental part of the work of the ordinary

²⁷³ Edyvane, D. and Kulenovic, E. ‘Disruptive Disobedience’ *Journal of Politics* (forthcoming, 2018), on-line at: <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/692666>

²⁷⁴ Edyvane, D. ‘The Passion for Civility’ *Political Studies Review* 15/3: 344-354 (2017).

citizen is the work of getting along with one's fellow citizens. And it sheds interesting light on the familiar difficulty of increasing diversity and integration concurrently. It is typically thought that diversity must work against integration, and of course in practice it often does. This has led to a range of initiatives intended to promote shared national values as a way of securing cohesion in conditions of diversity. But diversity does not always work against cohesion – often enough in the cosmopolitan spaces of major cities, like London, we see cohesion and cooperation among citizens very different from one another. And that success has relatively little to do with a deep sense of shared values.²⁷⁵ It is much more to do with the successful practice of everyday cooperation and civility, *irrespective* of the divergent values upheld by the parties to the cooperation.²⁷⁶

5. There is an important implication here for the manner in which we seek to cultivate social cohesion in a diverse society. The promotion of shared values is doubtless part of any programme of community-building that is to have any chance of success, but it is not the only part and it is probably not the most important part. Far more fundamental on the ground of everyday living and ordinary citizenship is the development of the skills of everyday cooperation with people different from oneself, techniques of conflict negotiation and management, the will to find a way to live together and the recognition of society as a problem we share. The development of such skills is a key task for civic education, but also (albeit in a less immediate sense) for the designers of the public spaces that house the rituals of everyday civic life.

8 September 2017

²⁷⁵ Edyvane, D. *Community and Conflict: The Sources of Liberal Solidarity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007).

²⁷⁶ Edyvane, D. 'Toleration and Civility' *Social Theory and Practice* 43/3: 449-471 (2017)

Ms Sue Devlin – written evidence (CCE0223)

Please note: I have only just found out about this call for evidence so, in the limited time available, I will provide free-form information rather than answering the questions provided.

1. I am writing about the ward where I live, Rusholme, in Manchester, Greater Manchester.

Rusholme has a fascinating history, having been the ‘neighbourhood of choice’ chosen by the wealthy Victorian merchants involved in the cotton industry during Manchester’s time as “Cottonopolis”. These merchants were followed by wealthy professionals – academics, medics and journalists. All of whom wanted to live close to, but not in, Manchester city centre. In recent decades, Rusholme has welcomed waves of residents from all parts of the world, most notably Asia, giving rise to the “world-famous curry mile”, and more recently from the Middle East, giving rise to what some now call “shisha mile”.

Rusholme ward straddles the Wilmslow Road, a main arterial road running south from the city centre. To the west there are tightly-packed terraced houses with small or no front gardens and a yard at the back opening into shared back alleyways. To the east the remaining Victorian villas and mansions remain, some still in their original large, landscaped gardens. These are mainly in institutional use now, in particular, as student halls of residence. Adjoining the Victorian area are streets of large Edwardian houses and large newbuild family houses.

I mention all of this because it has led to the situation where Rusholme is a very diverse community. Here’s one academic paper amongst many:
http://mlm.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/How-is-language-choice-in-the-‘Curry-Mile’-district-of-Rusholme-Manchester-affected-by-different-domains_.pdf. In Rusholme, residents cover the full spectrum, from newly-arrived refugees fleeing war zones, to working and retired academics, medics and senior public and private sector professionals, all living in the same ward.

As a result, Rusholme probably has more “social capital” than is usual, working voluntarily to solve the social problems they see in the streets they live in and walk through, in the ward where they live.

As a result, there is a lot of activity aimed at increasing a sense of citizenship and civic engagement. I give examples in the following paragraphs.

2. “Imagine Rusholme”

A Rusholme resident introduced a group of us to the concept of “Appreciative Inquiry (AI)”, and a group of ‘active’ residents ran a pilot event, bringing international AI experts

together with Rusholme residents, community group representatives and traders, Rusholme councillors, Rusholme council officers, Rusholme partners – police, fire and rescue services, health service, etc, about 30 people in all. The pilot event asked the question what did we like best about Rusholme, and how could we bring about more of what we like. The event was a great success and the room was ‘buzzing’ with energy and goodwill.

As a result, we ran two “summits” in Rusholme, each attended by around 70 people, and compiled two story books about the events. These are available via the following links:

- Imagine Rusholme! Summit 1 Storybook: [Imagine Rusholme! Summit 1 Story Book G](#)
- Imagine Rusholme! Summit 2 Storybook: [Imagine Rusholme! Summit 2 Story Book G](#)

Using a technique called ‘open space’, those present at the summits identified ten ‘discussions’ that everyone present wanted to take forward. These were:

1. Community Garden on Rusholme Grove + Joining Up Green Spaces, Hedgerows & Trees
2. Creative Rusholme
3. Litter Free Rusholme + Cleaner/Greener
4. On Our Bikes in Rusholme
5. Reducing Burglary
6. Respect for Rusholme + How to Work Positively with the Council for the Good of Rusholme
7. Rusholme & Wider World Issues
8. Rusholme Ward & District Centre Plans + Parking
9. Student Integration & Involvement
10. Sustainability

Some of the projects have progressed and continue today, largely based on the time available to each discussion’s team.

3. “Upping It”

A Rusholme resident living in the “Terrace Square” to the west of the Wilmslow Road got fed up of the amount of food waste going into the communal containers for general waste. The food waste was attracting squirrels who then tore the black bin bags and pulled the general waste all over the place, and, where the food waste either fell out of the container or was left on the floor close to the container, was attracting rats. She decided to do something about it. The result was “Upping It”.

“Upping It” started out as a project to stop residents putting food waste into the general waste containers and to encourage them to put it into the food waste containers. That way it would generate income for Manchester City Council (MCC), rather than incur a cost for its disposal as general waste.

What was unique about “Upping It” was that the Rusholme resident went door to door, introducing herself as a local resident. She explained the problem of food waste in and around the general waste containers and implored the resident to avoid food waste if they could, and if they couldn’t avoid food waste *“never, ever, ever put it in the general waste container; only ever put it in the food waste container”* (I can hear her saying it now!).

At the same time, she realised that many households weren’t fully up to speed on what type of waste goes into which bin – Manchester City Council has a quite complicated four-bin system: black = general waste; brown = glass bottles and jars, plastic bottles, etc; blue = paper, cardboard, drink cartons, etc; green = food and garden waste. So, the conversations with each household expanded to cover this information too.

As she went door to door, she came across all sorts of different cultures, and all sort of different languages were being spoken, but, also, she spoke to people who didn’t know their neighbours and had never spoken to other residents in their same street.

Having started to tackle the food waste problem, the Rusholme resident moved on the next problem – the overgrowth, litter and fly-tipping in the back alleyways shared by these terraced properties. The resident in question had already “greened” her own back alley by clearing the weeds, uncovering the lovely cobbles, building raised beds, planting flowers and food and creating a decked area for neighbours to come and go socially.

Joining up with a small team that had already started a similar project in the neighbouring ward of Moss Side – Avenues and Alleyways – and seeking to appoint a ‘street rep’ to lead on activities for each street, the team set about systematically tackling each back alleyway in the “Terrace Square”. In 2013, they were awarded Manchester City Council funding to expand their work:

http://www.manchester.gov.uk/directory_record/125687/upping_it_%E2%80%93_the_terrace_square. In November 2014, the “Upping It” team won the ‘champion of champions’ award at Manchester City Council’s annual “Be Proud” awards: <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/pride-manchester-named-glitzy-town-8198465>.

This project has brought about an immense improvement, but key to it was going door-to-door and seeking to identify a “street rep” for each street. “Upping It” succeeded in upping the amount of food waste going into the correct bin and upping the cleanliness and greenery in the shared back alleyways, but also in “upping” community relationships and cohesiveness.

The Rusholme resident who started it all has since learnt Urdu and is now learning Arabic so she can really connect with members of her community. In her own street, residents organise welcome parties for new residents, celebrations for new babies, and goodbye parties for those moving on, all of which celebrate the culture of the arrivals, the babies, and those leaving.

4. Rusholme & Fallowfield Civic Society

This civic society, a constituted community group, was established in 1969 and is therefore coming up to its 50th anniversary.

As is to be expected, its role has evolved over time, however, the objects set out in the original constitution still stand:

- a) To stimulate public interest in and care for the beauty, history and character of Rusholme and Fallowfield and their surroundings.
- b) To encourage the preservation, development and improvement of the features which go to make pleasing conditions in which to live and work.
- c) To encourage high standards of architecture and town planning in the area.
- d) To pursue these ends by means of meetings, exhibitions, lectures, publications, other forms of instruction, study and publicity, and promotion of schemes of a charitable nature.

as does its original area of interest – Rusholme and Fallowfield wards, and surrounding areas.

A key aspect of the society's committee's work is scrutiny of the performance of the Rusholme (and Fallowfield) ward councillors on behalf of the society's members, in the context of the objects set out above.

To do this, the committee meets monthly with an agenda that includes the following items:

- Review of current Planning & Licensing applications
- Review of current Manchester City Council and other consultations
- Review of current Council Policy scrutiny.

This is 'grunt work' and quite a heavy workload for the society's committee of nine, but we do it because we have come across situations where Rusholme councillors either aren't aware of, eg, the implications of particular planning or licensing applications, or they are aware of the applications but aren't aware of the implications of the applications. Likewise, consultations and policy.

I would argue that they should be, but the fact is, they aren't. Many Rusholme residents consider that this is because 95 of 96 Manchester City councillors are Labour, and that Labour councillors don't have to work too hard to retain their seats. I acknowledge that these might be controversial statements, but factual nevertheless.

For example, the last time Rusholme councillors met with Rusholme residents to discuss ward issues was on 21st September 2016. Please note that the Rusholme councillors meet with the Rusholme Labour Group every month to give account of themselves, and

hopefully receive scrutiny of their performance in the role, but this is a closed meeting and the content of the meetings aren't made public.

I'd be interested to know what the House of Lords thinks of this in terms of its likely impact on what Rusholme residents think about citizenship and civic engagement in our ward.

5. **“Portrait of a Street”**

Two members of a Residents' Association in Rusholme living in a street of Edwardian houses that celebrated its 100th anniversary in 2011, came to realise how unusually multicultural their street was.

One resident, a photographer, and another, a creative writer, decided to visit each property and, with the permission of the occupants, tell the story of how they came to be living in the street and take a photograph of them as a family unit in front of their property.

Their stories have been anonymised and shared, and the subsequent book aimed at 8 – 12 year olds serves to demonstrate the power of:

- Getting to know and learning about the residents in the street where you live.
- How fascinating, scary and sad the stories can be.
- How such an exercise has the effect of pulling everyone in the street together and generating a mutual respect for differences and similarities.

6. **Other**

If I had the time I could tell more stories about Rusholme – we have a friends of a park group, a forest school activity: “long term programmes within a natural space, led by a qualified practitioner [that] focus on developing personal, social and emotional life skills through learner-led, nature-based learning”: <http://forestschoools.com/what-happens-at-a-forest-school/>; three community centres providing childcare, youth services, age friendly services; a community forum focused on alleviating isolation amongst the older people in the ward, tackling dementia and supporting carers, so much to talk about...

7. **The Role of Councillors**

The Manchester City Council's Constitution describes the role of councillors as follows:

Roles and functions of all councillors. Key roles. All councillors will:

- i. collectively be the ultimate policy-makers and carry out a number of strategic and corporate management functions;

- ii. bring views of their communities into the Council's decision-making process;
- iii. effectively represent the interests of their ward and of individual constituents;
- iv. deal with individual casework and act as an advocate for constituents in resolving particular concerns or grievances;
- v. respond to constituents' enquiries and representations, fairly and impartially;
- vi. participate in the governance and management of the Council;
- vii. be available to represent the Council on other bodies; and
- viii. maintain the highest standards of conduct and ethics.

I wonder who is supposed to solve the problems in each ward. Rusholme has many problems. Is it councillors? Is the above description enough?

8. Learning from Private Sector Companies

Private Sector companies **have to** solve problems, and they **have to** ensure “citizenship”, ie, full employee participation; and “civic engagement”, ie, peak employee performance in their role. How do they do that?

- Careful recruitment/selection processes – not applicable in this context.
- Induction – how do we welcome new residents to their ward? Do we enthuse them with the ‘ward’s USPs’ – its unique selling points? Why they should be proud, excited and enthused to be living there? Is there a booklet, in their preferred language, enthusing them about where they live?
- Training – what do they need to know to be a successful citizen in their ward? Who are their councillors? What can their councillors do for them? Is there a residents’ association/civic society/neighbourhood watch scheme for them to join in their area?
- Facilities – what is available to them? Community centres, community groups, parks, etc.
- Mentor – who can help them succeed – their councillors?

9. Transforming the Role of the Councillor

What do councillors do at the moment? Reactive, bureaucratic, party-partisan work?

What should they be doing?

Proactive, personalised, door-to-door work to ensure every resident, trader and visitor to their ward is succeeding and enjoying wellbeing?

David Dixon – written evidence (CCE0015)

Clearly people will engage better if they understand the system, and how change can be achieved under it. A compulsory GCSE paper on levels of government and electoral systems, maybe covering such things as the judicial system and freedom of information as well, would be useful.

This would be important education prior to exercising the right to vote, if it remains from age 18: to lower this would result in people being entitled to vote before having learned what it is all about. Looking back, I recognise that I would not have been able at a younger age to make an informed decision on how to vote. I only had a vote when 21, and recall no sense of deprivation at not being able to vote earlier; but with the age of majority now 18, it is now the appropriate age from which to be able to vote.

Conversely, an upper age limit for voting should be considered: it caused some resentment among the young that the old – to whom it would make less difference - outvoted the majority of younger people who were of the view of that the UK should stay in the EU. In my view this resentment was justified, and one cause of distrust of politics. Perhaps 80 would be the right threshold: I say this despite being among the oldies!

Far more important if one wants greater involvement in the political process is abolition of “first past the post”. It has long been recognised that this gives the power to change governments only to those living in a minority of constituencies; if (say) 120, 80% of the population are effectively disenfranchised in parliamentary elections. Where I live, one party regularly has a large majority (18,000 in 2017); my vote had no influence on the outcome. It is hardly surprising that many people don't bother to vote.

I am aware of the wide choice of alternative voting systems, and that all have defects (albeit lesser ones than the present system); the method used for the Scottish parliament seems to reflect well the opinions of their voters as a whole, and I know of little criticism of it. It has the vital merit that every vote counts.

Such a system would be suitable for local government elections too, thus representing more closely the interests of local people. In my county in 2017, the leading party gained less than 54% of the votes, yet over 82% of the seats. The pattern in the District Council elections in 2015 was similar. This mismatch between voters' preferences and the resulting governance leads to disaffection with the political process.

A separate issue leading to disenchantment is the financing of local Councils. The substantial contribution of central government to these Councils is being reduced, but the Councils are severely restricted in the extent to which they can replace this lost income from local

taxation. This inevitably reduces the effectiveness of local government, and thus the interest taken in it by local residents.

In summary, people need to know that their votes count. Under our present electoral system in England (and the rest of the UK for parliamentary elections), in most cases they don't. It is hardly surprising that this leads to lack of interest in the process, or frustration or worse. As a result we have too many powerless citizens. If we want more interest taken in good citizenship, reform of the electoral system for Westminster and English local authorities is vital.

7 August 2017

Sunny Dhadley, Wolverhampton SUIT (Service User Involvement Team) – written evidence (CCE0008)

Sunny Dhadley, Wolverhampton SUIT (Service User Involvement Team) – written evidence (CCE0008)

More than ever, it is vitally important in the 21st Century that the views, opinions and thoughts of civic society are considered and listened to. Citizenship and civic engagement should take place in various forms and guises (especially with digital advances). Each citizen has a right to feel involved and appreciated within Britain, but due to varying reasons there is a feeling of discord and disconnection amongst society and I feel that it is the role of Government to address this situation directly. For example, with the cultural diversity that exists amongst our communities there is a need to increase the levels of diversity within public sector services, in order to mirror the cultural diversity within society as this would clearly demonstrate the commitment towards embracing diversity.

Foreign nationals will bring with them cultural ideologies and practices that may seem disconnected from the rest of society, but surely within modern Britain we can find ways for all citizens to feel that they are respected and their views are welcome in achieving a more harmonious society.

Now more than ever, we need to embrace online technology in order to allow communities to feed in to decision making processes, whilst also offering tangible opportunities for all pockets of society to have their voices heard (by utilising community connections).

I feel that certain reassurances are required and messages should be consistently disseminated. Recent challenges, such as Brexit, I believe were built on a lack of understanding and awareness of things such as immigration. This led to the voting community feeling almost obliged to vote to leave the European Union, without fully appreciating the gruelling processes that our Government are going through and will continue to do so in the foreseeable future. By contextualising things such as immigration and equipping the society with key information and knowledge on Global issues, such as displacement from conflict, then this will encourage active participation.

Education is absolutely crucial in creating social change measures, but there is inequality that impacts upon the ability of education to create the desired changes.

Strong, credible leadership is required within all aspects of public service and life as this instils confidence within society.

I manage a charity and have been classed as a Social Leader. Part of my role within public life consists of providing care, support and opportunities for those that are vulnerable within society (addiction, homelessness, mental health, illiteracy, unemployed etc.) and having suffered from addiction in the past, I am able to empathise in such a way as to connect, reframe and shape the lives of many.

Sunny Dhadley, Wolverhampton SUIT (Service User Involvement Team) – written evidence (CCE0008)

Another aspect of my role is to feed in the views and experiences of those suffering from addiction, in to arenas to bring about change. Quite often, I feed in to systems that work directly in the subject area and concentrate efforts in that work particular stream, rather than working systematically across a range of areas public life (rather than concentrating efforts solely in one area).

Interestingly, the service that I manage (www.suiteam.com) attracts people from all parts of society (LGBT, migrants, various ethnicities, professionals, those with disabilities, family members and carers etc.) as they feel that their views, opinions and issues will be listened to in a non-judgemental way and practical solutions offered.

We need to get back to the understanding that we are human first and this is a connection that should be honoured and appreciated. Of course there will be differing points of view, but we should make a concerted effort to re-harmonise our existence and face challenges together. This must be done in conjunction with civic society.

3 August 2017

The Duke of Edinburgh's Award – written evidence (CCE0264)

The request:

The Committee are particularly interested on any information you could provide on: **1.** how representative people who take part in The Duke of Edinburgh's Award are in comparison to the general public (the percentages from ethnic minority backgrounds, and the percentage who are entitled to free school meal would be useful) as well as information on **2.** the costs per placement.

After the evidence session the Committee were interested in what other organisations were like in terms of value for money and reaching the hardest to reach. The Duke of Edinburgh's Award was raised by members as a possible comparator and it would be good to hear alongside your general information to what extent a comparison between your organisation's programme and the one run by the NCS trust would be a fair comparison.

Background:

The Duke of Edinburgh's Award charity (see Annual Report and Accounts attached) is engaging record numbers of young people in activities that develop them as individuals and engages them in positive action in their local communities and wider society, whilst recognising the very high level of commitment and personal progress required by awarding the young achievers with, what has become, the worlds leading achievement award for young people.

During the 2016-17 year **a record 271,439 young people started their DofE programme.**

A DofE programme will often take more than a year to complete so, at any time, **there are around 420,000 young people doing their DofE activities across the UK.**

A record 133,369 young people achieved their Duke of Edinburgh's Award in the year.

The DofE programme is run through **10,800 centres** that are overseen by **2,601 DofE Licenced Organisations.**

The DofE does not attempt to calculate the "social return" on the investment in its activities. We have not yet seen a reliable or consistent means of calculating "social return" that would provide useful comparable data for your committee or to steer our development. We do however attempt to place a value on the volunteering commitment of young people doing their DofE. Our 2016/17 cohort gave **over 2.8 million volunteering hours** to their communities. (this counts only those completing their volunteering section activity in the year – many more started or were continuing their volunteering section) If the thousands of charities and organisations they supported had employed a young person at just £4.05 per hour to do what they have done for them, this is **over £ 11.4m of benefit to society.** We

have absolute confidence in our numbers as they involve neither subjective reports nor assumptions. They are based on hard data input by the young people themselves and signed off as being accurate by their Leaders.

This is of course just part of the “social return” on investment in the DofE. The benefits of engaged, motivated, employable, fitter, active citizens, resulting from their DofE participation is incalculable but palpable when you meet a young person from whatever background that has achieved a Duke of Edinburgh's Award. We can only look on in amazement at organisations that feel able to extrapolate and predict in £1s the savings to the Health Service, Benefit funding and long term civic engagement their activity purports to reap. Who would believe it!?

We see the value of DofE to society in every conversation we have with an employer that tells us they look for and value DofE on applications. Every Award participant that recounts the life changing experiences they have had and how DofE was the focus for their interview for a job, an apprenticeship or university place. And, every parent that recounts how the DofE brought their youngster out of their shell, gave them confidence and opened up new horizons.

1. How representative are people who take part in the Duke of Edinburgh Award in comparison to the general public (the percentages from ethnic minority backgrounds, and the percentage who are entitled to free school meal would be useful)

The DofE is probably unique as a youth charity that is active in all parts of the UK, being welcomed, encouraged and valued by governments, local authorities, education, community leaders, employers and parents everywhere. The DofE network is probably the UK's most comprehensive network of youth development related organisations. DofE programme delivery relies on around 40,000 volunteer leaders.

The DofE attracts and engages young people of all backgrounds and abilities. Participants broadly reflect the communities from which they are drawn.

DofE is delivered predominantly through schools; 60% from state secondary schools and academies, whilst just 18% are from independent schools. A further 10% participate through a uniformed youth group such as Scouts, Guides, ATC, ACF, Jewish Lads and Girls Brigade etc. The balancing 12% are made up of young people in the secure estate (YOIs, prisons), higher education, sixth form colleges and further education, special schools, community youth groups and trainees in businesses (a growing number of apprenticeship programmes utilise the DofE).

The DofE involves young people of **all backgrounds and abilities**. We believe passionately that the experience of doing their DofE programme **enlightens and broadens the vision and**

prospects of each young participant. Starting from where they “are” and engaging them in a journey of self discovery **unique to the individual.** We do not require them to “break records” only to “beat their personal best” and demonstrate tenacity and commitment over a sustained period of activity in each of the sections of the Award programme. So, DofE is not easy but any young person can do it. Whether you are physically or mentally disabled, living in the squeezed middle, attending a top fee paying school, incarcerated in a young offenders institution or your average kid in your average school in your average town or village, the DofE can make a very positive difference to your life.

Ethnicity is not a barrier to participation in The Duke of Edinburgh’s Award. The table below presents the ethnic profile of the DofE participants who chose to declare their ethnicity. As you will see, we broadly reflect the population.

2011 Census England & Wales	DofE UK 2016-17
86% white	68.3 %
2.2% mixed	3.8 %
7.5% Asian/Asian British	6.3 %
3.3% Black / Black British	2 %
1% Other	1.7 %
Prefer not to say	1.63 %
Did not respond	16.2 %

Disadvantage:

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.

2. Information on the costs per placement

The Duke of Edinburgh’s Award is a registered charity and Royal Charter Company. The annual operational expenditure of the charity was **£10.5m in the 2016-17** financial year.

The Duke of Edinburgh's Award – written evidence (CCE0264)

The average cost to the charity of each individual starting on their Award is approx. £38

The fee charged to the young participants is: Bronze level - £20 Silver Level - £20
 Gold Level - £27

The balance of funds is raised (hard earned) by the charity through the usual range of charitable fundraising activity, commercial partnerships, licence fees and investments. Whilst there is no central government support sought or received by DofE, there are varying levels of devolved government funding support in Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales.

Each participant is however required to fund their own activity. Whilst this is usually supported by their school/ centre, this is the greater cost of the programme for a participant. The type of activity a participant undertakes will often be dictated by the cost or the ability of their school/group to provide it.

3. to what extent a comparison between your organisation's programme and the one run by the NCS trust would be a fair comparison.

It is extremely difficult to compare NCS with other organisations and activities. Particularly when some (such as Scouts, Guides, DofE and others) are based on a dependency on the ultimate demonstration of active citizenship – an adult's free choice to use their time and commitment to volunteer, and then NCS is government funded to pay for all adult engagement.

We have studiously avoided superficial comparison with NCS. How would the committee like to compare organisations? Cost, outcomes, numbers of participants? From headline costs, we are many times cheaper and reach many more young people. A DofE programme requires young people to engage in a sustained commitment to their activities. NCS is a relatively brief experience. A DofE Award carries value and credibility. I don't think participation in NCS is viewed in the same way. But that's comparing chalk and cheese. Whilst the Residential element of the NCS programme could gain you the Residential section of a DofE Gold Award, the extent of volunteering would not achieve even a DofE Bronze volunteering section. But perhaps government designed NCS to achieve different outcomes to DofE? So, I'm not at all sure comparison is helpful. Government needs to be clear about the outcome it is looking for from its £1.2Billion investment and be sure that the NCS programme is the best way to deliver it.

The committee will not be surprised to hear that we believe DofE delivers better outcomes for young people and communities through the tried, tested and valued DofE programme and the currency of a recognised and valued Award. We are achieving high levels of youth engagement and have greater demand than we can serve. We have no need to spend on advertising to attract participants.

The NCS programme does not appear to be as cost effective as the Scouts or Guides or Jewish Lads and Girls Brigade or Outward Bound or DofE or many others. None of them requires so much public money to convince young people to do their programme or activity. Would they deliver a better outcome for society with that same funding? I'm certain they would.

Durham University Model Westminster Society – written evidence (CCE0050)

Durham University Model Westminster Society is an award-winning, new student group at Durham Students' Union. Model Westminster Society aims to empower students to have a meaningful voice in public and social policy making through a series of inclusive debates, workshops and addresses on issues pertaining to British local and national politics. The Society also aims to contribute towards the development of civil society by encouraging students to volunteer and fundraise.

Model Westminster Society was officially ratified by Durham Students' Union on 9th May 2017, making it one of the newest student groups at Durham Students' Union. The Society is led by a driven team of student leaders who are passionate about political education and social policy. Model Westminster Society is unique in the sense that it aims to empower student voice in social policy making through its outreach programme with the local community, as well as its research outlet which publishes a series of 'briefing notes' to governmental and community agencies, departments and organisations.

The Society is also committed to Step up to Serve's six principles of meaningful youth social action, which include ensuring that our programmes are (1) youth-led; (2) socially impactful; (3) progressive; (4) embedded; (5) reflective; and (6) challenging.

Our Submission to the House of Lords Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement:

Methodology:

We have developed a two-stage research approach for our submission to the House of Lords Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement. Firstly, our online survey, the findings of which are included in this report, was launched on social media and promoted over several weeks with Durham student groups. Each of Model Westminster Society's student leaders were responsible for sharing a link to the online survey within their networks. We were very pleased that 100 respondents completed our survey.

The second stage of our research, which we will deliver in Michaelmas term in time for the later deadline, is to hold a series of focus groups that aim to draw out a more qualitative feel of how students understand citizenship in the 21st century. The Chair of Model

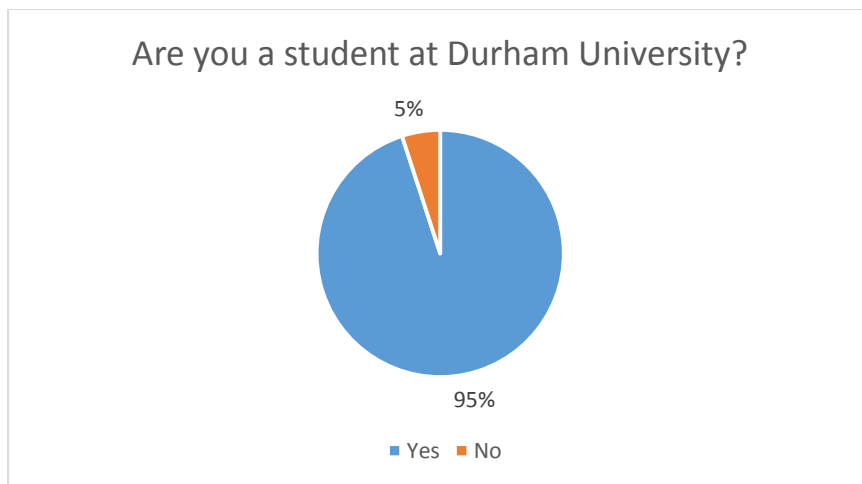
Westminster Society, Kyle Kirkpatrick, will lead these focus groups, and we hope to reach out to more members of minority groups.

Executive Summary:

- A. 100 individuals participated in our survey. 95% of these were students at Durham University. 40% reported they were in the third year of undergraduate studies. 71% reported they were aged 19 – 21 years old. 54% identified as female.
- B. 84% of respondents defined citizenship as voting in elections; 83% defined it as making a difference in the community. Only 14% identified citizenship as taking part in online surveys and polls.
- C. 55% of respondents felt that citizenship and civic engagement were somewhat important today. Only 1% of respondents felt that citizenship was not important at all.
- D. 60% of respondents felt that citizenship in the 21st century is different than in the 20th century. The most popular reason was globalisation and successive migrant crises.
- E. 55% of respondents felt some forms of citizenship are bound to the boundaries of one's own country and other forms are not. Only 3% felt that citizenship was confined to national boundaries.
- F. 40% of respondents felt the legal voting age should not be lowered to 16. Many cited that 16-year olds are not knowledgeable enough; lack experience; and/or are easily influenced by others.
- G. 82% of respondents felt that students should have a meaningful say on social policy issues.
- H. Only 6% of respondents felt that the current education system enables young people to be active citizens. Many respondents felt that political education should be made more impartial, widely available/accessible, and even compulsory.
- I. 75% of respondents claimed that knowing how to get involved was the top barrier to active citizenship.
- J. 72% of respondents felt that diversity and integration can be increased together.
- K. 77% of respondents felt that social media both enhances and challenges democracy.

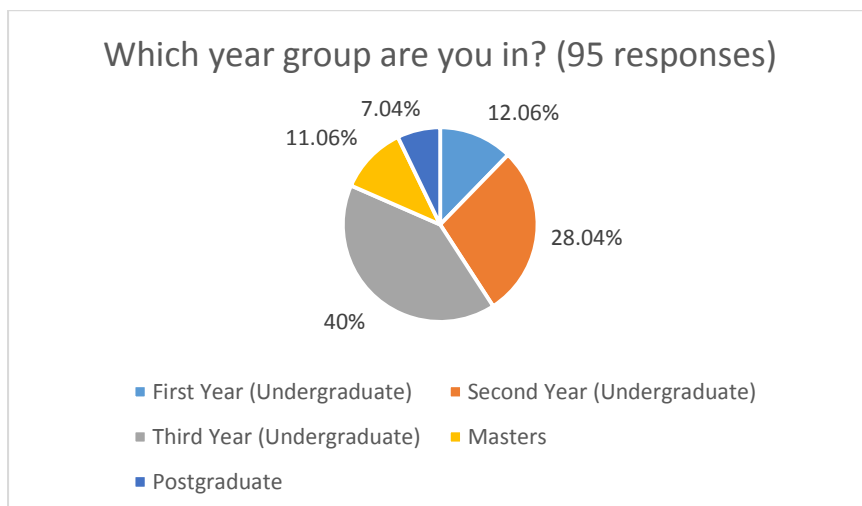
Section One: Demographic Profile:

Question 1:



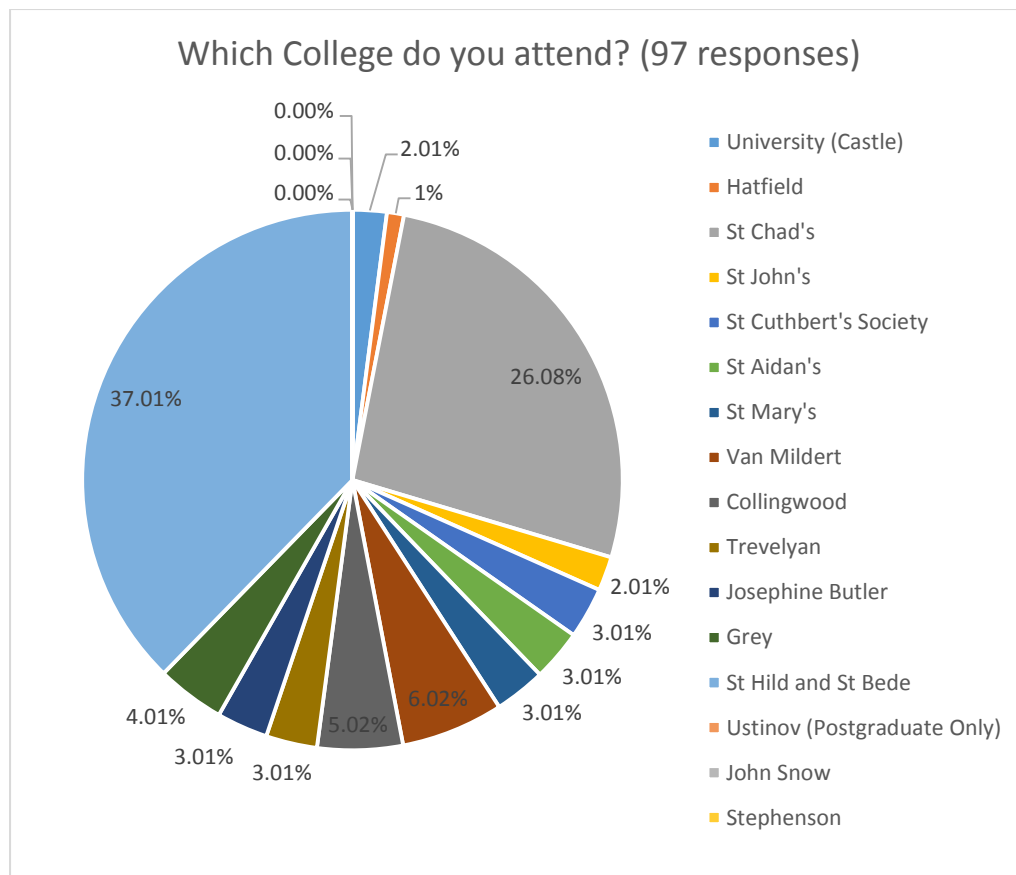
100 individuals participated in our survey. 95% of our respondents reported that they were students at Durham University (our target audience)

Question 2:



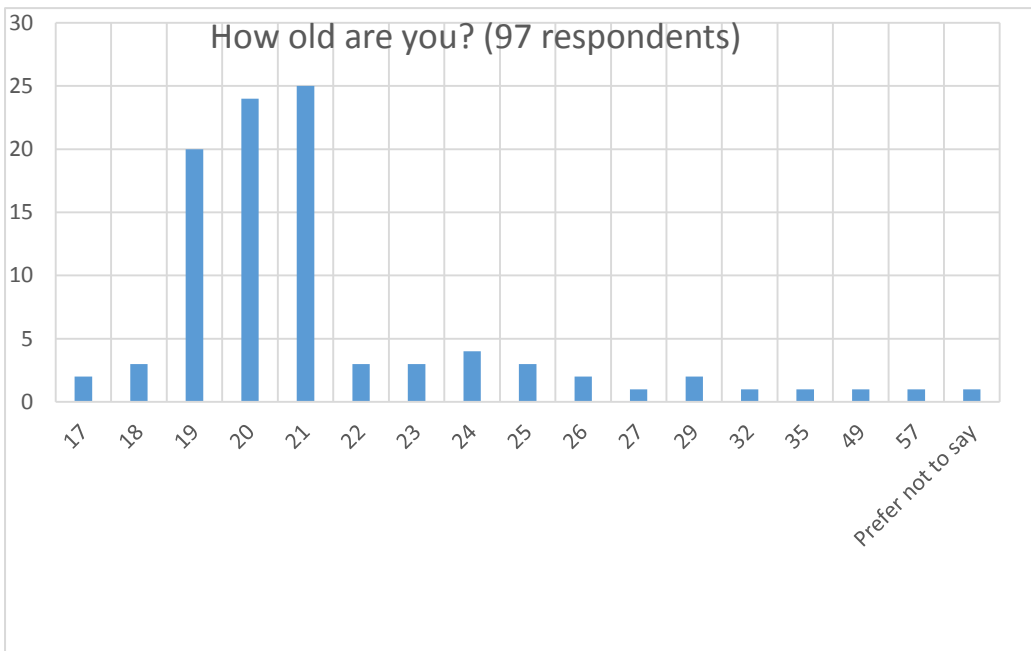
The majority (40%) of respondents who attend Durham University reported that they were in their third year of undergraduate studies.

Question 3:



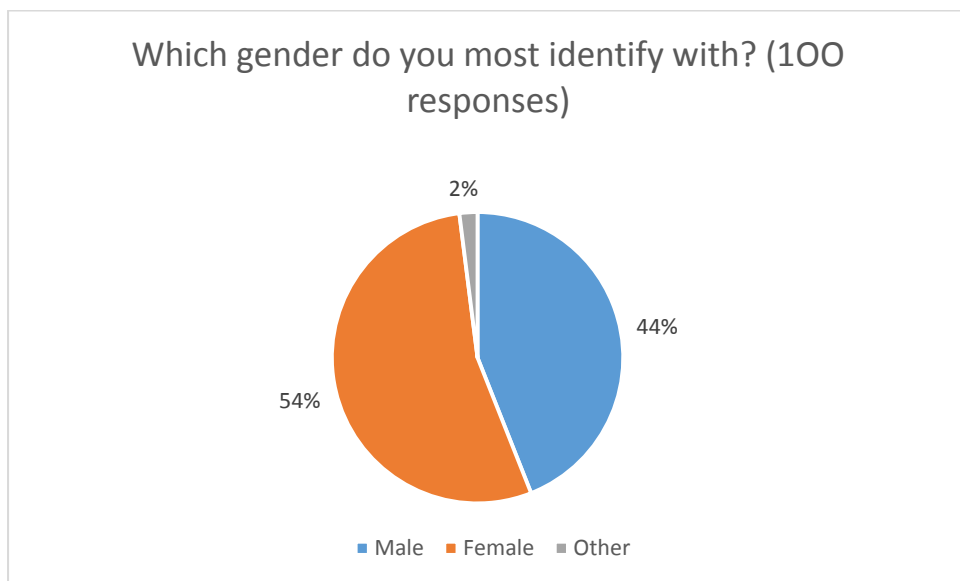
Most respondents were a member of the College of St Hild and St Bede (37%), with the second largest proportion from St Chad's College (26.08%)

Question 4:



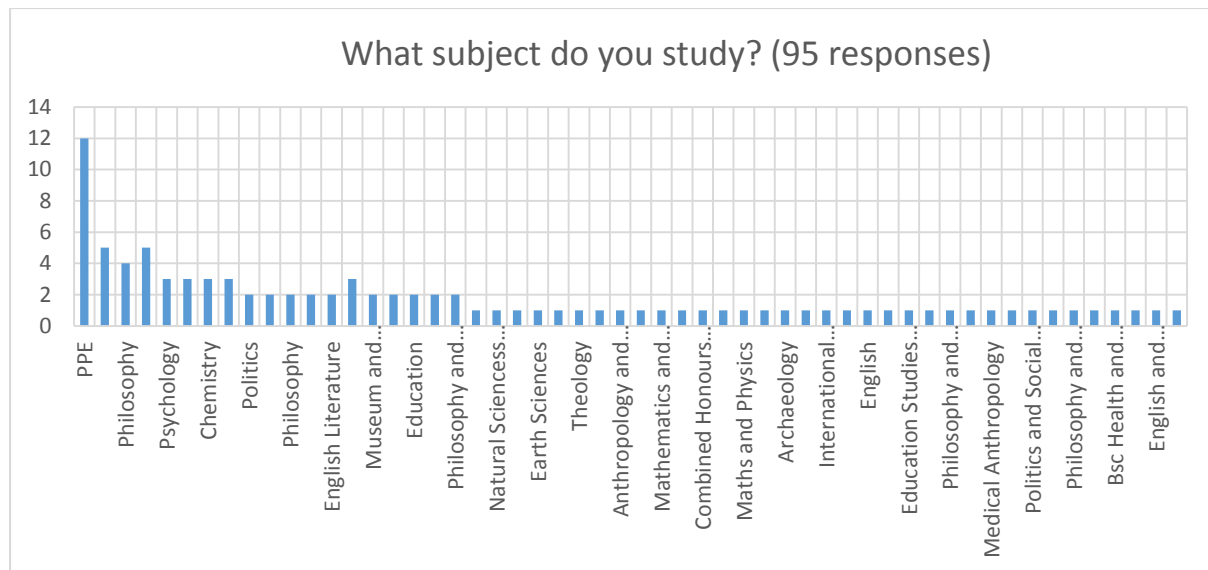
Almost ¼ of our respondents reported that they were 21 years old. Most respondents (71%) reported that they were aged 19 – 21 years old. 17 respondents reported that they were 24 years old or more. This shows that it is likely some mature students took part in our survey. 1 respondent preferred not to disclose their age.

Question 5:



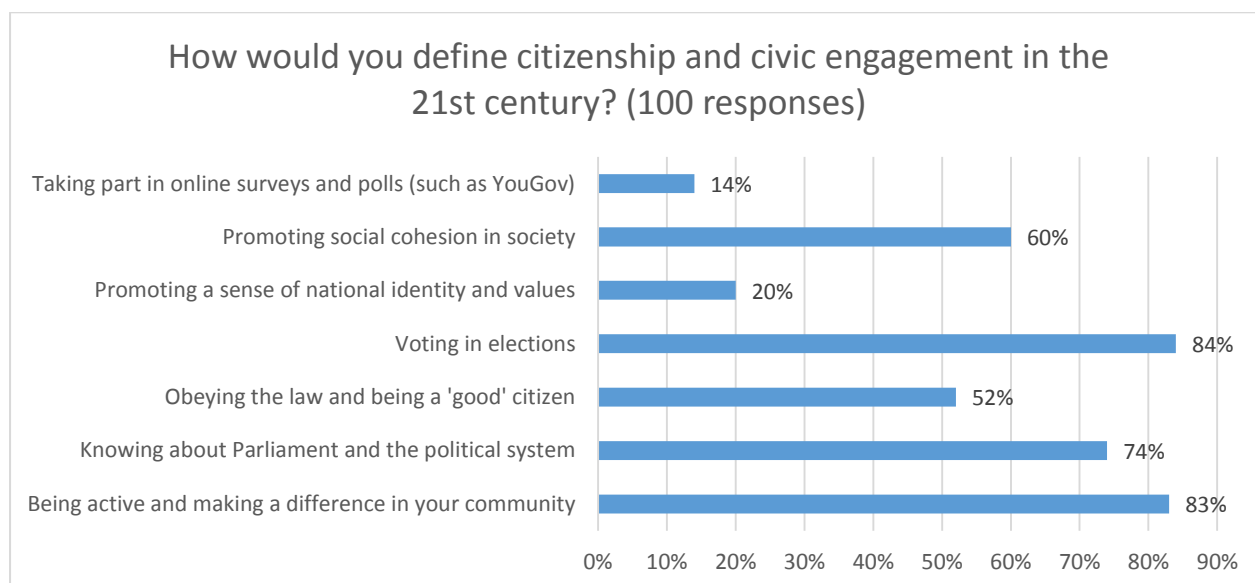
Most respondents (54%) reported that they identified as being female. The second largest proportion (44%) reported that they identified as being male. 2% identified as other when asked about their gender.

Question 6:



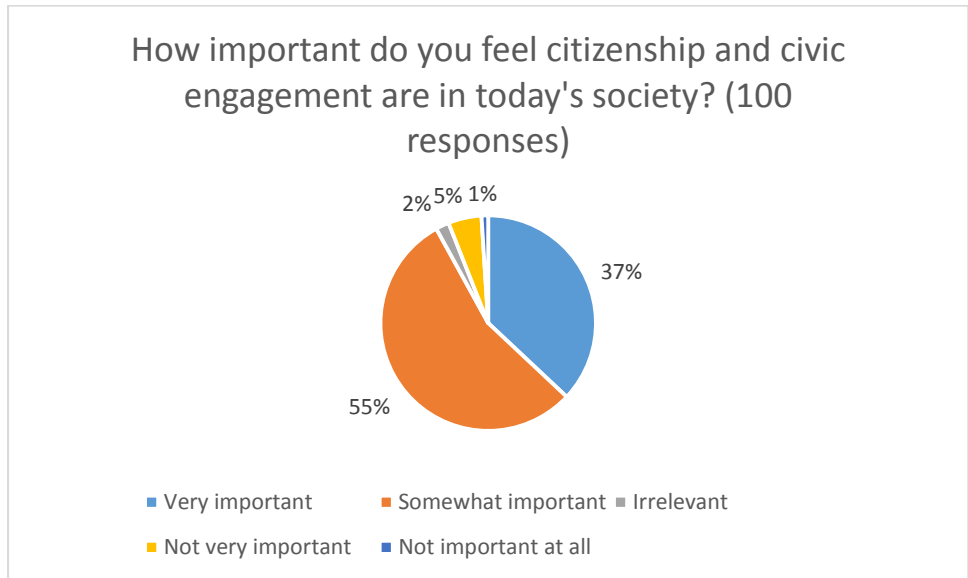
Section Two: Citizenship and Civic Engagement

Question 7:



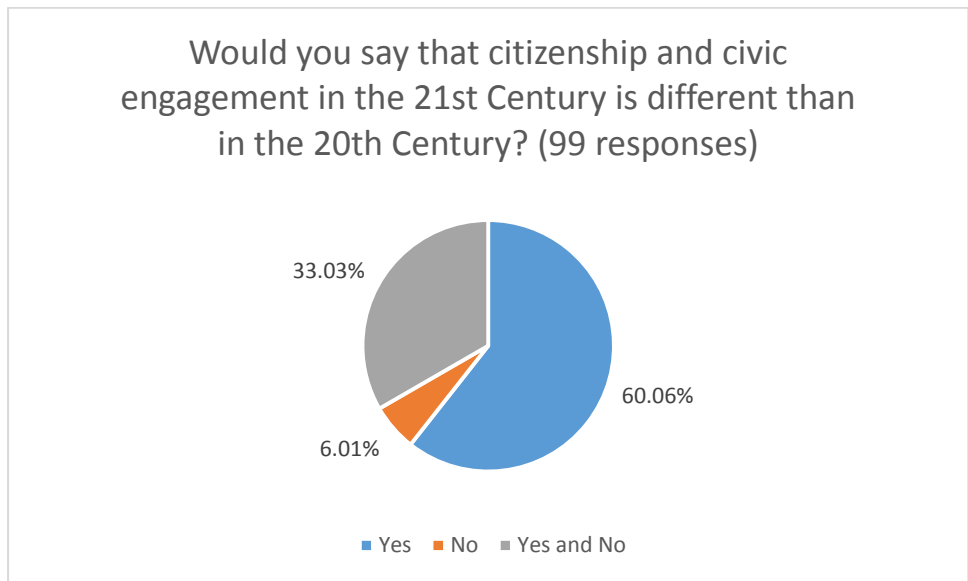
Most respondents (84%) defined citizenship as voting in elections. 20% related citizenship with national identity. Only 14% chose online activism.

Question 8:



The majority (55%) of respondents felt that citizenship and civic engagement were somewhat important. Only 1% of respondents felt that citizenship was not important at all, and 2 respondents felt that citizenship was irrelevant.

Question 9:



Most respondents (60.06%) felt that citizenship in the 21st century is different than in the 20th century. Only 6.01% felt that citizenship in the 21st century was not different than in the 20th century. The second largest proportion (33.03) thought that citizenship in the 21st century had both similarities and differences within citizenship in the 20th century.

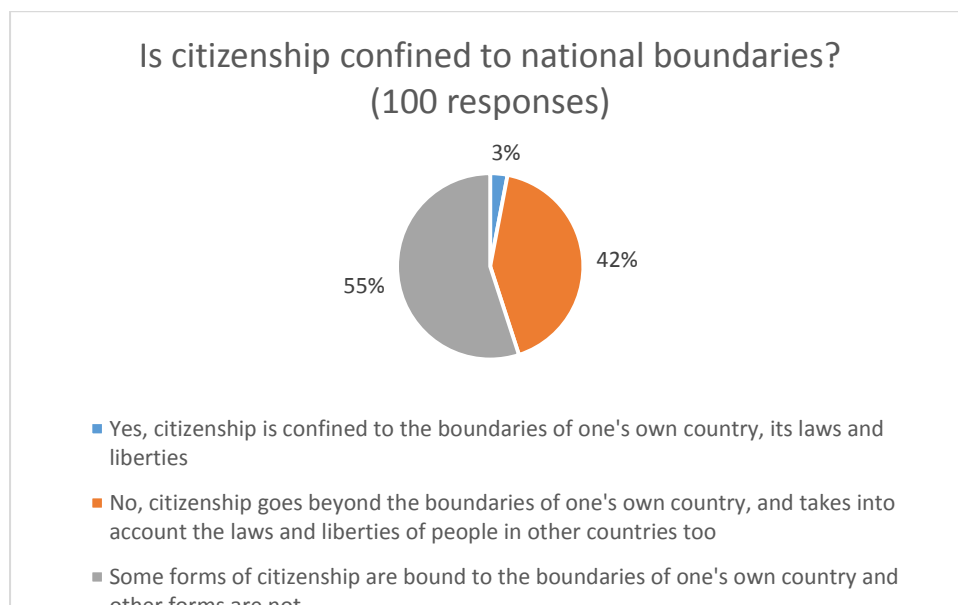
Question 10: In what ways would you say that citizenship in the 21st century is different than in the 20th century? (68 responses)

- A. Almost half of respondents (33/68) claimed that globalisation has led to a new level of international connectivity where people feel ties to multiple countries and patriotism has declined within popular discourse. One respondent claimed that “the modern world

is a global village now”, with others citing the rise of global cities such as London as shaping – and in some cases, blurring – modern identities.

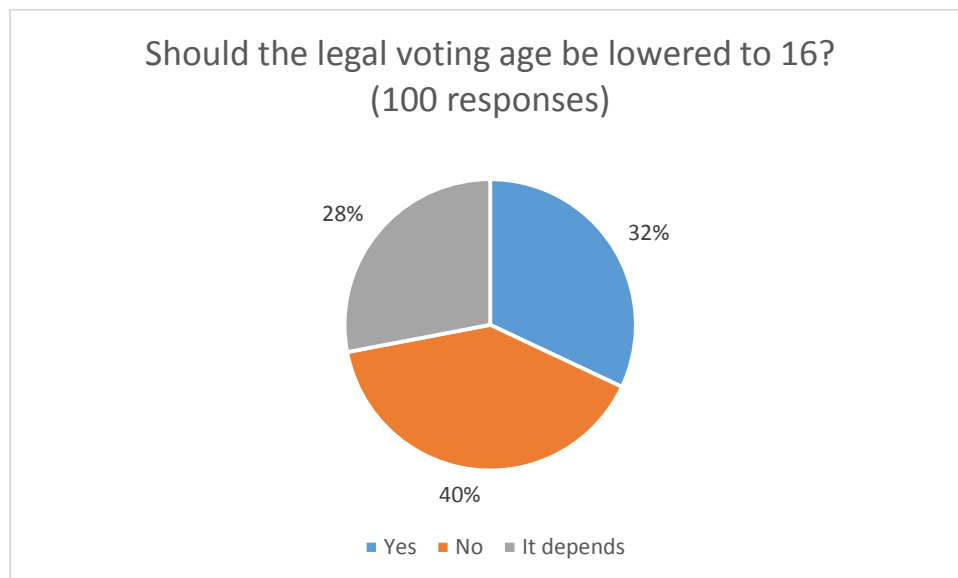
- B. 25 respondents claimed that social media has reframed citizenship between the two centuries. Many respondents drew on how this dualism between globalisation and technological connectivity has structured and sustained a new form of global citizenship, which is shaped and made aware by non-direct social media networking sites.
- C. 9 respondents specifically referred to individualism, with the majority of these illustrating how social divisions have become more “volatile” and subjective, especially when it comes to voting patterns. One respondent argued that citizenship has become “less nationalistic but also more individualistic”, with political activity becoming an individual rather than group undertaking.
- D. 9 respondents referred to how social values have changed between the two centuries. For example, some claimed that the enfranchisement of women in 1928 had made the word ‘citizen’ become a “sexless” term. Others argued more generally that shifts in social values had made citizenship activities more available to a broader category of individuals – not just the privileged.

Question 11:



Most respondents (55%) felt that while some forms of citizenship were confined to national boundaries, others were not. Only 3% of respondents felt that citizenship was confined to the boundaries of one’s own country, its law and liberties.

Question 12:



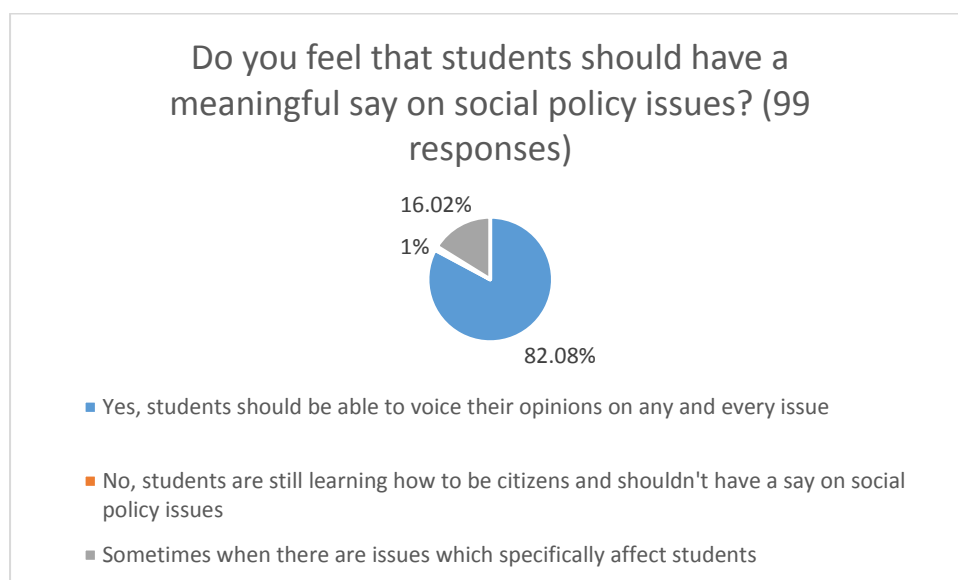
A close majority of 40% of respondents felt that the legal voting age should not be lowered to 16, with 32% of respondents feeling that 16 and 17-year olds should be able to vote. 28% of respondents felt that votes at 16 depended on other variables such as political maturity and/or education.

Question 13: What do you think about lowering the legal voting age to 16?

- A. Most (24) respondents claimed that 16-year olds are (a) not knowledgeable enough (b) lack experience and/or (c) are easily influenced by their parents and others in their social groups such as peers. They felt this made young people “ill-equipped voters.” Two respondents felt that votes at 16 was “gimmicky” and failed to be anything other than a simple vote-winner.
- B. 17 respondents claimed that votes at 16 should be complimented by an accompanying policy in schools to educate young people, including a “full and rigorous” education in citizenship that is balanced and unbiased. 3 respondents felt this should be compulsory, with one respondent feeling that this should include “substantive civic, historical and economic education.” One respondent claimed this should include resources on who/what they are voting for, and ways to get involved.
- C. 14 respondents claimed that votes at 16 would give young people a “vested interest” in who runs the country, and would “encourage” young people to take citizenship seriously, enabling them to become more “socially and politically conscious”. Two respondents identified that university fees and other matters such as paying taxes apply to 16-year olds as much as they do to older people.

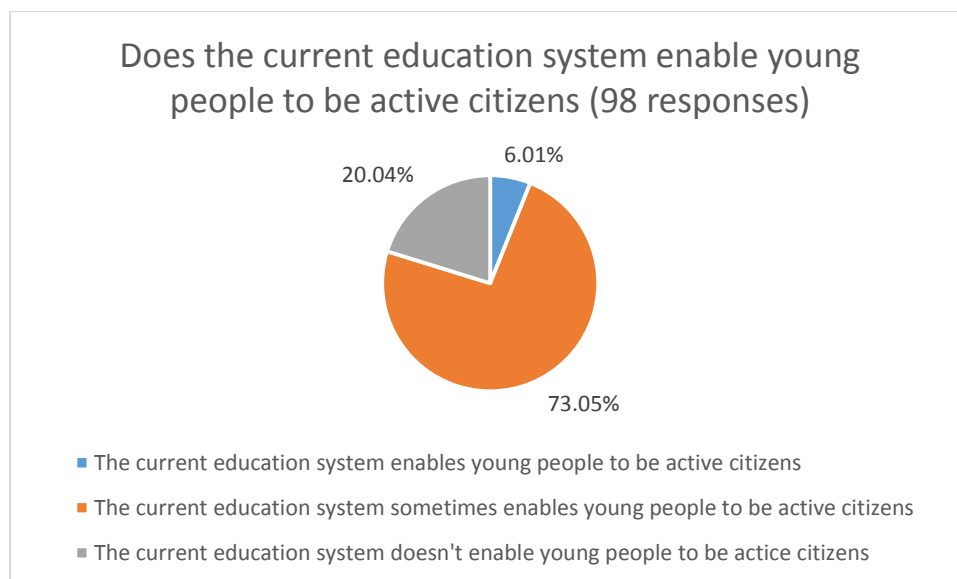
- D. 6 respondents claimed that votes at 16 was either (a) unnecessary, (b) arbitrary, (c) that 16-year olds were more concerned with other issues such as passing exams or (d) that 18 was a good cut-off point for voting eligibility.
- E. 4 respondents claimed that votes at 16 should only apply in major situations where there are “long-term ramifications” such as in the case of Brexit and Scottish independence. 1 respondent argued that votes at 16 should apply to local elections but not to national elections.
- F. 2 respondents identified a democratic deficit in allowing older and not younger people to vote. They believed this created an imbalance where younger people depended on older people to help them, with one claiming that this doesn’t always favour young people, such as the EU referendum.

Question 14:



Most respondents (82.08%) felt that students should have a meaningful say on social policy issues, with 16.02% claiming that this should be restricted to issues which specifically affect them. Only 1% felt that students should not have a say on social

Question 15:



Most respondents (73.05%) felt that the current education system only sometimes enables young people to be active citizens. A minority of respondents (6.01%) felt that the current education system enables young people to be active citizens

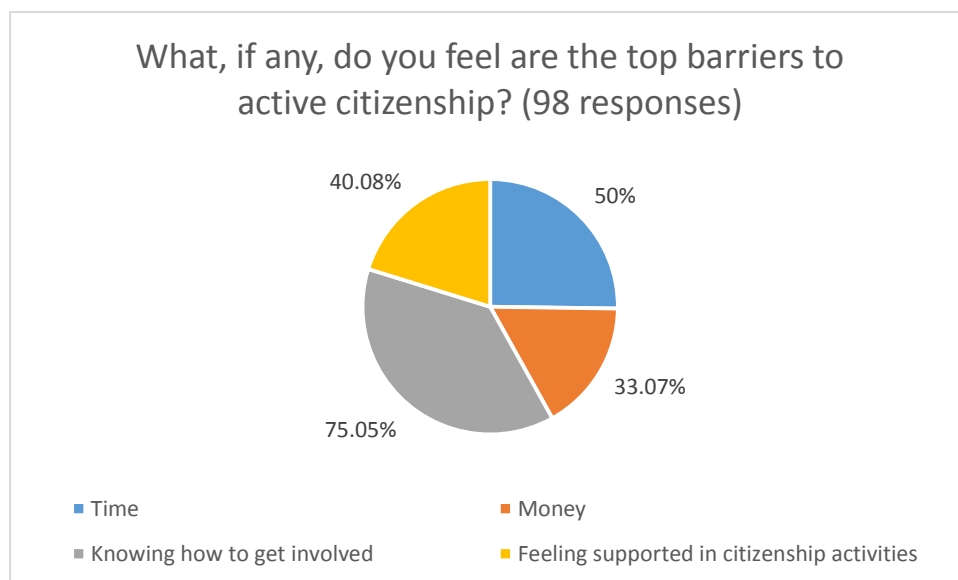
Question 16: What could be done to encourage more young people to be active citizens?

- A. Many respondents (39/65) believed that political education that was (a) impartial, (b) more widely available/accessible, and in some cases even (c) compulsory would encourage more young people to be active citizens.
- 13 respondents claimed that political education should be especially practical, and focus on how government works, the histories and standpoints of political parties, and what civil society is in the UK as well as in other nations.
 - 4 respondents claimed that political education should be compulsory and/or mandatory at secondary school level.
 - 2 respondents specifically mentioned that citizenship education should continue at universities, with elective modules in politics and modern foreign languages.
 - 2 respondents claimed that political education should also focus on 'information literacy', and help manage and assess the "non-stop deluge of information", including digesting party manifestos.
 - 3 respondents claimed that political education should also include studies in historical, philosophical, moral and civic issues too. For example, one respondent thought that political education should extend to case studies such as the history of the Second World War, Hitler, Holocaust and different interpretations like Carl Schmitt, Karl Jaspers and Hannah Arendt.
- B. 15 respondents claimed a sense of "feeling listened to" by MPs and others would encourage young people to be active citizens. This included showing young people are "wanted" in society, taking their investigations and projects "more seriously", and placing issues that are pertinent to students and young people higher on the agenda. For

others, this included depoliticising the public arena and instilling a sense of community cohesion that encourage genuine, fair and unbiased debate.

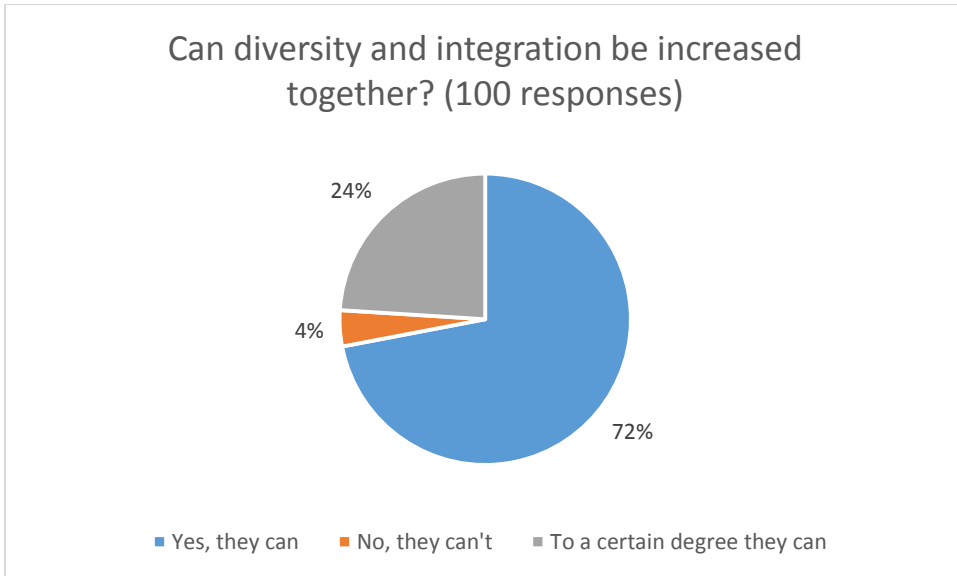
- C. 14 respondents believed tangible participatory experiences would help more young people be active citizens. Respondents believed this should include creating and promoting opportunities to get involved in the community through intergenerational projects such as community gardens. One respondent claimed additional funding for schools that commit to extra-curricular leadership opportunities should be available too. Some respondents mentioned programmes such as Model UN, Model Westminster, the European Youth Parliament are important and teach young people to be “critical and analytic”.
- D. 5 respondents felt that digital technology had a prominent role to play in helping more young people to be active citizens, including using this to “amplify” the voices of minority groups.
- E. Two respondents said that there should be more awareness of what being an active citizen involves.

Question 17:



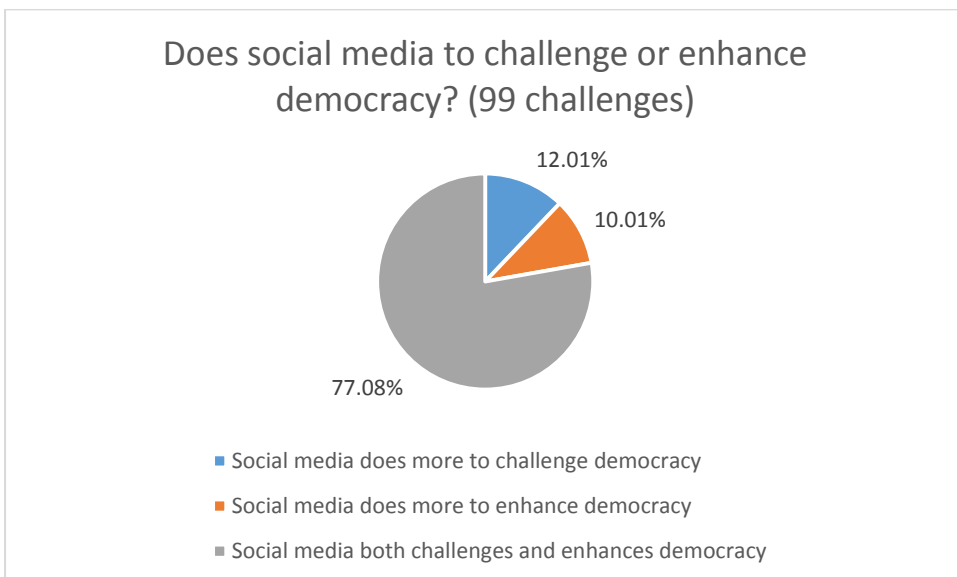
Most respondents (75.05%) claimed that knowing how to get involved was the top barrier to active citizenship. 50% of respondents claimed that time was the top barrier to active citizenship.

Question 18:



72% of respondents felt that diversity and integration can be increased together. Only 4% felt that they could not.

Question 19:



77.08% of respondents felt that social media both enhances and challenges democracy.

Section 3: Our Recommendations:

1. An educational framework together with a proactive, open and transparent political institutional consultation where public institutions have a responsibility to inform and educate others about their work in the community.
 - A. There should be taster sessions, critical thinking lesson starters such as ‘news reviews’, and politically themed deep learning days to draw attention to current political issues. Special classes during elections to inform and educate everyone.
 - B. Political education should be embedded and integrated across the curriculum, especially within the humanities, including history, ethics, and citizenship.
 - C. There should be a focus on research, critical thinking and interpersonal skills, with schools and universities being financially recognised for their efforts to develop social action opportunities.
 - D. An undergraduate citizenship short module should be introduced, where students can debate current issues to develop critical thinking skills. Universities should also be encouraged to offer more elective modules in politics and modern foreign languages.
2. Using digital technology to interact with decision-makers, cross cultural and social divides, exchange ideas, and grow campaigns.
 - A. A dedicated, youth-friendly, unbiased, concise website with useful tools, tips and information for getting involved, digesting information, and knowing who to contact for specific enquiries should be created and made widely available.
 - B. Digital technology should be used to amplify the voice of minority groups within social policy making. This could include an online network where members of minority groups can voice their opinions on current political issues to decision makers and political leaders.
 - C. There should be investment in internet connectivity so that more people can access information.
3. Creating and funding tangible opportunities for young people to experience politics first hand.
 - A. More should be done to support and grow participatory programmes where young people can develop diplomacy and negotiation skills, such as provided through Model Westminster, Model United Nations, and the European Youth Parliament.

EDEN City Outreach – written evidence (CCE0076)

- B. Information on opportunities to get involved with politics, social action and community projects should be more widely available, using digital services where possible.
 - C. Public investment should be made to drive initiatives that empower young people, and especially university students to lead positive social action in their communities.
4. Leading a cultural shift in attitudes – politicians and political leaders should be encouraged to take student voice more genuinely.
- A. An institutional shift in attitudes should be encouraged in how government agencies, departments and representatives engage with, and consult students and young people.
 - B. More should be done to equip workers in the public and voluntary sectors to incorporate events for students as part of their outreach programme, especially university students. This should include time, money and resources.
 - C. More opportunities for students and young people to communicate and exchange ideas with policy makers, advisors and academics should be made available, such as national alternative careers fairs.

Model Westminster Society wishes to thank all of those who took part in this online survey.

Disclaimer: the views and opinions expressed in this submission are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the position of Model Westminster Society, its partner organisations, agents, or associates.

3 September 2017

EDEN City Outreach – written evidence (CCE0076)

[1] Citizenship reasonably translates to national identity, a sense of belonging and being a part of something bigger than yourself. It is not ‘culture’ specific, but is defined by being (recognised as) a valued contributor and stakeholder of your society. Civic engagement, therefore, becomes the means by which citizens are encouraged, invited and facilitated in participating and contributing to the effective running and governance of that society—at all levels. Ideally this would cover everything from grassroots engagement to informing policy decisions, and include both political and non-political activities. Being recognised and supported as a vital part of the community, local or national, is fundamental to achieving a sense of belonging, which in itself is key to establishing a healthy national identity. If one is

made to feel excluded or inhibited from making a material contribution to the governance of his/her own life, the ability to identify with that country becomes impaired. As such, political disenfranchisement and the disarming and disempowerment of the average British citizen has the potential to fuel radicalisation.

[2] An overarching objective of citizenship should be to establish a nationally accepted standard of living and quality of life for all citizens. Within that standard civic engagement should be nurtured as an inherent component of developing healthy, integrated communities—the basic way of life. Without first establishing a solid foundation of protected civil and political rights, citizenship ceremonies, and such, becoming sticking plasters applied to stem the haemorrhage of the gaping wound that is the current political system. This call for evidence acknowledged the growing loss of confidence in this political system [the government]. Increasingly we are seeing public accessibility to the government and public accountability from the government diminish, along with transparency, precipitating a shift towards totalitarianism. This was demonstrated in the health secretary’s handling of the junior doctors ‘negotiations’; having failed to reach agreement the Department of Health simply threatened to impose new contracts. This sort of conduct reveals a government that has lost sight of its role as custodian of British life, a government that exists to serve and represent the interest of its citizens and therefore must find effective ways to engage meaningfully and democratically with them.

A priority in improving civic engagement is therefore urgent political reform to establish a framework(s) that facilitates effective grassroots engagement. Engagement should inform the political process, creating a demonstrable link between the views, needs, desires and aspirations of citizens and the corresponding response of the State. This is just one way of strengthening national identity—providing citizens with a legitimate voice within a truly democratic process. Another is the effective representation and protection of citizen’s (civil, constitutional and human) rights. Austerity measures have resulted in drastic cuts in welfare support, including legal aid. The impact was to severely limit access to effective legal assistance in all but a few circumstances. This reform diminished the ability of the average lay litigant in person [LLIP] to fully participate in judicial proceedings. In June 2015 former Justice Secretary, the Rt Hon Michael Gove MP observed a creaking outdated system that was the failing the majority whilst the rich received “gold-standard service.” Neither his acknowledgement, nor the practical, legal and psychological ramifications of the cuts had any demonstrable bearing in compelling necessary reforms to remedy what is inarguably an Article 6 violation of the Human Rights Act 1998. More recent court rulings and United Nations [UN] reports have highlighted how government policy have violated various human rights. The Supreme Court ruling July 2017 determined that increased employment tribunal fees were unlawful. The policy was introduced by government to limit frivolous claims but in reality prohibited the financially vulnerable from equitable access to justice, whilst inadvertently enabling unscrupulous employer conduct. Increasing criticism of government have done little to elicit any demonstrable contrition or restitution. The

subsequent perception is of the government having contempt for its citizens, undermining any sense of valued citizenship or the efficacy of civic engagement.

The government affords its citizens no real opportunity or power over what is widely perceived as a political system that is no longer fit for purpose. It is in this ‘opportunity’ and ‘empowerment’ that the value of citizenship is established. To this end urgent legislative reform is required.

[3] Civic engagement is both a responsibility and a right, but it must begin with being afforded comprehensive, accessible and enforceable rights. British constitutional rights are not clearly identifiable, they are contained in various laws and principles, which for the average British citizen translates to ‘incomprehensible’. Further, we have a system of legislating that obligates the compliance of citizens across vast areas of life in a relationship that is clearly one between ‘citizen’ and ‘State’. However, when the process fails, the relationship inexplicably morphs into that of ‘private individual’ and ‘an organisation—that just happens to be the State’. The only recourse available to disaffected citizens, to what are essentially failures in governance and/or public services, is to instruct ‘private litigation’. That is a fundamental failure to ensure ‘equality-of-arms’ and to adequately provide for and protect the rights of British citizens. It diminishes the regulatory or moderating potential that could (should) come from powers to instruct ‘public interest’ litigation in response to public service failures. Subsequently, justice becomes inaccessible to the majority financially vulnerable, further undermining the citizen’s value or power to inform this political system.

In 2014 three Tower Hamlets residents successfully brought a private claim against former Mayor Lutfur Rahman, addressing electoral fraud and other associated local government corruptions. The litigation was clearly in the public interest with the stoic efforts of the petitioners benefitting the whole community, and perhaps indirectly all British voters. Claims of this nature should reasonably be available as state funded provisions, and not the ‘responsibility’ of citizens to privately remedy. Where individuals cannot afford the costs (psychological or financial) of instructing private litigation, fundamental failures in regulating, governance or public services are permitted to go unaddressed.

The law should freely and equitably protect the civil, constitutional and human rights of all citizens—equality under the law—including making adequate provisions for ‘public interest’ litigation and formal and effective engagement with the government, its agents and representative on matters of fundamental failing in governance and/or regulating. Additionally, the law makers must remain accountable to their citizens and their laws, where appropriate, subject to reasonable challenge to ensure fairness and efficacy.

Throughout 2016 to 2017 I submitted a number of observations regarding material omissions in the legislating of the Courts (and Tribunals) that leave average users of these

services, in particular LLIP, vulnerable to abuse of process and miscarriages of justice. These I further perceived to be Human Rights violations. The Ministry of Justice [MOJ] and the Attorney General's Office [AGO] should be under a statutory obligation to engage on the issues raised and either a) evidence current legislating as sufficient and effective or b) make the necessary reforms to remedy the identified omissions. Instead, the AGO declined intervention on the grounds that *'The Attorney General provides legal advice to the government and is unable to give legal advice, assistance or support to individuals and so cannot intervene in or investigate the matters you have raised'*, thereafter deferring responsibility for responding to the MOJ. This decline failed materially to provide the requested clarity regarding the role and remit of the Attorney General previously cited as including the *'...duty to ensure that the Queen's ministers who act in her name, or purport to act in her name, do act lawfully because it is his duty to help to secure the rule of law, the principal requirement of which is that the government itself acts lawfully'* [former Attorney General, Lord Mayhew of Twysden]. And this third obligation established by another former Attorney General, the Rt Hon Dominic Grieve QC MP (October 2012) *'...as guardians of certain public interest functions which include, for example, the role of protector of charity and of the administration of justice.'*

The MOJ, to date, has failed to offer any response.

Civic engagement must include established, identifiable and exercisable rights, appropriate levels of empowerment and real opportunity to make a difference. These rights need to be protected in statutory powers that ensure 'equality of arms' between the State and its citizens. Though counter-intuitive, I believe an increase in legal powers for citizens, including the right to instruct stated funding 'public interest' litigation, will not result in increased legal action (in the long-term) but in more effective governance, legislating and regulating.

Civil Society Groups and organisation also have a hugely important and significant role to play in monitoring and enforcement, as an established part of a formally recognised framework of citizen-led regulating. Their roles, as independent representatives of their communities, or the general public interest (by areas of expertise), will greatly aid and improve public accessibility and accountability, increasing transparency and subsequently confidence in the government.

[4] My personal experience is that having the right laws in place is only part of the challenge. Another pressing need is to ensure that those laws and legal freedoms/powers are equitably accessible and adequately protected from abuse. The absence of the latter renders the former effectively redundant.

The whole election process is in need of 'liberating'. At each election the parties are permitted to dictate the key issues, only then inviting the country to pose questions within

their imposed constraints. Having limited the electorate to playing within a pre-defined arena, politicians inadvertently field out what for some are pressing issues, such as the increasing lack of clear, honest, accurate or factual information from politicians (i.e. in the lead up to BREXIT), or government conduct increasingly contrary to the ‘public interest’. The remit of pre-election debates is not for government or the parties to dictate. It is for the electorate to advance what the primary issues are, and for the parties to respond accordingly. This sort of basic reform has the potential to greatly improve the election process and voter engagement/participation.

Similarly, more control and power is required post-election to allow citizens to respond to party or MP failures to deliver on pre-election promises. The electorate should reasonably have powers to hold the party to account and, albeit in the most extreme cases, to declare a vote of no confidence in the government, PM, Minister, MP, Mayor or local councillor. What is unacceptable is to force the country/constituency to tolerate substantial failures and broken promises for 4-5 years, until the next round of elections—where history suggest the same will reoccur. The current system completely disempowers citizens beyond the right to a vote, which alone is not ‘democracy’, and enables increasing unaccountability from the government.

[5] Citizenship is a way of life, it incorporates both the legal and the moral and should reasonably inform all aspects of how we do community life: how we engage with our neighbours; how we choose to serve and support our communities, etc. In that respect it is, in itself a ‘culture’ that needs to be nurtured within society and each community. How that occurs belongs both in the classroom and in effective community-based social support services that facilitate civic engagement, community cohesion and social interaction.

Realistically, it is not possible to escape politics or its impact on shaping our lives, directly or indirectly. Political engagement is therefore inevitable. The real challenge, then, is how to facilitate political engagement in ways that encourage participation from citizens across all walks of society and in a manner that compliments their political inclinations and aspiration. What is unjustifiably absent, and somewhat telling by its absence, is the legitimate voice of ordinary citizens within the current democratic process: An entire community, mourning the catastrophic loss of lives following the Grenfell Tower fire, are forced to express their concerns by protesting outside Westminster and their local authority—because that is the only legitimate voice afforded to them in 21st Century British governance.

Internationally, advances in technology are lauded for facilitating widespread ‘connection’; Connectivity, claims Facebook’s founder, is a basic human right. And still the British government has failed to evidence any demonstrable advances in developing an effective framework of grassroots engagement, maximising the potential of all this valuable technology.

[6] A first priority in establishing effective civic engagement and a real sense of citizenship and national pride is in building effective foundations: The Localism Act was passed in October 2011. This act devolved considerable parliamentary powers to local government in a move that was intended to facilitate grassroots engagement—encouraging collaboration between local communities and authorities. Subsequent to the act the government pruned its own powers, abolished the independent regulator—the Audit Commission and its portfolio of inspections/audits and also the ‘Parliamentary Standards Board’ that once regulated office holders’ conduct. What should have followed was the implementation of the infrastructure necessary to facilitate community groups and organisation assuming the powers of scrutiny, accountability and regulating vacated by Parliament and its agents. Had that occurred, localised vehicles for increased civic engagement would have naturally followed.

Instead, 6 years on, the powers of the community remain woefully underrepresented and inadequately legislated for. The Act has essentially disempowered parliament, and subsequently the local community. It has affording local government almost absolute power (in a material sense), increasing the exposure and vulnerability of communities to local government corruption. The Localism Act 2011 had the potential to facilitate and improve civic engagement. However, the lack of increased rights and powers afforded to the local community, particularly in holding local governments to public account, make this an illustration of how failed legislating has disenfranchised, disempowered and disarmed British citizens. In the absence of the solid foundation necessary to ensure the viability of the act, local government devolution has severely compromised the capacity of the local community for effective civic engagement.

[7] The emphasis is on the government to demonstrate a real commitment to its citizens, their quality of life and civic engagement as a means of protecting and enhancing it. Reasonably warranted, within this commitment, is a willingness to formalise working relationships with community groups and Civil Society Organisation as vehicles for community-led engagement and legislating. The government must provide ‘means’, ‘opportunity’ and most importantly ‘motive’. The means through effective legislating; opportunity through public accessibility and accountability to and from government—at all levels. And, the motivation of being afforded real powers to make a material difference.

The British government has recently come under strong criticism for austerity measures that are failing disabled people—in violation of their human rights. The UN report observes a government ‘evading’ the rights of disabled people, facilitating discrimination, and ‘[dismissive] of the lived experiences, views and interest of Disable people in the UK’ [The latter proffered by Disability Rights UK]. The observation of citizens’ rights being ‘evaded’ is not limited to Disabled Persons, Britain endured similar criticisms from the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [UNESCR] in 2016 where again Austerity was cited as violating the human rights of financially vulnerable citizens. Throughout there has been a lack of any real evidence of a government willing to recognise its failings, the mood of its

citizens or the need for more effective and formal engagement on the issues. The greatest barrier to effective civic engagement we are currently facing is a political system which divorces citizens from the democratic process through State imposed inaccessibility.

[8] The basic value of/for human life is all but eroded from political decision making, with statistics and perception taking greater priority over improving quality of life. One example of this is contained in the 2016 UNESCR report which, in spite of rising employment levels, raises concerns about the high number of low-paid jobs, especially in sectors such as cleaning and homecare. Government statistics portray economic and social stability, perhaps even improvement. The reality is that many continue to struggle following the 2008 crash; the decline in their standard of living buried in misleading statistics. In his 2015 documentary, 'The Super Rich and Us' Jacques Peretti, investigative journalist, observed that government statistics portraying strong growths in the GDP primarily reflected growth limited to the minority super-rich. The majority, he concluded, had seen no material increase in income since 2008. This sort of disingenuous reporting reveals a lack of real empathy to the diminishing quality of life of the many who continue to struggle to recover from the global financial crisis. It portrays a growing chasm between the rhetoric of government and real-life, an indifference to the detrimental impact of political decision on real-lives, and the loss of any sense of duty towards the British Public.

The most basic values should hold dear every human life (and quality of life), with a heightened focus on the vulnerable within our communities; it should ensure that all are treated fairly, justly and equitably; and should promote mercy and benevolence towards one another. One would have to completely discard these values, dehumanising the people behind the policies to behave the way the government now stands condemned of. Where conscience fails, the law should prevail which suggests equally worrying fundamental failures in the way this government legislates. It is this sort of unabashed disregard for the views and lived-experiences of the average British citizen (and even official bodies speaking on their behalf), that informs the sense of having been 'left behind'—that ours is a government that simply does not care.

[10] Civic engagement is both a 'right' and a 'way of life', it is facilitated by government (legislating) and realised through the activities of its citizens. It cannot be achieved in isolation, therefore where civic engagement occurs, social cohesion follows. As 'want' seems to fuel intolerance, empowering communities to positively impact the local economic and social landscape can only improve social integration.

[12] to that end I would like to propose a model with the potential to improve citizenship and raise the standard of living and quality of life in local communities—Community Support Networks [CSN].

The aim of the CSN is to support communities to support communities, facilitating a shift from individualisation towards communal support services and solutions. One of the primary objective is to encourage majority engagement. The CSN works by harnessing and pooling even the most limited contributions from the entire community, enabling every citizen to make a valued contribution. Each contribution is then co-ordinated, by the CSN, to achieve maximum impact: Collecting large volumes of small donations, co-ordinating limited voluntary support, or compiling individual knowledge and experiences. The co-ordinated output is sufficient funds to finance priority community –led projects that benefit the wider community, a scheduled programme of voluntary support that places minimal demand on the volunteers and, lived-experiences and knowledge augmented into valuable comprehensive information and insight. Together these become the mechanisms that afford every citizens a 'legitimate' voice within the local democratic process and opportunity to shape local life and/or policy, in ways that are both organic (in input) and formal (in output). Much like Facebook the CSN will enable individuals to effortlessly engage, connect and collaborate with their community on areas of shared interest, concerns and aspiration, through a user-friendly online environment. The model is self-financing through a combination of nominal membership fees and community fund generating—which also creates a physical presence within the community. One proposed method of fund-generating includes adopting public green space (under the provisions of the Localism Act 2011) for community development into edible communal gardens incorporating a restaurant and other retail opportunities. The CSN encourages communal support solutions, facilitates civic engagement, and creates vehicles for improved social interaction, community cohesion and effective political engagement in addition to creating a framework for community-led regulating.

Allison Charles

(Founder) Chief Executive

6 September 2017

Dr Jan Eichhorn, Lecturer, University of Edinburgh– written evidence (CCE0027)

Section 1: Focus on lowering the voting age (in response to question 4)

In the past studies focussing on a hypothetical lowering of the voting age had to rely on indirect investigations to assess its potential impact. However, we now have comprehensive insights from actual empirical experiences of voting age reductions, most comprehensively in Austria (where the voting age was lowered to 16 for elections at all levels in 2007) as well as Scotland (where the voting age was lowered initially for the Scottish independence referendum of 2014 and subsequently for all further local and Scottish Parliament elections). Based on studies on the empirical impact in those cases, we can preliminarily conclude that early enfranchisement can indeed have positive effects on civic engagement of young people. However, it is important to note that these positive impacts are also related to other relevant factors, in particular civic education. The following paragraphs will present more details.

Austria provides us with the longest-term European example of a lowered voting age. Researchers in the country identified both initially positive effects on civic engagement and attitudes of young people, characterised as a “first-time boost”²⁷⁷, but were also able to demonstrate the existence of long-term positive effects.²⁷⁸

The findings in Austria correspond closely to insights gained from research into the Scottish experience that was carried out by a team at the University of Edinburgh and coordinated by the author of this evidence submission, albeit on a much shorter timescale than the Austrian studies, of course.²⁷⁹ During the 2014 independence referendum itself, the research showed that prospective first-time voters

- Showed similar levels of interest compared to the average adult population in Scotland;
- Increased their engagement with a great variety of news sources on political issues;
- Did not simply follow their parents’ lead (with more than 40% holding a different view to one of their parents)²⁸⁰.

²⁷⁷ Zeglovits, E. and Aichholzer, J. 2014. ‘Are People More Inclined to Vote at 16 than at 18? Evidence for the First-Time Voting Boost among 16-25-Year-Olds in Austria’. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 24(3): 351-361.

²⁷⁸ Zeglovits, E. and Zandonella, M. 2013. ‘Political interest of adolescents before and after lowering the voting age: the case of Austria’. *Journal of Youth Studies* 16(8): 1084-1104.

²⁷⁹ ESRC-funded project “Survey of Young Scots”. Reports available from the Applied Quantitative Methods Network (AQMeN) at <http://aqmen.ac.uk/referendum/youngpeople>.

²⁸⁰ Eichhorn, J., Paterson, L., MacInnes, J. and Rosie, M. 2013. ‘Results from a survey on 14-17 year old persons living in Scotland on the Scottish independence referendum’. AQMeN briefing paper.

Traditionally, turnout amongst the youngest age groups was measured to be the lowest in most elections across Scotland and the UK.²⁸¹ However, in the Scottish independence referendum, turnout at 75% amongst 16- to 17-year-olds was greater than for the next older age group (18-24) at only 54%.²⁸² While it was still lower than the overall population average (85%) the gap was much smaller than in any previous vote, while the difference for the 18- to 24-year olds remained large. This provides an important insight countering prior work that was critical of electoral franchise expansion based on the study of adult first time voters aged 18 or above.²⁸³ Studies based on opposing early enfranchisement based on the observation that 18-24 year olds comparatively did not make as much use of their vote have to be called into question, as we see that 16- to 17-year-olds seem to behave differently to their slightly older counterparts²⁸⁴. Indeed, this mirrors findings elsewhere that younger first-time voters show higher participation rates than slightly older first-time voters.²⁸⁵ Voting at 16 or 17 seems to be a very different experience to voting at a slightly older age and seems to be engaged with more at this earlier age.

In addition to the age comparison in the context of the Scottish independence referendum, we also have carried out work to assess whether differences between young Scots and their respective counterparts in the rest of the UK (RUK), who had not previously been enfranchised at 16, existed in advance of the 2015 general election. Based on two representative samples of 16 and 17 year olds in Scotland and RUK respectively we were able to find the following²⁸⁶:

- Scottish 16- and 17-year olds were much more likely to say that they would be very likely to vote in general election if they were allowed to (67%) compared to their peers in RUK (39%).
- Furthermore, the young Scottish respondents were also more likely (57%) to have taken part in at least one form of non-electoral form of political participation (such

²⁸¹ Eichhorn, J. 2013. 'Will 16 and 17 year olds make a difference in the referendum?' ScotCen briefing paper. Available at http://www.scotcen.org.uk/media/205540/131129_will-16-and-17-years-olds-make-a-difference.pdf.

²⁸² Electoral Commission. 2014. 'Scottish Independence Referendum. Report on the referendum held on 18 September 2014'. Report by the Electoral Commission (p. 64). Available at http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0010/179812/Scottish-independence-referendum-report.pdf

²⁸³ See for example: Chan, T. and Clayton, M. 2006. 'Should the Voting Age be Lowered to Sixteen? Normative and Empirical Considerations'. *Political Studies* 54: 533-558; Johnson, C. and Marshall, B. 2004. 'Political engagement among young people: an update'. Research paper by the Electoral Commission.

²⁸⁴ Wagner, M., Johann, D. and Kritzinger, S. 2012. 'Voting at 16: Turnout and the quality of vote choice.' *Electoral Studies* 31: 372-383.

²⁸⁵ Bhatti, Y and Hansen, K. 2012. 'Leaving the nest and the social act of voting: turnout among first-time voters. *Journal of Elections*'. *Public Opinion & Parties* 22(4): 380-406.

²⁸⁶ Eichhorn, J., Kenealy, D., Parry, R., Paterson, L. and Remond, A. 2015. 'Voting at 16 – What next? 16-17 year olds' political attitudes and civic education'. Academy of Government Briefing Paper. Available at http://www.aog.ed.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0010/175339/BRIEFING_-_Voting_at_16.pdf

as signing a petition, writing to a member of parliament or taking part in peaceful demonstrations) compared to their counterparts elsewhere (40%).

- 16- to 17-year olds in Scotland were also more likely to recently have used a wider range of information sources to get to know more about politics. While 60% in Scotland reported having used at least 3 of 6 possible information source types, only 43% in the rest of the country said the same.

In summary, previously newly enfranchised 16- to 17-year-olds in Scotland showed higher levels of civic engagement ahead of the 2015 general election compared to their RUK counterparts.

The differences between Scotland and RUK were not merely a consequence of the Scottish independence referendum. While some of the variation could be attributed to factors related to the referendum, some of the difference between Scotland and RUK are not explained when taking those into account.²⁸⁷ While the Scottish independence referendum presented a unique situation and is responsible for some of the uptake in civic engagement in Scotland generally, including for young people, some additional effects could be observed for 16- to 17-year olds specifically that are not exclusively linked to the referendum.

These findings were extensively acknowledged and cited by the Scottish Parliament's Devolution (Further Powers) Committee in their concluding recommendation to lower the voting age for all Scottish elections²⁸⁸, which was ultimately adopted unanimously by the Scottish Parliament. The research has also been acknowledged in a motion in the House of Commons²⁸⁹ and cited in further debates.²⁹⁰

In addition to measuring differences in the average degree of civic engagement, we also find differences in the social distribution between young people in Scotland and RUK. 16- to 17-year-olds in RUK showed the classic social class pattern ahead of the 2015 general election. Those in higher social classes were more likely to say they would vote, if they could, they also were more likely to have participated in non-electoral forms of engagement and tended to use a greater range of information sources compared to peers from lower social classes. In Scotland we were not able to find this pattern anymore in 2015. There were no statistically significant differences between young people of different social classes

²⁸⁷ Eichhorn, J. 2015. 'Voting at 16 and Discussing Politics in School - A Transformative Experience? Lessons from the Scottish Independence Referendum'. Conference paper ECPR General Conference Montreal. Available at <https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/3b13c5f1-3aed-45b0-8bed-52a5a9988896.pdf>.

²⁸⁸ Scottish Parliament. 2015. 'Devolution (Further Powers) Committee. Stage 1 Report on the Scottish Elections (Reduction of Voting Age) Bill, 4th Report (SP Paper 725)'. Available at <http://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/89684.aspx>.

²⁸⁹ House of Commons. 2015. Early day motion 109, Session 2015-16 (Date tabled: 10/06/2015). Available at <http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/business-papers/commons/early-day-motions/edm-detail1/?session=2015-16&edmnumber=109>

²⁹⁰ House of Commons. 2015. Commons Debate 18 June 2015 (Column 497). Available at <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201516/cmhansrd/cm150618/debtext/150618-0002.htm>.

regarding their civic engagement.²⁹¹ This suggests that - in addition to higher levels of civic engagement amongst newly enfranchised young people in Scotland - also inequalities in civic engagement were lower compared to their RUK peers.

Section 2: Focus on civic education (in response to question 5)

Civic education plays a very important role in enabling young people to engage politically, both in terms of voting²⁹² and non-electoral forms of participation.²⁹³ Educational research has repeatedly demonstrated the importance of civic education and knowledge for supporting pro-civic political socialisation of young people with its effects complementing socialisation through the family.²⁹⁴

However, it is crucial to distinguish between different types of civic education and their respective effects. While the formal instruction of “civics” (such as the study of political structures and processes) is meaningful in particular to acquire knowledge, it is insufficient in achieving comprehensive support of pro-civic attitudes and behaviour in young people.²⁹⁵ In addition to formal instruction, researchers have shown repeatedly that engagement with political issues in the classroom in a discursive format is crucial to achieve greater political participation of young people.²⁹⁶

We found these findings confirmed in our own research of 16- and 17-year-olds in the UK.²⁹⁷ Pupils who had taken a class where political issues were studied formally were more likely to have

- participated in non-electoral forms of participation,
- been using a greater range of information source types, and
- said that they did not find politics difficult to understand.

²⁹¹ Eichhorn, J. 2016. ‘Who benefits from lowering the voting age to 16? Exploring stratification amongst young Scots’. Conference paper ECPR General Conference Prague. Available at <https://ecpr.eu/Events/PaperDetails.aspx?PaperID=29137&EventID=95>.

²⁹² Dassonneville, R., Quintelier, E., Hooghe, M. and Claes, E. 2012. ‘The Relation Between Civic Education and Political Attitudes and Behavior: A Two-Year Panel Study Among Belgian Late Adolescents’. *Applied Developmental Science* 16(3): 1-11.

²⁹³ Torney-Purta, J. and Vermeer Lopez, S. 2006. ‘Developing Citizenship Competencies from Kindergarten through Grade 12: A Background Paper for Policymakers and Educators’, Education Commission of the States.

²⁹⁴ Zeglovits, E. and Zandonella, M. 2013. ‘Political interest of adolescents before and after lowering the voting age: the case of Austria’. *Journal of Youth Studies* 16(8): 1084-1104.

²⁹⁵ Torney-Purta, J. 2002. ‘The School’s Role in Developing Civic Engagement: A Study of Adolescents in Twenty-Eight Countries’. *Applied Developmental Science* 6(4): 203-212.

²⁹⁶ Zaff, J., Hart, D., Flanagan, C., Youniss, J. and Levine, P. 2010. ‘Developing Civic Engagement within a Civic Context’, In Lamb, M. and Freund, A. (eds) *The Handbook of Life-Span Development (2nd ed)*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.

²⁹⁷ Kenealy, D., Eichhorn, J., Parry, R., Paterson, L. and Remond, A. 2017. *Publics, Elites and Constitutional Change in the UK. A Missed Opportunity?* London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. (pp. 53)

However, only students who were in classes where political issues were actively discussed additionally were more likely to say that

- they would be very likely to vote in an election if they were allowed to do so,
- it made a difference who got elected to office, and
- 16-year-olds should be given the right to vote in all elections.

In summary, an interplay between formal civic education and active discussions of political issues in the classroom is required to achieve comprehensive positive effects for civic engagement and attitudes.

Our research, in accordance with previous work in the field cited earlier, suggests that formal civic education and qualified discussions of political issues in the classroom should be a mandatory part of school education for all pupils, as otherwise some would be better prepared to become active citizens than others.

There are substantial differences in the proportion of young people who are exposed to such classes across the UK. While 68% of 16- to 17-year-olds in Scotland said they had taken a class in school in which mainly issues about politics and society were discussed, only 50% of their peers elsewhere said the same. Young people in Scotland were also more likely to have discussed political issues recently with friends (65%) or family (63%) compared to their RUK peers (38% and 39% respectively).²⁹⁸

Young people who discussed political issues in class in Scotland were also more likely to discuss political issues with their family at home.²⁹⁹ This is an important insight, as it suggests that young people are not only affected by other agents, such as schools or parents, but may also become influential in shaping discussions with them, when being enabled. This finding is in line with previous research³⁰⁰ and suggests that earlier political socialisation of young people may have broader societal effects, including on their parents.

In line with these findings, we could also observe increased support amongst the general population in Scotland for 16-year olds voting in elections. While support was traditionally

²⁹⁸ Eichhorn, J., Kenealy, D., Parry, R., Paterson, L. and Remond, A. 2015. 'Voting at 16 – What next? 16-17 year olds' political attitudes and civic education'. Academy of Government Briefing Paper. Available at [http://www.aog.ed.ac.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0010/175339/BRIEFING - Voting at 16.pdf](http://www.aog.ed.ac.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0010/175339/BRIEFING_-_Voting_at_16.pdf) (p. 8).

²⁹⁹ Eichhorn, J. 2014. 'How lowering the voting age to 16 can be an opportunity to improve youth political engagement'. d|part briefing paper. Available at http://www.politischepartizipation.de/images/downloads/dpart_Eichhorn_16VotingAge_Briefing.pdf (p. 11).

³⁰⁰ McDevitt, M., and Chaffee, S. 2000. 'Closing gaps in political communication and knowledge: Effects of a school intervention'. *Communication Research* 27: 259–292.

low (at about 30%³⁰¹) and support in the rest of the UK remains at about one third as well³⁰², a majority of Scots now supports the lowering of the voting age to 16 for elections at all levels.³⁰³

18 August 2017

³⁰¹ Electoral Commission. 2003. 'The Age of Electoral Majority. Report by the ICM prepared for the Electoral Commission.'

³⁰² Kenealy, D., Eichhorn, J., Parry, R., Paterson, L. and Remond, A. 2017. *Publics, Elites and Constitutional Change in the UK. A Missed Opportunity?* London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. (pp. 52)

³⁰³ Scottish Parliament. 2015. 'Devolution (Further Powers) Committee. Stage 1 Report on the Scottish Elections (Reduction of Voting Age) Bill, 4th Report (SP Paper 725)'. (p. 65)

The Electoral Commission – written evidence (CCE0152)

The Electoral Commission is the independent body which oversees elections and regulates political finance in the UK. We work to promote public confidence in the democratic process and ensure its integrity by enabling the delivery of free and fair elections and referendums, focusing on the needs of electors and addressing the changing environment to ensure every vote remains secure and accessible. We also use our expertise to make and advocate for changes to our democracy, aiming to improve fairness, transparency and efficiency. We welcome the opportunity to respond to this call for evidence.

We recognise the importance of citizenship and civic engagement in enhancing our democracy and the centrality of voting and people’s wider involvement in politics in that context. As not all the questions in the call for evidence paper relate to issues within the Electoral Commission’s remit, we have focussed only on those that do; namely, questions 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9. In order to keep our response as brief as possible, we have included references and links to available research and analysis wherever possible.

Question 4

Academics and other commentators have tended to stress the importance of political participation, political information, and political trust in describing the characteristics of the “politically engaged” citizen.³⁰⁴ While evidence consistently emphasises that political engagement is influenced by a broad range of factors, there are several areas of electoral law and administration that may have an impact on the degree to which individuals or groups feel able or willing to engage politically. These include: the rules governing how people register to vote; the ways in which people may cast their vote; the rules around standing for election; and legislation relating to the provision of information to voters about forthcoming electoral events.

More generally, we strongly support the [Law Commissions’ electoral law reform project](#) to rationalise and modernise electoral legislation, which we believe will lead to a simpler and more modern law, enabling well-run elections and making it easier for candidates and voters to take part.

Electoral registration process

A system of individual electoral registration (IER) has operated in Great Britain since 2014, and a similar system has been used in Northern Ireland since 2002. People in Great Britain

³⁰⁴ Norris, Pippa (2000) *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Societies*. NY:

Cambridge University Press.

are able to apply to register online, a system which has significantly improved access to elections, particularly among young people and British citizens overseas.

Our recent [report on electoral registration at the June 2017 UK Parliamentary general election](#) set out our proposals for further modernisation and improvement, including extending online registration to Northern Ireland; examining the scope for the integration of electoral registration into other public services; better use of public data to help identify potential electors; consideration of automatic or direct registration processes; and exploring solutions to identify duplicate registration applications and reduce the risk of people voting in more than one constituency at a UK Parliamentary general election (UKPGE).

These measures have the potential to make the electoral registration system simpler and more accessible for voters, and we will continue to work closely with the UK's governments to help support the development of new approaches to improve the accuracy and completeness of electoral registers.

Voting methods

Voters at statutory elections and referendums in the UK have a choice of voting methods: they can vote in person at a polling station, or apply to vote by post or proxy.³⁰⁵ Extending or changing the ways in which people can vote (for example, by allow electronic voting (e-voting), advance voting or weekend voting) is often cited as offering the potential to increase levels of political participation, particularly among under-represented groups.

Our [evaluation of e-voting pilot schemes](#) found that the majority of those who voted electronically were likely to have voted anyway via another channel, a finding supported by political science research.³⁰⁶

Our [evaluation of advance voting pilot schemes](#) reached similar conclusions: use of the facility was limited, and mainly confined to those already predisposed to vote. In addition, we are not aware of any evidence which suggests that voting on a Thursday is a significant reason why people do not currently vote at elections in the UK, or that moving to weekend voting would remove a significant barrier to voting. Our [post-election public opinion research](#) undertaken after the 2015 UKPGE found no strong evidence to suggest that weekend or advance voting would cause a change in behaviour; the case for online voting

³⁰⁵ Postal voting is available on demand for all elections in England, Scotland and Wales. In Northern Ireland, an elector must have a valid reason for voting by post.

³⁰⁶ See <http://www.internetvotingpanel.ca/docs/recommendations-report.pdf> p.12.

was improved, but far from conclusive.³⁰⁷ Any introduction of new voting channels would need to be based on robust evidence and justification before any changes were implemented.

Disabled voters

People living with disabilities can face more significant challenges when registering and casting their vote. Everyone who is eligible should be able to register and cast their vote without impediment, and we take very seriously the need to ensure that all voters can exercise their rights. We provide guidance to Electoral Registration Officers (EROs) and Returning Officers to help them meet their electoral law and equality obligations and ensure that everyone who is entitled to cast their vote can do so.

We also work with disability organisations to identify whether changes to guidance, practice or legislation are needed to help those living with disabilities exercise their voting rights. We welcome the Minister for the Constitution's recent [Call for Evidence](#) on how people with disabilities experience registering to vote and voting itself, and we will submit evidence in due course.

Standing for election

The rules around standing for election determine whether someone is able to stand as a candidate. While these are of most direct interest to potential candidates and political parties, they are also important for voters since they help determine the range of candidates available to them. The rules should enable the widest possible access to stand for election, but should also ensure confidence in elections and election candidates among voters, campaigners and political parties.

Our [January 2015 report on standing for election in the UK](#) made a number of recommendations designed to help make the rules as clear, fair and up-to-date as possible, so that they both encourage participation by candidates and maintain the confidence of voters in the system. We recommended that monetary deposits should no longer be required in order to be nominated for election, because we do not believe it is reasonable to have a barrier to standing for election that depends on someone's financial means. However, we also recommended that requirements to collect supporting signatures from registered electors should be retained.

³⁰⁷ See responses to Q.7 at:

https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0007/190942/May-2015-Post-election-public-opinion-survey-Toplines.pdf

The franchise

We note that the Committee is also seeking views on changes to the franchise for national or local elections, including lowering the voting age. The Electoral Commission does not take a view on the specific definition of the franchise, including the principle of lowering the voting age, as we recognise that these are significant constitutional questions which are properly the responsibility of legislatures to determine. However, we would comment on the practical implications of implementing any change to the franchise, including for electoral administrators, campaigners and voters themselves.

Question 5

Schools offer an opportunity to target information about political participation at young people who are approaching the age of electoral majority. The Commission successfully worked in partnership with schools and local councils ahead of the 2016 Scottish Parliament election and the 2017 Scottish council elections to target information at those 16 and 17 year olds who would be eligible to vote in these elections.

Our ReadyToVote campaign encouraged schools across Scotland to run registration and voting events with their students on 1 March 2017 and was supported by Education Scotland, Council Chief Executives and Directors of Education. We produced a [toolkit](#) to make it as easy as possible for schools to get involved. In total 293 secondary schools signed up to take part in the campaign, accounting for over 80% of all local authority secondary schools and our research with 16-17 year olds after the election found that they were more likely to say that they found it easy to access information about how to vote than 18-34 year olds.³⁰⁸

Question 7

Electoral Commission campaigns

Before elections and referendums, the Commission runs campaigns to promote the key information citizens need to know, so they can vote.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸ 84% of 16-17 year olds said it was easy to access information compared to only 69% of 18-34 year olds.

³⁰⁹ Further information about our voter registration campaigns can be found on our website: <https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/find-information-by-subject/electoral-registration>

An important part of our campaigns is facilitating support from other organisations, including central and local government, charities, businesses and NGOs. We produce resources, provide advice, run specific initiatives with some organisations and put effort into ongoing communication through a dedicated public awareness e-newsletter. To support our recent campaigns Cabinet Office have mobilised government departments to share messages on their communications channels and they have added messaging across the gov.uk website, including at the end of transactions such as driving licence and passport applications. In our experience, working as a sector with specific organisations investing in and co-ordinating support centrally for particular areas, helps deliver value for the public purse and makes the best use of limited resources.

In 2016 the Commission undertook a strategic review which involved asking external stakeholders for their views on a range of areas, including engagement with elections. Of the 120 [responses to our consultation](#), several mentioned declining engagement as a particular challenge, especially among young people, and that education programmes (to help people understand how politics affects their lives and learn what elected representatives do) would help to meet this challenge.

The Commission has therefore started a project to scope and define the landscape of public democratic engagement in the UK. This project will explore what different organisations are already doing, identify where there are overlaps or gaps, and enable consideration of what more the sector could do to improve democratic engagement. We aim to complete this project by early 2019.

Information about elections

In most UK elections with large geographic constituencies, candidates are provided with some state-funded support to help them communicate their policies and encourage people to vote in the area where they are standing for election. This includes the right for candidates to send an election leaflet free of charge for postage to every registered elector or every household in constituencies for UK Parliamentary elections. Candidates in directly-elected Mayoral contests in England (including elections for the Mayor of London, Combined Authority Mayors and local authority directly-elected mayors) can include a statement in a single booklet distributed to households across the electoral area, subject to the payment of a contribution towards the costs of producing and distributing the booklet.³¹⁰

³¹⁰ Mailings free of charge for postage are also available for candidates at elections to the European Parliament, Scottish Parliament, National Assembly for Wales, Northern Ireland Assembly and local councils in Northern Ireland.

At Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) elections in England and Wales, candidates are entitled to include a statement on a centrally hosted website, but there is no free mailing. We have recommended to the UK Government that electors should be sent printed information about candidates at future PCC elections in the form a booklet containing information provided by each candidate. Our [public opinion research](#) for the November 2012 PCC elections found that the most commonly cited reasons for not voting in the elections related to a lack of awareness (37%), primarily a lack of information about the elections and not knowing who the candidates were or where to find information about them.

Our [report on the May 2016 PCC elections](#) reinforced our concerns about the lack of candidate information available to voters to enable them to make an informed decision about how to vote, with 72% reporting that they knew not very much or nothing at all about the elections.

Question 8

Electoral fraud undermines democracy and weakens the United Kingdom’s strong tradition of free and fair elections. It takes away from individuals the right to vote as they wish, it distorts the results of elections and weakens the legitimacy of elected bodies, and it causes mistrust between communities.

We published two research reports in January 2015 focusing on the vulnerability of electors in the British Pakistani and British Bangladeshi communities. These highlighted that a mix of contextual, cultural and electoral process factors may create electoral fraud vulnerabilities.³¹¹

Addressing these vulnerabilities will take careful, locally managed work by police forces, Returning Officers/EROs and – crucially – political parties, candidates and campaigners, to raise awareness of what is and is not acceptable activity by family or community members

³¹¹ See [Elections, voting and electoral fraud: An exploratory study focusing on British Pakistanis and Bangladeshis](#) - January 2015 and [Understanding electoral fraud vulnerability in Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin communities in England: A view of local political activists](#) - January 2015

or campaigners, and to build confidence that concerns can be raised and will be dealt with appropriately.

Question 9

[Our research on electoral registration](#) has found that the main drivers of lower levels of electoral registration remain age (young people 18-34 are less likely to be registered), recent home movement and whether someone rents their home. Our campaigns target the whole of the population eligible to vote, with a particular focus on these and other under-registered groups. We also provide comprehensive guidance for EROs, including examples of approaches and tactics for engaging under-registered groups.

Our research study on [elections, voting and electoral fraud within British Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities](#) identified a number of barriers to political participation among these groups, including low levels of literacy and a lack of English language skills and understanding of UK electoral processes, particularly among older British Pakistani and Bangladeshi voters, new migrants and women. Without direct access to information regarding candidates or electoral processes, and unable to vote by themselves, these types of individuals were likely to rely on others to help with voting.

The same study also found that disinterest in politics among all age groups and across all communities came from “disillusionment with politicians failing to follow through on promises once elected”.

Electoral Reform Society – written evidence (CCE0136)

The Electoral Reform Society is an independent campaigning organisation working to champion the rights of voters and build a better democracy in Britain. Securing a fairer franchise and deepening public involvement in politics are two of the Society's key aims which are particularly relevant to this inquiry and which have informed this submission.

- Political engagement is central to citizenship but growing generational gaps in turnout create a problem for sustaining a healthy democratic and civic life.
- The Society strongly supports extending the franchise to 16- and 17-year olds. This long overdue reform has benefits for registration as well as engagement.
- Improving electoral registration by lowering the barriers and making registration part of everyday life is a simple but effective way of improving political engagement.
- ERS has a longstanding commitment to youth engagement. We report on the findings of our roundtable on the state of citizenship education and our democratic schools initiative.

What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

1. For a number of years declining turnout and declining rates of party membership and other forms of political activity have been a cause to doubt the health of democratic life in the UK. Though membership of charitable and special interest groups has increased and engagement in other aspects of civic and associational life have remained buoyant, political engagement has waned. We believe that political engagement is central to citizenship and civic engagement and the latter cannot be achieved without the former.
2. Being an active citizen is not just about voting – but it is important. Poor political engagement is particularly evidenced in the persistently low levels of turnout amongst younger age groups. Whilst the last general election saw a turn up in voting amongst younger cohorts, the turnout gap between the youngest and oldest voters has been growing. The difference in turnout (of the eligible electorate) between 21- to 35-years-olds and 66- to 80-year-olds, grew to 28 percentage points at the 2015 general election. In 1992 it was less than 10. Differences in turnout between generations are becoming more marked and there were clear turnout generational gaps in both the Scottish and EU referendums despite high overall turnout. A generational gap in turnout has the potential to imbed generational inequality in the future.

3. The relationship between the state and the citizen is evolving. Power is shifting, and citizens will increasingly take responsibility for shaping more of the decisions that affect their lives. Technological developments have resulted in an increasingly informed but much less trusting public and enabled the spread of ‘fake news’. In these circumstances the need for a more engaged citizenry increases. Ensuring people (especially younger people) are informed, engaged and able to navigate the increasingly complex political world is therefore essential to creating a healthy democracy.
4. Political disengagement is not a terminal problem. Dissatisfaction with politics does not reflect a lack of faith in democracy or representative politics. There is great opportunity to create a democracy that engages and supports citizens. Ensuring that all citizens’ votes count at the ballot box is a principal means of improving democracy. Engaging younger citizens in and embedding participatory practice early is another way of helping reverse the growing turnout gap and improving electoral registration and the mechanics of voting can also help engagement.

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?

Votes at 16

5. The Electoral Reform Society strongly supports enfranchising 16- and 17-year-olds for all elections and referendums. We see lowering the franchise as vital to nurturing more active citizens for the future health of our democracy.
6. The next generation of voters are the first to have received citizenship education, yet are being denied their full rights as citizens. This is the first generation to have ever needed to study our democracy, our electoral system and the importance of voting. Lowering the voting age to 16 would allow a seamless transition from learning about voting, elections and democracy to putting such knowledge into practice. Research shows that voting habits entrench - those that vote when first able to do so go on to vote regularly, whilst non-voting can also become habitual. If young people are registered early and get into the habit of voting, we will see lasting improvements in turnout.
7. There is a constitutional precedent for lowering the franchise to 16- and 17-year olds. In June 2015, Holyrood voted unanimously to give 16- and 17-year olds the vote in Scottish Parliamentary and local elections. Similar measures are being considered in Wales.

Better registration and engagement

8. Younger citizens (18- to 24-year-olds) are much less likely to be registered than older voters. Owner occupiers are more likely to be registered than renters, and social renters are more likely to be registered than private renters. Young people are more likely than the general population to be resident in either temporary or short-term lets, making up a greater proportion of the private rental market than the general population. Reaching young people when they receive their National Insurance number and whilst they are likely to be still living with their parents could massively improve registration rates for this age group.
9. Over 89% of 16- and 17-year-olds registered for the Scottish independence referendum. Lowering the voting age to 16 will improve registration rates and engage younger voters, developing better political relationships that will be carried through to later life.

Turnout and political interest

10. It is a myth that 16- and 17-year-olds are insufficiently interested in politics to deserve the vote. Evidence from the Scottish independence referendum substantiated by research from Austria and Norway, showed – aided by the encouragement of families and schools – 16- and 17-year-olds have higher rates of turnout than 18- to 34-year-olds.
11. Research from the Scottish independence referendum shows 16- and 17-year-olds accessed more information from a wider variety of sources than any other age-group during the referendum campaign; discussing political issues in schools greatly increased their confidence in their political understanding and, in addition, far more 16- and 17-year-olds polled after than before the independence referendum campaign felt closer to a political party: these young people are the party activists of the future.
12. We do not support the notion that improving turnout among young people who already have the vote is a prerequisite for considering votes for 16- and 17-year-olds. Increased turnout in younger age groups in the 2017 general election is a positive development but extending the franchise and improving turnout are goals that should be pursued together.

A constitutional precedent

13. The enfranchisement of 16- and 17-year-olds in Scotland was such a success that the Scottish Parliament has introduced Votes at 16 for Scottish Parliament and Scottish local elections. This legislation was supported by many people who had opposed Votes at 16 before the independence referendum, including Leader of the Scottish Conservatives Ruth Davidson.

14. Now 16- and 17-year-olds in Scotland can vote, it is unacceptable that their peers elsewhere in the United Kingdom cannot. Something as basic as the franchise itself should not be another wedge driven between the nations of the Union.

Voter registration

15. Electoral administration should work first and foremost for the voter. With rapidly declining citizen participation in elections we need to look afresh at how elections are run. There are a number of improvements to registering and voting that could help make the process easier and more engaging for citizens.
16. The introduction of individual electoral registration makes it now possible to integrate registration into other day-to-day transactions with the government. To increase registration in the UK, the government should consider providing registration forms at government offices and Post Offices, and electors should be reminded to register to vote in official transactions such as when applying for a passport, driver's licence, social security and registering for council tax. Other groups such as landlords can play a role with at-risk groups such as private renters.
17. We also recommend introducing Election Day Registration which would allow voters to turn up at the polling station, register and vote all in one go. Groups with lower registration rates see the largest gains through Election Day Registration, especially among those who have recently moved address. In addition, we recommend allowing voters to cast their vote at any polling station in their constituency.
18. We need to make registration easier and more in line with everyday practices instead of introducing new barriers such as steeper identity requirements.

Missing Voices

19. This summer, ERS Cymru launched a project called 'Missing Voices' consulting Welsh citizens on voting and how they feel about politics. It is examining the recent increase in political engagement and asking how it can be sustained. While the project aims to consult as many people as possible in Wales, it has a particular focus on seeking views from people who do not vote (or vote sporadically) and hearing their stories. ERS Cymru is collaborating with partners who provide services to groups who tend to be overrepresented among non-voters.
20. The project has over 20 partners at present including the Welsh Government, National Assembly for Wales, the Muslim Council for Wales and national charities such as Llamau and Chwarae Teg. The project is using a variety of methods, such as online surveys, online group chats and focus groups. The findings of the project will be reported in the autumn and we are happy to provide the Committee with further details of these findings.

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?

21. The Society is firmly of the view that high-quality citizenship education is important – both as a means of deepening public involvement in our democracy and as a way of equipping tomorrow’s voters with the knowledge and skills needed to play a full role in civic life. In January of this year the Electoral Reform Society hosted a roundtable with organisations involved in citizenship education from across Great Britain, including the Association for Citizenship Teaching, ClearView Research, Bite the Ballot, the Political Studies Association, DemSoc, the British Youth Council, the Modern Studies Association, the Scottish Government, University College London, the Educational Institute of Scotland, the Citizenship Foundation, National Citizen Service and Beijing Normal University. In our responses below we outline some of the issues raised at that roundtable.

State of play in England, Scotland and Wales

22. There are national differences in citizenship curriculum frameworks. Citizenship education in Wales is not a stand-alone subject. It is delivered through Personal and Social Education, Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship and the Welsh Baccalaureate. School councils are compulsory in Wales – a measure supported by the Society.

23. Scotland’s Curriculum for Excellence has an aim to develop ‘responsible citizenship’ with a focus on educating for citizenship, not citizenship education. Space is given in Scottish classrooms to discuss political issues – and this has been key to future participation. The independence referendum was a tipping point for political literacy. Votes at 16 has made a big impact on interest in having vibrant, informed discussions in Scotland’s schools.

24. It is at present difficult to assess citizenship education in England. Ofsted reporting on citizenship (and other subjects) has stopped. QCA used to survey schools but it closed in 2010. The Department for Education longitudinal study on citizenship has ended.

25. Roundtable attendees viewed the Government’s focus on National Citizen Service as positive.

Citizenship education in practice

26. Practical issues raised in our roundtable regarding the teaching of citizenship education included the time and status given to citizenship education in schools and the spread of qualified citizenship teachers and quality of teaching.
27. Roundtable participants felt that citizenship education should be issue-led; that young people need to see reasons why active citizenship works. Getting people practised at doing democracy is important and needs to start as young as possible. It was also felt that there is an opportunity to connect young people to citizenship through devolution and new institutions. Brexit and the introduction of new laws present another opportunity to engage young people with current affairs they find interesting. Skilling young people to look at news sources more critically is particularly important in the ‘post-truth’ context.

Democratic Schools Initiative

28. A further recent undertaking of the Society’s is the ‘Democratic Schools Initiative’ led by ERS Scotland. Students can get the best experience of democratic participation by seeing it affect one of the most important parts of their lives: their school day. Across the world there are hundreds of examples of democratically run schools, where students make collective decisions about the way that their classes, their curriculum and their school buildings are run. The ‘democratic school’ is about empowering students to take an active stake in their schools, fostering a culture of participation and trust in the life of the school, and student leadership. It is informal learning, so it does not need to be branded as ‘doing politics’. ERS Scotland will be developing this stream of work over the next year and would be happy to provide further details to the Committee.

Citizenship education – inside and out with the classroom

29. The Society would like to draw the Committee’s attention also to its March 2015 ERS Cymru publication *Welsh Power Report II: The Power & Voice of Young People in Wales* <https://www.electoral-reform.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Young-People-in-Wales-welsh-power-report.pdf> and its April 2017 ERS Scotland publication *Scotland’s Future Citizens* <https://www.electoral-reform.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/future-citizens.pdf>.

8 September 2017

Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)

Summary

The evidence here highlights the potential of mini-publics to enhance inclusive citizen engagement. Mini-publics assemble small groups of randomly selected citizens to deliberate, and make recommendations, on a policy issue. They help overcome significant barriers to achieving more inclusive citizen engagement:

1. 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.
2. Citizens also lack the time to participate, but mini-publics can lower the barriers to participation. We all have other commitments including work, family and a social life and understandably many people are reluctant to sacrifice their limited and valuable time to participate in politics, especially when their participation may be inconsequential. Paying participants (which is often the case in mini-publics) helps them find the time, and mini-publics are usually held at weekends to make this easier.
3. There is a socio-economic bias to political participation with white, middle-aged, middle-class men generally most likely to participate, although the key determinant for political participation is education. The more education a person has undertaken the more likely they are to participate in politics. Random sampling removes the socio-economic bias. The whole point is that the participating citizens are descriptively representative of the broader public.
4. When citizens do participate, they are usually uninformed. This is partly due to the fact that if their participation is unlikely to be consequential there is little incentive to make the effort to become informed. However, this potentially enables politicians and the media to unduly influence and manipulate public opinion. Mini-publics provide participants with information from a range of perspectives, and gives them the chance to question experts and discuss the evidence. The incentive and opportunity to become informed is also created as citizens in a mini-public can influence policy if connected to institutions like Parliament.
5. Due to a combination of all these factors, 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.

6. There are problems of scale. In the UK the numbers of citizens, geographically dispersed, present significant logistical challenges to ensure inclusive and meaningful political participation in the public policy process. Through random sampling an economy of scale is achieved as only a relatively small number of citizens are required to participate, but this sample is representative of the broader public.

1. Introduction

1.1 This paper introduces a range of democratic innovations known as ‘mini-publics’ and outlines key features, how they work, and how they may improve opportunities for citizens to engage with parliament.

1.2 The idea of mini-publics was first proposed four decades ago by political scientist Robert Dahl (1989). Inspired by democratic ideals and social science principles, Dahl envisioned an innovative mechanism for involving citizens in dealing with public issues. He called it ‘minipopulus’: an assembly of citizens, demographically representative of the larger population, brought together to learn and deliberate on a topic in order to inform public opinion and decision-making.

1.3 A growing number of democratic innovations have flourished around the world based on this idea (see Elstub 2014; Grönlund et al 2014; Elstub and Escobar forthcoming), from Citizens’ Juries, to Planning Cells, Consensus Conferences, Deliberative Polls and Citizens’ Assemblies (see Table 1). Mini-publics have been used to deal with topics ranging from constitutional and electoral reform, to controversial science and technology, and myriad social issues (e.g. health, justice, planning, sectarianism).

1.4 In this submission of evidence we highlight how mini-publics are particularly suitable at addressing questions 7 and 9 in the call for submissions. Namely, how can parliament help increase civic engagement and in particular how can those less inclined to participate be engaged to ensure diversity.

2. What is a mini-public?

2.1 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 typically selected through stratified random sampling, so that a range of demographic characteristics from the broader population are adequately represented –e.g. age, gender, ethnicity, disability, income, geography, education, religion, and so on. The purpose is to use social science methods to assemble a microcosm of ‘the public’, a mini-public, with each citizen having an equal chance of being selected. Smaller mini-publics are

Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)

not intended to be statistically representative of the population, but are still demographically diverse. 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. Despite these common features, there are a variety of types of mini-public, covered briefly in turn below.

Citizens' Juries

2.2 Citizens juries (CJs) were first established in 1971 in the USA by Ned Crosby of the Jefferson Centre, but have been employed in many other countries since then including the UK, Netherlands, Ireland, France and Australia. They can cost between £10,000 and £30,000 depending on various factors (e.g. duration, geography). Approximately, 12-25 participants are assembled for 2 to 5 days to discuss an issue and produce a collective recommendation or 'verdict'. CJs can be designed to provide jurors with some control over the process including choice of witness experts and the nature of interaction with them.

Consensus Conferences

2.3 The Danish Board of technology devised Consensus Conferences (CCs) in the late 1980s in order to advise parliamentarians on science and technology issues. Although they originated in Denmark, and the vast majority have been held there, they have been employed in a number of countries including Australia, Argentina, New Zealand, Korea, Israel, Japan, Canada, UK and the USA. They cost between £30,000 and £100,000 and involve 10-25 citizens selected by stratified random sampling. Danish consensus conferences, are divided into two stages. Firstly, citizens meet for a series of preparatory weekends to learn about the topic, the process, and the group, and to select the experts and interest groups from a list to advise and present to the citizens in the second stage of the conference. The second stage lasts around four days and the citizens hear the presentations from their selected advocates and experts before questioning them and then compiling a collective report which outlines their collective decision. Both consensus conferences and CJs (at least in the USA) use an external advisory committee that selects the citizens, compiles the list of experts from which the citizens choose, develops information packs and selects facilitators. This committee tends to be made up of academics, practitioners, issue experts, and interest group representatives.

Planning Cells

2.4 Planning cells (PCs) originated in Germany and were created by Peter Dienel, of the Research Institute for Citizens' Participation at the University of Wuppertal in Germany in the 1970s. PCs have predominantly been held on urban planning in Germany but also in Austria, Switzerland, Spain and the USA. They cost between US £90,000 and £120,000. A series of Planning cells, usually 6-10, with about 25 citizens participating in each run concurrently on the same issue for about four days, usually resulting in 100-500 citizens

Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)

participating in total. This is not exclusive to PCs as CJs have also been run concurrently on the same issues, but where it is the norm with PCs it is an exception for CJs. They are also facilitated differently to CJs and CCs, with the facilitators more likely to be issue rather than process specialists. The planning cell convenors then aggregate all the preferences across all the cells into a report, which is then approved by a selection of the citizens from the various cells, before being published and distributed to relevant decision-makers and stakeholders.

Deliberative Polls

2.5 The deliberative poll was first set up by James Fishkin and the Center for Deliberative Polling in 1988. A deliberative Poll (DP) with its more representative 130-500 sample is designed to show what the public *would* think about the issues if it had time to learn about them and consider a range of perspectives. The first ever DP in the world was held in the UK in 1994, since then they have been run in many countries including Canada, USA, Denmark, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Brazil, Australia and China, as well as in transnational contexts (i.e. European Union). They cost approximately £200,000. The process involves taking a probability sample of voters, surveying their opinions on an issue, sending them balanced information about the topic in question, gathering them together to discuss the issues with each other in small groups and with a balanced range of experts in plenary sessions, and then surveying their opinions again. Ideally they are televised, or at least receive broad media coverage to contribute to informing the broader public. The participants' preferences are aggregated, as they are not required to come to a collective decision themselves, through deliberation, as in CJs and CCs.

Citizens' Assemblies

2.6 Citizens' Assemblies (CAs) are the newest (since 2004) and potentially the most radical and democratically robust of all the mini-public types developed to date. They are difficult to assess as there have only been a handful of cases, notably in British Columbia, Ontario (both in Canada), the Netherlands and Ireland. The two Canadian cases preceded a referendum on electoral reform, for which the assembly determined the options on the referendum, as well as making recommendations for the referendum outcome. In the Dutch case the citizens' recommendation was passed to the government for consideration. The Irish case is the most recent, and it was innovative because it included not only citizens but also parliamentarians working with them. One of the well-known outcomes was the referendum on same-sex marriage. An assembly can last months or even a year. The cases so far have typically assembled 100-160 participants. In all the assemblies the citizens were selected randomly from the electoral register, a further random selection is then made from those who express an interest in participating, meaning they are not strictly a random sample. Nevertheless, it is still considered that all these assemblies were representative of the broader population in terms of age, gender and geographical location. The process progresses in three phases: the learning phase which takes several weekends and enables participants to get to grips with the complexities of the issues under consideration, the

Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)

consultation phases where the randomly chosen citizens run public hearings in their local constituencies to gather information and opinions from other members of the public, and the deliberative phase when the citizens discuss the evidence and agree their final proposal. Following the deliberation, a vote amongst the participants is usually conducted to decide a final outcome of the assemblies.

Table 1- Key features of mini-publics

	<i>Citizen juries</i>	<i>Planning Cells</i>	<i>Consensus conferences</i>	<i>Deliberative polls</i>	<i>Citizen assemblies</i>
<i>Developed by (first instance)</i>	Crosby (USA, 1971)	Dienel (Germany., 1970s)	Danish Board of Technology (1987)	James Fishkin (USA, 1994)	Gordon Gibson (Canada, 2002)
<i>No. of citizens</i>	12-26	100-500	10-25	100-500	100-160
<i>No. of meetings</i>	2-5 days	4-5 days	7-8 days	2-3 days	20-30 days
<i>Selection method</i>	Random selection	Random selection	Random + self-selection	Random selection	Random + self-selection
<i>Activities</i>	Information + deliberation	Information + deliberation	Information + deliberation	Information + deliberation	Information +consultation +deliberation
<i>Result</i>	Collective position report	Survey opinions + Collective position report	Collective position report	Survey opinions	Detailed recommendation
<i>Destination of proposal</i>	Sponsor and mass media	Sponsor and mass media	Parliament and mass media	Sponsor and mass media	Parliament, government and public referendum

Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)

Source: Elstub, S. (2014) in Elstub, S. and McLaverty, P. (Eds.), *Deliberative Democracy: Issues and Cases*, Edinburgh University Press. (Table based on Fournier 2011: 11)

3. How do mini-publics work?

Typically, a mini-public comprises five stages:

3.1 Planning and recruitment. Usually, a Stewarding Committee oversees the process to ensure its quality and fairness. For instance, in the Canadian Citizens' Assemblies on Electoral Reform, the Committee included academics and public figures from a range of backgrounds and opposing views. Often, mini-publics deal with divisive topics, and thus their legitimacy and impact hinge on the buy-in from a range of voices across divides – as well as the public standing of their guarantors, stewards and funders.

3.2 Learning phase. Participants are supported to learn about the topic from diverse perspectives. This can be done by combining time for individual learning (e.g. citizens receive information packages agreed by the Stewarding Committee), with time for group learning. During the latter, they are exposed to a range of evidence, views and testimonies covering the topic from various angles. Depending on the topic, this may include experts, officials, politicians, activists, and stakeholder representatives of various sorts (e.g. business, third sector, communities). Participants are empowered to interrogate these 'witnesses', and sometimes to choose them from a list prepared by the Stewarding Committee – who oversees that the mini-public is exposed to a balanced range of evidence and views.

3.3 Deliberative phase. Aided by impartial facilitators and recorders, participants then engage in small group face-to-face deliberation where they reconsider their initial ideas on the topic in the light of the evidence and testimonies from the learning phase, but also with respect to the arguments and experiences of their fellow deliberators.

3.4 Decision-making phase. The learning and deliberative work from previous stages enables participants to engage in considered judgement and informed decision-making. Depending on the topic, and the type of mini-public, this may lead to a particular recommendation or decision, which must be articulated through reasoned arguments in the final report or statement. That is the case in consensus-oriented mini-publics such as Citizens' Juries – which, like court juries, respond to a 'charge' – as well as Consensus Conferences and Citizen Assemblies. In research-focussed mini-publics, such as Deliberative Polls, the aim is not to reach consensus, but to measure through pre- and post- surveys how citizens' preferences may change through learning and deliberation.

3.5 Follow up. The focus in this stage is impact. Ideally, the mini-public has already been in the 'public eye' from its inception. One way to ensure impact is to involve key public figures and broadcasters in the process and Stewarding Committee. In this final stage,

the outcomes and outputs of the mini-public are shared through all relevant networks, thus informing broader public deliberation and decision-making.

4. What is the point of mini-publics?

4.1 Mini-publics seek to answer a fundamental question: How would the public deal with an issue if they had the time and resources to learn and deliberate about it in order to reach an informed decision? As a method, it counters the criticism that survey research only provides snapshots of uninformed opinion by members of the public who may know little about an issue, or may not have even thought about it. Surveys are excellent to aggregate individual knowledge and opinion, but don't help to foster evidence-informed public deliberation, nor provide insight into the development of citizenship skills and social learning. Mini-publics can also avoid some typical pitfalls in public engagement processes, including:

- *Self-selection and lack of representativeness.* Most engagement methods attract self-selected participants of certain demographic characteristics, and struggle to reach a cross-section of the population.
- *Poor quality of interaction and communication.* In mini-publics, expert facilitation is instrumental to avoid the usual problems of many forums: dominant voices, silenced views, confrontational dynamics, lack of thinking time (reflex responses), shallow exchanges, rehearsed monologues, pre-packaged arguments, lack of opportunities to learn about diverse views, and so on (see Escobar 2011).
- *Need for division of labour.* Not everyone can participate in everything all the time. Mini-publics can function as proxies for the broader public, and citizens can use them as points of reference for their deliberations, e.g.: 'I don't have the time to engage substantially with this issue, but these recommendations were prepared by citizens like myself, so...' Good examples of this are the recent Citizens' Initiative Review model in Oregon and California, where citizens examine new proposed legislation and distil the pros and cons into a booklet that goes to every household prior to a ballot.

4.2 Mini-publics can also contribute to the development of a range of other democratic goods such as encouraging longer term levels of civic engagement; developing the capacity (self-efficacy) of 'ordinary' citizens to learn, deliberate and decide on complex issues; and providing an opportunity for citizens to learn and consider evidence on complex public policy problems. Our own research findings (having conducted 7 mini-publics³¹²) resonate strongly with a core message from decades of research on such participatory processes. Namely: when citizens are given the time, resources and support to learn and deliberate about public issues, they can engage with complex debates and collectively make considered judgements.

³¹² See for example Roberts and Escobar (2015) or more recently: <http://www.healthinequalities.net>

Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)

4.3 If citizens' capacity is not in question, how about institutional capacity? Are our institutions fit for involving citizens? Here we face the problem of scale, or what Dahl (1998:109) calls the "law of time and numbers": "The more citizens a democratic unit contains, the less that citizens can participate directly in government decisions and the more that they must delegate authority to others". This partly explains why our democracy relies so much on intermediaries – i.e. people who speak on behalf of others.

4.4 This is not a problem in the case of elected representatives insofar they are deemed to have a democratic mandate to speak on behalf of citizens. However, there are myriad other influential players involved in contemporary policymaking, including those who claim to speak on behalf of certain publics or communities of place, practice and/or interest. Their role makes consultation somewhat easier because it provides identifiable interlocutors that can be brought around a table. Another advantage is that they can develop specialist knowledge and expertise on the relevant issues. How else can the undefined and (sometimes) uninformed public be brought into the process? Nevertheless, citizens in democracies around the world are becoming more educated, more critical and less deferential to traditional notions of authority – the level of civic aspiration and expectation is on the rise (Norris 2011) and citizens may feel underrepresented or misrepresented in a democracy overly reliant on intermediaries.

4.5 Decision makers willing to collaborate directly with citizens and communities thus face the challenges of scale and expertise. Mini-publics are one of many democratic innovations that seek to overcome those challenges. Mini-publics address the problem of scale by involving small but diverse groups of citizens. They are selected by lot, so that everyone has an equal probability of participating, which reduces the self-selection bias that gives undue influence to small sections of the population. Mini-publics also address the challenge of expertise by including an Information Phase to enable participants to develop an understanding of the issues to engage in informed deliberation. These features give mini-publics a democratic edge over traditional public consultation processes.

5. Using mini-publics in Parliament

5.1 Mini-publics can provide a unique bridge between citizens, experts and law makers. On the one hand, mini-publics can work as a direct advisory body to parliamentarians, articulating judgements and recommendations based on deliberation that draws on diverse views, knowledge and experiences. On the other, mini-publics can support communities to engage with decision-making in at least two ways. As part of the process, participants can be supported to act as facilitators of public forums in their communities, thus bringing into the mini-public a range of local perspectives. In this way, the deliberative process is expanded beyond the group of people serving at the mini-public. The mini-public thus becomes a catalyst for a broader public engagement process, which contributes to enrich the pool of arguments considered, while stimulating deliberation in communities. Mini-publics can also

Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)

support communities by functioning as ‘trusted proxies’ or ‘honest brokers’ that clear the ground by distilling the pros, cons and trade-offs of an issue or law into balanced information that can be shared with local communities as a resource and stimulus for participation. A similar logic has been applied in Oregon as part of their ballot initiative system for new legislation (Gastil et al 2014).

5.2 This triple function (advisor, catalyst, honest broker) may be a starting point for institutional design. We avoid being too prescriptive here, because adapting and embedding mini-publics into existing democratic procedures will require the know-how of institutional entrepreneurs grounded in the context of Parliament. Some of the existing generic suggestions that Parliament could consider include utilising mini-publics to contribute to the preparation of draft legislation and to supplement parliamentary debates, with the hope that the mini-publics will have ‘a significant influence on the outcome of parliamentary debates’ (Steiner 2014). In addition, they could also scrutinise the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government (Leib 2004) and review and revise government legislation. This could be achieved by enabling mini-publics to formally feed into the select committee process (Hendriks and Kay 2017).

6. Frequently asked questions

How do citizens feel about mini-publics?

6.1 A recent study by Chwalisz (2015) suggests that citizens are open and supportive of the idea of using mini-publics. In our research (Roberts and Escobar 2015), the citizens involved became enthusiastic supporters of the process. This is no indication of what non-participants may think, but suggests that using mini-publics more frequently may foster a virtuous circle of support for using mini-publics. In our research, after experiencing the process, 93% of participants thought that citizens are able to make decisions on complex issues. Participants highlighted three necessary conditions for their trust in the process: diversity of views, quality of evidence and effective facilitation. These are conditions that can be approached to a high standard in mini-publics.

6.2 Our research also shows that participants had confidence that another group of citizens involved in a similar process would produce similar recommendations. Participants placed great trust in fellow citizens and also indicated that if authorities used mini-publics in decision-making the outcomes would be fairer. It appears that people may well accept an outcome which they did not agree to if they have confidence that it was reached through a fair process. Similar findings are seen in experimental research on (court) jury deliberations, which indicate that ‘procedural justice’ – i.e. the perception that the decision-making process was fair – leads to increased support for the group’s decision (Delli Carpini et al 2004:327).

How do interest groups feel about mini-publics?

Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)

6.3 A key aspect of mini-publics is that they seek to recast the role of interest groups in decision-making. The goal of public deliberation is “to improve the legitimacy of democracy by making democratic institutions systematically responsive to reasons, not just the weight of numbers or the power of interests” (Parkinson 2012:170). Mini-publics use random selection to ensure diversity and thus “reduce the influence of elites, interest advocates and the ‘incensed and articulate’” (Hendriks 2011: Location 945). However, mini-publics should not be seen as a way of bypassing, co-opting or placating activists and advocates. Indeed, interest advocates play a central role in this type of process, as Stewarding Committee members and/or as witnesses who present evidence and arguments. What changes in mini-publics is the interactive setting where advocates scrutinise each other and the mode of engagement between advocates and citizens.

What is the role of elected representatives?

6.4 Elected representatives have a crucial role to play in convening and working closely with mini-publics. For instance, elected members may commission a mini-public as the advisory body and focal point of a broader public engagement process for the scrutiny or development of new legislation or policy. Elected members would be responsible to take the recommendations into parliamentary committees to inform deliberations and final decisions at Westminster.

6.5 Another option is to include representatives working alongside citizens in the mini-public. However, this may present risks to the quality of interaction and deliberation. For instance, the risk that some politicians may dominate the discussions, that citizens may feel less comfortable contributing and that interaction may become characterised by partisan competition and rhetoric rather than meaningful deliberation. Nonetheless, some evidence that mixing citizens and representatives can work well has been found in mini-publics in Italy (Fiket and Memoli, 2013:139) and Ireland (Honohan 2014), but this is an area that deserves further research.

6.6 Mini-publics may offer welcome assistance to elected members facing the multiple challenges of representing citizens in a context of declining trust in politics and public institutions. Collaborating with mini-publics may add transparency, accountability and deliberative power to their work, and potentially build public trust and perceived legitimacy for their decisions. Deliberative public engagement may also help to overcome the challenge of ensuring that citizens judge legislation and decisions on their merits, rather than on partisan cues. Arguably, mini-publics could increase deliberative quality by functioning as ‘honest brokers’ that citizens and communities can rely on to evaluate competing arguments – and this offers an additional resource to the cues that citizens already receive from their preferred political party.

And what about accountability and legitimacy?

Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)

6.7 Is it democratic to give such powers (e.g. knowledge brokering, direct advice to legislators) to citizen forums without traditional lines of accountability? Deliberative theorists understand accountability as a matter of ‘giving an account’ for the reasons that underpin a decision (Gutmann and Thompson 1996: Chapter 4). Accountability is thus underpinned by the principle of justification, which presses those engaged in deliberation to make decisions that can be reasonably justified to those bound or affected by them.

6.8 If mini-publics are used as part of a legislative process, at least four lines of accountability can be at play. Firstly, participants scrutinise each other’s arguments and reasons thus holding each other accountable. Secondly, they can also be made accountable to their communities by having to publicly justify the mini-public’s conclusions. If, as mentioned earlier, participants are supported to facilitate forums in their communities, and feed broader views into the mini-public, then a crucial step is to return to the community and give a reasoned account of the results. This publicity and transparency thus makes the mini-public more accountable. Thirdly, organisers and facilitators can be accountable to the Stewarding Committee that oversees the fairness of the process. Finally, the Stewarding Committee and the participants are ultimately accountable to the convening body – and if this is a representative institution like Parliament, then the circle of accountability can be formally closed with the ultimate decision-making power in the hands of elected members. Therefore, mini-publics can be designed to ensure accountability, both in deliberative and representative terms. Nevertheless, the lack of traditional accountability (i.e. a principal-agent bond between an individual and a constituency) can actually give an advantage to mini-publics in terms of deliberative quality: “randomly selected participants have few or no obligations to a constituency and are therefore free to consider the arguments on all sides of the debate” (Hendriks 2011: Location 950).

6.9 Ultimately, the perceived legitimacy of mini-publics as democratic bodies will depend greatly on how the story of legitimacy is told. And here is where the role of the media is essential. Unfortunately, there has been scarce attention to the importance of the media in developing democratic innovations. New democratic practices require new media narratives, and these may be prevented if mini-publics are covered using the tropes of traditional political reporting (i.e. ‘winners and losers’, ‘governing by focus group’, citizen involvement as an ‘abdication of responsibility’). The value of mini-publics is amplified when their work and conclusions can become a stimulus for broader public deliberation via the media. Otherwise, they can be rendered as isolated instances, rather than integral parts of a deliberative system. The more mini-publics are used routinely in Parliamentary activities, the more media attention they are likely to attract. The media have an important role to play in terms of scrutiny – but again, the standards for this must be appropriate for deliberative processes, rather than simply borrowed from the world of partisan politics.

Aren’t these innovations too expensive?

Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)

6.10 Mini-publics have been used in the UK before, but have not become part of mainstream public engagement. As Smith (2009:106) explains, there was some enthusiasm at the start of the 1997 New Labour government, but the Cabinet Office responded to increasing calls for mini-publics arguing that they are too expensive. In 2001, the House of Commons Select Committee on Public Administration reiterated support for mini-publics arguing that the government’s argument “fails to take account of the cost – sometimes a very high cost – which can be attached to rushed decisions based on contested scientific judgements” (quoted in Smith 2009:106). However, price must be placed in the context of value. If mini-publics are framed and designed as ‘add-ons’, rather than as integral part of the parliamentary system, then they can be seen as expensive

6.11 There are ways of reducing the price of mini-publics. They are costly partly because they are not systematically used. If they were to be mainstreamed, there are economies of scale and savings to be made by developing in-house expertise and resources on the most expensive aspects (e.g. recruitment; facilitation; design; logistics). Besides, it may be also a question of shifting the overall approach to public engagement – i.e. instead of carrying out hundreds of consultations, resources could be shifted to fewer but higher quality deliberative processes on the most pressing issues. Moreover, if they help improve decision-making, as the House of Commons Public Administration Committee argued, the price tag may become small compared to the return on investment. In this vein, institutional entrepreneurs may be able to reframe ‘price’ as a matter of ‘investment’ in deepening democracy to achieve better outcomes for the UK.

And how about public apathy?

6.12 There is an ongoing research debate about the extent to which citizens are actually willing to participate more actively in politics and policymaking –or whether they would rather leave it to trusted elites and intermediaries (see Hibbing and Theiss-Morse 2002; Neblo et al 2010). Sometimes ‘public apathy’ is invoked to justify the status quo although, as Eliasoph (1998) has argued, public apathy is not a natural occurrence and takes hard work to produce. From this perspective, the problem is not that citizens are apathetic, but rather that our democratic systems may have become proficient at generating apathy.

6.13 Our research (e.g. Roberts and Escobar 2015) has shown that citizens of all backgrounds can enjoy addressing complex issues when they are adequately supported to do so as part of a fair and engaging process. This echoes research showing that people “really do like politics, if given the chance to properly engage with it, at least under deliberative contexts” (Curato and Niemeyer 2013:375). The UK has a vibrant public sphere, rich in political talk across civic networks, public forums, church halls, pubs, kitchen tables... The question is whether the benefits of public deliberation can and should be harnessed more systemically to improve parliamentary work.

7. Conclusion

Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)

7.1 Mini-publics can provide citizens with new opportunities to participate in the parliamentary process in the UK. Because they use random selection to recruit citizen participants they are particularly successful at ensuring a diversity of participants are engaged including those from BME groups and others that are typically less politically engaged. Different types of mini-public can be used in different contexts, for example different policy issues or various stages of the legislative process. The mini-public model offers the only way we know to answer a key question: How would an informed cross-section of the public assess new legislation after balanced learning, substantial deliberation and considered judgement? This is not to suggest that mini-publics are the only relevant type of innovation that can increase citizen engagement and open up opportunities for citizen influence on public policy and legislation. Nevertheless, they do provide distinct and unique advantages and can be used in combination with other new and traditional forms of participation and representation that already exist in the UK.

7.2 In terms of broader impact, mini-publics can contribute to raise the level of public dialogue and deliberation in various ways. In current debates, it is common to hear concerns about the ‘uninformed public’, the ‘distorting media context’, and the lack of opportunities to ‘get a fair hearing’ for all perspectives. Furthermore, citizens can also feel uninspired to engage with public issues due to a lack of safe spaces for learning and deliberation, and the absence of new and trusted points of reference to guide their judgements. A robust mini-public can provide that ‘safe space’ and ‘trusted point of reference’. The impact of a mini-public is not necessarily limited to the selected citizens, those involved through internet channels that feed into the process, or those reached by outputs or through the media. There is a ‘capacity-building’ dimension that can further multiply the effects of the process. For instance, everyone involved (participants, organisers, experts, witnesses, etc) can learn new ways of working through collaborative inquiry and deliberative communication, and take that back to their respective workplaces and communities. In particular, there is scope for including a training programme in facilitation skills not only for the facilitators but also for everyone involved. In the British Columbia Citizens Assembly on Electoral Reform, for example, participants were encouraged to facilitate public hearings in their communities – spread across the province- so that they could then bring a range of other views to inform deliberations at the mini-public.

7.3 In sum, mini-publics are innovative in their principles, methodology and outcomes, and can help to improve citizen engagement and deliberation at Westminster and beyond. Drawing on existing evidence from the UK and around the world, the Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement is uniquely placed to consider how these deliberative innovations may deepen and strengthen our democracy.

Bibliography

- Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)
- Ackerman, B. A. & Fishkin, J. S. (2005) *Deliberation Day*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Bächtiger, André and John Parkinson (2014) *Mapping and Measuring Deliberation. Micro and macro knowledge of deliberative quality, dynamics and contexts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chwalisz, C. (2015), *The populist signal: Why politics and democracy need to change*, London: Rowman & Littlefield International; Policy Network.
- Curato, N. and Niemeyer, S. (2013) Reaching out to overcome political apathy: Building participatory capacity through deliberative engagement, *Politics & Policy*, 41, 355-383.
- Dahl, R. A. (1989), *Democracy and its critics*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dahl, R. A. (1998), *On democracy*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Delli Carpini, M. X. D., F. L. Cook, & L. R. Jacobs. (2004), 'Public deliberation, discursive participation, and citizen engagement: A review of the empirical literature', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7, 315-344.
- Dienel, P. C. (1999), 'Planning Cells: The German experience', in U. Khan (Ed.), *Participation beyond the ballot box: European case studies in state-citizen political dialogue*, London: UCL Press, pp. 81-93.
- Eliasoph, N. (1998) *Avoiding politics. How Americans produce apathy in everyday life*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Elstub, S. (2014), 'Mini-publics: Issues and cases', in S. Elstub & P. McLaverty (eds.), *Deliberative democracy: Issues and cases*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Elstub, S. and McLaverty, P. (Eds.) (2014), *Deliberative Democracy: Issues and Cases*, Edinburgh University Press.
- Elstub, S. and Escobar, O. (Eds.) (forthcoming), *The Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance*, Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar.
- Escobar, O. (2011) *Public Dialogue and Deliberation*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh Beltane, UK Beacons for Public Engagement.
- Fiket, I. and Memoli, V. (2013), Improving the quality of democracy: The case of Deliberative Poll held in 2007 in Turin. In: Geissel, B. & Joas, M. (eds.) *Participatory democratic innovations in Europe: Improving the quality of democracy?* Berlin; Toronto: Barbara Budrich Publishers.
- Fishkin, J. (2009) *When the People Speak: Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland) – written evidence (CCE0125)
- Fournier, P., van der Kolk, H. & Carty, R. K. (2011) *When Citizens Decide: Lessons from Citizen Assemblies on Electoral Reform*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gastil, J., R. Richards, & K. Knobloch. (2014), 'Vicarious deliberation: How the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review influenced deliberation in mass elections', *International Journal of Communication*, 8, 62-89.
- Goodin, R. E. (2008) *Innovating Democracy: Democratic Theory and Practice After the Deliberative Turn*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grönlund, K., A. Bächtiger, & M. Setälä (eds.) (2014), *Deliberative mini-publics: Involving citizens in the democratic process*, Colchester, UK: ECPR Press.
- Gutmann, A. and Thompson, D. (1996) *Democracy and disagreement*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hendriks, C. M. (2011) *The politics of public deliberation: citizen engagement and interest advocacy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hendriks, C. M. & Kay, A. (2017) 'From "opening-up" to democratic renewal: Deepening public engagement in legislative committees', *Government & Opposition*.
- Hibbing, J. R. & Theiss-Morse, E. (2002) *Stealth democracy: Americans' beliefs about how government should work*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Honohan, I. (2014) *What can the UK learn from the Irish constitutional convention?* [Online]. openDemocracy.
- Leib, E. J. (2004) *Deliberative Democracy in America: A Proposal for a Popular Branch of Government*, University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Neblo, M. A., Esterling, K. M., Kennedy, R. P., Lazer, D. M. J. & Sokhey, A. E. (2010) Who wants to deliberate -And why? *American Political Science Review*, 104, 1-18.
- Norris, P. (2011), *Democratic deficit: Critical citizens revisited*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Parkinson, J. (2012) Democratizing deliberative systems. In: Parkinson, J. & Mansbridge, J. (eds.) *Deliberative systems: Deliberative democracy at the large scale*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, J., & Escobar, O. (2015), 'Involving communities in deliberation: A study of three citizens' juries on onshore wind farms in Scotland'. Edinburgh: ClimateXChange and The University of Edinburgh.
- Smith, G. (2009) *Democratic innovations: Designing institutions for citizen participation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Steiner, J. (2004) *Deliberative Politics in Action: Analyzing Parliamentary Discourse*. Cambridge University Press.

Steiner, J. (2004) 'Sequencing deliberative democracy to promote public openness', in S. Elstub & P. McLaverty (eds.), *Deliberative democracy: Issues and cases*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Warren, M. E. & Pearse, H. (2008) *Designing Deliberative Democracy. The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

8 September 2017

Equality and Human Rights Commission – written evidence (CCE0183)

Executive summary

1. The Equality and Human Rights Commission (the Commission) welcomes this opportunity to contribute to the call for evidence of the Lords Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement. Our submission focuses on the role of human rights and equality in education to encourage good citizenship, and sets out recommendations to enhance the curriculum in this regard.
2. The Commission considers that human rights provide a comprehensive global framework of universal values that we share in the United Kingdom. Human rights underpin a society that respects the dignity and worth of every individual, and are at the heart of the values we hold dear as a country. Britain has a long history of upholding people's rights, valuing diversity and challenging intolerance. At this moment of significant constitutional change, it is vital that the government sets out a positive vision for the kind of country we want to be after we leave the European Union, and puts in place measures that build on our heritage of respect and inclusion and ensure we are a country that benefits everyone.
3. Education about human rights and equality creates space in schools for students to learn about rights and responsibilities, and to discuss decisions made by public bodies that will impact on their lives. Human rights and equality education can enable and encourage young people to take a full part in our democratic society and promote meaningful civic engagement. Learning about rights, such as freedom of expression and the right to free

elections, helps individuals better appreciate the role they can play in a democratic society.³¹³ Moreover, an essential element of human rights and equality education is the understanding and valuing of diversity, which can foster intercultural dialogue and promote social cohesion, a pursuit which is vital in the context of the divisions generated during the EU Referendum and the subsequent spike in hate crime incidents.³¹⁴

4. The Commission considers that comprehensive teaching of human rights and equality can help instil shared values in young people, tackle prejudiced attitudes about difference, and give children an understanding of the value that human rights can bring in building a society based on fairness and mutual respect. Whilst there are examples of good human rights and equality teaching, we believe there is a need for better and more comprehensive coverage of these issues in the school curriculum.

Creating a rights-respecting culture in schools and beyond

5. As we prepare to leave the EU, it is important that we consider the kind of country we want to be and set a positive vision for our future and prosperity. Building on our heritage of respect and inclusion, the Commission is encouraging all political parties to protect and promote equality and human rights in the UK. Our ‘5 point plan’ for equality and human rights after Brexit sets out concrete steps to build on the UK’s strong legal framework and bring the nation together behind shared values.³¹⁵ In this context, it is vital that we also work with young people to show that our values of respect, fairness and challenging intolerance are central to our national identity. Human rights teaching can provide a more comprehensive framework for achieving this than a sole focus on ‘British values’, which are narrowly defined as ‘democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different

³¹³ “People vote if they believe that their votes count, which is ultimately determined by the level and type of political education that citizens receive”, see OSCE ODIHR (2015) Promoting and Increasing Youth Political Participation and Civic Engagement in the OSCE Region. [Online] Available at: <http://www.osce.org/odihr/155691?download=true>

³¹⁴ There was a 57 per cent increase in reporting of hate crime to the police online reporting portal, True Vision, compared with the same period in the previous month, with 85 reports made from Thursday 23 June to Sunday 26 June compared with 54 reports in the corresponding four days in May. True Vision is a third-party hate crime reporting website supported by all police forces in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. (Karen Bradley, 29 June 2016. Available at: <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2016-06-29/debates/16062966000002/HateCrime>).

Unfortunately, no national statistics on the prevalence of racist/religiously motivated incidents in English schools have been available since 2010/11, when the Department for Education removed the requirement on schools to report racist incidents to their local authority. We have consistently called for improvements in the recording and reporting of all forms of identity-based bullying in all schools across Great Britain.

³¹⁵ EHRC (2017) Healing the divisions: A positive vision for equality and human rights in Britain. [Online] Available at: <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/publication-download/healing-divisions-positive-vision-equality-and-human-rights-britain>

faiths and beliefs'.³¹⁶ This restrictive definition implies that those outside of Britain may not share these values, and that the full range of universal human rights are not British values, to potentially harmful effect on social and community cohesion at home, and our reputation abroad.

6. Recent evidence suggests that children are still victims of prejudice-based bullying, in particular because of their race, ethnicity or religion.³¹⁷ The United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child has expressed concern that identity-based bullying is a widespread problem in the UK. It has highlighted the need for awareness raising and training to ensure the school environment reflects the principles of human rights, peace, tolerance, dignity and respect, and that efforts to tackle bullying and violence in schools should be intensified, including through human rights education.³¹⁸ This is particularly important given the rise of cyberbullying, particularly on the basis of people's protected characteristics.³¹⁹

7. Human rights education aims to build an understanding of and appreciation for human rights that can instil young people with positive and open-minded attitudes, which is increasingly important in our ever more diverse society. It enables learners to acquire the knowledge and skills to defend their own rights, and settle disagreements in a manner that respects the rights of others. Human rights education can create a valuable framework for good inter-personal relations and for helping young people become active citizens and make

³¹⁶ Ofsted (2015) School Inspection Handbook, p.35. [Online] Available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/553942/School_inspection_handbook-section_5.pdf

³¹⁷ Ditch the Label (2015) Annual Bullying Survey 2015. [Online] Available at:

<http://www.ditchthelabel.org/annual-bullying-survey-2015>

In Scottish Education Authorities who provided data for 2011-12 and 2012-13, 112/681 and 123/569 recorded incidents of prejudice-based bullying were on grounds of race or ethnicity. Dennell, B. and Logan, C. (2015) Prejudiced-based bullying in Scottish schools: A research report. Equality and Human Rights Commission. [Online] Available at: <http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/publication/prejudice-based-bullying-scottish-schools-research-report>

³¹⁸ UN CRC Committee (2008) Concluding observations: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. [Online] Available at: www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/crc/docs/AdvanceVersions/CRC.C.GBR.CO.4.pdf.

For instance, in a 2014 survey of teachers, more than half of secondary school teachers said that they did not challenge the use of homophobic language every time they heard it, see Guasp, A., Ellison, G., Satara, T. (2014), 'The Teachers' Report 2014: Homophobic bullying in Britain's schools'. Stonewall. [Online] Available at:

http://www.stonewall.org.uk/at_school/education_for_all/quick_links/education_resources/9726.asp

³¹⁹ The nine protected characteristics established in UK law are: age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, and sexual orientation.

See also Estyn (2014) Action on bullying: A review of the effectiveness of action taken by schools to address bullying on the grounds of pupils' protected characteristics. [Online] Available at:

<https://www.estyn.gov.wales/sites/default/files/documents/Action%20on%20bullying%20-%20June%202014.pdf>

"The emergence of cyberbullying appears to have created forms of bullying that are unfamiliar to some staff; best practice examples identify where staff have kept up-to-date with technologies, developing an understanding of their potential for misuse."

balanced, informed choices. For example, research suggests that, where schools have adopted a rights-based approach to education (focusing on rights, respect and responsibility), it has led to enhanced citizenship values and behaviours,³²⁰ and that a ‘child rights approach’ in particular can “empower both adults and children to take action to advocate for and apply these at the family, school, community, national and global levels”.³²¹

8. Education about equality is also essential, so that young people can learn about their rights, and understand both how they should be treated and how they should treat others as part of an open, democratic society. Teaching these topics in schools creates a safe place for students to explore, discuss, challenge and form their own opinions and values. Analysis of Unicef’s ‘Rights Respecting Schools Award’ contains strong evidence that the knowledge and respect of rights that students gain from this, combined with understanding, respect and tolerance for difference, can empower them to tackle prejudice, reduce bullying and prejudice-based bullying, improve relationships and make the most of their lives.³²²

9. Teaching human rights and equality also helps schools and teachers to deliver their legal duties under the Equality Act 2010 and Human Rights Act 1998. Under the Equality Act 2010, maintained schools and academies, including free schools, must have due regard to the public sector equality duty. This means that they must take active steps to identify and address issues of discrimination where there is evidence of prejudice, harassment or victimisation, lack of understanding, disadvantage, or lack of participation for individuals with protected characteristics. They must also have due regard to advancing equality of opportunity and fostering good relations between different people when carrying out their activities. Under the Human Rights Act 1998, public authorities, including schools, also have a legal duty to act in a way that is compatible with the European Convention on Human Rights. Developing students’ understanding of human rights and equality can help to tackle prejudiced and harmful behaviour such as bullying, helping schools and teachers to deliver their legal duties and nurture a generation of rights-respecting citizens.

10. In the context of schools’ duties to put systems in place to identify and address extremism,³²³ human rights teaching can be an effective tool to protect young people’s safety and freedom. Concerns have been raised that the Prevent duty is sometimes being implemented in ways that could undermine fundamental rights and freedoms, and stigmatise

³²⁰ Howe, R. B. and Covell, K. (2007) Empowering Children: Children's Rights Education as a Pathway to Citizenship. University of Toronto Press.

³²¹ UNICEF (2014) Child Rights Education Toolkit , p.20. [Online] Available at:

www.unicef.org/crc/files/UNICEF_CRE_Toolkit_FINAL_web_version170414.pdf

³²² Unicef (2016) Impact Report 2016 - Rights Respecting Schools Award. [Online] Available at:

<https://www.unicef.org.uk/rights-respecting-schools/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2017/01/RRSA-Impact-Report-2016.pdf>

³²³ Department for Education guidance (2015) The Prevent duty: Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers. [Online] Available at:

www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/439598/prevent-duty-departmental-advice-v6.pdf

or alienate segments of staff and student populations.³²⁴ Schools should raise awareness of different cultural and religious practices and beliefs, and address the bases of prejudices and stereotyping, including through training on relevant and applicable equality and human rights obligations, in order to fulfil their duties in an effective and proportionate way.

Issues with current teaching

11. Citizenship is often taught alongside personal, social, health and economic (PSHE) education in schools, and the two subjects collectively are the main way in which human rights and equality issues are explicitly incorporated into the school curriculum. However, in England, citizenship is only a compulsory subject at local-authority schools at key stages 3 and 4, and a non-statutory subject with a national framework in primary schools. PSHE education is not currently compulsory.³²⁵ The Commission regrets that citizenship and PSHE are non-statutory at key stages 1 and 2, as it is never too early for children to start learning about identity, respect and tolerance, and healthy relationships.

12. We also have some concerns about the curriculum content as it stands. At present, there is no explicit teaching of equality other than ‘diverse national, regional, religious and ethnic identities’. This is not an accurate reflection of the protections against discrimination set out in UK law, since the Equality Act 2010 establishes nine protected characteristics as age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, and sexual orientation. Department for Education guidance is largely restricted to issues of religion or belief,³²⁶ which is insufficient if teachers are to effectively address discrimination and intensify their efforts to tackle bullying and violence in schools.

13. At key stage 3, the citizenship curriculum covers ‘the precious liberties enjoyed by the citizens of the United Kingdom’. Taken alongside the teaching standards which oblige schools to promote ‘British values’, and the lack of explicit human rights coverage, the wording could be interpreted to suggest that certain human rights are not universal. We are concerned that this may encourage students to believe that those who are not British citizens are not entitled to the same human rights, that it implies that human rights consist only of liberties (and not also positive rights, such as the right to education), or that describing some universal human

³²⁴ EHRC (2017) Delivering the Prevent duty in a proportionate and fair way. [Online] Available at: <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/delivering-the-prevent-duty.pdf>

³²⁵ For the purposes of this submission, the issues we highlight apply to the non-devolved (England) curriculum only.

³²⁶ See Department for Education (2014) on Promoting fundamental British values as part of SMSC [spiritual, moral, social and cultural development] in schools. [Online] Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/380595/SMSC_Guidance_Maintained_Schools.pdf

rights as British constructs creates a form of cultural supremacy. There is currently no mention of human rights in the Department for Education advice on British values.³²⁷

14. Students only learn about ‘human rights and international law’ as part of citizenship education at key stage 4. Research for Unicef suggests that where teaching does not make the link with children’s own rights, they may not learn about what it means to be a rights-holder or duty-bearer.³²⁸ In the absence of such clarity, children may not understand that they enjoy universal rights, including those contained in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), on the basis of simply being human and a child. If children are taught about their own rights, they are less likely to have “the impression that human rights are rights of adults and are mainly violated in faraway regions of the world”.³²⁹

Integrating human rights and equality education into the citizenship curriculum

15. Improvements should be made in order to ensure comprehensive coverage of human rights and equality elements in the school curriculum. We believe that the Committee should strongly consider recommending making citizenship education compulsory in all schools, from key stages 1 through 4, before children begin to formulate stereotyped views of the world, which may limit young people’s aspirations and participation, and propagate inequalities.³³⁰

16. Effective human rights education should help students develop the knowledge and skills, as well the attitudes and behaviours of human rights. Since citizenship education is the main way in which children and adolescents come into contact with human rights and equality in education, it is important that the quality of teaching and resources is enhanced.³³¹ It is vital that students are taught about the universality of human rights so that they understand that these rights belong to everybody, and to dispel the misleading and potentially harmful impression, created by the focus on ‘British values’ and ‘precious liberties’, that non-UK

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Both key components of the ‘child-rights approach’, see Jerome, L., Emerson, L., Lundy, L. and Orr K. (2015)

Teaching and learning about child rights: A study of implementation in 26 countries. Unicef. [Online] Available at: https://www.unicef.org/crc/files/CHILD_RIGHTS_EDUCATION_STUDY_final.pdf

³²⁹ Krappmann, L. (2006) The Rights of the Child as a Challenge to Human Rights Education, *Journal of Social Science Education*, 1. [DOI 10.2390/jsse-v5-i1-1001]. Available online at: <http://www.jsse.org/2006/2006-1/krappmann-child-rights.htm>

³³⁰ EHRC (2011) Research report 71: All things being equal? Equality and Diversity in careers education, information, advice and guidance. [Online] Available at: <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/publication-download/research-report-71-all-things-being-equal-equality-and-diversity-careers>.

For example, progress towards ensuring disabled people’s equal participation in political life has been particularly slow and may even have gone backwards: EHRC (2017) Being disabled in Britain: A journey less equal. [Online] Available at: <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/being-disabled-in-britain.pdf>

³³¹ Howe and Covell (Ibid.) argue that reforming schools and enhancing teacher education are absolutely essential to the creation of a new culture of respect toward children as citizens.

citizens do not enjoy the same human rights. This will help ensure that children understand their own rights and the complexities of balancing rights.

17. Students should be introduced to the principles of equality and non-discrimination as fundamental elements of international human rights law, but also explore in detail the nine protected characteristics contained in UK law to protect people from discrimination and promote equal opportunities.

18. As a signatory to the CRC, the UK is legally obliged (in international law) to teach about children’s rights, yet this requirement is not fully reflected in the school curriculum. UN human rights treaties like the CRC should be given further effect in UK and devolved law to enhance the domestic legal mechanisms for the protection of rights. The UK Government should give due consideration to the CRC when developing new policy or legislation in a way that is adequate and enforceable.³³²

19. Rooting human rights education more firmly within the context of the CRC may also encourage children to engage directly with their own rights, as well as with the rights of others.³³³ Explicit teaching of equality, diversity and non-discrimination within the citizenship curriculum is one way of achieving this.

20. Teaching children about their human rights empowers students to respect the rights of others locally, nationally and globally, and makes them more likely to make informed decisions and be active citizens.³³⁴ For example, Amnesty International has found that engaging schools to make equality, non-discrimination, inclusion, respect and dignity central to their school lives extends beyond the classroom and out into the community, changing the way people think about, and actively participate to address, human rights issues.³³⁵

About the Equality and Human Rights Commission

21. The Equality and Human Rights Commission is a statutory body established under the Equality Act 2006. It operates independently to encourage equality and diversity, eliminate unlawful discrimination, and protect and promote human rights. It contributes to making and keeping Britain a fair society in which everyone, regardless of background, has an equal

³³² EHRC (2016) Children’s Rights in the UK. [Online] Available at:

<https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/file/18726/download?token=mXNH6S2D>

³³³ Krappmann (ibid.) argues that “human rights are valid for children as well, that they have a right to be educated about these rights and to claim these children’s human rights”.

³³⁴ Unicef (2010) Evaluation of Unicef UK’s Rights Respecting Schools Award: Final Report, September 2010. [Online] Available at: <https://www.unicef.org.uk/rights-respecting-schools/about-the-award/rrsa-evaluation-report/>

³³⁵ Amnesty International (2015) Report: Human Rights Friendly Schools learning and impact workshop, 5 to 8 November 2014, Bengaluru, India. [Online] Available at: <https://doc.es.amnesty.org/cgi-bin/ai/BRSCGI.exe/POL3217802015ENGLISH?CMD=VEROBJ&MLKOB=35190240909>

opportunity to fulfil their potential. The Commission enforces equality legislation on age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, and sexual orientation. It encourages compliance with the Human Rights Act 1998 and is accredited by the UN as an 'A status' National Human Rights Institution. Find out more about the Commission's work at: www.equalityhumanrights.com.

8 September 2017

The Equality Trust – written evidence (CCE0091)

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?

A sense of citizenship and an ability to take part in civic engagement are essential elements of social cohesion. The opposite of this would likely be a sense of alienation and an inability to take part in society which is damaging both for those who suffer this and for wider society at large. At its worst, alienation and disengagement can lead to ill health (mental and physical), poor choices and even violence. In broader societal terms, alienation and disengagement can lead to social fragmentation.

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?

The best way to encourage a sense of membership and belonging as well as a constructive, tolerant pride in our society would be to reduce the material differences between us. Vast amounts of academic evidence show that materially more equal countries have a higher level of trust than those that are more unequal as well as being healthier and less antisocial or violent. Trust is the essential bedrock for promoting civic engagement as it creates an atmosphere where people want to leave their homes and socialise with others. Good health is also massively important as it is much harder to travel beyond the front door and feel socially confident when in poor health. Fear of violence, discrimination, and anti-social behaviour is also a huge inhibitor of social interaction.

The UK urgently needs to embark on a national mission to reduce inequality and we strongly advocate that the government commits to a comprehensive Inequality Reduction Strategy, across all its departments, to deliver the fairer, better society we all need. This strategy should also be supported by a public-facing, national, Inequality Commission that can collect and collate evidence from the public and experts on how inequality affects people's everyday lives and how it might best be tackled.

See: <https://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/trust-participation-attitudes-and-happiness>

and: <https://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/about-inequality/spirit-level>

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?

We do not think that citizens can – or should – be compelled towards civic engagement. It is hard to think of a bigger admission of national failure than a state having to compel its citizens to be sociable. Such ideas are best left to totalitarian regimes, not democracies. Citizens should want to be engaged with their society and if they're not then the state

should worry and seek to find out why. As outlined above, we think inequality is the major barrier to civic engagement and we therefore advocate a comprehensive, national, Inequality Reduction Strategy as being the best, long-term policy to promote civic engagement. At a time when there are threats to many employment and other human rights and when the UN Declaration of Human Rights is not being upheld, then it is surely incumbent upon the state to seek to attend to basic human rights before seeking to advocate a new conditionality.

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?

We support the introduction of proportional representation and an elected second chamber, as evidence shows that fair voting systems promote greater equality and greater political engagement.

See: <https://www.makevotesmatter.org.uk/proportional-representation/>

We would also support expanding the franchise to 16 and 17 year olds on the basis that many other entitlements are given to 16 year olds, not least the right to join the Armed Forces.

We also note that the continued existence of the monarchy perpetuates the notion of British people being subjects rather than citizens - and that the current constitutional construction of the UK includes all sorts of inequalities between the home nations. A new, written, federal constitution of equal states that redefined the role of the monarchy could helpfully promote a sense of equal citizenship, and therefore civic engagement, across the UK.

The current electoral system is open to fraud and abuse, we think digital options ought to be explored. The system's aim ought to be to enfranchise the largest number of those eligible to vote.

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?

Some practical and age appropriate political education ought to be included in a statutory PSHE curriculum, to be mandatory (including RSE/SRE) across all types of primary and secondary schools, regardless of status. The proposal to drop Citizenship A Level, suggests that there is currently a lack of serious commitment to this subject.

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?

Voluntary citizenship programmes can have a role to play but their likely success, in terms of

the numbers and diversity of people attracted and the quality of work they do, is more likely to be related to the underlying health and wellbeing of the UK population. Confident and able volunteers are more likely to be found from populations that have high-levels of trust and are well-resourced, educated and healthy in the first place. A materially more equal society is the essential pre-condition here.

We would not support any element of compulsion and would question the value of a public citizenship ceremony as potentially prizing form over content. Political education around the institutions of the UK, the role of democracy and the importance of voting should be considered but we recognise the challenges in doing this in a fair and balanced way.

We question the term ‘active citizen’ and would like to see a definition. We suggest that many of the population are indeed, ‘active citizens’ but are not being measured or evaluated as such. For example, the caring duties family and other members undertake without payment, community action, informal sharing economies etc, all contribute to society.

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?

The national level Inequality Reduction Strategy that we called for earlier in this document could and should be mirrored by Fairness Commissions at local authority level and we note that there have been many such commissions set up in recent years. All policies at national and local level should be designed, wherever possible, to redistribute wealth, income and opportunity as widely as possible so these are not just enjoyed by a relatively small, affluent section of society, which is the case currently.

The Socio-economic Duty (struck out of the Equality Act 2010) that requires public bodies to have regard to socio-economic inequalities should be implemented immediately.

<https://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/%E2%80%98word-must-go-back-legislative-agenda>

Third sector organisations, campaign groups and individuals have a role to play in lobbying for such progressive changes and we are in the process of developing manifestos for national, local and individual level action to encourage this. We have also produced a general activist pack to this end:

<https://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/inequality-not-inevitable-our-new-guide-activists>

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?

Any society should strive for the maximum tolerance, kindness and respect between its citizens and communities as possible. We believe that the best guarantor of such values is to achieve greater material equality between its citizens. Income and wealth determine where people live, where they go to school and what sort of work and life chances they have.

Currently, our material inequality is actively corroding any sense of fellow-feeling as people's life experiences diverge so sharply and they find it difficult to relate to each other. In these circumstances, distrust and suspicion can grow and people and communities can turn in on themselves and become detached and/or resentful.

However, we do not subscribe to the idea of 'Fundamental British Values' that has been promoted by the Government, particularly within education. These values were not particularly British and were in contradiction to the Equality Act 2010. There was also no transparency about how Fundamental British Values had come to be defined.

The big threats to values and to the citizenship of individuals with protected characteristics and those of a lower socio-economic status, are structural racism, sexism, disablism, homo-, bi- and transphobia and discrimination which are embedded within institutions and some parts of society. Some aspects of the media play a part in amplifying structural discrimination and the UK's entrenched inequality embed them further within our society.

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?

Many communities and groups feel left behind because they are, in fact, being left behind. The richest 1,000 people in the UK have as much wealth as the poorest 40% of households and FTSE 100 CEOs routinely earn around £5million a year while the average UK wage is £28k. With the rungs on the ladder this far apart it is little wonder that social mobility is severely lacking according to the government's own Social Mobility Commission. Citizenship is a two-way process; in order for people to engage in a positive way with the state, then the state must engage with its citizens in a positive way and protect and respect them.

This vast material inequality is now beginning to seep through to matters of life and death with life expectancy levels stalling and infant mortality rates beginning to rise. The fact that so much of the nation's wealth is (and is very acutely perceived and felt to be) concentrated in London and the South-East also aggravates this sense of being left behind in other parts of the UK. This is also compounded by disparities in income and wealth between old and young, urban and rural, white and BME communities as well as between men and women – all of which are component parts of our overall economic and social inequality.

The only way to overcome all these divisions between us is to actively plan to reduce them. We need the government to commit to a national mission of economic and social renewal based firmly on reducing the gap between rich and poor in the UK.

See: <https://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/wealth-tracker-2017-0>

and: <https://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/pay-tracker-comparing-ceo-pay-ftse-100-average-pay-and-low-pay-uk>

and: <http://www.bmj.com/content/357/bmj.j2258>

and: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-40608256>

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?

The level of civic engagement is a function of the society around it. Evidence suggests that a materially more equal society is more conducive towards greater civic engagement and this, in turn, is supportive of closer communities.

The less economic inequality there is, the more diverse schools and workplaces will become and different communities will be brought together in common spaces. However, for this to happen at scale, it will require the creation of more mixed communities around those schools and workplaces. And this will only happen if material differences are compressed such that social segregation, by area, is reduced. Both ‘exclusive’ gated communities and so-called ‘sink’ estates must become relics of the past. We need to aim for genuinely mixed communities where income and wealth differences are not stark enough to be noticeable and are therefore unlikely to create misunderstanding, suspicion or resentment between people.

In addition to this, more diverse schools and workplaces (and we would add colleges and universities too) are unlikely to materialise unless our chronic social immobility problem can be fixed and the social classes can mix more than they do now. As the Institute for Fiscal Studies reported in 2011, it will be very hard to improve social mobility without tackling inequality first. We must also tackle structural discrimination in order to break down the hierarchies of power within workplaces and educational establishments. Fewer than 5% of school heads are non-white, and only 13% of teachers are from BME backgrounds.

See: <https://www.ifs.org.uk/publications/5541>

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?

We think that ESOL classes are vitally important to help immigrants settle in the UK and we deplore the cuts to ESOL provision that have occurred in recent years. We support the call for a national, co-ordinated ESOL strategy as demanded by leading educationalists earlier this year:

<http://feweek.co.uk/2017/02/03/education-leaders-call-for-co-ordinated-national-esol-strategy/>

The major problem facing immigrants to the UK at the moment is the poisonous, xenophobic and racist atmosphere generated by some politicians and sections of the media. While these deserve special censure, we also note that very unequal countries, such as the UK, more generally provide a fertile breeding ground for intolerance and downward social discrimination (or scapegoating). In conditions of great inequality, people are forced to consider their own status within the social pecking order and in order to preserve or advance their status there can be a tendency to kick down on those around or below them. Immigrants to the UK tend to suffer from this.

For more on this, see the section on the *Bicycling Reaction*: chapter 12 (pp166-169) *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*.

7 September 2017

Evangelical Alliance – written evidence (CCE0245)

SUMMARY

- *Definitions of Citizenship (Q1-2)*. Evangelical Christians are highly engaged in our society, alongside a range of other groups with different views. Such respectful diversity of opinion, rather than uniformity, is an essential part of twenty-first-century citizenship.
- *Rights and Duties of Citizenship (Q3)*. Reasonable accommodation of religious practices and respect for conscientious objection help religious believers to participate in society. We support the inclusion of a principle of reasonable accommodation in guidance to employers on faith and belief. Free speech is also an essential right for all citizens.
- *Citizenship Education (Q5)*. Citizenship education must avoid an ideal of citizenship that sets itself in opposition to other identities. Instead it must engage with questions of shared citizenship mindful of the traditions and backgrounds of those being educated. Religious literacy is vital to modern citizenship and should be promoted.
- *Citizenship Programmes (Q6)*. Voluntary civic activities are essential for strengthening good citizenship. However, any compulsory national programmes should only be explored after substantial consultation. Any reflection on citizenship should also emphasise strengthening families, within the context of civil society.
- *Civic Engagement (Q7)*. Faith groups make a massive contribution to civil society through social action, as has been widely recognised. They also encourage people to volunteer in other civic roles and participate in our democracy. The Government should celebrate and collaborate with these efforts.
- *British Values (Q8)*. While there is support among evangelicals for reflection on shared values, there are also concerns over any threat to fundamental freedoms. The language of ‘values’ contrasts with tolerance of diverse opinions in the wider UK population. A better focus may be on shared virtues and norms of behaviour.
- *Marginalised Communities (Q9)*. While fierce disagreement is essential to our democracy, the place of religious believers in public life is sometimes questioned because of their views. This is profoundly alienating for the many UK citizens who share these religious views, and must be resisted.

- *Citizenship and Integration (Q10)*. We believe that integration should focus on equipping people with the knowledge and skills needed to thrive in the UK, and on obedience to the law. This vision of integration is compatible with diversity of opinion, unlike terms such as ‘extremism’ and ‘British values’, which are less conducive to such diversity.

BACKGROUND

1. The Evangelical Alliance UK (hereafter ‘the Alliance’) is the largest and oldest body representing the UK’s two million evangelical Christians. Formed 170 years ago, in 1846, today we currently work across a diverse constituency of 81 denominations, 4,000 churches, 600 organisations and thousands of individual members. Members include those from reformed, charismatic and Pentecostal traditions, and are drawn from both denominational and independent churches. The growth of evangelical and Pentecostal churches in the UK despite the decline in established denominations has been noted by many, including in the Woolf Report.³³⁶
2. The Alliance is the founding member of the World Evangelical Alliance, which unites evangelical alliances based in different countries around the world, representing anywhere from 300 million to a billion evangelical Christians. This global reach reflects the influence of evangelical faith, which can also be seen in the huge social and ethnic diversity in British evangelical churches. The Alliance has sought to reflect this ethnic diversity and the concerns of such a diverse membership in networks such as the One People Commission (representing ethnic minority churches) and the South Asian Forum (representing some 75,000 British Christians of South Asian origin).
3. Throughout its history, the Alliance has been at the forefront of campaigns for Christian unity, religious liberty and social transformation. For example, in 2012, the Alliance facilitated a report by the All Party Parliamentary Group for Christians in Parliament, entitled ‘*Clearing the Ground*’. This report engaged with some of the challenges Christians faced in participating in the life of the UK.³³⁷ More recently, the Alliance has also published *What Kind of Society?* a document which seeks to encourage Christians to get involved in shaping society for the better.³³⁸

³³⁶ <http://www.woolf.cam.ac.uk/uploads/Living%20with%20Difference.pdf>; page 6.

³³⁷ The report can be accessed here: <http://www.eauk.org/current-affairs/publications/clearing-the-ground.cfm>.

³³⁸ This can be found at www.eauk.org/wkos.

Q1: What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

4. As evangelical Christians, we believe ourselves to be good citizens in an authentically plural society. We recognise the importance of our democratic institutions and the rule of law, and celebrate the rights and freedoms we enjoy through them. This is reflected, for example, in a significantly higher proportion of evangelical Christians who vote.³³⁹ However, evangelical civic participation is not restricted to the political sphere, but also extends to supporting a wide range of social action initiatives, both nationally and locally (see paragraph 14 below).
5. Given that we are citizens in a diverse country, we affirm the need for a culture of civility and respect for others, regardless of ethnicity, religion or sexual orientation. We may disagree with those of other religions or lifestyles, but we do so courteously, acknowledging the rights allotted by law to different groups as much as our own freedoms. Opponents of religious faith sometimes characterise these disagreements (e.g. on same-sex marriage or the truth of different religions) as contrary to good citizenship. However, this assertion makes citizenship into an unrealistically uniform ideal in the UK in the 21st century, in which there is great political and religious diversity as well as diversity of background. A more robust and sustainable view of citizenship will allow for and celebrate religious and political diversity, and judge good citizenship by other criteria.

Q2: 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?

6. Membership and belonging presuppose a distinctive construct to which one can belong. The values and identity of Britain as a society, shaped as they are by the historic contribution of Christianity, offer an obvious foundation for articulating a positive common vision of citizenship, from which a distinctive hospitality can be extended to the newcomer. Ceremonies which acknowledge the historic roots of British values and identity: the sovereignty of the Queen, the role and authority of parliament/s, assemblies and democratic institutions, and the immutable nature of fundamental freedoms and civil liberties would be welcome. In addition, the original

³³⁹ A 2014 survey of evangelicals conducted by the Alliance revealed that 80% of those surveyed said that they were certain to vote in the next election, compared to 41% from a similar survey of the UK population as a whole. See <http://www.eauk.org/church/resources/snapshot/upload/21st-Century-Evangelicals-Faith-in-Politics.pdf>; page 6.

citizenship education curriculum framework emphasis upon community engagement, political literacy, and civic and moral responsibility is a helpful categorisation of the expected roles and competencies in civic life.

Q3: 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?

7. Reasonable accommodation and wide-ranging respect for conscientious objection are how a mature society responds to religious and political diversity in its citizens. Britain has a proud history of religious and political toleration. This freedom of religion and conscience has historically been essential for safeguarding a diverse range of religious believers as active citizens. For example, the repeal of the discriminatory Test Acts in the nineteenth century led directly to increased Roman Catholic and Nonconformist participation in British life. Evangelicals value this latter heritage of marginalised dissenters, and have always been committed to fundamental freedoms as a result. Other faiths and their practices were also accommodated successfully, allowing members of these faiths to participate fully in civic life.
8. However, a significant barrier to civic engagement for many religious believers today is the failure to accommodate religious views when they differ from the majority. A report published by the think tank Respublica in November 2016 highlights cases in which this has happened (e.g. the subordination of religious belief in alleged ‘clashes’ of rights in a legal, academic or other context).³⁴⁰ The report then noted the significant costs to society of this marginalisation of minority viewpoints, including in the realm of civic and political participation. It argued that:

[I]ncursions on the fundamental freedom to manifest religious beliefs in a public context privatises religion. Worse still, they initiate a process that leads communities to seal themselves off from wider society. Direct or indirect limitations of religion to the private lives of believers sap religion of its power to orient believers towards civic participation.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ James Orr, *Beyond Belief: Defending Religious Liberty through the British Bill of Rights*. Available at: <http://www.respublica.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Religious-Liberty-Digital.pdf>.

³⁴¹ Ibid. page 15.

To counteract this tendency, the report recommended introducing a duty of reasonable accommodation on employers and others. This duty would recognise that religious faith is a natural and normal part of life in the UK in the twenty-first century, and that religious positions (e.g. on conscience) can and should be accommodated rather than suppressed in the event of a clash. We note that there has been strong support for accommodation in Parliament, in contrast to imposed ‘neutrality’ in the workplace.³⁴² We support the principle of reasonable accommodation, and suggest that such a principle should form part of the guidance on faith and belief issued to employers by the Equality and Human Rights Commission.

9. The right to share one’s faith, and convert to any religion, are essential to good citizenship and fundamental for other rights. They must therefore be protected vigorously. The Alliance and the Lawyers’ Christian Fellowship recently published a report called *Speak Up*, which was welcomed by the Prime Minister,³⁴³ and which highlighted the freedoms we have in the UK to speak about our faith and core beliefs in different contexts.³⁴⁴ Historically, upholding this right has helped to ensure free speech more generally for those of all faiths and none, and the freedom to speak about one’s core beliefs is a foundational characteristic of citizenship and political engagement in a free and democratic society. By contrast, any legal or cultural pressure for someone to remain silent must be seen as an attack not just on their views but on their equal citizenship. We therefore recommend that future Government discussions of integration or citizenship include an explicit defence of free speech against those who would restrict it for unpopular groups.

Q5: 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?

10. Good citizenship education will avoid creating an ideal of citizenship that sets itself in opposition to other identities, including religious ones. Children are capable of holding a religious faith, and will engage with the issues of citizenship and civic participation from the perspective of that faith. As Professor John Milbank recently

³⁴² See for example the debate on March 15th 2017, in which MPs from all parties condemned a ruling from the Court of Justice of the European Union, which allowed employers to ban workers from wearing religious dress and symbols in the workplace: <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2017-03-15/debates/599884E8-6E05-41C0-8FD3-B6F5A6E1F45F/VisibleReligiousSymbolsEuropeanCourtRuling>.

³⁴³ <http://www.eauk.org/current-affairs/politics/alliance-resource-welcomed-in-parliament.cfm>.

³⁴⁴ Available at: <https://greatcommission.co.uk/category/speakup>.

wrote: ‘To deny that there can be Muslim or Christian children is to deny that we live unavoidably within time and tradition.’³⁴⁵ Such tradition is often immensely beneficial in bringing up children to be active citizens and participants in society. However, any insistence on a non-religious default position on citizenship is flawed. It needlessly antagonises children from religious families in the education system, and gives the false impression that the best civic participation is in opposition to faith. We therefore recommend that citizenship education include explicit reflection on citizenship from the perspective of different religious traditions.

11. Religious literacy is a fundamental requirement for citizenship in the 21st century world. Religious literacy is the knowledge and empathy required to understand what religious believers think and do, even if one does not follow their religion. In a report by the APPG on Religious Education, entitled *Improving Religious Literacy*,³⁴⁶ Fiona Bruce MP wrote ‘It is my hope that religious literacy will enable communities and individuals to understand each other better, to communicate with one another on a more informed basis and promote community cohesion within a more inclusive and holistic society.’ The implications of such a goal for good citizenship are clear. In a society with great religious diversity, religious literacy should be an essential requirement of citizenship and education, and its importance has been noted by religious and non-religious writers alike.³⁴⁷ Such literacy should include understanding conservative, mainstream religious views with which one may disagree.

Q6: 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?

12. Both formal and informal voluntary civic activity create common bonds, social capital and community resilience that are essential for promoting good citizenship. However, the creation of *compulsory* citizenship programmes should only be considered after extensive research and substantive consultation with civil society groups such as churches, schools and youth organisations. In the absence of such consultation, apparent replacements for church and civil society-run groups by state-

³⁴⁵ <https://twitter.com/johnmilbank3/status/907151052356640769>

³⁴⁶ <http://www.reonline.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/APPG-on-RE-Improving-Religious-Literacy-full-report.pdf>; page 1.

³⁴⁷ See for example Jenny Taylor (ed.) *Religious Literacy: An Introduction* (Lapido Media: 2016).

sponsored schemes may appear coercive to many already engaged in this area.

13. In a free society, the family is the primary point of socialisation for children – the place in which positive social values are fostered, where relational respect is learnt and where rights and responsibilities are first understood. Therefore, the Government should consider supporting family cohesion and marriage as a way to enhance citizenship. For example, we note the recent *Manifesto to Strengthen Families*,³⁴⁸ launched in Parliament with several significant policy proposals. We suggest that the recommendations in this manifesto form a part of further reflection on strengthening citizenship and civic participation.

Q7: 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?

14. Evangelical Christians make a massive contribution to this country and engage with civil society through social action, as do many other religious groups. The Cinnamon Network Faith Action Audit shows that faith groups contribute to thousands of social action projects in the UK which benefit millions of people.³⁴⁹ This contribution of religious groups has often been praised in debates in Parliament.³⁵⁰ Most recently, an exhibition by the network Serve Scotland highlighted that voluntary work from Scottish faith groups produces almost £100 million a year in economic impact: an estimated 9000 faith-based groups contributing money and over 11 million hours of voluntary service to their communities. The Cinnamon Network also encourages participants to volunteer in other civic roles, including as local councillors, school governors, magistrates or special constables. In addition, such social action informs Christian political participation and engagement with campaigns for justice. The Government should look for further opportunities to cooperate with and encourage such faith-based social action across society.

Q8: 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?

15. Research among evangelical Christians shows that while there is support for the Government's desire to promote British values, there are also concerns over the implications of such language for human rights and fundamental freedoms. In a poll,

³⁴⁸ http://www.strengtheningfamiliesmanifesto.com/assets/Family_Manifesto.pdf

³⁴⁹ <http://www.cinnamonnetwork.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Final-National-Report.pdf>

³⁵⁰ See for example this debate: <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2016-05-05/debates/160505103000001/VoluntarySectorFaithOrganisations>.

we found that the Government attempt to define British values was supported by 71% of surveyed evangelicals. Around 57% also thought that such a project was a reasonable response to extremism. However, 81% of evangelicals also believed that policies designed to counter extremism (i.e. opposition to our ‘shared values’) risked making it harder for Christians to express their faith, and 75% thought that freedom of speech needed greater protection in this context.³⁵¹

16. The attempt to define peaceful, lawful opinions as ‘extreme’ or contrary to British values is deeply problematic, and is out of step with the high tolerance of diverse opinion which we see in the UK population. Surveys show that we are comfortable with high levels of political and ideological diversity of belief, and resist attempts to label many views unacceptable or ‘extreme’. In a recent poll conducted by ComRes for the Alliance and others, more than half the public (54%) said that ‘extreme’ was not a helpful term in discussing social and political views, while just 32% thought that it was. There was widespread disagreement and confusion in the same poll over which views should be considered ‘extreme’.³⁵² It would be a great hindrance to Government attempts to promote integration and combat extremism if it were seen as insisting on greater uniformity than the wider population.
17. More productive reflection could focus on defining common virtues rather than common values. A report from the think-tank Theos argues: ‘The problem is... that these [British] values are treated as essential rather than procedural – about “who we are” rather than about “how we do things”. This can’t but set up a tension between religious and other identities.’³⁵³ In contrast, common norms of behaviour or a respect for shared institutions can be found in those of widely diverging beliefs, identities and moral codes, even when these different groups consider each other to be wrong. We would therefore urge the Government to focus on obedience to the law and shared norms of behaviour in discussion of what we have in common, rather than ‘values’ which may threaten freedom of expression or belief.
18. Attempts to codify British values in an oath for citizens or holders of public office only sharpen the problems with seeking to define British values and should be abandoned. The recommendation to create an oath to integration or British values

³⁵¹ For further results of the poll, conducted in May 2015, see: <http://www.eauk.org/idea/british-values.cfm>.

³⁵² Results available at: <http://www.eauk.org/current-affairs/media/press-releases/calling-views-extremist-is-extremely-unhelpful.cfm>.

³⁵³ Paul Bickley, *The Problem of Proselytism*, available at: <http://www.theosthinktank.co.uk/files/files/Problem%20of%20Proselytism%20web%20version.pdf>; page 46.

appeared in the Casey review and received some attention in that context.³⁵⁴ However, given the concerns around British values highlighted above, such an oath may end up excluding the views of some citizens, including religious believers, rather than being a focus for unity. While the desire for unity is commendable, the language of common values is more of a hindrance than a help.

Q9: 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?

19. The Alliance has argued in the past that while Christians are not persecuted in the UK, there is a danger of Christians being marginalised in modern society. *Clearing the Ground*, a report published by the APPG for Christians in Parliament in 2012, argued that ‘Christians in the UK face problems living out their faith, and these problems have been mostly caused and exacerbated by social, cultural and legal changes over the past decade.’³⁵⁵ We stand by this judgement, and the recommendations in that report.

20. Recent events show a particular danger of political figures having their place in public life questioned because of their religious beliefs. For example, former leader of the Liberal Democrats Tim Farron was repeatedly asked about his personal beliefs in the election, and resigned on the grounds that his position had become incompatible with his faith.³⁵⁶ Conservative MP Jacob Rees-Mogg was recently attacked on similar grounds.³⁵⁷ Such scrutiny is not unique to Christians: in last year’s London mayoral election, Muslim mayoral candidate Sadiq Khan was falsely accused of sharing a platform with a supporter of Daesh.³⁵⁸ Attacks on believers of many different faiths in politics can also go hand in hand with racial and other stereotyping, hindering community cohesion.

21. Such attacks on prominent members of different religions in politics can have a devastating impact on the sense of belonging of religious believers more generally, and on their motivations to participate in civil society. Strong disagreement and open challenge of all views is an essential and non-negotiable part of our democracy.

³⁵⁴ See recommendations 6 and 12 of the Casey Review, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/575973/The_Casey_Review_Report.pdf; pages 168-169.

³⁵⁵ <http://www.eauk.org/current-affairs/publications/clearing-the-ground.cfm>; page 5.

³⁵⁶ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-40281300>

³⁵⁷ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-41172426>

³⁵⁸ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-36272269>

This can take place while acknowledging someone's right to be in public life. However, the incidents described above often went beyond informed criticism, instead creating a climate of fear around politically engaged religious believers. For example, attacks on the figures above were often made on the assumption that they would 'impose' their views on the rest of the country when they explicitly denied that this was the case. The common assumption was that these politicians were less capable of democratic participation – and acceptance of democratic outcomes – because of their religious beliefs. This is a prejudiced line of thinking which denies the equal democratic citizenship of religious believers.

22. This must be countered with a clear statement from the Government, potentially in the forthcoming integration strategy, that religious people and others with conservative views have a rightful place as equal citizens in society. The Government has been admirably focused on tackling the problem of prejudice and discrimination across a range of protected characteristics. Such prejudice is a refusal to recognise the equal citizenship of other groups. However, there must now be more awareness, in light of the incidents above, of exclusion from the public space based on diverse *social and religious opinion*, rather than simply on background. It must also be recognised that such exclusion on grounds of opinion can offer a thin veil of respectability for older and uglier forms of exclusion on grounds of background.

Q10: 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?

23. We would urge the Government to make a distinction between *practical integration* and *political, religious or ideological similarity*. We believe that too often these are confused, which has a negative impact on the ability of all to participate in society. An adequate level of English, knowledge of life in this country and willingness to obey the law are all vital aspects of integration into British society. In these cases, it is surely right to insist on greater uniformity, allowing newcomers to this country to live alongside their neighbours and take the opportunities afforded by life in the UK.
24. However, some portrayals of citizenship go further than this (e.g. many discussions of British values – see paragraphs 15-18 above). They appear to demand conformity in terms of belief as a matter of integration alongside these other criteria. With this in mind, the Joint Committee on Human Rights has criticised the Government's vague notions of 'extremism' and 'British values', as legislation built on such

uncertain concepts could be used against conservative religious groups.³⁵⁹ Similarly, a concept of citizenship or integration based on ill-defined values could end up excluding legitimate participants in society. Uniformity is an unrealistic goal for citizenship in the modern world, and as a high-functioning diverse society we must instead learn to tolerate an uncomfortable level of political and religious difference.

25. We therefore believe that increasing both diversity and integration is best served by keeping the two distinct. Integration (i.e. in the Government's integration strategy) 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. We believe that this acknowledgement of the equal citizenship of those with conservative religious views will itself encourage integration.

³⁵⁹ Joint Committee on Human Rights, *Counter-Extremism* (<https://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/jt201617/jtselect/jtrights/105/105.pdf>); paragraph 108.

Dr Sami Everett, The Woolf Institute – written evidence (CCE0003)

Across much of western Europe rapid change has been imposed in particular by the economic and cultural challenges arising from the 2007 financial crash and mass migration due to war in the Middle East. The effects of these challenges on public trust, often unhelpfully termed ‘crises’ implying chaos, emergency and danger, became patently clear in 2015. European governments struggled to respond convincingly to the pressures of refugee arrival, in particular to Berlin, the geopolitics of terror, in particular in Paris, and record numbers of foodbank users in the UK. In a globalised world, these challenges are interlinked. They are transnational in cause and effect, but they are felt and responded to by people on a very local level. Citizenship and civic engagement are best and most effectively developed and nurtured at the local level rather than through central direction and control.

Author, Institution & source of evidence: I have been employed by The Woolf Institute for the three year Trust in Crisis research project 2015-17 alongside a team of researchers working in Berlin, London, Paris, and Rome. We investigated how a perceived crisis of trust—in, for example, the truth of media news cycles and the ability of the state to provide a brighter future—affected relations among faith and minority communities. To this end I undertook an ethnographic examination of community-based initiatives engaged in inter-religious and intercultural encounter. I explored how cooperative action and local solidarity were hindered or supported by the perception of crisis in London and Paris.

Over the last decade the [Woolf institute](#) has produced high-quality, far-reaching research into important societal issues such as [Religion and Belief in British Public Life](#) and End of life care for faith communities. As a continuation of this, the Trust in Crisis research formed part of an ongoing appraisal of public trust by the Woolf Institute, dedicated to the study of Christians, Jews, and Muslims. The full report of the research project can be found here: [Trust in Crisis](#).

1 / 12. 21s century citizenship and civic engagement are grounded in shared social values and combine faith community resources and a strong local identity. Austerity, terror, refugees and the difficulties of centralised government to cope with these challenges constitute the prime motives for civic engagement today. Such activity often revolves around socially driven common causes that utilise the pre-existing networks and infrastructure of faith communities and bring people together through a shared sense of local-level belonging.

Initiatives: In London we saw this through the efforts of community-building initiatives in tune with realities on the ground. Notable among these were Pecan, an organisation associated with local churches in Peckham that hosts a foodbank which meets the needs of many local Muslim families. The encounter between a Christian organisation and local Muslims strengthens understanding that local solidarity exists and often transcends religious identity. Similarly multi-faith, the Refugee Welcome group in Lambeth is currently

in the process of repurposing part of the South London Liberal Synagogue to house refugees. The culture of hospitality on which this initiative is based underlines core social values explicit in each of the monotheistic traditions. Both of these initiatives build trust at a grassroots level and develop inclusive spaces. They are based primarily on the shared social values of local volunteers but they draw strongly on faith community resources and dovetail with the ethos of their social action.

European comparator: Islamic Relief France provides relief to Paris's poorest citizens (of all backgrounds) in one of its most difficult neighbourhoods. Though the idea of *laïcité* (French secularism) is politically prevalent, on the ground realities of austerity mean that local authorities have integrated Islamic Relief as a provider of state assistance.

Finding: Though the challenges of austerity, refugees, and terror can be connected, the way they are experienced is intensely local. In the wake of these challenges, faith groups are becoming more engaged in public life and in responding to crises often show social solidarity before religious exclusivity. These groups are also among the most organised drivers of local level social cohesion. We found that their religiosity and dedication to civic life are not mutually exclusive.

Recommendation: Because of this we would recommend that these forms of emergent religious citizenship that are inclusive and operate at a local level from a sense of empathy with wider transnational crises such as those enumerated in point 2 should be acknowledged and supported.

Nota: These challenges have a particular draw for BME and other minority groups since they relate to for example the social housing of austerity, refugees and migration as a whole, and the police scrutiny associated with counter-terror measures. Minority community involvement is a supplementary factor in the necessity for central government to channel resources towards, promote and reward particularly outstanding individuals key to these local level initiatives.

7. Investment in local structures that are civically engaged has a great impact on the management of the multiple and interlinked challenges of today. Local-level volunteer-led organisations administer provision and confront direct and immediate needs in particularly challenging times, particularly where state institutions are unable to provide. These often draw on the resources of faith groups.

Initiatives: In response to the Grenfell Tower fire the local St Clement's parish church and the Al-Manaar Mosque served as a hubs for relief work and continue to be sanctuaries for certain Muslim families affected by the fire. In the response to the Finsbury Park attack Rabbi Gluck of the Jewish-Arab forum gave solace and showed cross faith solidarity against the violence of discrimination. Both of these examples made a difference to how people felt and, taking into account misgivings towards local authorities, that local people did care. Using these experiences as a guide, our evidence shows that when public administrations

manage and address new challenges, such as multi-faith landscapes, or the integration of migrants, these are more likely to be achieved by integrating civic engagement at a local level with local government.

European comparator: In order to address local authority failure to manage the flow of migrants seeking refugee, one measure Berlin City government took was to create a full-time position responsible for the Dialogue of Religions. This coordinated activities among local faith groups and providing them with platforms for dialogue and exchange.

Finding: The question is not so much how can society support civic engagement but rather what can be done to harness, improve and help pre-existing engagement. Coordination and communication between faith communities, civil society actors and civic authorities benefits the larger community while providing a tangible form of support to minority groups.

Recommendation: The ad-hoc organisation of post-crisis associations cannot continue to cope without proper investment and structuring. Many providers and users are frustrated by the ongoing lack of state resources. We recommend an increased investment in local-level civil society organisations demonstrating civic engagement either ad-hoc such as after Grenfell or longer term. We also recommend improved coordination with such groups for local structures, especially in times of crisis. Both are vital and can fill the void of resources and care that centralised structures are not always able or willing to fill.

Nota: The Berlin example of a socially minded Dialogue of Religions position has allowed better communication among faith groups and civic authorities. This could also be harnessed to better tackle issues related to violence, discrimination and the integration of refugees as well as enhance responses to long-term effects of austerity.

2 August 2017

Exeter City Community Trust – written evidence (CCE0086)

Background

Exeter City Community Trust (ECCT) has been involved with the National Citizen Service (NCS) since the spring of 2014 when it was, initially, sub-contracted to run the course for about 30 individuals. In subsequent years, ECCT has dealt directly firstly through Engage for Life in 2015 and, when it lost the NCS contract, direct with the Regional delivery partner (NCS/SW2) since summer 2016 and the numbers of candidates has risen from 135 in 2015 to 455 in summer 2017.

Exeter City Community Trust

This Charity, founded in 2007, is an adjunct to Exeter City Football Club, which is one of only four football league clubs that are supporter owned in the UK. Previously known as Exeter City Football in the Community Trust, the charity has expanded substantially over the last ten years as its remit to reach out into the community has been extended. Annual turnover is now in excess of £1m and it employs 32 full time staff, 70 part-time and 60 on a seasonal basis. It is Exeter's leading health and well being charity, working in partnership with the football club. The recent change of name reflects that the health, education, wellbeing and physical activity programmes reach over 45000 members of the community each year and around 48% of these programmes are not football related.

We provide below the charity's answers to the questions raised under Section 6 of the Call for Evidence.

1. Does the National Citizen Service do a good job of creating active citizens?

There is no doubt in our minds that this programme has had a positive effect on the lives of those taking part by creating citizens who have more self-confidence, more social awareness, better life skills, interview techniques and ability to communicate in public. It provides Young People (YPs) with a sense of self-esteem and self-efficacy.

The programme also provides YPs with exposure to parts of the community which they might not otherwise be aware through the projects which every group undertakes. This helps in the transition to adulthood and the creation of a more socially active citizen.

An example is the group who recently transformed a rundown children's play area at the visitors' centre at Exeter Prison into a brighter more inviting place through creating colourful murals, clearing the ground area and bringing in old tyres, painting these white to create giant plant pots filled with flowers. Chalk boards have been hung up and toys provided obtained through fund raising appeals and the generosity of the public. This particular project was picked up on Twitter by the chairman of NCS, Stephen Greene.

Another project which is being finalised at the moment is by a group that has produced a short film highlighting mental health in the young. This contains interviews with youngsters who have suffered mental health issues and also interviews with families and friends and how they deal with the issues raised. The completed film will be shown on a loop at the YES (Youth Enquiry Service) charity in Exeter and will also be shown in schools in the area.

The difficulty is being able to measure how the skills learnt during these programmes translate into full adulthood and whether these skills are temporary or permanent. Within the financial constraints of the charity, it is not possible, for example, to monitor the progress of those who took part when ECCT first became involved in the programme in 2014. This is where help from the centre would be beneficial in order for us to understand whether the work we do has translated into success or failure and whether the government is spending its money wisely.

2. Are the programmes the right length?

This year, ECCT requested to run three week programmes rather than the traditional four but this was turned down. One of the issues arising from the popularity of the programmes is obtaining sufficient trained staff to run these. Most of the individuals employed to help run the programs are teachers or students working during the traditional summer or autumn breaks. If the programmes were three weeks long, many of them would be able to commit to helping out on two different programmes but, with four weeks, there is not sufficient time available to them to help out on more than one if they are to have any holiday of their own.

From the YPs point of view, there are some who, after the two week residential course, find it difficult to adapt to the less structured second half of the course. This can cause some to drop out while there are others who relish the freedom which comes after their schools' much more disciplined approach to learning.

The four week course run by ECCT this summer was made up as follows;

Week 1 – Outward Bound style residential programme in Brecon Beacons – an adventure week of team building and social mixing

Week 2 – Educational style residential programme at Bicton College, Exmouth consisting of workshops providing lifestyle, financial and social skills which are engaging whilst preparing the YPs for the planning in Week 3.

Week 3 – The YPs live at home but spend their days at Exeter College preparing a social project which they undertake in Week 4. On the Friday of this week, ECCT runs a Dragons' Den style event where the groups present their projects and are given advice, guidance and criticism by a group influential people within the City, a lot of whom have a business background, who give up their time to help ensure the projects succeed. This formula has been exceptionally beneficial this year and, although we believe some other NCS regions

also use this format, it is not universal. We think it should be and that, if it was, each region would be able to select its best projects to be presented national with the finalists fronting a real Dragons' Den show. The publicity from this would be very useful in widening the appeal of NCS. We understand there is a 'Social Action Stars' programme for the best six projects nationally but this should be extended and all YP groups aware of the exposure they could receive.

Week 4 – The delegates carry out their project in the community (examples given earlier). Each YP must undertake 30 hours of social action.

It should be noted that ECCT runs 'Keep Warm Events' in advance of the programmes being run. This year this included an Open Air Cinema evening at the football club in March and a social event in a marquee in May, once again at the club, with Dominos Pizzas, live music and photo booths to ensure the social mix process starts well before the YPs get on the coaches for the first week of the residential course. These events are important for the retention of YP and also help to reduce anxiety leading up to the start of the programme. ECCT also deliver a series of parent guardian evenings which provide more details on the programme and the benefits along with areas in which PG can support.

September – Those delegates who complete the programme attend an awards ceremony. ECCT has made this into a big event at one of the largest halls in Exeter with stalls outside providing food, live music being played and dignitaries invited to attend (see later in submission for more).

3. Is it right that the programmes are voluntary or should they become compulsory and, if so, when?

There is a universal opinion within ECCT that the programme should remain voluntary. At the moment momentum is building and, within some schools, it is regarded as a rite of passage after GCSEs. Apart from the logistics of trying to find venues and staff to operate a compulsory programme, it is important that the attendees are those who want to take part. Having YPs on board who do not wish to be there would create a disruptive element which would detract from the learning process. The statistics for summer 2017 in respect of ECCT are that 539 YPs signed up (paying their £50 to NCS), and 455 started the programme. There were inevitably a few drop-outs during the program but about 445 will graduate this month. This figure compares with a target of 405 given to us by NCS South West.

4. Should they contain a political element?

This has been discussed by those on the courses but there was a sense within the delegates that they do not want the programme to 'feel like school' and thus anything that might overlap with courses in the classroom are to be avoided. It was felt that anything political would inevitably end up being biased and, as such, should be left off the curriculum. However, it was suggested that the NCS ethos and its efforts to create better more active citizens could be included in schools' curricula as a way of introducing the concept and, at

the same time, promoting NCS programmes. We have tried to involve our local MP either through a visit to see NCS in action or as a judge on Dragons' Den but, to date, this has not been successful.

5. Should they lead to a more public citizenship ceremony?

ECCT hold a ceremony in the second week in September at The Great Hall at Exeter University. The large number of YPs graduating means that this has to be split into several different sessions and, as a result, can last for several hours. As mentioned above, there are stalls outside the hall providing food and drink as well as live music with the aim to help YPs continue the sense of bonding experienced during the programme. Parents/guardians are invited to attend and see the results of the programme for themselves. Last year, the Lord Lieutenant of Devon attended the ceremony as well as other dignitaries and trustees of ECCT. We do not feel that, given the numbers involved, it would be practical to open this ceremony out to a wider public.

6. Are they good value for money?

While we do not have all the statistics, we understand that the cost to the taxpayer of a YP turning to anti-social activity is in the order of £200,000 to £250,000 by the time they reach 25. While we appreciate that not every YP attending the programme is in danger of becoming anti-social, this does indicate that, if just a few YPs are diverted away from an anti-social lifestyle, there would be a financial benefit to the taxpayer from funding these courses.

As the £50 YP funding is normally met by the parent/guardian, it tends to be at the awards ceremony that we meet up with these individuals to obtain feedback. There has been universal praise for the quality of the courses and the value for money involved given that it included two weeks accommodation and meals. There is also acknowledgement that the main benefits have been increased confidence, ability to socially interact outside of their normal circle of friends and enhanced life skills.

Although most families can afford the £50 charge, ECCT are in a position to wave or refund this fee in the event of mitigating financial circumstances. While we appreciate that £50 is a nominal payment, we would be concerned that, if there was a rise in the cost to the young people or their parents, it would disrupt the social mix that is at the heart of the programme. However, it is sensible to require a deposit as this concentrates the mind of the parent/guardian/YP and, hopefully, leads to fewer no-shows on the programme itself and thus provides easier administration and less wasted accommodation costs.

From the point of view of the provider, ECCT is still able to fund the costs of staffing, accommodation, food and travel costs yet achieve a small surplus despite the drop in funding levels this year. ECCT has the cash balances that allow for the fluctuations in cash flow that can result from delayed payments from NCS but we can imagine that smaller organisations might find this difficult to manage. We would be concerned if the funding

levels were to drop further given the infrastructure that needs to be in place to ensure the programmes are professionally run. Good quality staff are key to running successful programmes and this can only be achieved by having stability in the way these programmes are run.

ECCT run pre-programme training weekends for their NCS staff as well as additional training for Group Leaders. ECCT has created these courses themselves but, to ensure consistency in NCS programmes nationally, we think that more prescribed training courses or availability of resources from the Centre would be useful.

7. What other routes exist for creating active citizens?

The Duke of Edinburgh awards are an alternative route. In that case, there is Bronze, Silver and Gold awards. An extension to NCS would be to create two levels, first an introductory programme covering Year 8/9 YPs who are typically harder to engage with followed by the full NCS programme for those who have finished GCSEs. The introductory course could cover basic information about the full course to include citizenship issues which could then be fully covered in the main programme.

8. Is there more that the local authority could do to help facilitate the courses?

ECCT have very close links to the local authority, Exeter City Council, partially because Exeter City Football Club is community based but also because ECCT liaises with the local authority in respect of social programmes which may be capable of being supported by the charity when it is no longer financially feasible for this to be carried out by the local authority. The local authority supports an awards programme within ECCT which provides grants to local sporting groups and one of our trustees is employed at a senior level within the authority. The local authority also helps provide judges for the Dragons' Den events and is also of help when teams are looking to set up social projects within the city.

ECCT has built up a good relationship with schools and colleges in the area and, as a result, is able to access YPs within these schools to promote NCS. Head teachers and year 11 leads are becoming more aware of NCS as it builds in reputation although more could still be done nationally to promote these programmes within the schools. As mentioned above, the third week of the programme is undertaken at Exeter College which provides further education facilities for students post GCSEs and approximately 70% of YPs taking the NCS programme continue their education at this college. Thus the third week of the programme is a good initiation into their future education establishment and supports this transition.

Contributors

The main contributors to this submission have been Danny Harris, NCS Lead for the charity and Deputy Head of Community, Fran Davenport, NCS Senior Operations manager, Jamie Vittles, Head of Community, Julian Tagg, Chairman of the charity and the football club, Chris Gill and David Coard both trustees of the charity. Any of these can be contacted via Jamie

Expert Subject Advisory Group for Citizenship – written evidence (CCE0090)

Vittles, Exeter City Community Trust on 01392 255611. More details of the charity can be found on www.exetercitycommunitytrust.co.uk.

We believe we produce a flagship programme on behalf of NCS and are happy to share our thoughts and experience with the House of Lords Select Committee.

7 September 2017

Expert Subject Advisory Group for Citizenship – written evidence (CCE0090)

Introduction

1. The ESAG for Citizenship was established by the DFE in 2013 to provide strategic advice to the DFE on the implementation of the reformed National Curriculum for Citizenship 2014. A full list of members is provided at the end of the submission. The Group continues to run on an independent basis. The Group itself has published strategic advice to schools via the ACT website on teacher assessment, primary citizenship and Teaching Controversial issues and the Prevent agenda.
2. Since 2014 the Expert Group has continued to press the DFE for resources and action in support of high quality Citizenship education. In March 2017 the Group developed a National Action Plan for Citizenship – ‘Citizenship for All’ with specific ideas about how Citizenship organisations and Government could work together to ensure high quality Citizenship education is a reality for more children in more schools. The Action Plan is supported by the membership of the Association for Citizenship Teaching, the Crick Centre for understanding politics, members of the Political Literacy Oversight Group who advise the APPG on democratic participation, and Active Citizens FE.
3. The Expert Group wrote to the Secretary of State seeking a response to the Action Plan in July 2017 and we await her response. The Group asks that the Lord’s Committee consider recommending the Action Plan is adopted by the DFE in response to enquiry question 5.

The need for action on Citizenship

- i) Children and young people today are growing up in a complicated world where technological, political, social and environmental change is affecting us all. Many young people are concerned about the future and find it difficult to navigate through the many forms of information they access. Some feel excluded and question whether our political system and democratic values are working for them and their communities and some are being drawn towards extremism.
- ii) Citizenship is a subject that teaches children and young people about how democracy, politics and law work in practice and develops understanding of how society has developed

and is changing. Citizenship helps young people make sense of the world around them by giving them the concepts and knowledge to think critically about challenging political and social issues and space to explore difficult and sensitive topics. The subject builds understanding, critical literacy and practical skills to think, question, explore and debate, to speak out on issues of concern and take action with others to address problems and contribute positively to democratic life.

iii) Citizenship has been a part of the National Curriculum in England since 2002. Yet since 2010 there has been a decline in the provision for Citizenship and quality of teaching in too many schools. There has been some ambiguity about the role and status of Citizenship in primary and secondary education and this together with pressure to focus on a narrow, academic core of subjects that excluded Citizenship has led to some schools dropping the subject altogether.

iv) Every child deserves high quality, well taught Citizenship as a guaranteed part of a broad and balanced curriculum that properly prepares them for the challenges and opportunities of life and work.

v) With this in mind the Expert Subject Advisory Group for Citizenship and a range of citizenship organisations have come together to call on the DFE to support A National Action Plan for Citizenship – ‘Citizenship for all’ with five key objectives to strengthen the subject. We welcome your comments and support. It is time to reverse the decline in Citizenship education. It is time to take action.

A National Action Plan for Citizenship – ‘Citizenship for All’

1. A 'curriculum guarantee for Citizenship' in every primary and secondary school and clear progression to further Citizenship education post 16

Every school in the country, primary and secondary, should be required by statutory order to offer a programme of citizenship education as part of a broad and balanced curriculum. Citizenship is a National Curriculum subject at key stages 3 and 4 and this must continue but currently not every school is required to follow the National Curriculum. Citizenship Studies is a GCSE but it is not part of the Ebacc. There should be clear progression to opportunities for further Citizenship education post 16 and links with the National Citizen Service. The current ambiguity around the role of Citizenship in the curriculum has negatively affected the provision, status and quality of Citizenship education in too many schools.

2. Make Citizenship a priority teacher training subject with bursaries

In 2016 just 54 teachers were trained in Citizenship (compared with 243 in 2010). In part this is because Citizenship has no bursary to provide financial support for those wishing to specialise 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. We know where schools employ trained Citizenship teachers there is a more coherent and well-planned Citizenship curriculum and better outcomes for pupils. We believe every school should have at least one trained Citizenship teacher by 2030. Citizenship must be given priority subject status with training bursaries.

3. ‘Beacons of Excellence’ through Citizenship subject knowledge enhancement

We urge the DFE to support a programme to establish of ‘Beacons of Excellence’ aimed at increasing the capacity of teachers through Citizenship subject knowledge enhancement and CPD programmes. This would involve creating links between University Politics departments and schools to build Citizenship subject knowledge, supported by the relevant Subject Associations - the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) and the Political Studies Association (PSA) and other Citizenship organisations.

4. Benchmarking best practice to highlight effective Citizenship education

Ofsted should be asked to undertake a special survey of the Citizenship to find examples of best practice and include comments on Citizenship within Section 5 inspection reports. The subject association, ACT should provide a digital collection of best practice online. The DFE should also re-instate England as a participant in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study, which takes place in about 30 nations every 5 years. England was a leading participant until 2009. <http://www.iea.nl/iccs>

5. Stimulate high quality teaching resources for Citizenship

Building on the work undertaken to identify gaps in the market by the DFE Expert Subject Advisory Group for Citizenship in 2014, the DFE should commission Citizenship organisations to develop high quality resources that are free of charge and meet the ACT Citizenship Quality Mark for teaching resources. Given the large number of non-specialists who currently teach the subject these resources will help raise the quality of teaching and learning across schools in the immediate term.

Annex 1: Membership of the Group

Zoe Baker	Citizenship Teacher, Towers School, Kent
Helen Blachford	Curriculum Leader for PSHE and Citizenship, Priory School, Portsmouth
Marie Louise Brown	Head of Citizenship Department, Anglo European School, Essex
Verity Currie	Head of Citizenship, Enfield Grammar School, Enfield

Expert Subject Advisory Group for Citizenship – written evidence (CCE0090)

Mick Green	Head of Citizenship, Worle School, Weston Super Mare
Ryan Mason	Head of Citizenship, Addey and Stanhope School, New Cross, London
Denise Howe	Primary Education consultant and former Primary Headteacher
Liz Moorese (Chair)	Association for Citizenship Teaching, Senior manager and programme leader
James Wright	Adviser, Hackney Learning Trust, Hackney, London
Lee Jerome	Associate Professor of Education, University of Middlesex
Marcus Bhargava	Head of School of Education, Kingston University
David Kerr	Head of ITE, University of Reading
(Deputy Chair)	Consultant Director, Citizenship Foundation
Ben Kisby	Senior Lecturer in Politics in the School of Social & Political Sciences at the University of Lincoln Young People and Politics Specialist Group, Political Studies Association
Linda Whitworth	Senior Lecturer in Primary Education, University of Middlesex
Mary Young	Senior Lecturer Citizenship and Art, University of Chichester
David Clark	Head of Parliamentary Education Service
Scott Harrison	Education Consultant and former inspector Association for Citizenship Teaching, chair
Chris Waller	Association for Citizenship Teaching, professional officer

7 September 2017

Facing History and Ourselves – written evidence (CCE0193)

‘The changing nature of the UK and potential for tension to arise now makes it ever more pressing for us to work towards community cohesion, fostering mutual understanding within schools so that valuing difference and understanding what binds us together become part of the way pupils think and behave.’

Curriculum Review: Diversity and Citizenship, Sir Keith Ajegbo, 2007.³⁶⁰

1. Facing History and Ourselves (FH) is an international educational and professional development organisation that has worked with teachers and students in countries around the world since 1976. We have worked in the UK (with concentrated work in England and Northern Ireland) since 2001. Facing History’s mission is to foster a compassionate, informed citizenry. We believe that education is an essential medium for developing prosocial participation and for countering prejudice, identity-based divisions, violence and hatred. Indeed, education is the only institution that reaches the majority of UK citizens. In addition, FH takes a multigenerational approach by working with both adolescents and adults. FH supports teachers of adolescents, administrators, educational leaders, and civil society organisations in the creation of a more inclusive and just society. We do this by providing professional development, bespoke follow-up support, and access to rigorous, high-quality resources. FH has a strong evidence base, including two randomised controlled trials and over one hundred evaluations (both by our evaluation team and external evaluators), that demonstrate our programme’s effectiveness. Key outcomes include components that are essential to the development of citizens who can uphold democracy and support an inclusive, participatory, prosocial civil society. **Students** gain improved critical thinking skills, empathy and tolerance, civic responsibility, and the belief they can make a difference in the world. **Teachers** are more confident and skilled at fostering students’ academic, civic, and social and emotional learning. **Classrooms and schools** are more respectful, reflective, and participatory – necessary conditions for deep learning.³⁶¹ According to the Ajegbo report of 2007, many teachers lack confidence in these areas: ‘The main challenges to promoting discussion and developing shared understanding were considered to be teacher knowledge,

³⁶⁰ Ajegbo, K (2007) Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review, Department for Education, London.

³⁶¹ Facing History and Ourselves evaluation summary can be found at: <https://www.facinghistory.org/for-educators/school-and-district/outcomes/evaluation-results>.

experience and confidence in handling such discussions...high quality training, therefore, is crucial.³⁶² Staff training is central to Facing History's approach, offering a range of ways that teachers can be trained in its content and pedagogy. Our commitment to staying with teachers after they have been trained shows the importance in which FH holds teacher efficacy and confidence as part of successful citizenship education.

2. Our approach is to explore key moments of history from the 19th to 21st centuries where societies have experienced division, hatred or violence. Through examining the choices and decisions of people in such times we encourage teachers to enable their students to make essential connections to the moral and ethical dilemmas they face in their own lives today. In this way, we help teachers foster in their students an awareness of their own agency and the opportunity they have to participate positively in the world around them.
3. The model we employ is a journey of learning known as our 'scope and sequence'. It begins with an exploration of identity, in particular focusing on the fact that we all have multiple aspects to our identities. We contrast this with the fact that often we can see the other as having a 'single story' based on a dominant single, and often negative, identity. Students next explore questions of membership and belonging and the formation of 'in' and 'out' groups. We consider how easily people can resort to 'we and they' thinking, in which groups of people labelled by single identity markers are attributed negative values. We look at the dangers for society of this kind of thinking. In a detailed historical case study, such as the events leading to the Holocaust, we consider the ways in which issues of identity and belonging have played out historically, and how in this case they led to mass murder and genocide. However, as well as understanding the role of perpetrators and bystanders in the Holocaust, we also seek to understand and learn from those who stood up, those who put their lives at risk to rescue and save Jews at this time. Our journey continues by exploring how societies repair themselves after mass violence and genocide, through examining aspects of justice, memory and legacies of the Holocaust, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Finally, we ask students to reflect upon what they have learnt in the course and then to consider how they might participate to prevent such atrocities happening again. Our core resource that supports this approach is called Holocaust and Human Behaviour. It is an

³⁶² Ajegbo, K (2007) Ibid.

approach that can be used in History, Citizenship, RE and English classrooms, or in a cross-curricular way. Importantly, FH's content helps students to recognise a range of choices and decisions, to engage each other in thoughtful discussion and to consider what it means to act in light of a common good. Our goal is prevention. We want to help young people recognise the ways they can protect and nurture democracy. This means standing up for the rights of self and others in prosocial, nonviolent ways. As Eleanor Roosevelt said, 'Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places close to home - so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any map of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person: the neighbourhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm or office where he works.' For Facing History, the work of prevention of violence and division exists in these seemingly small, everyday acts.³⁶³

4. The intellectual and pedagogic framework of Facing History and Ourselves is built upon a synthesis of history and ethics for effective history education. Its core learning principles embrace intellectual rigour, ethical reflection, emotional engagement and civic agency. Its teaching parameters engage the methods of the humanities: enquiry, critical analysis, interpretation, empathetic connections and judgment. Facing History and Ourselves teachers employ a carefully structured methodology to provoke thinking about complex questions of citizenship and human behaviour. Building upon the increasing ability to think hypothetically and imagine options, they stretch the historical imagination by urging delineation of what might have been done, choices that could have been made and alternative scenarios that could have come about.
5. Underlying this approach is the goal to create a safe classroom space where difficult, emotive and controversial conversations can happen. We see the classroom as a microcosm of society. It is a place where we want to model belonging and allow expression of opinion within limits, even if we disagree with each other. It is a place therefore where we want to explore the concept of 'critical respect', where we can agree as a group what we can tolerate and what we cannot, and where we learn ways to challenge respectfully that with which we disagree. We believe creating a class contract is a crucial part of the process if we want the classroom to be the model of a truly reflective and civil society. The classroom is a space where students can practice and

³⁶³ Roosevelt, E, (1958) Speech given to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, New York.

develop the skills, dispositions and behaviours that are essential for mature democratic citizenship in a multicultural society.

6. FH believes that citizenship education should be compulsory throughout a student's schooling, whether this be as an explicit subject or integrated into other subjects such as History, RE and English. Current research in neuroscience, such as that by Sarah-Jayne Blakemore, Professor of Cognitive Neuroscience at University College London, suggests young people's capacity for empathetic thinking develops in crucial ways during adolescence.³⁶⁴ We would therefore contend that it is essential they encounter curricula that encourage discussion about identity, belonging, empathy upstanding and prosocial participation in order that we create truly compassionate global citizens.
7. Facing History and Ourselves offers a range of resources that speak to these questions, including a new resource designed to prevent violent extremism through the promotion of democratic thinking and engagement. This resource, which will be released by the end of 2017, is designed to support teachers with the Prevent agenda and with Fundamental British Values. It is also a resource that can be integrated into a range of courses including Citizenship, SMSC and History. The sequence of thirteen lessons uses ideas from the FH scope and sequence and such theorists as Professor Hugh Starkey, Professor Lynn Davies and Dr Sara Savage, as well as the Ajegbo Report.³⁶⁵ It helps students develop a more complex and integrated appreciation of identity, and enables them to understand the process of 'othering' that can happen when we see people as having a 'single story'. It supports students in developing ideas about what an inclusive democracy can look like. The resource offers examples from history to model how people have used nonviolent means to stand up for their rights and the rights of others, and provides students with a set of eight tools that they can become more skilled in using as they consider their choices to participate.
8. The pedagogical approach we take - that we listen to what students have to say and work with their ideas inductively in a safe space - is key we believe in helping to develop

³⁶⁴ Blakemore, S-J (2012) Ted Talk, 'The mysterious workings of the adolescent brain', at:

https://www.ted.com/talks/sarah_jayne_blakemore_the_mysterious_workings_of_the_adolescent_brain.

³⁶⁵ The theorists' works include Starkey, H (2015) Learning to Live Together, inaugural professorial address at UCL IOE, IOE Press; Davies, L (2008) Educating Against Extremism, Trentham Books, Stoke on Trent; Savage, S., Khan, A. & Liht, J. (2014) "Preventing Violent Extremism through Value Complexity: Being Kenyan Being Muslim," *Journal of Strategic Security*, Vol 7 (3) 2.

ways to improve a sense of belonging in this country. Our resources ‘Identity and Belonging in a Changing Great Britain’ and ‘Stories of Identity’ contain accounts by people in Britain and Europe more broadly from a range of ethnic backgrounds who describe dilemmas of belonging in multiethnic societies.³⁶⁶ These resources can serve a range of purposes. They can contribute to the creation of a welcoming classroom and school, enabling young people who are new or recently settled in this country to find themselves represented in the texts, providing them with a touchstone by which they can better articulate how they are feeling about the challenges they face. They also give voice to people who have lived in the UK for generations. Some people in these communities, as has been well documented, are feeling the stress of change and transition. They are questioning their own sense of belonging. Similarly, the voices of longstanding populations, too, must be heard, as the UK and Europe experience a period of mass migration. These, and other resources developed by Facing History, offer the opportunity for students to make connections to their own lives in a safe and reflective space. They raise questions about the ways society can operate when there is major demographic change, exploring models of assimilationism, multiculturalism and other ideas about integration.

9. Facing History not only works with teachers to offer training to develop their ideas and practice in helping students to be positive participants in society, but also works directly with students at both primary and secondary level. Currently in the London borough of Islington, FH is delivering Peace Assemblies directly to primary and secondary students in 17 schools. Facing History is also involved in a student leadership project in a number of boroughs in north-west London under the aegis of John Lyon’s Charity. This project involves five students from nine schools working both together and separately on projects about issues of belonging in their community. They are taught the skills of leadership, negotiation and participation as they consider an issue, research it, consider solutions and then present their findings and ideas at a student conference. The latter project’s evaluation has revealed that students develop their sense of what leadership and community can mean in profound ways during the period of the project. Anecdotally, those working on the project and the students themselves reveal growing confidence in themselves and their ability to influence others for the greater good. Essential to the student leadership project was the underlying philosophy of how we

³⁶⁶ These resources can be found at: <https://www.facinghistory.org/civic-dilemmas/publications>.

worked with the students. The facilitators created a context and prepared students so that they could become the leaders of the project. For example, one group of students wished to look at the concept of ‘minorities within minorities’. Another group looked at ‘othering’ of South American students in modern language classes. Yet another considered the dangers of social media in the context of bullying and ways to counteract this. Examples such as these showed the seriousness with which students involved in an extra-curricular citizenship activity took their responsibility to examine current issues of belonging in society. We would like to see an expansion of this type of programme for more students in more schools.

10. Facing History and Ourselves has been the object of numerous evaluations throughout its 40 year lifespan, conducted by both independent researchers and internal teams.³⁶⁷ Amongst the proven programme outcomes documented in more than one study, Facing History training and courses demonstrate the following:

- Teachers develop self-efficacy;
- Students become more engaged in learning;
- Students develop and value empathy for others, including those who they feel are different from themselves;
- Students experience a climate of respect in classroom and school;
- Students strengthen their sense of agency;
- Students describe learning and valuing perspective taking;
- Students report valuing and choosing prosocial behaviour;
- Students report greater tolerance for groups with whom they disagree and for people from other ethnic groups;
- Students report and demonstrate increased self-awareness (for example, with identity, making choices);

³⁶⁷ Key publications of studies conducted by independent scholars include: Barr, D.J., Boulay, B., Selman, R.L., McCormick, R., Lowenstein, E., Gamse, B., Fine, M., and Leonard, M.B. A randomized controlled trial of professional development for interdisciplinary civic education: Impacts on humanities teachers and their students, *Teachers College Record*, Volume 117, Number 4, 2015, <http://www.tcrecord.org/Content.asp?ContentId=17470>; Domitrovitch, C.E., Cleveland, M., Glenn, J., Jacobson, L., Moore, J., & Syversten, A. (2010) Harrisburg Character Education Project: Study 1 Evaluation Report, Pennsylvania State University, PA: Prevention Research Center.[1][1]; Schultz, L.H., Barr, D.J., & Selman, R.L. (2001) The value of a developmental approach to evaluating character development programmes: An outcome study of Facing History and Ourselves, *Journal of Moral Education*, 30(1), 3-27.; Glynn, M.T, Bock, G., & Cohn, K.C. (1982) American Youth and the Holocaust: A study of four major curricula, National Jewish Resource Center: New York, NY.

Facing History and Ourselves – written evidence (CCE0193)

- Students gain media literacy when they engage in Facing History online workshops and/or digital projects.

11. A master list of all evaluation studies (over 140 to date) and fundamental research studies conducted in the context of Facing History is available upon request. Facing History's practice in Holocaust education, civic education, character education, and social and emotional learning is evidence-led, based on the quality and rigour of its evaluations. Through our many resources and our journey of learning, as well as our practical student leadership and other student engagement projects, our evaluation shows we help teachers and students successfully grapple with the most essential question of citizenship education, how can we live together for the benefit of all?

12. We would be very pleased to meet with you to discuss further how Facing History and Ourselves might be supportive to you in the vital work of furthering citizenship education in the UK at this crucial time.

Author: Joanna Riley, Executive Director, London, Facing History and Ourselves

8 September 2017

Professor Laurence Ferry – written evidence (CCE0229)

I welcome this opportunity to submit written evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement. This reply draws on my personal senior level experience and recent published academic work on financial sustainability, accountability and transparency in the central and local government arena that specifically addresses aspects of citizenship and civic engagement regarding budget processes.

Overall, the main focus of my response concerns addressing Point 7 of this Committee's work being, '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?'

Following the worldwide financial crisis of 2007 and 2008 and subsequent recession, by 2010 the UK current budget deficit had skyrocketed to £103 billion from £20 billion in 2005, representing about 6.9% of Gross Domestic Product in 2010 compared to less than 2% in 2005 (UK Public Spending, 2017).

To address the budget deficit the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government in the United Kingdom proposed severe austerity cuts and between 2010 and 2015 they pursued a policy termed 'austerity-localism' for English local government that has been largely continued by the Conservative government since 2015. In this context, local authorities had more power to make their own decisions through the Localism Act 2011 but set against significant budget cuts from austerity and existing constraints on raising funding themselves. For example, in the field of English local government the cuts were especially harsh with austerity measures rolled out across several budget iterations, resulting in a 37% real-term reduction in core central government funding equating to a 25% reduction in income/spending power (including council tax) between 2010/11 and 2015/16. This was even though during this period changes in government policy created over 160 new burdens on local government, with an estimated value of £11.5 billion, many of them unfunded (Jones, 2017). In addition, local government cuts were relatively more severe than for other parts of the public services and arguably fell relatively disproportionately on Labour politically controlled, urban, metropolitan councils than 'leafy' shire, wealthier, rural Conservative politically controlled councils (Ahrens and Ferry 2015, 2016). Furthermore, local government's reliance on central government grants left authorities vulnerable to funding cuts during the current austerity programme (Ferry, Eckersley and van Dooren, 2015), with central funding for English councils set to fall by 56% between 2010 and 2020 (Lowndes and Gardner, 2016) despite rising demand for local public services (Hastings et al., 2015). As a result, the cuts led to challenges concerning the institution of democracy itself as over the following years there have been various high level protests against the cuts from local government, business lobby groups and citizens, including those that called for a more radical politics (Ahrens and Ferry, 2015, 2016; Ferry and Ahrens, 2017).

With regards to local government, from 2010 the Conservative led coalition government not only adopted a policy of ‘austerity localism’ but also announced abolition of the Audit Commission and scrapped the centralised performance management arrangements. The National Audit Office (NAO) was now given responsibility for reporting on the financial sustainability of local authorities and there was an expectation that performance would be largely policed by citizens acting as an army of armchair auditors through raw data made publicly available as part of a transparency agenda (Ferry, Eckersley and Zakaria, 2015; Ferry and Eckersley, 2015a, 2015b; Ferry and Murphy, 2015a, 2015b, 2017).

Unfortunately, armchair auditors have not materialised in significant numbers and the accountability landscape remains fractured and fragmented (Ferry, Eckersley and Zakaria, 2015; Ferry and Eckersley, 2015a, 2015b; Ferry and Murphy, 2015a, 2015b, 2017).

During this period, some local authorities have been actively engaging with the public as part of citizenship and civic engagement initiatives although often not without controversy, especially concerning the politics of the budgeting process.

Newcastle City Council (NCC) provides an example of a local authority that embraced citizenship and civic engagement. They established a Fairness Commission, Let’s Talk consultation process, 3-year budgeting, budget simulator and accounting arrangements that had aspects of public value accounting, which gave interest groups and citizens a voice in not only deciding on budget options but constructing what they should be, and getting involved in the governance, delivery and funding of services (Ahrens and Ferry, 2015, 2016, Ferry and Ahrens, 2017). At NCC, the Fairness Commission was launched in 2011 to provide guidance on fairness and equality as a vision for change at a time of facing challenges of making hard decisions with shrinking resources. Various institutional representatives sat on the Commission with the approach being to define some principles to improve decision-making and provide guidance. To further engage citizens, NCC also devised ‘Let’s-talk’ as “a new conversation with our city” for defining outcomes, priorities and funding allocations. This involved four types of activities. ‘Talkabout’ was a series of conversations with stakeholders about what they think the future priorities should be. ‘Walkabout’ consisted of politicians’ and senior officials’ visits to local authority wards and local services in order to get to know local issues. ‘Thinkabout’ sought information and advice from people about NCC’s strategic issues. ‘Decideabout’ gave local people the opportunity to be involved in decision-making, for example, through ward committees, and public meetings. ‘Let’s-talk Newcastle’ online also provided a web based community engagement tool. Additionally, stakeholders could get involved online through email, Twitter, Facebook, and by telephone, in writing, and in person. Stakeholders became more engaged with the process. For example, in its first year, Let’s-talk involved over eight thousand citizens in debates about the future of the city, which thereby helped to define outcomes and determine interventions. A 3-year budgeting framework was employed instead of traditional annual budgeting not merely to highlight the scale of cuts to citizens, although it had this effect, but to improve planning, priority setting and marshalling resources as a means to both strengthen resilience against austerity and combat short term salami slicing cuts that would undermine financial and service sustainability of the council. The online budget simulator

gave citizens a range of potential policy options for cuts and growth and also around funding choices, including increasing or reducing council tax. With regard to budget changes the impact assessment templates – a form of public value account - specifically recorded the financial cost of a budget proposal and the department that spent the money. They also recorded the efficiency and effectiveness of performance measures and how the proposals linked back to the Fairness Commission principles to assess the benefit to certain client groups or broader community. Within the context of cost-benefit analysis, all processes of public deliberation relating to the proposals were recorded as part of the democratic governance arrangements. The impact assessment templates were also monitored and an audit trail showing how decisions evolved through democratic deliberation was made available on-line for public scrutiny. As part of these processes there was an amount of controversy given the nature of budget cuts deemed necessary. This included protests from the grassroots that got local and national media attention and reflected a momentum for protests against austerity and cuts across England more generally, especially relating to central and local government relations. However, in contrast to the protests, NCC were also able to enrol citizens in helping with for example governance for adult services, service delivery for libraries and funding for the arts, and with other institutions for investment in the future of the city such as Newcastle University regarding the Science City development.

The changes at NCC were not unique around civic engagement, and indeed are more reflective of a broader field level change across English local government (Ahrens and Ferry 2015, 2016, Ferry and Ahrens, 2017; Ferry, Coombs and Eckersley, 2017). For example, other local authorities also established fairness commissions or similar arrangements that were grounded in localism ideas. From mid-2010 to mid-2013 there were twelve fairness commissions established that included members from councils in core cities of Newcastle, Liverpool, Sheffield and Bristol. There were also similar developments in other areas such as the establishment for Greater Manchester of a poverty commission and at Birmingham of a social inclusion consultation process (Sillett and O'Donnell, 2013). Many areas have replicated the process since with Greenwich announcing at the end of 2016 it would establish a Fairness Commission headed by Sir Bob Kerslake (Former Head of the Civil Service and Local Authority Chief Executive). Also NCC was not the only council to engage detailed consultation and a form of impact assessment template with Liverpool, Sheffield and Birmingham for example employing similar accounting and accountability technologies to varying degrees. Since then other councils have followed this process such as Manchester for example who have begun detailed public consultations in 2016 and embraced 3-year budgets running from 2017-2020, which is something NCC had already undertaken (Ahrens and Ferry, 2015, 2016; Ferry and Ahrens, 2017). Beyond the field level change of English local government there were also implications for institutional change at the level of democracy. This is best expressed through the significant local government, interest group and citizen protests against the central government's austerity policy that were highly visible throughout England and questioned their democratic mandate to govern in such a way. Austerity is therefore also tied up with other big issues concerning devolution and Brexit that have engendered questions around citizenship and civic engagement (Ferry and Eckersley, 2017).

In an attempt to stimulate further debate around austerity and prosperity, and responsibilities for encouraging civic engagement, the research of Professor Laurence Ferry (Durham University) into accounting for austerity and related citizenship, civic engagement and accountability practices at Newcastle City Council and in English local government, alongside that of colleague Ileana Steccolini (Newcastle University) who considered similar issues in international settings, is being made into a theatre jazz musical play ‘The Austerity Playbook’.

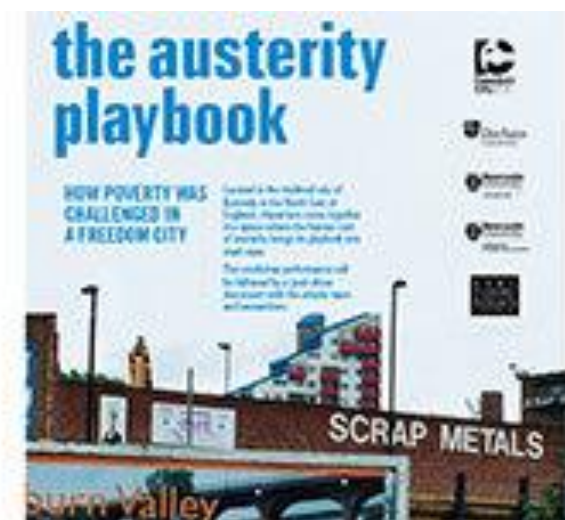


Figure 1: Poster for ‘The Austerity Playbook’

This is to be performed at Northern Stage Theatre Newcastle on 1 November 2017 as part of the international Freedom City festival that marks 50 years since Martin Luther King was awarded a doctorate, and gave a speech that highlighted the problems of racism, poverty and war. The play in particular tackles the issue of poverty in the context of austerity within the North East and is located in the mythical city of Burnside where characters come together in a space where the human cost of austerity brings its playbook into stark view. The performance features the collaboration between jazz composer Andrea Vicari, writer Mark O’Thomas and director André Pink, presenting a new piece of musical theatre in a workshop performance that will demonstrate how the arts can work alongside ground-breaking components of research. The workshop performance will be followed by a post-show discussion with the artistic team and researchers.

In addition, to generate meaningful discussion around accountability issues concerning local government that engender citizenship and civic engagement, Professor Laurence Ferry’s research has been made into a short animated video on local accountability for public money in a post-Brexit world that can be viewed on u-tube at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GDAZEicHGU4> (Ferry, 2017a). This suggests the current accountability framework for local government is geared to prevent financial failure, with the consequence of ongoing financial pressure leading to service, rather than financial, failures. As a starting point to strengthen the arrangements, it is suggested a more holistic

model is needed to ensure ‘all’ key elements of effective local government are assessed including financial sustainability, service performance, governance and culture. With regards to citizenship and civic engagement, culture is especially important here (Ferry, Coombs and Eckersley, 2017) as every region has its own unique history, geography and politics. One area for further consideration is greater emphasis on place based accountability rather than hierarchical levels of accountability per se, as part of a move from ‘tiers’ to ‘spheres’ of accountability (Ferry, 2017b).

In summary, it can be seen that much work is ongoing concerning citizenship and civic engagement in the arena of local and central government relations around the politics of the budgeting process and accountability practices. An issue of some importance is should a more holistic framework be in place to strengthen accountability arrangements.

References

- Ahrens, T. and Ferry, L. (2015). Newcastle City Council and the grassroots: Accountability and budgeting under austerity. *Accounting, Accountability and Auditing Journal*, 28(6), 909-933.
- Ahrens, T. and Ferry, L. (2016). Endogenous institutional change through practice memories of accounting. Medium term austerity budgeting in an English local authority. *Management Accounting Research* <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.mar.2016.11.001>
- Ferry, L. (2017a). ‘*Who is there to Speak Truth to Power? – Place Based Accountability in a Post-Brexit World*’, ESRC Brexit & Industrial Strategy Challenge Fund Roundtable Durham University / CfPS, CIPFA HQ, London, 27th March.
- Ferry, L. (2017b). *Who is there to Speak Truth to Power – Local Accountability for Public Money in a Post-Brexit World*, ESRC Brexit & Industrial Strategy Challenge Fund, Animated Video. Please see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GDAZEicHGU4> (Date Published 24th April 2017).
- Ferry, L. and Ahrens, T. (2017). Using management control to understand public sector corporate governance changes: localism, public interest, and enabling control in an English local authority. *Journal of Accounting and Organisational Change*.
- Ferry, L., Coombs, H. and Eckersley, P. (2017). Budgetary stewardship, innovation and working culture: Identifying the missing ingredient in English and Welsh local authorities’ recipes for austerity management. *Financial Accountability and Management*, 33(2), 220-243.
- Ferry, L. and Eckersley, P. (2015a). Accountability and transparency: A nuanced response to Etzioni. *Public Administration Review*, 75(1), 11-12.
- Ferry, L. and Eckersley, P. (2015b). Budgeting and governing for deficit reduction in the UK public sector: act three ‘accountability and audit arrangements’. *Public Money and Management*, 35(3), 203-210.
- Ferry, L. and Eckersley, P. (2017). Freedom, power and capacity – analysing the fallout from the UK’s ‘Brexit’ referendum. *Public Money and Management*, 37(1), 2-3.
- Ferry, L., Eckersley, P. and van Dooren, W. (2015). Local taxation and spending as a share of GDP in large Western European countries. *Environment and Planning A*, 47(9), 1779-1780.

Ferry, L., Eckersley, P. and Zakaria, Z. (2015). Accountability and transparency in English local government: Moving from ‘matching parts’ to ‘awkward couple’? *Financial Accountability and Management*, 31(3), 345-361.

Ferry, L. and Murphy, P. (2015a). A comparative review of financial sustainability, accountability and transparency across local public service bodies in England under austerity. Report to National Audit Office (NAO).

Ferry, L. and Murphy, P. (2015b). A comparative review of financial sustainability, accountability and transparency across local public service bodies in England under austerity. Briefing to the Centre for Public Scrutiny (CfPS).

Ferry, L. and Murphy, P. (2017). What about Financial Sustainability of Local Government! – A critical review of accountability, transparency and public assurance arrangements in England during austerity. *International Journal of Public Administration*.

Hastings, A., Bailey, N., Gannon, M., Besemer, K. and G. Bramley. 2015. “Coping with the cuts? The management of the worst financial settlement in living memory.” *Local Government Studies* 41 (4): 601–621.

Jones, M. 2017. English Resilience in the Face of Austerity. In *Governmental Financial Resilience: International Perspectives on How Local Governments Face Austerity*, edited by I. Saliterer, M. Jones and I. Steccolini, 73-91. Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing Limited.

Lowndes, V. and A. Gardner. 2016. “Local governance under the Conservatives: super-austerity, devolution and the “smarter state.”” *Local Government Studies* 42 (3): 357–375.

Sillett, J. and C. O’Donnell. 2013. *Fairness Commissions*. Local Government Information Unit (LGIU) Policy Briefing.

UK Public Spending. 2017. National Deficit Data. Weblink:

<http://www.ukpublicspending.co.uk/uk-national-deficit-analysis> (Accessed on 27th August 2017).

Five Nations Network – written evidence (CCE0160)

About the Five Nations Network

1. The Five Nations Network is a unique forum sharing practice in education for Citizenship and values in England, Ireland, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. The work is generously funded by the Gordon Cook Foundation, and managed by the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT). The Five Nations Network is also recognised as a Council of Europe Regional Network of the Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education programme.
2. Each year an annual conference brings together teachers, policy makers, NGOs, academics and others from each nation to explore and discuss citizenship and values education. In January 2018 the eighteenth conference will take place on the theme of 'Democratic talk: from debate to deliberation'. Information on previous conferences is available at www.fivenations.net/annual-conferences
3. Since 2009, the Five Nations Network has also supported teachers and educators to take forward development projects on citizenship and values education. The purpose of each is to support the development of effective citizenship practice and to support teacher's own professional development. Information about these projects can be found on the Five Nations website at www.fivenations.net/research-funding
4. The work of the Five Nations Network is overseen by a Strategy Group. The group comprises two 'country leads' for each nation, the Five Nations lead trustee from the Gordon Cook Foundation and staff from the Association for Citizenship Teaching. The group meets several times each year.
5. This submission is made by members of the Strategy Group and in response to the Committee's enquiry questions 5 and 12.

Citizenship education in the Five Nations

6. There are different definitions and approaches to citizenship education across the jurisdictions in the Five Nations Network. However, there is considerable agreement about what is at the heart of citizenship education and that ***every young person has a right, as well as an entitlement to high quality citizenship and values education***. The aim of citizenship education is to equip young people to work together to take action on issues of common concern in their communities and in wider society. This requires knowledge and understanding for example, about how democracy works, and developing skills to work with others and take informed and responsible action. The different approaches to citizenship education are summarised below.
7. In **England**, Citizenship is a compulsory National Curriculum Foundation subject in secondary schools and must be taught to all pupils aged 11-16 in maintained schools where the National Curriculum must be followed (currently 35% of secondary schools in England are maintained). Non-state maintained schools can choose whether they provide Citizenship in their curriculum and this has led to a decline in citizenship teaching. In primary education Citizenship has a non-statutory national framework which schools can choose to use to plan their provision. GCSE and 'A' level qualifications in Citizenship Studies are used in some schools to recognise student achievement.

8. In **Ireland**, Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) includes Citizenship and Human Rights Education. It is compulsory for Junior Cycle students until the summer of 2019. The Junior Cycle programme (pupils aged 12-15) has been completely revised and CSPE has now become part of a Wellbeing suite of subjects (CSPE, SPHE and PE) which has been implemented for students who commenced secondary education in September 2016. September 2016 saw the introduction of *Politics and Society* as part of the Leaving Certificate, the Senior Cycle (aged 15-18) curriculum. This new course in Citizenship, Politics and Sociology is being rolled out over a number of years in schools. Citizenship Education is part of the primary school curriculum in Ireland - an integral part of *Social, Personal and Health Education (SPHE)*, particularly *Strand 3: Myself and the Wider World*.
9. In **Northern Ireland** Local and Global Citizenship is a statutory component of the post-primary curriculum (at Key Stage 3 and 4 age 11-16). It is part of a learning area called 'Learning for Life and Work', which also includes Personal Development and Employability. In the primary curriculum, citizenship issues are covered in the statutory learning area 'Personal Development and Mutual Understanding'. The Council for Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment (CCEA) offer a GCSE qualification in 'Learning for Life and Work' which serves as one route for fulfilling the statutory requirements at Key Stage 4.
10. In **Scotland**, citizenship is understood as a cross cutting theme that permeates the whole curriculum and school life. It is taught in some schools as part of a Modern Studies programme. Citizenship can be seen as being embedded in the Curriculum for Excellence framework. Recently Learning for Sustainability has been described as an entitlement for all school children in Scotland and this includes a range of citizenship themes.
11. In **Wales** citizenship education has been a non-statutory part of Personal and Social Education (PSE) and Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship (ESDGC), where the main emphasis is on skills development, in particular critical thinking skills. Both active and global citizenship feature in the Welsh Baccalaureate Qualification which has a Global Citizenship Challenge as part of the newly designed qualification. Following the 'Donaldson Report' and review of the national curriculum, a new curriculum for Wales will be available in 2018. As yet it is unclear whether and where citizenship education will be included in the new curriculum.

Citizenship education across the Five Nations – issues and action

12. While there are differences in the culture, the context for and the development of citizenship education in the different jurisdictions of the Five Nations, at a general level, some of the issues facing citizenship education are very similar. These include:
 - policy uncertainty leading to issues of the visibility and status of citizenship education
 - a need for greater clarity about the role and purpose of citizenship education among teachers, so that the ambitions and aims of the curriculum translate into high quality provision with clear learning expectations

- a lack of training to support both new and in-service teachers in citizenship education.

Issues

13. A number of more specific issues have been identified in each jurisdiction and these are set out below.

England

14. Citizenship education in England has suffered a series of setbacks in recent years. The impression that the subject was under threat in the curriculum review, meant momentum was lost. This led to fewer teachers being trained, fewer identifying as citizenship teachers, fewer students being entered for citizenship studies exams, and in many schools this has led to subject being marginalised in a busy curriculum where other priorities prevail. This neglect has been compounded as other related agendas, such as fundamental British values, SMSC, Prevent, and the National Citizens Service have all been promoted separately and not embedded within a citizenship education framework. In reality these separate initiatives would be strengthened if they featured within an overarching framework for promoting democratic citizenship.
15. Whilst citizenship remains in the national curriculum at key stages 3-4, it is still not an entitlement for all students because the rise of academies and free schools, with freedoms to interpret the requirements and devise their own curriculum, means they can ignore or underplay citizenship; the emphasis on EBacc encourages schools to emphasise other subjects; and Ofsted has a limited role in monitoring such a specific entitlement. In addition the restricted version of citizenship represented in the current curriculum means full implementation would be inadequate for developing informed and active citizens. This requires a greater focus on skills and conceptual development. Similarly the non-statutory guidance at key stages 1-2 insufficiently describes effective citizenship and does not prepare students adequately for further learning. This needs to be updated and it would make sense to write a coherent curriculum across all key stages.
16. Against this backdrop of policy problems, it is important to remember that a number of schools have consistently developed high quality citizenship education since the subject was introduced in the national curriculum in England. There is therefore a wealth of expertise and models of good practice to draw on in order to improve this situation. Some of these teachers work through established networks such as the Association for Citizenship Teaching, the Five Nations Network and the Expert Subject Advisory Group for Citizenship.

Ireland

17. In the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS) across 38 countries Ireland was placed seventh overall demonstrating that young people has a reasonable knowledge and understanding of Civic and Citizenship issues in Ireland, in Europe and around the world.
18. The Junior Cycle curriculum (for pupils aged 12 to 15) is undergoing reform at present and being re-shaped and re-purposed to include a greater focus on the development of

key skills and critical thinking and reflection³⁶⁸. Within this curriculum reform CSPE is now part of the Wellbeing area³⁶⁹ of learning. Some would argue that this strengthens the status of CSPE within the curriculum as Wellbeing demands a whole school approach and a sizeable amount of curriculum time (growing from 300 hours to 400 hours in the period 2017 to 2020). Others would argue that it may be losing its identity in an area of learning that is perceived as being predominantly about mental health and physical wellbeing, as society reacts to increased rates of teenage suicide and childhood obesity. Only time will tell!

19. In the reformed curriculum the Action component has been strengthened in the new specification. Students are required to undertake one Action in each curriculum strand – meaning a total of three actions compared with two in the old Syllabus. How meaningful/political/radical these Actions may be is largely at the discretion of the teacher and his/her students.
20. However, one major change is that CSPE will no longer be part of the national assessment carried out but the State Examinations Commission from 2019. It will then be assessed at school level with a Classroom-based Assessment (CBA)³⁷⁰. Many would argue that this is a fundamental weakening of the status of CSPE.

Northern Ireland

21. Whilst citizenship education in Northern Ireland is statutory, the subject is afforded low status within schools, evident in the limited curricular time given to the subject and the lack of specialist teachers delivering it.
22. In initial teacher education there is some provision for some student teachers to be supported in the delivery of citizenship education, but there is no provision for continued professional development and support. Recently however, schools involved in the Shared Education initiative have been able to avail of training related to citizenship, provided by the Education Authority.
23. The location of citizenship education within the learning area Learning for Life and Work has resulted in citizenship education becoming overly conflated with personal development and education for employability, resulting in a dilution of the political aspects of the curriculum. As such young people are not receiving a sound grounding in ‘political literacy’ aspects of the citizenship curriculum particularly in relation to democracy and human rights, and report superficial engagement with more controversial aspects of citizenship associated with living in a divided conflict affected society.
24. The citizenship curriculum in NI is over 10 years old and whilst most of the content remains suitable, a review would be appropriate, particularly in relation to encouraging active citizenship and children and young people’s exercise of their civil and political

1. <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Framework-for-Junior-Cycle-2015.pdf>

³⁶⁹ http://www.juniorcycle.ie/NCCA_JuniorCycle/media/NCCA/Curriculum/Wellbeing/Wellbeing-Guidelines-for-Junior-Cycle.pdf

³⁷⁰ http://www.curriculumonline.ie/getmedia/85185792-37f3-4249-be55-a0525aa850f8/CSPE_AssessmentGuidelines_Feb2017.pdf

rights. There is a need for consideration to be given to progression in citizenship education i.e. how content for Personal Development and Mutual Understanding (in the primary curriculum) relates to content for Local and Global Citizenship at KS3 and KS4 and to both the new GCSE in Politics and its relationship to the existing GCSE in Learning for Life and Work. Further, greater support needs to be given to teachers in the delivery of controversial issues.

Scotland

25. There are four overarching capacities within Curriculum for Excellence (CfE); one of these being *Responsible Citizens*. Whilst Citizenship is not a discrete subject within CfE, it is a responsibility that **all** teachers in Scotland have. As citizenship is a cross-cutting theme teachers have a degree of flexibility to embed citizenship themes, values and skills into their teaching, whatever their subject area is.
26. The term ‘learning for sustainability’ is relatively new in Scotland. However, the substance of what it represents will be familiar. Many schools, early learning and childcare settings will know this as global citizenship and will rightly connect it with the work they are doing in, for example, outdoor learning, children’s rights, sustainable development education, international education and education for citizenship. The extent to which meaningful citizenship education will feature as part of this entitlement remains unclear.

Wales

27. Citizenship in Wales has been included in one of the four purposes of the new curriculum ‘*ethical informed citizens of Wales and the world*’. However, there are concerns that its explicit reference (in terms of curriculum content) may be lost within the areas of learning and experience.

Action

28. In 2009 the Five Nations Network published ‘**Citizenship and values education to the rescue! A call to action by the Five Nations Network**’³⁷¹. The rationale for this call to action remains highly relevant today:
 - that children are growing up in a complex, changing and uncertain world;
 - public distrust in politics and politicians continues; and
 - the rise of extremism and far right politics is a concern across the Five Nations.

In addition, the UK and Ireland is facing a range of highly charged political and citizenship issues following the decision of the UK to leave the European Union. Many children and young people are concerned about the future and what this means for them and their communities. The need for high quality citizenship education is greater now than ever.

29. The Five Nations call for action sets an agenda for citizenship education much of which still needs to be realised, including:

³⁷¹ http://www.fivenations.net/uploads/1/0/0/6/10067107/5_nations_call_to_action_2009.pdf

Five Nations Network – written evidence (CCE0160)

- I. Greater policy engagement with citizenship especially during periods of educational reform and for on going dialogue between policy makers across the Five Nations
- II. Securing resources to support, sustain and promote citizenship and values education in schools including through teacher training
- III. Building leadership and expertise in schools for citizenship education
- IV. Developing a secure and useful evidence base to inform provision and practice.

30. The Five Nations Network is working together to build capacity for citizenship and values education by:

- I. Building networks and sustainable partnerships across the Five Nations between schools, policy-makers, initial teacher educators and academics
- II. Providing a high quality, high profile annual teaching conference
- III. Supporting school based curriculum and teacher development projects
- IV. Disseminating outcomes as case studies and examples of effective practice.

31. There is of course much more to do and the support of policy makers and governments in realising these ambitions will be key to the success of citizenship education in the future.

32. The membership of the Five Nations Strategy Group is:

England	Lee Jerome, Middlesex University Karl Sweeney, Independent Education Adviser
Ireland	Rose Dolan, Maynooth University Conor Harrison, Independent Education Consultant
Northern Ireland	Lesley Emerson, Queen's University Belfast Anne-Marie Poynor, Education Consultant
Scotland	Cathy Begley, Scotland's Commissioner for Children and Young People Elaine Watts, University of Strathclyde
Wales	Suzie Pugh, University of Wales Trinity Saint David Liz Thomas, Gwent Association for Voluntary Organisations
Gordon Cook Foundation	Ivor Sutherland
Association for Citizenship Teaching	Liz Moorse Deepa Shah

8 September 2017

Fixers – written evidence (CCE0191)

Submission by Chris Podszus – Policy, Research & Public Affairs Officer

Introduction

The purpose of this submission is to offer insight and evidence to the Select Committee by providing a perspective on ‘voice’ as the agent of social change, integration and civic engagement. Of interest will be how ‘left behind’ groups, especially young people and ethnic minority communities, can be integrated into the wider civic culture through empowering them to articulate their voices – not merely as a form of communication but also as a tool of positive social change and civic engagement. This submission will first introduce Fixers as an organisation before proceeding to address each of the three subject areas while answering questions where applicable. Due to our unique approach to youth participation this submission will focus on our experience of enabling social integration as a youth social action charity.

As a UK-wide not-for-profit charity, Fixers works with a range of organisations and social groups in 86% of local authority areas across the UK. Since it was established in 2008, there have been over 20,000 young people who have become ‘Fixers’, 44% from the ‘top’ 20% of areas of multiple deprivation across the UK. ([What is Fixers?](#)) This speaks to Fixers’ commitment to working with young people in the 16-25 age range, from a range of backgrounds, providing they want to improve people’s lives and are committed to social change for the better.

The core to Fixers’ philosophy is our ‘Voice as Value’ approach to engaging with young people, especially socially isolated and underrepresented groups. Fixers’ mission as a charity is to help these young people get their voices heard by the key individuals, institutions and organisations who can help make change happen and society at large to change attitudes – thereby instituting change when their voices are valued. As our [Voice as Value \(2015\)](#) report indicates, there is a positive outcome for both audience and communicators in the articulation of voice – both benefit from young people obtaining recognition of their lived experience and point of view. For the audience (often practitioners/policy makers) there are benefits in listening and learning from young peoples’ perspectives articulated from the lived experiences (of migrant and/or service user). Fixers helps young people communicate their voices free from any organisational agenda or pre-conceived notions of what young people think. We are only interested in getting young people’s voices heard and valued by those who make decisions effecting their lives; because we believe that the real experts are those that know the most about the lives of young people – the young people themselves.

Communicating Citizenship: Voice as a Tool for Integration

As stated above, the ‘voice as value’ approach to youth and civic engagement focuses upon placing marginalised voices at the forefront of integration by creating the space for hitherto ‘left behind’ groups or individuals to articulate their voices to an institutional audience thereby creating better understanding, improved self-confidence amongst participants and higher levels of trust – all essential for overcoming the social capital deficit within such groups and enabling both the ‘left behind’ and the ‘institutions’ to come together around a shared understanding of the others’ lives and respect. This is important because of the well [documented](#) declining levels of trust amongst ‘left behind’ groups – and society more widely – of institutions and the much derided, but nebulous, ‘Establishment’.

The process of articulating voice and, more importantly, receiving recognition from the wider society, builds social capital (defined here as increased trust levels, greater self-confidence and empathy between participant and audience) that is essential for any individual or community to thrive in society. As Fixers’ own research demonstrates, experiencing voice as value changes the way young people ‘think about their own identity, the way they think about others and the way they feel they are perceived and understood’ ([Voice as Value, 2015](#)). Indeed, research has shown that social action has many positive outcomes for young people who participate, including empathy, cooperation and a sense of community. ([Birdwell et al. 2015](#)) The establishing of empathy and trust between participants and decision-makers is an essential part of building relationships and effecting social change through collective action – all of which helps integrate ‘left behind’ groups into a larger sense of belonging. As Marshall Ganz has observed, the communication of young people’s voices and stories (or ‘narrative’) can engender ‘empathetic experience’ between participants in social action and those in positions of authority. ([Ganz, 2017](#)) Fixers’ voice-led approach to social action creates the social space in which empathy can emerge between participants and this lays the foundations for the effective creation of social cohesiveness and .

Evidence of the Impact of Voice on Citizenship, Integration and Civic Engagement

Social Integration

Fixers acts on behalf of 16-25 year olds, often from marginalised or ignored groups in society, by helping them to communicate their voices across a wide range of platforms aiming to achieve new levels of understanding and empathy, increase our understanding of others’ lives and create positive social change.

As a charity, we offer a unique approach to social integration through empowering young people to overcome disadvantage, inequalities and ensuring society responds to what young people are saying; through communicating the voices of young people, to better inform the public's understanding of the lived experiences of young people, we increase institutional knowledge and awareness about issues they are facing and we communicate alternative viewpoints to a wide array of audiences across all parts of the UK and all demographics. This allows groups of young people – whether they come from an ethnic minority community or a disadvantaged social grouping – to engage with wider society and provides a means for achieving integration through the articulation of voice.

Our culture is based on listening and telling stories, unlocking real life expertise of the young people we support. Several aspects of the Fixers programme justify the word 'unique': Fixers does not turn away, or filter, anyone; the young people lead and choose their own issues; Fixers highly skilled staff turn their ideas into powerful, high-quality authentic content which is delivered to key audiences; we take the content to where people are rather than expecting them to come to us which guarantees delivery and we are not restricted by issue: we work on every subject as identified by the people living through them stimulating understanding around cultural and heritage issues, issues of stigma, community and identity, diversity and alternative viewpoints, reflecting diversity.

Fixers has previously worked with young people collectively on health issues such as [eating disorders](#), [mental health](#) and [gender identity](#). In each of these issue areas Fixers has assisted health practitioners and policy makers understand these issues through the expertise of marginalised groups and the inclusion of their voices in decision making structures has allowed them to gain a sense of empowerment and ownership as they become active participants. The benefits of the voice as value approach to participants and society is evidenced in the positive impact it has beyond the immediate participation in social action. Each young person that participates becomes better connected to the society around them, they gain a greater understanding of their obligations as citizens and the positive contributions they can continue to make to their society. ([Edwards, 2015](#)) Further to this, as recent research has demonstrated, 85% of young people that take part in Fixers social action campaigns continue to play an active role in society, campaigning on the issue they worked on with Fixers or branching out into other issue areas. ([McKenna, 2016](#)) Fixers, as a social action charity, is able to achieve this through our voice-led approach to youth participation; we are able to provide disadvantaged and socially isolated groups in society the means to participate, and those overcome their isolation, by putting them in contacts with wider social and professional networks, like-minded organisations and direct, one-to-one support from a team of Fixers personnel ranging from young people coordinators (YPCs)

assisting them from the start to communications officers helping them get their voices heard by institutions and decision-makers.

Recently arrived migrants

In terms of the integration of recent migrant arrivals, Fixers has worked on numerous projects with young refugees and migrants in the 16-25 year old age bracket. From projects seeking to [challenge myths](#) about asylum seekers in the UK to Skhumbuzo Khumalo's [campaign](#) about LGBT women refugees from Zimbabwe; each Fixers project with migrant communities or individuals provides a platform for the articulation of their voices within the process of naturalisation, settlement and integration. By allowing migrants to communicate their voices, it allows for the flow of dialogue between stakeholders, communities and the migrants themselves which in our experience forms an integral part of the process of integration of new arrivals as this serves to increase understanding and breakdown barriers to socialisation.

The success of these projects speaks to how Fixers' 'voice as value' approach can serve as a means for achieving integration through communication – a key part in any process of assimilation. As previously noted, our [voice as value](#) approach has both positive impacts for both the communicator and audience – in this case, the migrant/refugee and society/service providers respectively. For the migrants, the positive outcomes stem from them having the opportunity to articulate their voices and receiving recognition of their lived experiences or point of view; for those working with migrants or for the wider community, they gain an invaluable insight into the lived experience of the communicator free from organisational agendas or pre-conceived notions.

A further benefit of this approach is that recently arrived migrants can communicate their voices via a range of media platforms – ranging from social media to regional television – and directly to audiences that may not be usually receptive to a migrant's message unfiltered by institutions or societal preconceptions. In turn, this allows the communicator to challenge stigma, preconceptions and harmful stereotypes in a way that would be difficult through institutional media. Without the support of an organisation like Fixers, such voices are left unheard and neglected from policy debates that directly affect migrants but which presently do not properly represent them. This is true for many other 'left behind' groups on a whole host of issues.

Settled ethnic minority communities

As with recent migrant arrivals, Fixers has worked with many young people from across a wide range of minority groupings on issues relating to discrimination, racism and social isolation. Fixer projects such as Terrain Watte-Lee's [campaign](#), which aimed to challenge negative stereotypes of black youths, or [Lyla Asif](#) who led a Fixers campaign challenging attitudes within the British Asian community towards people with disabilities. In particular with the latter example, Fixers have sought to provide a platform for the articulation of voices from socially isolated groups existing within ethnic or racial minority communities – arguably the least socially integrated groups due to their positions within their communities which are themselves less integrated.

As with all Fixer projects, we aim to empower unheard voices through obtaining recognition and value regarding their views and experiences. By empowering socially isolated ethnic minority groups through the articulation of voice, in our experience, this breaks down barriers to social integration by allowing certain groups to speak for themselves rather than through community or institutional voice – which often comes with its own agenda and priorities that can often be unrepresentative of those they are meant to represent. It is through the articulation of voice that minority groups can be integrated into society by giving them a sense of empowerment, engagement and buy-in to society that more traditional institutionalised integration processes often fail to provide. Indeed, our experience in helping socially isolated groups communicate their voices to institutions demonstrates that by allowing them to articulate positive narratives, based on their lived experiences, is beneficial for both them and their audience. By challenging established narratives and preconceptions, while increasing understanding and empathy, both groups benefit through open dialogue and positive communication – this is essential for any process of integration as both need to understand, empathise and communicate as a prerequisite for social cohesion.

References

Michael Ganz and Liz McKenna, *The Practice of Social Movement Leadership*, Mobilizing Ideas, <https://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2017/06/23/the-practice-of-social-movement-leadership/> [retrieved: 07/08/17]

Birdwell, Scott & Reynolds, *Youth United*, 2015

G McKenna and L Edwards, *Giving Social Action a Voice: Reframing Communication as Social Action*, 2016

L Edwards, *Voice as Value: A Powerful Tool for Transformational Change*, 2015

8 September 2017

Foundation for Social Improvement – written evidence (CCE0063)

The FSI represents 5960 small charities (local, regional, national and international) and community group organisational members across the UK with an income under £1.5 million per annum. We have three clear aims, which are:

- a) Champion the role of these organisations within civil society, providing a collective voice to influence locally and nationally through engagement, campaigning and collaboration. Working with our membership, we listen to their issues and raise these with decision-makers
- b) To build skills, knowledge and expertise within our member organisations through the delivery of online webinars, training and information videos and resources, face to face training, workshops and conferences, remote and face to face advice and qualifications. We cover a wide range of subjects, fundraising (all methodologies), impact measurement, governance, case for support and strategy.

Our overarching aim is to build a more efficient, effective, accountable and sustainable small charity sector recognised for the contribution it makes in delivering a stronger civil society across the UK.

Executive summary

We surveyed our members for this call for evidence and all respondents supported the broad aims of the National Citizens Service of social cohesion, social mobility and social engagement. However it should be more explicit that social cohesion encompasses the acceptance and appreciation of differences. Young people should not only seek to integrate with other young people from different backgrounds but should also include different inter-generational groups and those with disabilities.

Programmes should be aimed at young people as they become more self-aware, not only of their own capabilities but of how they interact and could integrate with their counterparts and the wider community.

More opportunities should be created to encourage volunteering, whole community engagement and for young people to understand the power of community involvement and their voice in civic engagement.

Everyone should play a part in encouraging young people to become active in civic engagement and that small local charities (third sector organisations) be at the centre

through the provision of forums, work experience, engagement with educational institutions and by supporting their beneficiary groups to be active citizens.

National government plays a crucial role through providing funding, training and facilitating collaboration.

Written Submission

Questions: 1/2/3/4/5 No response

Question 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?

80 per cent of respondents believed that the aims of the National Citizen Service would achieve the goal of creating active citizenship.

96 per cent of respondents believed that the overall aims of the National Citizen Service were appropriate and played a positive role in creating active citizens. Respondents also believed that as well as fostering understanding about different backgrounds, cohesion should also encompass the acceptance and appreciation of differences, and the integration and understanding of different inter-generational groups and those with disabilities.

When asked if participation in the National Citizen Service should be compulsory 52 per cent felt that it should not be compulsory. Those who felt it should be compulsory (48 per cent) said the programme should start with students at Key Stage 4, year 10 to 11 and be incorporated in the PCSCE subject syllabus, when students are becoming more self-aware and aware of their counter parts and how their involvement with others, from all backgrounds, could make a positive change in their communities. Participation in the National Citizen Service would continue through to Key Stage 5, Years 12 to 13.

A majority of respondents did not favour adding a greater political element to the National Citizen Service programme (59 per cent), and a more public citizenship ceremony would be welcomed by 68 per cent of respondents.

When asked if the National Citizen Service provided good value for money 23 per cent agreed, 28 per cent disagreed and 49 per cent said they didn't know.

Three key areas emerged in respect of opportunities that exist to create active citizens:

- **Volunteering:** Encouraging young people to get involved (volunteer) with local civil society organisations. Civil Society organisations should make

community volunteering opportunities available for younger people that take advantage of their experiences as well as building their skills for future life.

- **Community Engagement:** Schools should engage with more local civil society groups to showcase the value of their work. Encourage younger people to collaborate with local civil society groups to develop in school projects to deliver against a local challenge.
- **Understanding:** Community programmes be developed that encourage young people to believe that their views matter and support them to become aware of the power of their voice if they make it heard locally, regionally, nationally and internationally.

Question 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?

92 per cent of respondents believed that charities (third sector organisations) should promote and encourage civic engagement. Many of our respondents stated that many small local charities offer opportunities for civic engagement to young people and, through their (small local charities) understanding of local communities, know how to move young people in the correct direction towards a life of civic engagement. Specific engagement opportunities that could be provided by small local charities (third sector organisations) included:

- Provision of short work experience opportunities that would provide a wider view of local communities and the opportunity to mix with people from different backgrounds, ages and abilities.
- Provide forums for young people to engage in local democracy by amplifying what is important to them and guiding them to responsible activism.
- Attending school, college and university career events.
- Be commissioned to provide engagement opportunities for young people to experience, reflect and learn about civic engagement.
- Work proactively with their beneficiary groups to understand the extent to which they can play a specific role in the promotion of civic engagement through spreading awareness of the issues they face and by making links with other parts of the community.

Many respondents commented that both central government and devolved and local government are not proactive enough in recognising the huge contributions that smaller local organisations make to community welfare. They could improve this through a more focussed programme of supporting volunteers and volunteering:

- Local government provide a platform from which small local charities can promote their work and opportunities for involvement with local communities to young people.
- Local government to provide forums where young people from all sections of the community can come together to focus on respect for others and pride in their local area.

Respondents were keen to suggest a number of ways that central government could support small local charities to increase civic engagement within their local communities:

Funding:

- Provide funding for programmes that can demonstrate that they facilitate civic engagement and that the programmes result in an increase of civic engagement that delivers positive outcomes within the local community.
- Meet overhead costs for the provision of programmes that promote, facilitate and deliver civic engagement i.e. transport, venue costs etc.
- As suggested above, provide seed funding for the co-production of school and civil society organisation projects that meet a local challenge.

Training:

- Support local civic engagement events/programmes etc. through the provision of training on how to raising awareness through marketing and communications activities, project management, leadership etc.

Collaboration:

- Promote meaningful collaboration between local young people and small local civil society organisations.
- Involve small local civil society organisations at all levels when exploring, developing and implementing. Involvement in co-planning events through their knowledge of and reach into their local communities.
- Use of local data, held by small local civil society organisations, to provide a local narrative to national statistics.

Question 8/9/10/11 no response

Question 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?

Members were asked what initiatives they were aware of that supported young people to be active citizens:

- Girl Guides, Scouts and other similar organisations
- Youth projects delivered through Volunteer Centres
- Educational establishment volunteering programmes
- Organisations like ACT and the Citizenship Foundation
- Eastside and Southside Young Leaders Academy (London)
- Creative Youth Network, Babassa, Princes Trust (Bristol)
- Valleys Kids (Tonypandy)

Members were also asked to put forward suggestions of role models for young people who were aspiring to be active citizens. Whilst there are role models out there, who you choose would depend on the interests of the young people you were trying to engage, therefore responses focussed on groups:

- Young activists and campaigners can be a great example to young people to encourage involvement
- To look to themselves (young people) to be role models at community level, encouraging their peers.
- It was commented that the use of celebrities and public figures can be seen as being either too far from reality for some young people or can raise unrealistic aspirations.

5 September 2017

Good Things Foundation – written evidence (CCE0206)

Summary:

1. This response focuses on three key areas:
 - Good Things Foundation and the Online Centres Network as an example of an organisation which supports both civic engagement and social cohesion and integration
 - Some of the barriers to active citizenship faced by adults, and our Theory of Change
 - Our experience of delivering a major English language programme - English My Way - supported by the Department for Communities and Local Government, and its impact on community integration.

We have also put forward recommendations for consideration by the committee.

Good Things Foundation and the Online Centres Network as an example of best practice

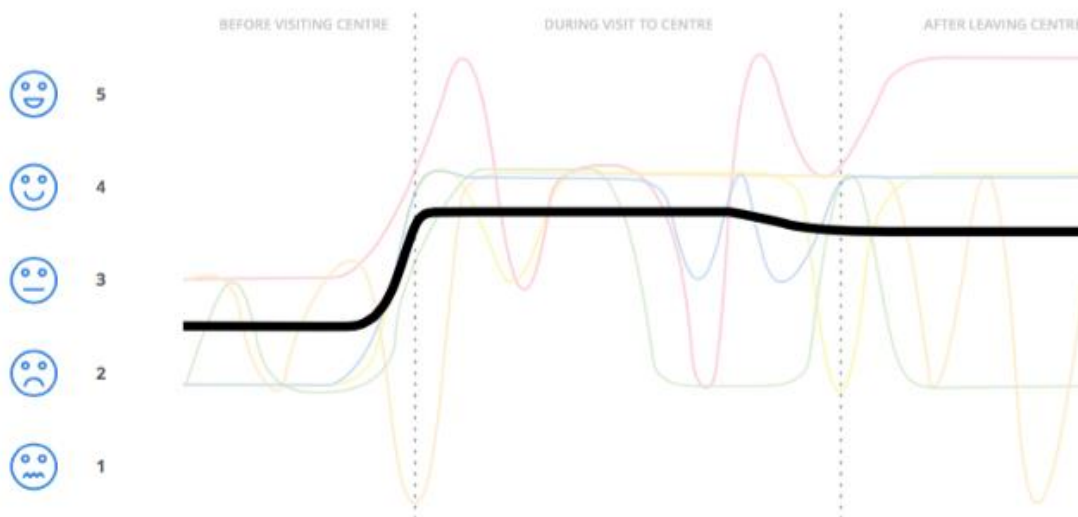
2. Working with a hyperlocal network of 5,000 community partners, Good Things has a significant reach and scale. Set up originally as a network to tackle digital exclusion by providing free or low cost support in using the internet, it has evolved to become a network which supports disadvantaged people in some of England's poorest communities to come together in vibrant and positive ways, creating more socially cohesive and engaged communities. We believe we have a model for community cohesion and civic engagement which could be built on.
3. This is demonstrated through the range of outcomes we support individuals to achieve. In 2016-17, we supported 266,910 people, of whom we helped:
 - 230,484 (86.35%) individuals to achieve digital outcomes, helping them to improve their basic digital skills and use the internet on a regular basis
 - 216,245 (81.02%) individuals to achieve economic outcomes, helping them progress to further learning or better employment, and improving financial literacy
 - 230,729 (86.44%) individuals to achieve health and social outcomes, helping them to improve their health, wellbeing, and social connections.
4. All of the 5,000 Online Centres are different to one another. There is no formula; it is not a franchise. Each one is separate from Good Things Foundation; they are all independently owned, managed and funded. The common bond is a shared vision of a 100% digitally skilled nation, a commitment to provide free or low cost support to help people learn how to use the internet, and a passion for social change within their local community.

5. All Online Centres do something else as well as digital skills support, such as run a community venue, host a youth club or older people's club, offer other informal or formal learning, or loan books. There is no cost to join the network, and most Centres will not receive any funding or financial support from Good Things Foundation. It is not primarily a financial bond.
6. Online Centres are often found in community centres and public libraries, but they can also often be found in village halls, places of worship (churches, mosques, synagogues and temples), cafes, social housing, old people's homes, on mobile buses, in pubs, clubs and bingo halls. One began as a fish and chip shop in Stockport, whose managers were determined to help local people find work. Many are local community organisations who also support people through other learning, for example learning to speak English as a second language, or learning other computer skills. The vast majority are open to the public, although some aren't - for example those based in factories, or Women's Hostels. The definition of a Centre is not fixed - it could be a computer in a village hall, four laptops or tablets taken into a pub on a Friday morning, or 50 computers in a school lab being used in the evening. Each Centre is based on the needs of the individual community it serves.
7. Simply put, we reach the parts of the UK that other organisations don't or can't reach, by creating a movement which small, hyperlocal and committed groups and organisations want to be part of.
8. We power a movement of public sector partners, corporates, community organisations, volunteers, and the Online Centres Network, and together we tackle some of society's toughest problems. We make lasting social change happen through empowering and embedding new behaviours and relationships. Our local partners are very important; they are grassroots organisations who understand the experiences and needs of the people they support every day in their local communities, and who are passionate and motivated to make change. Our collective impact, across all our partners, is greater than any one would achieve alone. We provide the energy, the openness, and the drive to pull it all together to make it work.
9. We lead a movement for social change. We create a long-term, meaningful and sustainable relationship with everyone in this movement based on shared vision and social action. Bringing partners together with a common goal has succeeded for digital

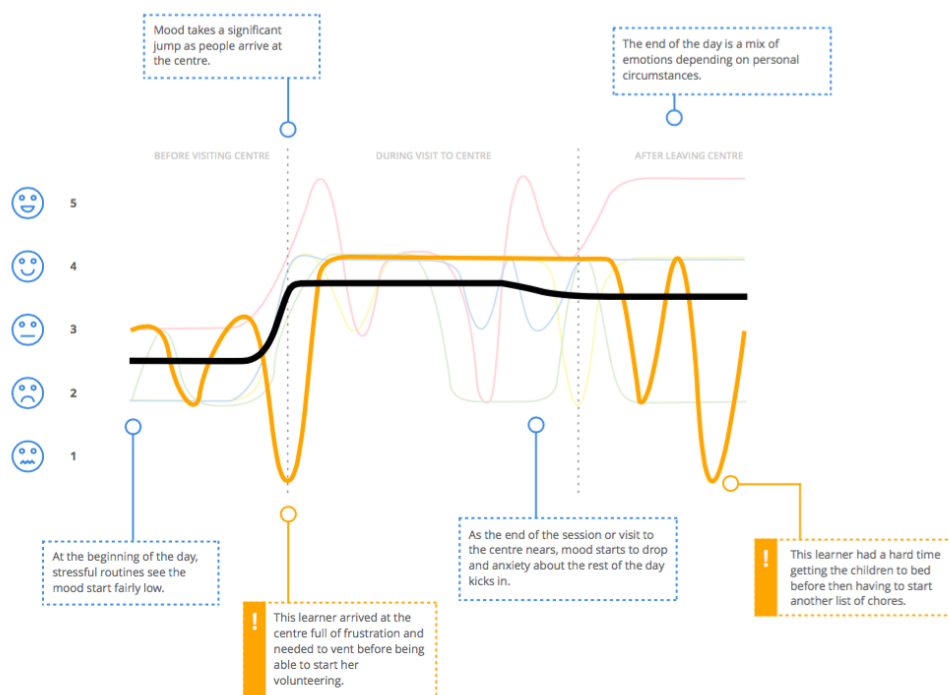
inclusion, now we want to achieve this success with social inclusion more broadly, solving some of society’s most intractable problems.

Barriers to active citizenship

10. Through our research, we’ve uncovered that a major barrier to achieving outcomes - including civic engagement - relates to poor mental and emotional wellbeing and lack of support. Our theory of change is about supporting resilient people and communities. Over the past two years we carried out a Longitudinal Learner Study which demonstrated that our centres deal in relationships with learners, often over a period of months or years - rather than shorter, more transactional services.
11. Recognising the importance of these relationships and emotional support as fundamental to learning, Good Things developed a theory of change based on people’s emotional willingness to engage at different levels. We worked with centre managers and learners to develop a theory of change in participation with those people affected by the change. In general, people arrive at a centre distressed, and leave happier and more able to cope with the rest of their day:

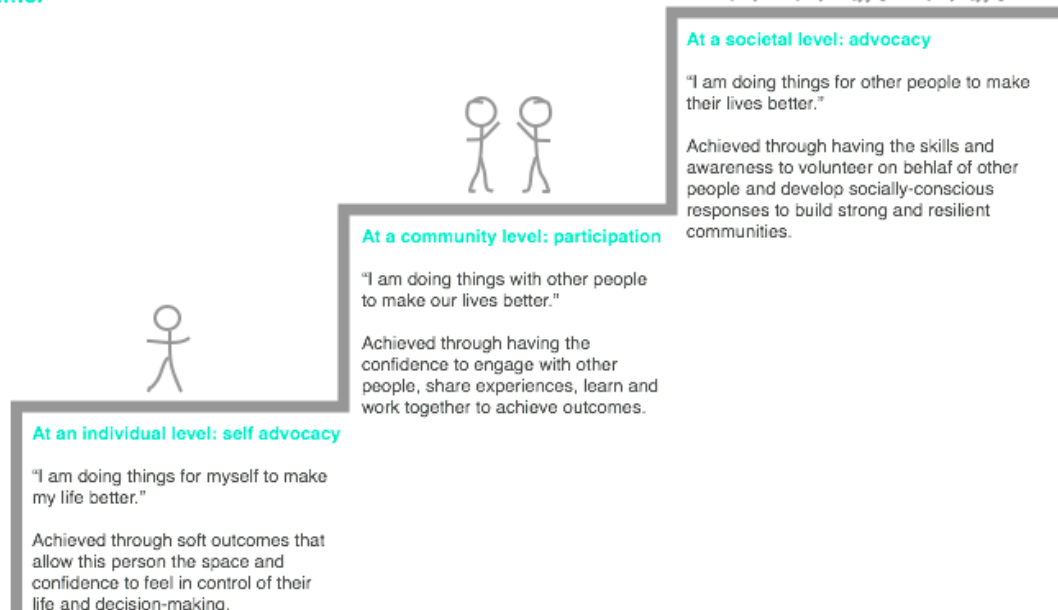


12. We have pin-pointed the triggers that affect a person’s emotional state:



13. From this, we developed a theory of change based on engaging at three levels: an individual, community and societal level.

We think people come together to create powerful and resilient communities. Resilient communities start with resilient people. We want to support people to be active agents in changing their lives, communities and society, one step at a time.



INPUTS

Be listened to
 Be offered a safe and quiet space
 Be trusted with equipment

Take a digital skills course
 Write an action plan
 Apply for social housing

Share a problem
 Recognise your existing skills
 Trust someone

Become a volunteer
 Take part in peer support
 Join a community group

Be trusted by others
 Empathise with others

Be a community leader
 Be a digital champion
 Organise an event or class
 Be a mentor

OUTCOMES

Feel more confident
 Feel more in control
 Improved short-term well-being
 See a future for yourself

Develop new functional skills
 Get a qualification
 Become housed
 Find work

Grow a support network
 Feel more socially confident
 Improved longer-term wellbeing
 Believe in a future for yourself

Find work
 Take action to improve a shared problem

Have a clear sense of purpose
 Improved long-term well-being
 Believe in a future for your community

Gain leadership skills
 Take action to improve your community

14. In order for change to occur in the lives of individuals, Online Centres need to be able to respond to whoever comes through their door, whatever challenges they face. This is not an easy ask. In times of austerity, where funding streams continue to shrink, the divide between those who not only survive but flourish and those who struggle to exist,

continues to grow. Online Centres have an open door policy. This means that they are seeing more people whose needs are desperate and complex.

15. Knowing and being able to negotiate the system, or the systems, in which the people have to operate is crucial. Individuals may have physical and mental health needs, face language barriers, be at risk of losing their home and have no personal support networks to draw upon. They also rely on public services, but often struggle to meet the demands that these place on them. Many centres support individuals to navigate and resolve interlinked and complex problems.
16. They do this with very little resource, through persistence and personality. However this places them in a position of vulnerability. Their funding is often precarious and short-term, but they are being expected to absorb more. Even if centres have fantastic staff and volunteers, it is often very difficult for them to sustain themselves as businesses.
17. But some Online Centres have found a way to not only meet the range of complex needs that people present with, but to flourish. This is the networked network. A network of Online Centres who work participatively with other centres and wider organisations in their local or regional area. These include centres who have relationships with other Online Centres, health professionals (including CCGs and GPs), job centres, social housing providers, CVS, other third sectors specialists, local businesses and national charities. Accessing funding together they are also able to treat the person as a whole. This means understanding that one area of need in a person's life will impact another i.e. poor mental health due to housing worries will affect someone's willingness and ability to engage in learning and apply for work. Being outward looking and participatory also means they demonstrate positive organisational behaviours, they're keen to test new approaches, to draw learnings from others and to share ideas across a wider platform of activity, often online. We believe this approach is critical in order to support citizens to play a more active role in society.

English language skills as a gateway to social integration

18. The Casey Review, published on 5 December 2016, places a high priority on the acquisition of English language skills as one of the keys to better social integration and social mobility. In Newham, 11.1% of women are not proficient in English, with a similar proportion in other London boroughs including Tower Hamlets and Brent. As well as recommending greater government investment in community ESOL provision through central government and local authorities (via the adult skills budget), the review also

noted that “greater digital awareness may also be a protective factor in improving knowledge, understanding and access to public services” and recommends investment in improving IT literacy for parents in segregated areas.

19. The most recent census data from 2011 shows that 863,000 people in England and Wales are ‘non-proficient’ in English - 726,000 can’t speak English well and 138,000 can’t speak English at all. People with low levels of English are more likely to report worse health and are three times more likely to have no educational qualifications. Of those who are employed, people with low levels of English are twice as likely to work in lower skilled jobs as those with high English proficiency.
20. Current demand for English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) provision is far greater than supply. As a result, people who want to learn English are regularly being turned away, losing out on the skills that would help them integrate into their local community and improve their life prospects. We therefore need to look to low-cost, innovative and scalable solutions.
21. Good Things Foundation’s belief that everyone should have the opportunity to participate fully in society means that our work often focusses on those who face profound barriers. This includes people who have little or no English language skills, which can make it very difficult for them to navigate British society and integrate with their wider communities.
22. For the last three years, Good Things Foundation has led a community-based English language project, called English My Way, in partnership with the BBC and British Council, to support adults with no or low levels of English language skills.
23. Funded by the Department for Communities and Local Government, the project provides pre-entry level ESOL skills through a structured 24-week blended learning programme, improving English language skills to help people better integrate with their local communities. This fresh, community-based approach to English language learning combines tutor-led sessions, rich multimedia online learning, and volunteer-supported ‘Learning Circles.’
24. English My Way has reached people with the lowest levels of English language skills, especially women, working in areas of England with high demand for English language support. The programme is currently delivered in 58 areas of the highest language within England, 23 of which are in London. During the first two years of the programme:

- 9,172 learners benefited from ESOL learning
- 70% of learners progressed to an Entry Level 1 ESOL course.

25. The [English My Way](#) website was developed as the online home of the ESOL learning programme, making flexible tutor resources and session plans available completely free. Learners in our English My Way programme reported improved self-confidence in using English with acquaintances (65%), in public (68%), and with doctors (61%), supporting greater social cohesion and community integration.

Recommendations

26. Online Centres provide opportunities for people of different faiths and cultures to come together in an informal community setting to learn new skills and build friendships. They are currently supported by around 20,000 volunteers, many of whom have started as learners within the Centres. We believe these Centres represent an untapped resource to build bridges within and between communities.
27. Our recommendation is that Government works with Good Things Foundation to consider how the Online Centres Network could be much more widely promoted to support people who are marginalised or excluded, and increase their levels of civic and community engagement. We already have a close referral relationship with Jobcentres - 36% of UK online centre users are referred by their local Jobcentre - and this referral model could be extended across other public services.
28. We also recommend that the Department for Communities and Local Government continues to invest in, and to expand, its English language programme - through which English My Way is funded - which has helped thousands of migrant women to develop the language skills they need to become more integrated within their local communities.

Helen Milner, Chief Executive Officer

Graeme Davis – written evidence (CCE0108)

The meaning of citizenship and civic engagement in the 21st Century

The meaning of citizenship is quite broad. I think it is about belonging to a nation that values its citizens and will look out for them. Protecting them and their families and making sure that everyone within the community is heard and represented. This may be through protecting a minority's rights to exist, to healthcare and education. I feel that this should be done through engagement with the public through a variety of resources from consultation meetings and councillors, MPs etc. talking directly to the public. For the 21st Century this communication is becoming increasingly important through social media channels as much as traditional methods.

The rights and responsibilities attached to citizenship

As a citizen you should have the right to a good education standard, good healthcare, employment, a home to live in, a good environment and for your views to be able to be expressed through the political system. You have a responsibility to respect your fellow citizens and to do your best to look after your 'neighbours' and to adhere to the laws that have been granted as part of living in a co-operative system. As part of your rights, if a law is not working then you should have the opportunity to question it, raise it and see if others agree to change within a moral framework.

The state of citizenship education and the role that it plays in creating active citizenship

Citizenship education not very strong. How can people get involved in helping society? It should be taught to people how to get involved in your local community. How you can help a community, and how the community can help you?

The role of voluntary citizenship schemes such as the National Citizen Service

I think voluntary citizenship schemes are incredibly valuable in installing values within people and also letting people see other groups' points of view. Having worked with many charities this is important. For instance if you work with disabled people you learn what obstacles they have in daily life. This can mould you in decision making for the future, both in your personal life and quite often in your working life. In terms of the environment, working with an environmental group can make you appreciate the damage something simple like littering can do, or pollution. The engagement with groups you would not normally interact with is also an opportunity that breaks down barriers, like working with the homeless, religious groups that are not your own, or minority groups from other nationalities, disabled, homeless, people with additional problems etc. It helps you get an understanding of other people's issues/lives and if everybody had access to services like this it would lead to more social cohesion and a better country to live in, for them and yourself. It also opens people to new ideas and activities that they would not normally come across.

and fuels people's imagination leading to people being happier with themselves, more productive and open to new experiences, reducing problems like depression and loneliness. The question need to be asked though if the scheme is open to all or just the privileged that can let their children go? Could it be used to include other things to get children more involved like music or football?

The ways society can support civic engagement and the role of government and parliament in supporting that

For society, government and parliament to get people more engaged in civic duty it has to be made more approachable. It needs to engage people at all levels and aspects of life. People can not be led to think they are too poor or lack the education to be actively involved in creating a better environment. People need to know they can get involved in local projects and do things that can make a change not just for them but others they care about. This needs to be done more readily through more modern engagement of social media, clubs and talks and then leading onto active participation/discussion meetings and/or related activities. Communication is a strong lead in engagement, and often overlooked. People often say, I would have said something about an issue, but I found out after the event. Engaging all interested groups, even via a email, or social media invite at least would go some way in trying to get people more involved in what goes on in the country, especially when it comes to the youth. Local authorities getting the public's opinion on what they want to do to improve their area is a great start, but then when projects get up and going to get people to volunteer to see the project through and have some sense of ownership has a big impact. They then have time and effort invested in ideas and therefore tend to pay more respect to what is going on around them, often leading to engagement in future projects.

Time to get involved is often an issue, as most people work, getting actively involved in civic engagement has to be done outside a normal working life, or time needs to be made to allow people to take part in activities.

The values that all of us who live in Britain should share and supporting

To be able to be a citizen regardless of ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, religion, age, politics, class, economic standing, nationality and gender, and to have equal opportunities.

To be accepting of other even though they may be different from ourselves

To create a community where we all bond together making a safer, happier and freer environment.

To reduce obstacles of inclusion so that we can all live an easier life and all have a say

Ensure the country is left in a good state for future generations.

The relationship between civic engagement and social cohesion

A cohesive society is integral to active civic engagement. Listening to people issues/problems can give you ideas about how to help them. This can be done through civic duties like engagement with say the planning of a town centre environment. Issues that a disabled group may have can be brought into the political planning realm and overcome through dialogue with planners to make sure that all groups are included. Within a town plan different religious groups, environmental groups, disabled groups, sexual orientation groups, youth groups, healthy living groups, homeless etc. can all be included and catered for. Helping with the local political system can make sure a bit of wild area is left for a rare species, or that street furniture is placed right for say those with visual impairment. Often those in local government making the decisions are unaware of the problems groups face and these can not be heard unless the public gets engaged in the decision making processes. By working this way as previously stated you also engage with other groups that you may not interact with in your normal life. It is good to get people from all walks of life involved in dialogue together to create a country they are happy and proud to live in. Working together breaks down barriers, and in the case of the current mood in the UK reduces fears of groups of people who often have exactly the same values as yourself but different religions, sexual orientations etc.

It is important for the authorities to help people get more engaged in their local communities to create a rich social infrastructure and make a more valuable and cohesive community and environment.

7 September 2017

Dr Roman Gerodimos – written evidence (CCE0082)

Author bio: *Dr Roman Gerodimos is a Principal Academic in Global Current Affairs at Bournemouth University and a faculty member at the Salzburg Academy on Media & Global Change. He is the founder of the Greek Politics Specialist Group of the Political Studies Association (PSA) of the UK and a Fellow of the Higher Education Academy (FHEA). His research on youth civic engagement won the 2010 Arthur McDougall Prize awarded by the Political Studies Association. He is the co-editor of The Media, Political Participation & Empowerment (Routledge, 2013) and The Politics of Extreme Austerity: Greece in the Eurozone Crisis (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). His work has been published in peer reviewed journals (Political Studies, Public Administration, Journal of Information Technology & Politics, Information, Communication & Society, Journal of Media Literacy Education), in edited volumes, and in hundreds of interviews and articles in news media around the world. In 2015, he was invited to deliver the keynote address at the European Commission / Council of Europe symposium on youth participation in a digitalised world.*

This evidence is submitted in a personal capacity.

1. The shifts in the modes of civic engagement, and in public attitudes towards the political system and democracy at large, are the result of patterns and deep sociocultural changes that have been unfolding over a very long time within liberal democracies, including the UK. These include, amongst others:

- (i) the rejection, challenging or by-passing of authority and hierarchy as concepts and organising principles, which has a knock-on effect on political institutions as agents of representation
- (ii) a shift from civic duty and collective responsibility to individual identity and fulfilment (or 'self-actualisation') as the primary driver of engagement
- (iii) globalisation, which is the symptom and cause of complex, interdependent global challenges, diffused (and occasionally less transparent and accountable) networks of experts and stakeholders, and a perceived gap between the *loci* of decision-making and the electorate as a collective body
- (iv) digitisation, which not only favours a radically different mode of public and political communication (faster, less considered, more aggressive, more informal, potentially anonymous) but, also, fundamentally challenges the relevance of affinity with local and national communities and identities.

2. These phenomena pose fundamental, existential challenges for citizenship as we've known and defined it over the last couple of centuries because they alter the terms and conditions of the 'social contract' and blur the geographic and political boundaries of the community and of the demos. Perhaps the most important of these phenomena is the challenge to *representation*, i.e. the idea that individual citizens delegate power to *groups* of

representatives chosen in a formalised, orderly manner on the basis of geographic collocation (constituencies).

3. While turnout in recent UK elections shows evidence of resilience, and while the work of parliament remains important, the challenge to representation *as a concept*, and the preference for more direct forms of democracy in which individuals feel like they have more control, are likely to only become more intense. Furthermore, partly due to the increasing role of affect (emotion) in public communication, we are likely to see a further intensification of personalisation – i.e. citizens having the need to identify with / vote for individual leaders, as opposed to being part of collective institutional aggregators, such as political parties.

4. Citizenship is increasingly structured and performed through *ad hoc issue-oriented campaigns* and *identity politics*. As national narratives have been declining, and as both the European Union project and institutions of global governance are facing a crisis of legitimacy and effectiveness, citizens desperately seek narratives, values and frameworks around which they can anchor their identity and assign meaning to their existence. The decline of nationalism – especially in metropolitan centres and amongst more cosmopolitan demographics – has enabled the development of vibrant multicultural communities. However, it has also created an emotional and symbolic void, that is now being covered by demographic traits (race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality), lifestyle choices (religion, dietary preferences, attitude towards animals etc) or – for a small minority of younger people – association with extremist ideologies.

5. The shift to affinity with identity groups creates multiple moral, logistical and social challenges for citizenship: it creates ‘echo chambers’ in which people are less likely to encounter the Other (these ‘filter bubbles’ are also facilitated by digital algorithms); it encourages an identity potentially built around victimhood and grievance, as opposed to enterprise and responsibility; and it positions interest and identity groups against each other in antagonistic pursuit of maximum cultural, political and economic capital.

6. The post-war rules-based framework of human rights, civil liberties and state-provided welfare, and the more recent shift towards framing citizens as users and consumers who are entitled to the provision of choice and service, has created the expectation that the political system will always continue to provide these rights and entitlements automatically, as a default position, regardless of the economic and political context. Less emphasis has been given to cultivating a sense of civic responsibility, duty, compromise, coexistence and active participation in maintaining and nurturing those values and entitlements; and to demonstrating how civic action or inaction can lead to them being taken away.

7. Based on the above analysis, changes to the nature of civic engagement and the social function of citizenship are likely to be radical and long-term. It is, therefore, unlikely that “quick fixes” or “local patches” would be able to have a substantive effect on nurturing the civic culture and citizenship as part of a balanced representative democracy. The course of civic engagement in the 21st century mirrors that of other sectors and human activities (such as journalism, travel, consumption, spirituality etc): it is becoming more individualised and

fragmented. The *body politic* is increasingly amorphous, pluralistic and constantly shifting. The in-group/out-group distinction of the political community depends on engagement with issues and identity groups, rather than solid national citizenship or local residence.

8. That is not to say that the nation-state is irrelevant as a legal and emotional framework; but that it may well face significant challenges and the need to reassert its authority and governability, especially as we move towards a period of “crisis governance” due to insufficient global governance structures, complex global problems and inadequate resources (Goldin 2013, Malloch-Brown 2011, Micklethwait and Wooldridge 2014). Thus, it is important to invent ways of maximising consent and civility, so as to protect the resilience of communities and of the democratic system as a whole.

9. Political science has historically shown that political and party systems are built around cleavages – whether these are socioeconomic (e.g. class), religious (e.g. majority v. minority), ethnic (community A v. community B) or cultural (e.g. liberal v. authoritarian). One such cleavage that was important in the past and has become salient again – and perhaps just about to become by far the most important one – is that between globalised, multicultural urban centres and (re)nationalised rural peripheries. This is something that is happening across many western liberal democracies. As an increasing number of people move to cities and conurbations, large sections of society on the one hand feel economically left behind (as most income generation, infrastructure projects and business activities take place in urban areas), and on the other hand do not have the opportunity of regularly and meaningfully interacting with demographic and social groups that are substantially different from them. This creates widespread feelings of resentment, alienation and victimhood, as expressed in both the Brexit referendum and in the 2016 presidential election in the United States.

10. One potential cause of cynicism and perceived inequality that has not yet been adequately researched, but could be potentially playing a role, is the *fragmentation of opportunities*. The multiplication of schemes, grants, benefits and resources – such as the piloting of civic innovations, tools, apps on a microlocal scale – may be *reinforcing*, rather than tackling, patterns of inequality and disengagement, as these opportunities are likely to be taken up by those who are already engaged and have a basic understanding of how the system works, whereas those who are traditionally marginalised, cynical or less civically literate are unlikely to actively search for, or be aware of, them. The state is finding itself having to invest considerable resource in trying to “sell” policies, initiatives and opportunities to its own citizens, with these policies usually only ending up reaching people who are inclined to listen. In that sense, opting for less but bigger-scale, more visible, universal, nation-wide schemes, reforms of opportunities has a much greater potential of raising awareness and engagement, as well as ensuring that citizens feel that they are being included.

11. The media and information landscape provides us with a similar, albeit somewhat different, case. Past media research showed that the multiplication of TV channels and the fragmentation of media outlets led to the loss of the sense of shared experience (TV having

traditionally acted as “the altar of the living room”). For example, increasing the number of channels in Israel led to *less* people watching the news *across both channels*, as opposed to when there was only one channel, because people felt less motivated to engage (Katz 1996). While social media (Twitter in particular) have assumed part of this role of bringing audiences together into a quasi-public sphere, the civic experience is going through profound changes. As “the public” becomes more fragmented, and as democratic institutions have to compete for the public’s attention, it is important to reflect on whether a unified *body politic* (whether we call that “British society”, “community”, “demos” or “the public”) is still a relevant concept – something to be retained – or whether we should fully embrace its segmentation into interest and identity groups. If we are to maintain it, then we ought to agree on the unifying principles – i.e. the values or concepts around which that public is to be united.

12. However, there is also another – symbolic, but no less crucial – aspect to this: by appearing keen or desperate to be “liked” by citizens-consumers, the state is then perceived as just another service provider (and not a particularly good one, especially when compared to some of the better-resourced tech providers). Its core role as provider of other civic functions (survival, civil protection, education, social order, social cohesion, national unity) is, thus, weakened.

13. Therefore, the state should be more proactive and dynamic in reasserting its role, otherwise there is the danger that the social fabric, civic culture, formal political participation and perceptions of fairness will all continue to decline. That does not mean micromanaging or inspecting every aspect of our lives, but providing citizens with robust frameworks of commonly accepted values and ground rules that they can identify with. Strengthening the meaning and relevance of citizenship is key to making democracy sustainable in the long term. Here are a few practical ways in which this could be facilitated:

14. – Enhancing the importance of citizenship ceremonies, not just for migrants, but also for first-time voters. The citizenship ceremony should be a rite of passage; a cause for celebration; and an opportunity for the citizen to be aware of their rights, but also of their responsibilities to the community.

15. – Requiring that all incoming refugees and migrants demonstrate proficiency of, or take up lessons in, the English language is key to social cohesion; not only does it empower incoming citizens to participating equally in social life, but it can also be perceived by native populations as a sign of *bona fide* determination on the part of incoming migrants to integrate.

16. – Making citizenship a core element of the formal curriculum throughout the educational cycle, but also ensuring that the content of that curriculum addresses current issues and challenges, incorporating: (a) civics, institutions, rights and responsibilities, (b) contemporary history, (c) coexistence skills (listening, debating, compromising, empathy), (d) environmental education, (e) digital and media literacy, (f) awareness of the role, resources and processes of local authorities, including mandatory participation in community engagement projects. Therefore, by the time a young person is eligible to vote

they would have been systematically exposed to civic stimuli and they would have acquired vital skills of political socialisation that are currently facing a severe threat due to current patterns of digital/social media use.

17. – Introducing universal and compulsory National Civic Service, perhaps during the summer months, which would include training and voluntary work in the community, as well as getting a first-hand experience of the difficulties and challenges of managing public services, projects, budgets, teams and organisations, and an understanding of the role of structures and hierarchies in social organisation. This is key to radically shifting public perceptions about the process of government and the role of citizens as stakeholders and co-owners of their communities.

18. – Moving elections and referenda from a Thursday to a Saturday or Sunday, which could boost turnout and enhance the perceptions of elections as civic occasions; and giving all young people the opportunity to engage – as volunteers or assistants – in the process, so that they get invested in this from early on.

19. – Considering the introduction of a written constitution that would clearly articulate fundamental civic principles and values that define what it means to be a UK citizen in the 21st century. These would include both fundamental rights, as well as basic responsibilities. The process of creating the written constitution itself should be framed and celebrated as a turning point in the civic life of the UK. Major political parties, civil society organisations and local communities ought to play a key role in leading this conversation and creating a consensual and engaging framework. In other words, this should be seen as an historic moment of articulating civic values, as opposed to a cause for antagonism along narrow party-political lines, although robust debate around particular clauses and provisions is to be expected and welcomed.

20. – Encouraging a sense of civic pride that is not founded on jingoistic nationalism (as is often the case with supporting national sporting teams), but on fundamental shared civic values, such as the unique heritage of the UK's parliamentary system, the framework of legal protections and civil liberties we all enjoy, the successes of UK scientists and scholars (which might also restore trust in the importance and function of experts, experience and bodies of accumulated knowledge), while not shying away from reflecting on past mistakes and the values of foreign Others.

21. – Facilitating the integration and assimilation of migrants and refugees, as well as dialogue across diverse demographic groups through innovative methods, such as the Human Library and the Living Library. Diversity is the wealth of a society, and interacting with other people from diverse backgrounds can have a very positive effect. However, a series of studies have shown that excessive diversity (or “superdiversity”) leads to fear, withdrawal and segregation into formal or informal ghettos (such as gated communities or monocultural urban enclaves), which in turn leads to disintegration, strife and echo chambers (Putnam 2007); even in high-trust environments, ethnic diversity has been found to undermine social trust amongst native-born adolescents (Loxbo 2017). Therefore, it is precisely in order to protect and nurture diversity, pluralism and tolerance

that we ought to promote and ensure integration.

22. – Public and community art, memorials, festivals, workshops, concerts, town hall meetings and open debates are all key to engaging citizens with public affairs, global issues, their local communities and with each other. There is no single path to renewing citizenship or nurturing engagement, and each one initiative or event on its own may have a marginal impact in the short term. It is the aggregate effect of political socialisation opportunities over times that creates a nurturing environment for the civic culture.

23. - The latest research on campaigning and political communication (e.g. Gerodimos and Justinussen 2015, Bartlett 2017) shows that microtargeting and personalisation algorithms in social media are very potent factors that have been playing a decisive role in a number of recent elections, including the 2008, 2012 and 2016 presidential elections in the United States, as well as possibly the 2016 EU referendum in the UK. As the bulk of our civic interactions and political communications shifts from the local (doorstep, local associations) and the national (TV and newspapers) to privately owned, globalised social media, it is paramount for the health and survival of our democracy to increase the transparency and, if necessary, to regulate the function of algorithms, advertising and microtargeting through social media.

24. – At the same time, the blurring of the boundaries between fact and fiction, and the ease of using social media to spread fake news and influence domestic audiences pose monumental challenges for democracy, as is the case with the interference in the domestic politics of Western countries and the cyber-attacks carried out by Russian agents throughout the last few years (Gerodimos, Vertegaal and Villa 2017). While the full effects of current campaigning and propaganda practices are yet to be fully studied and understood, algorithms, fake news, microtargeting and advertising in social media collectively pose the single most significant threat to democratic citizenship since its modern inception, precisely because there is currently *no* oversight of their architecture, design, operations, reach and objectives, and no universally accepted mechanism of checking and verifying facts. The expansion of tech companies' power and the emergence of hybrid warfare have the potential to cause massive disruption to democratic representation (see also Bartlett 2017).

25. While citizenship and civic engagement are fundamentally about the process – “the rules of the political game” – as opposed to individual issues or policies, my research (Gerodimos 2008, Gerodimos 2012) shows that younger people in particular only engage with causes or processes that (a) clearly signpost the issues at stake and (b) clearly signpost the effect or benefit that a citizen's participation will create. This somewhat utilitarian or functional conceptualisation of engagement does create tensions and problems: firstly, it is unrealistic to expect that one individual's actions will always, often or at any time, have a tangible impact; secondly, it creates the expectation that citizens will always “win”, i.e. that they will always more or less get something out of the political process, whereas participating in a democracy includes the possibility of losing, being in the minority or compromising; thirdly, this individualistic perception of engagement goes against the

principle of coexisting with others as part of a collective, organised society. However, in reality, these are the terms and conditions under which political engagement has to operate in an environment of accelerated pluralism, infinite outlets of consumption and opinion, and multiple stimuli oriented towards individual self-actualisation.

26. Therefore, 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 (Gerodimos 2008). As millions of jobs are about to be displaced due to automation, as Artificial Intelligence and nanotechnology are about to pose unprecedented moral and logistical dilemmas, as climate change, terrorism, forced migration and organised crime disrupt more and more communities, the only way for democracy to survive is for citizenship structures to be effective at aggregating citizens' concerns, as well as at maximising consent for legislative agendas, policies and legal frameworks. Ultimately, civic engagement is not an end in itself; but a means to a resilient, peaceful and well-functioning community.

References

- Bartlett, J. (2017), [“Secrets of Silicon Valley”](#) [Episode 1: The Disruptors, 06/08/2017; Episode 2: Persuasion Machine, 13/08/2017], BBC Two
- Gerodimos, R. (2008), [“Mobilising Young Citizens in the UK: a content analysis of youth and issue websites”](#), *Information, Communication & Society*, 11: 7, pp. 964-988
- Gerodimos, R. (2012), [“Online Youth Civic Attitudes and the Limits of Civic Consumerism: the Emerging Challenge to the Internet's Democratic Potential”](#), *Information, Communication & Society*, 15: 2, pp. 217-245
- Gerodimos, R. and Justinussen, J. (2015), [“Obama's 2012 Facebook Campaign: Political Communication in the Age of the Like Button”](#), *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 12: 2, pp. 113-132
- Gerodimos, R., Vertegaal, F. and Villa, M. (2017), [“Russia is Attacking Western Liberal Democracies”](#), NYU Jordan Center for the Advanced Study of Russia, 28/03/2017
- Goldin, I. (2013), [“Divided Nations: Why global governance is failing and what we can do about it.”](#) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Katz, E. (1996), [“And deliver us from segmentation”](#), *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 546, pp. 22-33
- Loxbo, K. (2017), [“Ethnic diversity, out-group contacts and social trust in a high-trust society”](#), *Acta Sociologica*, pp. 1-20
- Malloch-Brown, M. (2011), [“The Unfinished Global Revolution: The Limits of Nations and the Pursuit of a New Politics.”](#) London: Allen Lane.

The Glass-House Community Led Design – written evidence (CCE0054)

Micklethwait, J. and Wooldridge, A. (2014), [*The Fourth Revolution: The Global Race to Reinvent the State*](#). New York, NY: The Penguin Press

Putnam R.D. (2007), "[E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century – The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture](#)", *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30: 2, pp. 137–174

6 September 2017

The Glass-House Community Led Design – written evidence (CCE0054)

1. As a national charity supporting great placemaking that involves and empowers communities, our response draws on our experience of supporting civic engagement in how places are shaped – our streets, community buildings, parks and open spaces, housing and neighbourhoods.
2. Changes to the places where we live, work and play are governed by a range of rights (and their associated laws – e.g. Housing and Planning Act 2016) and with them responsibilities as citizens to act with care for those places and spaces (e.g. not to vandalise or litter). While “civic engagement can be seen as both a responsibility and a right of citizenship” (Call for Evidence, p.3), it is one thing for citizens to have rights and another to have agency – the knowledge and confidence to act on and engage with those rights. Education can play an integral role in this – both formal education and capacity building and training in other contexts.
- 3.0 The education system provides a limited citizenship education for children and young people. Since 2002, the subject of citizenship has been a statutory subject on the National Curriculum at secondary level. There is no statutory citizenship curriculum at primary level. The curriculum provides for building knowledge, skills and confidence relating generally to our political and social structures and engaging in these domains as citizens. However, there is little to support pupils’ knowledge and engagement with their built environment and changes to the shape of their neighbourhoods. These gaps in education at both primary and secondary level have been supported to some extent by organisations like The Glass-House Community Led Design, regional architecture centres, CABE and other local and national charities and non-profit organisations.

3.1 In 2013 and 2014, The Glass-House worked in partnership with the Citizenship Foundation (an independent charity championing civic participation) to develop the Make it our Neighbourhood project to provide an educational programme of resources and training to empower young in placemaking. The pilot project focused on engaging young people in new developments to their neighbourhoods, introducing them to the principles of design and planning within a context of active citizenship and supporting their involvement with live built environment projects. While regeneration processes deliver new infrastructure and can encourage social wellbeing in communities, local people are sometimes alienated rather than engaged in the process through a lack of or poor meaningful and transparent engagement. We have observed and heard from young people that very often they lack the opportunity to have a role in these developments.

3.2 One example of this kind of project in practice, was a partnership programme we delivered with developer St James and White City school Phoenix Academy to empower over 30 young people (Year 10 pupils), many of whom are from the White City estate, one of the most deprived areas in the borough

(<http://hamunitedcharities.org.uk/grants/reports/supporting-communities-preventing-social-exclusion-and-tackling-need/2-background-information-on-hammersmith-and-fulham-and-the-targeted-areas-and-wards>) to inspire and empower young people to become more active citizens. Students learned about regeneration and the development process through exploration and analysis of their local area, visited inspiring spaces and a live construction site, developed a vision and design ideas for a new public green space and presented and discussed their ideas with local businesses and community organisations, as well as the Board of Directors of St James. It helped to grow students' confidence and skills in participating in civic life, as well as in their classrooms and career development and empowered them to share their views and ideas with other stakeholders.

(<http://www.theglasshouse.org.uk/project/white-city-green-empowering-young-people-through-new-development/#1470311221219-3d715457-1849>).

4. Empowerment through the design process can act as a route to wider civic engagement that can help shift citizens' attitudes to seeing their places, for example, as a responsibility that they have a hand in, rather than something that is managed solely on their behalf by their local authority or other agencies. With over 15 years' experience of supporting communities to meaningfully engage in and lead design processes to transform their spaces and places, we hold many stories that demonstrate how transformation extends to personal development and people's relationship with their communities and environments. These include the unemployed, isolated man who participated in a tenant-led project to create a gathering space for young people (story told in *Dredge, L. (2014) 'Crap places kill people' – how local involvement in place-making aids health and wellbeing, Town & Country Planning Journal, TCPA* available at <http://www.theglasshouse.org.uk/project/crap-places-kill-people-how-local-involvement-in-placemaking-aids-health-and-wellbeing-town-country-planning-november-2014/>). The experience helped the man to re-engage socially in his local area and

gave him the confidence to seek training in youth work which led him to becoming involved in working with young people on his estate. There are so many isolated people who need a route back in to society and participation in a process such as the design of new spaces or buildings can provide a transformative opportunity that brings much wider benefits to the individual and their role as civic actors. This is not easy to quantify, but is hugely impactful.

5. As a society, a huge cultural shift is needed from being reactive in civic life to proactive. In the realm of our built environment, the growing movement of community-led housing is a clear example of communities saying the market offer isn't working for us and let's do something that works for us. However, the way central and local government and other civic agencies invite citizens to contribute to shaping and engaging is still quite often as commentators rather than as contributors and collaborators. Civic engagement is a role we are expected to embrace largely in a voluntary capacity - a responsibility as citizens. Can we give back in return for this contribution? Capacity building and training can be opportunities to support people to engage and to gain skills that will not only support them to engage in civic life, but also provide employability and life skills. This is particularly important with communities who are marginalised. The question asked by Maxwell Ayamba of SHEBEEN – Sheffield Black & Ethnic Minority Environmental Network at a 2014 debate organised by The Glass-House, echoes this point: "The Big Society was created to encourage social action but how can people play an active role if they are not empowered?".

6. In our work, we have explored the value and impact of employing creative approaches to help people of different ages, abilities and backgrounds to engage in civic life, through a number of collaborative action research projects with higher education and community partners (<http://www.theglasshouse.org.uk/stories/#1469709886645-b7a3030f-cd72>). One example of this is the Unearth Hidden Assets through Community Co-design and Co-production project which involved four sub-projects working across health, play, housing and neighbourhood development. The projects employed a range of different creative approaches that all had the aim of helping to unearth and mobilise assets that helped to advance community action, connect people, build confidence and ownership through the process. Our sub-project worked with voluntary group, Tidworth Mums, who were supporting army and civilian families by providing soft play activities not already available locally. With support from partners in the project, the group were given space to explore the impact of their contribution and build confidence and skills as a community support group. Their journey revealed to them the value of their contribution as civic actors and helped them to connect with other organisations and networks, becoming a voice for the community in local decision-making arenas. See:

<http://www.theglasshouse.org.uk/project/unearth-hidden-assets-through-community-co-design-and-co-production-2/#1470145920510-2a5e01a7-6b6affbe-6c31>

7. It is important that we review how we evaluate the policies and programmes supported by central and local government and other public agencies, which are often short-term approaches with very strict frameworks/boundaries. What happens at the end of these

cycles? What are we learning from them? Where does this learning sit and how can we make it useful to as many people as possible to support and enhance civic engagement?

Should we be using different parameters for evaluation, which are less about target numbers, and more about demonstrating impact? We have explored impact and legacy through the Starting from Values – Evaluating Intangible Legacies research project led by the University of Brighton: <http://arts.brighton.ac.uk/projects/starting-from-values-evaluating-intangible-legacies> The project looked across a number of action research projects supporting community action that were funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council to investigate the impact of projects on individuals, groups and communities. Using values-based frameworks, the approach sought to move beyond the notion of target-driven deliverables to assess the real impact that projects had on people and organisations, and their ability to act as supporters, contributors and leaders of civic action.

8. The nature of policy-driven funding, and funding projects to deliver a prescribed set of outcomes and processes (such as a Neighbourhood Plan) can also limit people's abilities to lead civic action on their own terms. In the Scaling Up Co-design Research and Practice (<http://www.theglasshouse.org.uk/project/scaling-up-impact-and-reach-through-co-design/>), we explored how collaboration across civic society organisations can scale up their impact and reach in supporting and empowering communities. We discovered that with a simple infrastructure for supporting ideas generation, asset mapping and project development, new collaborations could emerge that extend the reach and impact of the contributing organisations. Furthermore, initial collaborations led to the development of networks that could continue to generate projects and civic actions through mobilising their collective assets to support shared values and ambitions.

4 September 2017

Mr Philip Gleeson and Mr Jagdeep Passan – written evidence (CCE0092)

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?

In times of economic pressures, difficulties and public services buckling under pressure it is critical we all have an understanding that engagement, citizenship and involvement of the public is important to ensure appropriate engagement with people is maintained and not for people by professionals. In 21st century the support of lay people, citizens and volunteers can offer additional capacity both paid and unpaid, a movement of people power if undertaken properly to create civic ownership and aspirations of the need to be “wanting” to part of and participate in civic duty is core to sense of belonging. This should apply to all communities from all socio-economic groups.

The meaning of citizenships and civic engagement – these two terms have become interchangeable and without clarity. 1) Citizenship is about you and your rights e.g. living in a country, having rights to participate in democracy and right to be equal. This extends to rights to live legally without concern. This is about your entitlement and you being here, you receiving the privilege 2) Civic Engagement is about people contributing to society, or being involved in a public or formal matter when one is being asked to participate or be involved – doing the right thing but being requested to by others as it’s a public function e.g. attending the event at Town Hall, being given an award, doing something and giving back to society in your local area.

Clearly, **it matters** as at present civic duties do not extend to all communities and it this concept with the public to have a have a greater role, a duty to be included in “local” life. **Examples are Neighbourhood Networks** in Leeds, Board roles of charity sectors to volunteering is poor. However, within the context of an Ageing population we need to gain support of citizens rather than seeing citizens as a threat. We should be utilising our community assets to be civic leaders working alongside people, be involved, and be active and contributors in society like our resources as co-workers.

It matters as clearly there is a mistrust of the public, the way we involve them, the outcomes of the recent activities in Scotland, the referendum, we must re-examine polls, existing mechanisms and processes that exist to involve people as from our experiences its always the usual “professional” suspects as opposed to usual “people” suspects as people do not get invited unless the Leadership (only few exist) ensure people are involved. How do we share what this role means, how do we co-design with public this understanding in language they understand (easy read), how do we promote the message and be seen as one of the “people.” This relates to Identity of the public and professional.

Private sector/other industries

Private sector e.g. supermarkets seem to get it right to know consumers as they will match demand and maximise profits in the sector. However, in this areas we have no sector leaderships as we are consumed by old metrics e.g. satisfaction surveys, complaints and concerns policies with little for service user involvement to shape or be civic citizens.

There needs to be a radical rethink, as in Leeds there are examples locally of good work where civic engagement is happening to co-design, get results and less public outcry. Leeds examples include joint working with council, third sector to develop a sense of shared outcomes e.g.

- **Access usability Group – partnership with council, citizens and private sector to involve people to shape and design highways and planning i.e. John Lewis Partnership, closure of pedestrian streets, railways and new build;**
- **Better Lives Board – Leeds city council Adults and health and LIP, co-chaired with a councillor and citizen of Leeds;**
- **The Expert Transport Advisory group where Leaders of the council have identified people (2 independent people) have to be partners to shape future planning of transport;**
- **NHS and Maternity services where local people have been involved and then plans developed to change services at scale 2,000 people involved; and**
- **The Leeds mental health framework was developed by citizens jointly with NHS/LCC and now has led to people led contract specifications being devised called “I statements”**

Self-care and reliance – this does require support, citizens are not ready provided the opportunity or resources to” roll” out to wider communities how they support each other, its isolated and restricted to certain people who have sadly often the ability and education to develop such network, leading to a vicious cycle of dependency and isolation.

Organisations play a significant ref:- <https://vimeo.com/42332617?ref=em-share>

Action/recommendation: There is no single vision or consistent leadership that wants to address in a bold risk managed approach of harnessing communities.

- 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?**

The sense of belonging does exist but common themes tend to bring people together e.g. exclusion, obesity like attending weight management clinics, smoking cessation clinics. The referral tend to be via health professionals – so are these the roots to ensure people understand their roles? Are people or peers the way forward e.g. hairdressers plays a huge

role in peoples life, 30 mins with them every 4 weeks – can be of impact to share and hear real stories, wisdom and plays a higher role than my medical staff or council staff. The role of the OT, therapist is of good wisdom and confidence as a “gatekeeper”, does not judge and are clearly knowledgeable to all people.

Mental Health Together We Can – is an example of people in Leeds being involved in developing the Leeds Mental Health Framework that is bottom driven by people with people, led by LCC and NHS and the 3rd sector, this led to the creation of sense of belonging, involvement and setting up policy as “togetherness.” This is hailed as an example of great partnership and then developed further as it developed **MINDWELL** a portal for people with mental health created with professionals and people to educate people through the complexities of the mental health system – with people and professionals.

Strengthen people identity – is this a question of definition, again have we undertaken different survey methods, at Leeds Involving People we work with all communities to ask local people what they understand by the services could be replicated in Leeds e.g. case study – Independent Access Usability Group Leeds – works with citizens, council and private sector to shape John Lewis Centre Victoria Gate, people felt a sense of belonging, being a part of the planning for the design of this building and as such people promote this without question across the country. A sense of identity, pride and meaningful involvement leads to ownership “perceptions” of people that will lead to people having an association of having worked within Leeds, their city and contributed as part of their civic duty.

How do we measure this “britishness” and demonstrate this value in public life and what actions do we take to ensure polite behaviours e.g. neighbourhoods, check on our people is enshrined in UK values, is it the British flag – this is still seen in some Asian communities as being affiliated to the National Front, EDL, is this confused with patriotic values as in USA.

Leadership systems and visibility

Like Grenfell Towers, the fall out created by lack of a visible compassionate Management led to a huge failure by the council then having to re-establish and re-profile their role after gaining a bad reputation. It is clear there are a only few Leaders who want to genuinely meet with people, are concerned about people and do meet people outside the formal board structures, where they are presented with orchestrated people who will sing the usual good, bad and indifferent case study or user experience. Re-establish Trust and confidence indicators; measures that will make public bodies work in communities as part of their role or with independent organisations by setting up new:

- Set Indicators to show how professionals values are demonstrated e.g. communication, and ability to relate to the public and what outreach did you undertake in the community;
- The current leaderships models ensure focus on outcomes, as we move towards local based work, the systems need to change e.g. supervision notes to include how do you

Speak, make contact and connect with local people as part of your work (all public bodies need to measure this);

- Encourage commissioner to think collectively and with right organisations e.g. self-run groups, Are we maximising on these community “anchors” roles, and creating local roles for local people that are new and have power and established respect as these people are from those communities – bottom up approach

We need to rethink what people think as their role changes as they grow older, new communities and then question what attracts communities to engage or belong to some groups: LIP experiences are people get involved because:-

- Identify with the community and the topic, with support of peers. Often safety in numbers and the feelings the time invested is worthwhile and they will be valued as time as we get older is recognised as a commodity
- Ensure opinion or views have chance to be voiced in safety –use an independent body e.g. not a provider
- Targeted efforts need to be made with a need to go places where people do attend, with risk management with care and safety, yet we stand around supermarkets in the cold and ask questions that entice as there is nothing to “sell” no blurb only the people sharing their priceless experiences – in confidence away from the point of service delivery

Recommendations/Action: “Peoples Chief Officer” to be developed led by people for people in each city, where people can relate and connect to a “real” person?

Recommendations/Action: Develop a recognised qualification (co-designed with People and local university like NVQ level) to be provided that says an achievement in “civic duty” award not only about language but how you integrate and are committed to living in Britain; Have we asked families what and how they can be involved to shape this agenda? Or is it the usual organisation and same people that provide feedback, what are the lessons are we radical to make strong position statements from Leaders political and community?

- 3. Civic engagement can be seen as both a responsibility and a right of citizenship. Beyond the existing le.g.al 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?**

The laws need to be re-enforced, with guidance as at present there is no parity of user rights between health and council. This power balance needs to change with the citizen as the consumer, the relationship is different if you are phoning the council or health, the tone changes e.g. consumer tends to have “more” rights with the council e.g. bin collection, and less with NHS services as this service is fixed as a “take it or leave it” service offer

The duty to involve laws around engagement must be a pre-requisite not after thought as a tick box e.g. NHS Institute asks before you can apply for a grant the question have you “consulted”, usually no guidance exists as to how or what and that extends to CQC that asks question “have you involved the patient” but what does legislation is subjective.

Information to the consumer as to rights is unclear when can they raise a concern, who is the lead person and with more integration this will blur boundaries and roles, system changes mean nothing to people, who has communicated the new service offer? It is in the usual manner postcards, letters, we are excluding new communities, the hard to reach or people with sight, impairments e.g. case in example is the accessible standard – not enforceable but good legislation to have in place

I believe the need to show, share case studies of the economic benefits to people and financial benefits of strong relationship with the public – these include **Hospital To Discharge** in Leeds with Age UK working with key partners inc :

- added value arising from patient/public ideas about how services could be improvement
- Accountability to local people – strengthening quality of governance and obtaining mandate

Civic engagement needs to be formal perhaps not social responsibility or a contract (not clearly worked in main around CSR) not a “memo of understanding” or a “code of compliance” as they all have not materialised. We suggest strong actions that move beyond rhetoric to action being demonstrated e.g. how seriously you have undertaken this role,

People do have rights in the NHS Constitution and Involvement duties but can be ignored e.g. changes are happening where only professional bodies are consulted but this right extends to the public and no one is able to exercise the right to challenge as they do not have the confidence, skill or support to undertake this huge role without reprisal. How do we encourage people to undertake this role, enabling and ensuring they are supported to know the impact of the changes, being briefed and able to participate and ask questions as “Lay” people to professionals?

ACTION/RECOMMENDATIONS:

1) There should be a people **Inspector** Directorate (Peoples) created with additional duties working alongside regulatory bodies – where people have their say actioned with clear accountability and not “collusion” or conversations behind closed doors. This should be led by people for people with people, who reports regularly on behalf of people to the people e.g. a role like a Chief Officer- People should have the role to monitor and inspect services as this would be stronger than the current systems that involves only low ratios of people: people e.g. Healthwatch are becoming professional lead and are unable to challenge the

council or health as they are funded by those bodies. This should be centrally funded and controlled centrally to be effective.

2) To encourage to collaborate and not competition in the sector by creating a team spirit – Team that is real and connected, extends to involve staff, patients, carers, citizens and communities, There is a growing interest in the people agenda, yet not co-ordinated and with a lack of thinking by commissioners

It does mean a review of how we are organised, how we work, how we are held accountable and how we are measured? Too often we try to adopt new ways of working without changing the environment in which we work – same outcomes models, metrics often old fashioned.

We need to invest and plan, get people to be Involvement ready, assets are “our” people not them and us culture, no divides.

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? here

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?

People should be encouraged to be involved by understanding there is a fundamental need to understand and be active from school age to further education by creating new training modules as core on what standards are expected of people as part of citizenship targets for all students in all courses from

Curriculum could include, as part of delivery:

- Explain what does communities and neighbourhoods means, how to work within them, be focussed –relationship – they are focus on building relationships with people – not just with people who a Local Area Coordinator may “walk alongside” but also with those in a community who have strengths and assets.
- employers have a role too e.g. like corporate social responsibility all leaders, staff should be assigned to Lead on communities not just usual activities of painting but outreach into communities, seen as part of the community e.g. having tea with homeless people.

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?

There are challenges for involvement of the public and government:

- 1) No money to support and work with groups as the current metrics do not meet government targets or health targets as community work is not seen as an asset or an indicator. It used to be Trust and confidence for Police Forces, Cohesion targets or community workers are less seen as we eroded youth workers, real community workers to call them health trainers, improvement specialists yet they tend to be barriers e.g. eligibility is inflexible
- 2) Most vol sector organisations do not fit into the service industry that is being created for the commissioner around this work except loosely “cohesion” sector e.g. social prescribing which is shifting demand from GP’s to VCFS but yet it reduces demand – does it or stops people accessing GPS who have less money less education etc.

The approach should be to work alongside the people, provide training and support and to understand people’s agenda, and have good relationships, building this takes time and time is often not allocated or factored in by commissioners, or time lags too short to start this work for a purpose:

- “Go” to them – and not just turning up when we want something, we spend time with communities. We walk among them.
- We must as public bodies, VCFS and other recognise CDW principals have been eroded and investment diminished over decades in communities. It is only at times of “cost reduction” we tend to ask peoples view, we must understand the architecture of communities, existing and new champions, the grass roots organisations supporting their vulnerable members, changing communities, their [third places](#)
- We design our work to fit around communities, to go to speak and obtain information in a non-judgmental approach with a street-level local knowledge by combining outreach, face to face an truthfully going where others don’t want to go, we go places that are risk assessed and over complicated to avoid these areas, the SOA’s, the “no go” areas

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?

The government need to invest as we did in regions and in communities to be able to be self-reliant, resilient and are capable, we need to be able to be know who to go to when there are issues of concern by:-

- Creating roles of local co-ordinators to operate at ward level can be people jointly with professionals leading them in communities at grass roots;
- Create “Trainee” roles of community people that can work alongside who live in a community who have strengths and assets of local areas ,not new people established connectors; and
- Target work – the aim is to be responsive to people who have slipped through the net and are not part of the system as life goes on more of these people will be “us” too, alone and without support

The government must create 1) trainers, 2) Encouraging professionals to work 7 days a week attending venues using groups like LIP; 3) hiring community people as opposed to setting high bars and excluding people as they do not possess certain skill sets of being Price qualified and project management skills

Third sector – the government needs to expand the role of the smaller groups and work within confined parameters or specific areas e.g. peer support, mentoring, substance or mental health and usually do not have the pre-skills to empower and enable people but usually to come of substance, seek housing or benefit advise but not creation of self-run groups, supporting people to have “coffee clubs” or free space

The need to consider the voluntary and community sector as “helpers or connectors” to statutory services to considering what types of services need to be in place to respond to a variety of needs. I believe this is the future co-working and co-designing and see nil examples of this however, there are a number of places that are beginning to try to understand the scale and contribution of the VCS e.g. in Leeds

We can reach mass number and diversity of voices and this is invaluable in and of itself. But also clear value in influencing service redesign to meet diverse needs and preferences of mosaic of communities. **Example Care Closer to Home** – original proposal about telephone support, rich feedback about people with English as second language, Deaf and Hard of hearing etc.

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?

Review why the lack of shared responsibilities in the UK and increased tensions – is it parental failures to set high standards of all people to be hospitable and tolerate? Is it mistrust of Government Policy and their failure to communicate well intended actions?

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?

Try and bring people with the system changes in Leeds having a good culture of partnerships, distinction of roles and clarity in the sector. Then clear improvement can be made creating a sense of inclusion by working with all communities across Leeds in all areas and where professionals do not target

1) St Gemma’s hospice care – NHS CCG Leeds

This was another innovative collaborative way of reaching communities to understand why diverse communities do not access hospice care. This bid was jointly developed, with people and an application for funding to local NHS CCG grants panel being made. This bid required leaders being able to be open to listen, and embark on accepting some difficult conversations may need to take place with communities directly.

Community Forum – BME Forum Adults and Health Leeds City Council. People are engaged with the council facilitated by the 3rd sector i.e to ensure people develop the trust and confidence, are attending, and devise joint agendas on various live key issues such as end of life, council one stop shops etc. This forum is chaired by a Chief Officer and co-chaired by people, selected by people and all meetings held in community services and its role is now expanding to ensure health plays a key role.

Cohesion is alive in Leeds and people sit around the table, no power as citizens to talk and share and learn- all are invited to these meetings

Reference:

<http://www.nhsconfed.org/blog/2016/01/thinking-outside-the-tick-box>

7 September 2017

Guild HE – written evidence (CCE0068)

1. GuildHE is an officially recognised representative body for UK Higher Education. Our members include universities, university colleges, further education colleges and specialist institutions from both the traditional and private (“for profit” and “not for profit”) sectors. Member institutions include some major providers in professional subject areas including art, design and media, music and the performing arts; agriculture and food; education; maritime; health and sports.

Opening Statement

2. GuildHE believes that citizenship and civic engagement are attributes which should be continuously developed throughout the lives of members of society. In particular, GuildHE believes that higher education can play a key role in developing students as ‘active citizens’.

3. GuildHE has developed a Charter for Active Citizenship, containing six elements: volunteering; democratic engagement; environmental sustainability; community engagement; global citizenship; and reflection and development (GuildHE, *Active Citizenship: The Role of Higher Education*, 2016).

Citizenship and Community Belonging

4. GuildHE believes that individuals need to feel a sense of belonging to a community in order to participate as active citizens within it. A focus on the immediate community may foster a stronger sense of personal belonging than large scale national events. This is particularly important for students, who are often likely to be entering an institution in a new community, and therefore need to feel engaged on a local level to feel confident in civic participation.

5. Many higher education institutions have ‘student-led teaching awards’, which recognise excellent teaching; in 2016, the Anglo-European College of Chiropractic (AECC) developed ‘staff-led student awards’ (GuildHE, 2016). Such awards processes bridge gaps between the student and staff bodies to create a more cohesive communities. The AECC’s ‘Staff-led student awards’ focus on academic engagement, practical skill development, professionalism and community, fostering other key values, and encouraging deeper staff-student interaction, which is known to improve academic outcomes (Gibbs, *Dimensions of Quality*, 2010).

6. Practical activities that focus on forming a relationship with, and making a positive change within, the local community outside of the education environment are also important for developing a culture of active citizenship. Leeds Trinity University (LTU) work in partnership with the Leeds branch of St. Vincent’s de Paul (a charity supporting people in poverty). This partnership has developed a six month graduate internship within the charity. (GuildHE,

2016). Graduates not only learn practical skills to take forward into future roles, but also develop an awareness of the challenges facing their local community.

Political Engagement

7. Higher Education can play a key role in encouraging voting. Each year, 250,000 students vote in students' union elections, and research has shown that voting is habit forming, so that people who have voted previously are more likely to do so again (e.g. Coppock and Green, *Is Voting Habit Forming?*, 2015). This is supported by high rates of graduate voter turnout (74% at the 2015 General Election, 6% above the national average, according to YouthSight).

8. The introduction of the Individual Electoral Registration (IER) in 2014 prevented higher education institutions from block registering eligible students in their accommodation. This posed a significant barrier in students registering to vote, and subsequently 1.8% of voters dropped from the electoral register - particularly in student areas, as students were unsure of how or where to register.

9. However, GuildHE championed for, and welcomed the inclusion of, (Section 13 (1) (f)) of the Higher Education and Research Act 2017, which poses a condition 'requiring the governing body of the provider to take such steps as the Office for Students (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'.

10. Some institutions are already innovating in this area - Ravensbourne and Ravensbourne Students' Union have co-created a culture active citizenship through a series of mentoring and leadership programmes and developing a Civic Action student society. Students were taught the value of civic engagement, and high turnout at events (6,000 attended the London Mayoral debate) demonstrates the success of such initiatives (GuildHE, 2016).

Society and Civic Engagement

11. GuildHE believe that engagement is at its best when it is performed in partnership, and that partnership is formed on the basis of understanding the respective strengths of the participants.

12. This is exemplified in the relationship between York St. John University and the York NHS trust, who have formed Converge. Converge offers high-quality educational opportunities to people who use mental health services in the York area, and students who teach the courses benefit from interacting with people who use mental health services. Converge presents a model of collaboration between a university and a mental health service provider that can make a real difference in the lives of users of mental health services, full-time students and the university community. In 2014/15, 93 students were involved in Converge either helping to deliver courses or by supporting participants (GuildHE, 2016).

13. Higher education institutions and government, third, and public sector organisations

should be seeking out mutually beneficial partnerships to encourage participation in civic society - particularly from young people.

Education and Fostering Values

14. The National Curriculum, Ofsted and the PREVENT strategy define Fundamental British Values as “democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs”. GuildHE does not contest these values. However, the term has not gone without criticism (GuildHE, the Cathedrals Group, *World-class Teachers, World-class Education*, 2017).

15. The Curriculum gives teachers an explicit role in developing these values in students and pupils. According to the Citizenship Foundation, these can only be arrived at effectively ‘through mutual exploration and understanding’; that is, through the creation of a community encompassing staff, students, and families within a given institution (GuildHE, the Cathedrals Group, 2017). These values are often laid out in institutional mission statements, but can be developed at all levels.

16. Government guidance since 2014 has focussed on the duty placed on schools under (Section 7 (B)) of the Education Act 2002, to promote the ‘spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of their pupils’. More recent policy encompasses the role of staff in protecting children from extremism and radicalisation, a role which depends on relationships of trust between staff and students.

17. How this relationship is developed, and how staff will conceptualise and explore values with students will vary, meaning that ‘Fundamental British Values’ can be little more than a broad set of principles. It is important that staff are able to form and develop communities in which these values can be explored and fostered.

18. The key question is; what feeds into teachers’ and students’ conceptions of community values? Values may be the direct products of ethical education and exploration. Teachers’ values may be developed through training and CPD, or through the support of colleagues. Crucially, all the aspects of active citizenship explored above can also tacitly support these core values, making a mutually reinforcing circle in which values encourage certain participatory actions, which in turn further underpin those core values.

Conclusions

- In order to develop a culture of civic engagement, people need to feel a sense of belonging to a community or place.
- Laws such as IER represent a barrier to students in participating in civic duties. However, GuildHE welcomes the inclusion of (Section 13 (1) (f)) of the Higher

Education and Research Act which encourages institutions to facilitate voter registration of students through the OfS.

- Education has an explicit role in fostering ‘British’ values (although that term should be treated with caution), and this is best achieved through creating a culture where these are explored, adopted and developed with students, as opposed through top-down enforcement.
- Partnerships between education institutions and government, public and third sector organisations should be encouraged and built upon mutual strengths.

6 September 2017

Hampshire Association of Local Councils – written evidence (CCE0066)

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?*

In today's society, citizenship is about having the right and freedom to express one's own culture and beliefs, as well as having responsibility to accept the right of others to express their views and values.

Civic engagement should involve communities working together to address public concerns and promote the communities quality of life.

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?*

Pride in being/becoming British should be encouraged, but so should a 'sense of belonging'.

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?*

The current process is out dated in this digital age; voters should have more option as to how they vote with introduction of electronic voting.

Should the voting age be lowered, then political parties need to broaden their canvassing process to reach the younger generation as door knocking will not suffice with this age group.

Reducing the age to 16 may allow schools to encourage voter registration and assist pupils in doing so.

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?*

Encouraging ‘good citizenship’ is the responsibility of both home and school life. Teaching from an early age, sets in motion an idea that ‘good citizenship’ is part of normal everyday life. More emphasis should be given to politics both inside and outside the classroom. Schools should be supported and encouraged to partake in more community focused activities to encourage greater understanding and engagement by children within their locality, in turn setting a foundation.

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?*

Parish and Town Councils are the closest tier to communities, therefore perhaps more likely to achieve success in encouraging civic engagement. They are increasingly providing more services and should therefore receive the support from higher government in recognition. They are well placed for creating a sense of belonging by the inclusion of residents within local projects to improve their locality and therefore create a sense of inclusion and pride amongst individuals. Parish and Town Councils are more aware of hard to reach groups, local needs and organisations and are well placed for bringing a community together.

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?*

Values should comprise of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect for and tolerance of other faiths and beliefs.

Threats include extremism and intolerance.

All citizens should have equal opportunity irrelevant of gender, race, faith or belief.

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?*

Being proficient should allow easier integration and remove a sense of exclusion on both sides of any language barrier.

Comments submitted by

Amy Taylor

Policy Officer, Hampshire ALC

6 September 2017

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

My work is mainly in the field of history education, where I have worked in schools and more recently in Initial Teacher Training and Higher Education. My research is on issues related to the curriculum, and I have done work in the field of citizenship education and have worked on a number of projects with the Council of Europe to promote democratic culture in education.

Most of the responses here reflect findings from a study I conducted in a large sixth form college and therefore portray the views of the 17/18 year olds who replied to the survey. For interest I have attached a copy of the study which has been published in: C. Broom (2017) (ed) *Youth Civic Engagement in a Globalized World: Citizenship Education in Comparative Perspective*. Palgrave Macmillan

1. For most of the students citizenship was seen as linked to paying taxes, voting, being law-abiding and 'neighbourly'. Few students had any experience of civic engagement and were unclear how they could influence decision making and become involved in the political process – in that sense there is a 'democratic deficit' in the mindset of young people and a very narrow conceptualisation of citizenship, with young people not being aware of their potential responsibilities or power to bring about change.
2. I am wary of promoting pride in being British as there is a danger of creating a 'them' and 'us' scenario – this was something that was apparent in some responses to the survey, with some students stating pride in things such as Britain's armed forces, but others urging caution about the dangers of nationalism. I think there should be more focus on developing the relationship between individuals and the state – at present it seems that the state is being whittled away and a growing mistrust of authority. This requires a fundamental shift in how government currently works and is seen as being in the interests of the people – if that could be achieved then I feel this would naturally strengthen people's identity with the state.
3. I do not feel they should be any degree of compulsion – as stated above I think there needs to be a recognition of the reciprocal relationship between the individual and the state.
4. The current 'first past the post' system does not appear to be engaging young people in my personal experience of young people – it serves to make them feel disenfranchised if they live in an area which is staunchly supportive of a particular party.
5. Surprisingly given that citizenship has been a compulsory part of the school curriculum since 2002, around half of the students who completed the survey in my study could not remember being taught citizenship in school. At present it would seem that much

teaching is inadequate, there are few specialist teachers of the subject, it is not a priority in the curriculum, and the recently reformed National Curriculum for Citizenship has seriously denuded the subject of its potential. The Council of Europe has for many years been promoting democratic citizenship through its education programmes, and these are evident in places such as the Balkans and Cyprus, and there is much that we could draw on from such work. For me one of the problems with the latest version of the curriculum and how it is taught is the emphasis on knowledge per se – young people should learn citizenship **through** education, not simply learn **about** citizenship. Richard Pring, the educational philosopher at Oxford University, has long argued that young people need to experience citizenship. Findings from my study show that students felt engaged with their school community through school elections, schools councils and so forth, but schools need to have more developed ways of engaging with student voice and making students feel genuinely part of a process.

6. My response here is through current experience of one of my daughter's involvement in NCS and both of them doing the Duke of Edinburgh scheme. Both schemes are helpful in developing a sense of resilience, community involvement, and pride in achievements. Both are focused on personal development and community involvement – yet this is something students generally (as suggested by my study) are comfortable with, as it is on a scale they can perceive and see an outcome. Where such schemes are weaker is in empowering young people to feel that they can engage with the political process.
7. The few students in the study who identified some form of civic engagement did so largely due to the example of their parents - schools had minimal influence on young people's civic behaviours, so it would seem that education is a key area that needs to be developed. The other thing that needs to be recognised is that young people are not apathetic, they are genuinely interested in the world around them and know they have a stake in the future but they feel powerless in the face of big business and political bureaucracy to influence change – in that sense one of the most important things that government and other organisations can do is to encourage young people that their views genuinely matter and to be responsive to such views. This does also mean that young people need to feel properly informed about issues in order to make decisions – the current climate makes this difficult – e.g. the rise of 'fake news', and the ridiculously ill-informed debates about Brexit makes it hard to know what to believe. One area that government could support is a free press, but also one that has strong ethical commitment to providing news and information rather than soundbites. Over the past few years there appears to have been an erosion in standards of reporting that means that people like President Trump are able to attack the media.
8. Values are not taught explicitly in schools and there is much debate about the role of school in 'teaching' values, as there is evidence that teachers are wary of being seen to tell young people what to think and believe – there are interesting approaches to values education but these are not common in schools. I think it is difficult to talk about what

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

values people should have, but people should be aware of the debates surrounding values and their place in society, and see that there are no easy answers – democracy is not perfect, but it has many strengths, yet it cannot be taken for granted that it will continue – it needs active support and for people to see that participation matters. The sense of powerlessness and disenfranchisement that people feel is probably one of the greatest threats to democratic values.

9. I feel the issues raised above answer this question.
10. I think these issues are entwined – strong civic engagement should aid social cohesion and integration and vice versa. In my experience in schools with diverse populations there are good relationships between students from different ethnic backgrounds – there are however a couple of issues: the teaching population does not adequately reflect the student population profile and schools often (and unconsciously) have a ‘white’ curriculum; there are disparities in terms of student outcomes by ethnicity and socio-economic background, which then tend to become perpetuated in later life. Some schools are effective at addressing these issues but more effort needs to be put into developing good practice in addressing these issues – it is a complex area and is influenced by issues such as teacher expectations, the nature of the curriculum, the pressures of the performativity culture in schools, teacher training and so forth.
11. I do not feel sufficiently knowledgeable to respond to this question.
12. I would hesitate to talk about British Citizenship, as I feel we are talking about issues that apply to democratic society generally.

My favourite example of empowering young people and allowing them to feel as if they are able to influence matters is the ‘Room 13’ movement that started in a Scottish primary school through art education (<http://room13international.org/> and http://www.room13hareclive.org.uk/resources/NESTA_report_MM_May_07.pdf).

Although it is less about tolerance and cohesion, it is an example of giving young people responsibility and a voice, which in turn makes them feel as if they have a stake in what is happening.

Exploring Youth Civic Engagement – a view from England

A brief outline of citizenship education in England

Citizenship, as a school subject, in England has had a chequered and difficult history; it has never traditionally been taught as an explicit subject prior to 2000 ([Kerr, 2005](#)) and the attitude of the UK government has historically been very laissez-faire in terms of outlining any form of curriculum requirement. It was not until the 1988 Education Reform Act, that a national curriculum in England was developed. This identified subjects that were to be ‘core’ and those that were to be ‘foundation’ ones. At this stage citizenship was merely part of the

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

‘basic curriculum’, included as one of a number of cross-curricular themes that were also to be covered.

It was not until the late 1990s that the New Labour government of Tony Blair took steps to change the status of citizenship. Following the Crick Report of 1998 ([QCA, 1998](#)) citizenship became a ‘foundation’ subject, which meant teaching it became statutory, with a compulsory programme of study ([DfEE/QCA, 1999](#)). The development was prompted by growing concerns over the social, moral and political fabric of society ([Harris, 2006](#)). The aim of the new curriculum was ambitious, striving for:

no less than a change in the political culture of this country ...; for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and acting among themselves. ([QCA, 1998](#))

Schools however faced numerous challenges implementing the new curriculum; for example there were few subject specialists to teach it, it was supposed to occupy five percent of an already crowded school timetable and there was confusion over the precise nature of the subject ([Kerr, Cleaver, Ireland & Blenkinsop, 2003](#); Ofsted, [2004](#), [2005](#)).

The model of citizenship as outlined in the curriculum was heavily influenced by the thinking of T. H. Marshall; thus the curriculum was underpinned by the ideas of developing young people’s political literacy, social and moral responsibility and community involvement. It was however criticised on a number of fronts. Some have questioned whether it is a subject to be studied ([Pring, 2006](#)) whilst others attacked its commitment to the (essentially elitist) political status quo, (Faulks, 2006) and its narrow, nationalistic conception of citizenship (Faulks, 2006; [Kiwani, 2008](#)).

Subsequent reviews of the National Curriculum ([DfE, 2013](#); [QCA, 2007](#)) have seen the statutory content of the citizenship curriculum altered. Following the review in 2007 the curriculum document focused on the concepts of democracy and justice, rights and responsibilities, identities and diversity, and the processes of critical thinking, advocacy, and taking informed and responsible action. The biggest change here was the introduction of the idea of identity, with a focus on the idea of multiple identities. However the curriculum review instigated by the Coalition government in 2010 seriously questioned the place of citizenship in the curriculum. The expert panel, which advised the government, recommended that citizenship revert back to being part of the basic curriculum (DfE, 2011).

However the subject has retained its foundation status, but there has been a shift towards a knowledge-based curriculum, with a particular focus on knowledge of political systems, especially the UK’s system of government and the ‘precious liberties enjoyed by the citizens

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

of the United Kingdom’ ([DfE, 2013](#)). The consequences of this are yet to be fully seen but [Ofsted \(2013\)](#) noted some schools have already starting to pay less attention to the subject.

The impact of citizenship education in England

Given the importance attached to the introduction of citizenship education, a large-scale longitudinal study was conducted by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) from 2002-2010. Over 24,000 students from 169 schools were invited to complete questionnaires in 2002/3, 2005, 2007 and 2009 as they progressed through school. An additional 2,500 students were sent questionnaires biennially to capture views from other schools not involved in the longitudinal study, and interviews with staff and teachers were conducted in 12 schools every two years. In part the study focused on how schools were implementing the new curriculum but the reports from 2003 ([Kerr et al.](#)), 2006 (Ireland, Kerr, Lopes, Nelson & Cleaver), 2008 ([Benton et al.](#)) and 2010 ([Keating, Kerr, Benton, Mundy & Lopes](#)) focused heavily on the students’ attitudes towards citizenship, community and participation, and provide rich insights into the thinking and experiences of this first generation of students to receive statutory education in citizenship.

Generally speaking the study found that attitudes towards many issues were relatively stable, and that changes in attitudes were likely to be related to the age of the students rather than the impact of citizenship education per se ([Keating et al., 2010, p. 61](#)).

This is similar to a wider international study reported by Isac, Maslowski, Creemers and van der Werf (2014), who found schooling had a negligible impact on students’ civic knowledge, attitudes and behaviours. Few students showed any interest in political activity (beyond voting), being more inclined, if at all, to engage in civic activities such as fund raising and volunteering. This promoted [Benton et al. \(2008\)](#) to worry about a ‘democratic deficit’ amongst young people. The only area where there were signs of increased political engagement through the NFER project was within the school community, where students showed a strong commitment to their community and had more opportunities to participate in things like elections for school councils. Generally students reported low levels of efficacy, persistently feeling an inability to bring about change, either within school, the local community or at a national level ([Benton et al., 2008](#); [Ireland et al., 2006](#); [Kerr et al., 2003](#)), It was also evident that students had a limited sense of what citizenship entailed. Invariably ‘good’ citizenship revolved around voting, being law-abiding and making a positive contribution to the local community.

These findings seem to reflect attitudes more widely; a large government survey ([Home Office, 2004](#)) revealed that only 38% of adults felt they could influence decisions in their local area, which fell to 19% when applied to the national scene, and although around 38% of adults had engaged in some form of civic participation or informal volunteering in the previous 12 months, only 3% did so on a monthly basis.

The current political climate

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

Prior to the election of 2010, politics in the UK were dominated by New Labour under the premiership of Tony Blair, then Gordon Brown. The economic crisis saw a shift in the political landscape; in 2010 a coalition government of the Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties was formed, a highly unusual situation in the UK.

These recent elections have been characterised by low turnouts –less than two thirds of the electorate voted (significantly lower than other elections since the end of World War Two), with only around 44% of those aged 18-24 exercising their right to vote (UK Political Info, n.d.).

Explaining this decline in turnout is difficult. It could simply be apathy amongst the younger generation, but equally it could be disengagement as a response to the current political and economic climate. The period around 2009-10 saw considerable public anger surrounding an expenses scandal involving MPs. Trust in the political system has been further shaken by the financial crisis of 2008 and subsequent economic downturn. Austerity measures introduced by the Coalition government have seen massive cuts in public spending. Youth unemployment has been stubbornly high. Those on low incomes have been badly hit by government policies, whilst tax cuts for those on higher incomes has helped to fuel a growing wage gap. Claims of tax avoidance, especially by large global corporations, such as Amazon, Google and Starbucks, also sparked widespread public anger. Taken together, these events have served to make different sections of the community feel disempowered and disconnected from the political system.

Major educational reforms have also affected those under 18 and have included an overhaul of the curriculum and examination system. Arguably, the most controversial change has been to university tuition fees; the Liberal Democrats had in particular pledged prior to the election to resist any increase in fees, but then supported a huge increase in annual fees, which rose from £3000 to £9000 for students.

The one issue that did positively capture the public imagination was the referendum on Scottish independence. This saw a massive turnout, with 85% of the Scottish electorate voting (including those aged 16 and 17 who were allowed to vote on this issue).

The political landscape following the 2015 election changed in unexpected ways. The Conservative Party won an unexpected small majority (with the UK's 'first past the post' electoral system they were able to do this with 37% of the vote). The Scottish Nationalist Party, given a major boost by the referendum campaign, won 56 out of the 59 seats in Scotland (having previously only had six seats). The Labour Party did badly, especially in Scotland, whilst the Liberal Democrat Party was virtually wiped out (having attracted a lot of criticism, especially over their position in tuition fees).

It was against this background of civic engagement that this study was conducted, with the intention of drawing upon international comparisons to see whether the issues identified in

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

earlier studies continued to be seen in England and how this compared to young people in other nations.

Exploring youth civic engagement and disengagement in England

Students at a sixth form college in the south of England were invited to participate in an online survey. The area, according to the government's Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index (IDACI) data which is used to identify the socio-economic nature of an area, is ranked 17310 out of 32482 (with 1 being the most deprived area and 32482 being the most affluent) therefore indicating this area is firmly in the middle ground regarding socio-economic status. Young people aged 16-19 attend the college, where the majority study for their A level examinations. Not all students in England attend a sixth form college, as most tend to study for their A levels in a school for students aged 11-18, but in this particular region, schools tend to take students aged 11-16, and students then choose from a number of sixth form colleges. This means that the students at this college come from a number of different schools within the area and so have different experiences of citizenship education from those schools.

The online survey site only allowed for a maximum of 150 responses, and this number was reached very shortly after the survey was opened. Details about the demographic profile are presented in Table 1. In terms of cultural affiliation, the majority chose British, but the remainder came from a range of African, Asian, European and Pacific nations. However 87% (131) said their nationality was British. The majority of the sample identified their first language as English; other languages included Nepalese, Polish, Marathi, Italian, Hungarian, Mandarin, Spanish, Gujarati, Dutch, Tamil, and Tagalog.

Table 1 provides details of responses to many of the questions asked, which will be referred to as appropriate during the following discussion of the findings.

Table 1 – summary of participants' survey responses

Demographics of British youth in the survey			
Gender	Female: 69% ³⁷² (104)	Male: 29% (44)	Other: 1% (2)
Age profile	16: 46% (31)	17: 50% (75)	18: 19% (29)
Socio-economic status	'high': 4% (6)	'middle': 77% (115)	'low': 16% (24)
Cultural identification	British: 67% (101)	Other: 27% (40)	Undisclosed: 6% (9)

³⁷² All percentages are valid percentages, i.e. reflects the number of actual responses to each question, and are rounded to the nearest whole number

First language	English: 137 (91%)	Other: 13 (9%)		
Personality type ³⁷³	Leader: 47% (37)	Friendly: 11% (16)	Outgoing: 22% (33)	Introverted: 31% (47)
Survey responses				
	Yes	No	Unsure	
Citizenship education about govt.	39% (59)	53% (79)	8% (12)	
	Knowledgeable	Some knowledge	Lack knowledge	
Knowledge of govt. and politics	23% (32)	63% (88)	14% (9)	
	Yes	Sometimes	No	
Follow the news	61% (91)	37% (55)	3% (4)	
	Yes	No	Unsure	
Personal experience	22% (32)	73% (109)	5% (8)	
Family interest	17% (25)	71% (107)	5% (8)	
	Important	Quite important	Not important	
Civic engagement	47% (71)	47% (70)	4% (6)	
	Active	Occasionally active	Not active	
Level of personal engagement	21% (32)	47% (71)	27% (40)	
	Effective	Somewhat effective	Ineffective	
Ability to influence change	25% (35)	45% (63)	31% (43)	
	Supportive	Neutral	Do not care/not supportive	

³⁷³ Personality types were described as leader/driven to succeed/competitive; friendly/relaxed/optimistic; likes working with others/outgoing; and likes working with others/organised/introverted. For ease of use they will be referred to as 'leader', 'friendly', 'outgoing' and 'introverted'

Attitudes towards democracy	65% (88)	22% (30)	13% (17)
Attitude towards govt. system in UK	39% (55)	46% (65)	14% (20)
	Important	Neutral	Not important
Political engagement	54% (75)	39% (55)	7% (10)
Students' civic participation (top 3) (NB voting was 9th on the list however few of the students surveyed were of voting age)	Yes	No	No response
<i>Donating money to causes</i>	64% (96)	33% (50)	3% (4)
<i>Volunteering</i>	61% (91)	37% (55)	3% (4)
<i>Being a good neighbour</i>	51% (77)	46% (69)	3% (4)

Citizenship education

Although citizenship education has been compulsory in schools in England since 2002, so all the students should have been taught the subject, fewer than half said they had learned about government structures and processes at school, whereas the majority had either not studied it or could not remember (see Table 1). In one way this is surprising as political literacy was part of the first curriculum and democracy was part of the revised 2007 curriculum, however the Ofsted (2010) report, *Citizenship Established?*, showed that where school provision was weak it tended to be in the area of government and politics. In addition one of the issues facing schools was how to find space in the curriculum for this new subject. Some schools taught it as a discrete subject, but the majority combined it with Personal, Social, Health and Economic education (PSHE) and used non-specialist teachers, a model which has generally been associated with weaker outcomes for citizenship education ([Keating et al., 2009](#); [Kerr et al., 2007](#); [Ofsted, 2010](#)) because students (and some teachers) are sometimes unclear as to the difference between PSHE and citizenship (essentially PSHE covers issues that fall within the personal sphere, whereas citizenship relates to the public sphere). So it is entirely possible that the way in which the curriculum has been presented to students has inhibited their knowledge and understanding of citizenship issues.

When asked whether they had found the material on government useful, only 51 students agreed it had been. Many students clearly had had a positive experience at school; in response to an open question about their experience of studying citizenship at school, 40 students spoke about how relevant they had found learning about citizenship or could

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

identify why it was relevant. However others had had a poorer experience; 10 students felt the lessons had been poorly taught, so they had failed to engage with the topics, whilst 21 responses explained that the lessons in school had lacked detail, leaving students with little insights into the political system. This lack of knowledge was evident in response to a direct question asking student to indicate how knowledgeable they felt about government and politics; only around a quarter said they were knowledgeable, with nearly two thirds claimed to have some knowledge, whilst the remainder felt they lacked any knowledge (see Table 1). This does beg the question where do students learn about political issues, and it seems from the survey that students gain their knowledge largely through the media.

Most students said they followed the news regularly, with many others doing so occasionally (see Table 1). The vast majority of respondents, nearly two thirds, were interested in global news issues, about one sixth were interested mainly in national issues and a couple focused more on local matters. Just over half obtained their news online, with TV being the next most favoured means, used by just over a third of the respondents. Print and radio was cited by hardly any students as a source of news.

Personal experience of political matters

Relatively few students had personal experience of political matters, either directly or indirectly (see Table 1). Respondents were also invited to explain their answers further and detail their experience of political matters. Twenty eight students did respond. The issue most readily identified was education. Eleven students were angry about changes to the education system introduced by the former Coalition government (formed by the Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties), and in particular the large increase in university tuition fees, which would affect these students as they were studying courses that would allow them access to university. The following comments illustrate the concerns raised:

If I had to pick one area the government has control of which has affected me, it would be education. They need to consult students before making any major changes because at the end of the day we are the ones who are benefiting from it, not the government (student 14)

Nick Clegg [leader of the Liberal Democrats] promised to cut tuition fees in the 2010 election and he didn't (student 150)

There were five comments about equality issues, mainly related to racism and LGBT issues, and five comments about the political system, particularly distrust of politicians (especially in the wake of the 'expenses scandal'). Three students expressed concern over environmental issues and the remainder covered individual points. In all cases the students focused on the way that political matters had impinged on their lives or attitudes, rather than ways in which they had engaged with the political system.

Students were also asked to provide open-ended responses to explain their views relating to family engagement in political matters and 27 chose to do so. Of these 11 indicated that their family's level of political activity was restricted to voting. Only three responses showed

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

any further degree of political participation; one said their parents had signed petitions, one had been involved with a protest over marriage equality (presumably gay marriage rights given the timing of the survey, although this was not made clear) and one had actively campaigned for a political party in the locality.

Civic engagement

The students were asked to indicate how important it was for someone to be actively involved in improving their communities, to which the responses were overwhelmingly positive (see Table 1). Yet their personal levels of activity were much more limited. Only around half of those who said it was important to be actively involved described themselves as active, whilst over a quarter said they had no active engagement in civic matters (see Table 1). When asked what types of civic activity they engaged with the main responses were donating money, volunteering and being neighbourly (see Table 1). These are either relatively simple acts to engage with or are community based rather than political in nature.

Although many students felt civic engagement was important, few were active themselves and this may be linked to their sense of personal efficacy and the ability to influence change. As can be seen in Table 1, only a quarter of the respondents felt they could effectively influence change, whereas nearly a third thought they had no influence at all. Looking at the more detailed reasons why students felt this way, their comments demonstrated the youth to have a strong perception that individuals were powerless; 61 comments specifically focused on either the weakness of individuals to change things or stressed that only collective action could achieve anything.

A small group of people can't make much of a difference you have to have a lot of people working together to get a proper impact (student 8)

Because the general public although have perceived control actually has very little control, government decides most of what happens whether that be regional or local - for example students didn't want exams to change but the government made a decision to change it (student 43)

A further 14 responses also showed that the students felt that they were either too young, too unimportant or simply not trusted for their views to be taken seriously:

I feel I'm too young to be taken seriously (student 39)

I'm a teenager. We are seen as vandals and hoodlums who have nothing but bad intentions (student 42)

Although as the following response suggests, some young people feel they could make a positive difference if only they were listened to:

If myself and other youth like me were to have the means and power to speak their mind in a way that would reach the whole community, I feel that a lot of social issues would finally

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

be brought to light and addressed. In order for us to make a difference we need to be given that chance, and when given that opportunity I believe that we would make the most of it and make a positive change to society (student 40)

Only 31 more detailed responses suggested that individuals could make, or at least make some, difference to society.

Anyone can make a difference, even alone (student 71)

Because to make a real difference on a large scale it takes more than one person to speak up but locally sometimes it only takes one person (student 104)

These findings support earlier studies, which show young people have low to moderate levels of efficacy in bringing about change (Benton et al., 2008; Keating et al., 2010).

Attitudes towards government and democracy

The vast majority of students were positive about democracy per se, but less supportive of the UK system of government (see Table 1). The concerns expressed about the UK system were that it does not always fairly represent the views of the people:

Our system benefits the rich elites, ignoring the majority of the population (student 41)

It's a good idea but most people are not represented (student 50)

democracy is a good concept, but when there are only 3 main parties people can choose from, all having similar plans for the country, it seems like there isn't really a choice in our democracy (student 65)

As with levels of civic engagement, many students felt that it was important for them to be active in the political arena. Generally speaking the responses to the open-ended question asking students to elaborate on their answer showed that they felt everyone's voice needed to be heard:

If you don't participate, you can't change things you don't like (student 16)

If you don't use your voice, you can't complain if it's unheard (student 137)

But there were signs of either cynicism or a lack of personal efficacy:

Sometimes I think it is worth speaking out but a lot of the time realistically voices don't get heard and nothing actually changes (student 113)

At the end of the survey students were invited to add any comments regarding any of the issues and some chose to write about their views on government, a number of which were heartfelt and showed an awareness of issues within society:

The current system we have is clearly not working; it's designed to benefit the "ruling class" who are centred around greed. I don't know what the new system would look like or what it

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

should look like. However I know it should not socialise the upcoming generations into becoming blinded, obedient slaves that use up their lives to line the pockets of the rich, it should not create vast economic disparity, it should not cause massive, irreversible damage to the environment all in the name of profit and it should provide everyone with a free and fulfilling life regardless of race, gender, sexuality or beliefs. I am only a 17 year old boy, and even I can see the problems within our society, so surely highly educated politicians can see it too. So why are, these people who are meant to represent us, not doing anything about it? (student 46)

Generally the findings from this survey resonate with earlier studies. [Nelson, Wade, and Kerr \(2010\)](#) concluded that young people in England were broadly supportive of democracy and were willing to vote, but their level of interest in political issues and willingness to engage in political activity was much more limited. Lopes, Benton and Cleaver's (2009) study suggested that young people's levels of engagement were largely dictated by perceived self-benefit from participation. Given the low levels of efficacy in bringing about change identified in the findings from the survey, it could be argued that these young people do not see they have much say in how things could change and therefore see little personal benefit from political engagement.

Perceptions of what makes you a citizen

The respondents were asked to identify particular attributes and actions which would be necessary conditions for being a citizen of their country. The most popular responses were:

- Paying taxes – 83% (although this was in the context of much media attention at the time about big corporations avoiding paying tax in the UK)
- Being interested in the common well-being – 68%
- Speaking the language of the country in which you live – 60%
- Being a good neighbour - 50%
- Knowing the history of the country and rules of government – 43%
- Being born in the country – 29%

These suggest that the students regard citizenship overwhelmingly in terms of what an individual can contribute to the community, and that they are expected to be caring and law abiding. This fits very strongly into the idea of civil and social values, rather than defining it in political and legal terms. Interestingly only two students chose sharing the same religion, whilst ten chose sharing the same lifestyle, which suggests that these young people are accepting of different lifestyles and belief systems, and do not see the need for others to accept a particular set of customs as a prerequisite for citizenship.

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

An open-ended comment box at the end of the survey allowed participants to elaborate more fully on some points. Some students were concerned that existing institutions in the UK should be respected and that loyalty to the UK should be a key aspect of citizenship:

There should be an understanding between all cultures but I'm pretty against sharia Law. The head of the UK is the monarch not religion and if they feel sharia law is the way to go then why come live in the UK? The British have their own law and regulation. Also the British citizenship should have that key question that asks "Would you fight for the UK" and if answered no they should fail the test instantly. If there is no attachment to UK then they are most likely here just for benefits and if shit hits the fan they will be the first to leave while I will gladly fight till the end (student 135)

However more responses stressed a positive view towards immigrants, but raised concerns about how people within the UK were being manipulated into more negative views towards them:

I think there should be as little requirements as possible to get citizenship somewhere. Immigration should be actively encouraged - I think it is good for our economy, society, culture and wellbeing for it to be as diverse and varied as possible. Also, people should have limits on them where they can and can't live. As long as they pay the taxes for that country, then I think it is fine for them to live there (student 9)

The recent events that have taken place in the Middle East have heightened racial tensions. In the UK I have seen many scenarios of Islamophobia for example. Organisations such as UKIP (UK Independence Party), BNP (British National Party) and the EDL (English Defence League) have all gained support because of this closed mindedness and lack of understanding and knowledge to be quite frank. Education is one of the best ways to fight this cultural change, yes, I do think this cultural change should be fought. Nationalism and patriotism are being used as excuses for closed mindedness and sometimes racism. Educate children on world affair, from all sorts of different views, ensure they are given many perspectives on current affairs. Teach them not to be easily persuaded by bias, teach them how to formulate independent views that take into considerations the situation from many angles (student 30)

I feel that it is wrong to expect a person to 'share the same religion and lifestyle' as the country when our country is so diverse. It's unfair and prejudiced. There are also plenty of British citizens who are not 'good neighbours' or interested in the common wellbeing and not everyone knows the history of our country. Even less people know the rules of government. So I think it's unfair and elitist to expect this of people trying to get citizenship when a percentage of our own citizens can't fulfil these requirements. A basic, general understanding is of course necessary I think (student 53)

Although only a few students commented on issues relating to immigration, the general responses regarding attributes and actions for people to be granted citizenship suggest a

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

more tolerant and accepting position from the students who responded to this survey, which runs counter to findings in other studies. For example [Kerr \(2005\)](#) and [Nelson et al. \(2010\)](#) found that pupils were broadly intolerant of immigration. Although further work would be needed to explore this issue further for a stronger claim to be made.

The relationship between ‘internal’ factors and civic engagement

Overall analysis of the data did not reveal strong correlations between a range of internal factors and the levels of civic engagement, although some trends were discernible.

Knowledge of politics and government and attitudes to civic engagement

Students’ knowledge of politics and government did not reveal any statistically significant correlations, although there were some noticeable trends. Those who claimed to be knowledgeable about political issues were more likely to feel they could influence change. This was most noticeable when analysing whether the respondents felt they could **not** bring about change. Amongst those who felt knowledgeable approximately 19% felt as individuals they would be ineffective in bringing about change, for those who had some knowledge the figure rose to 30%, and for those with no knowledge the figure was higher at 45%.

Regarding support for democracy and the type of government in the UK there was an inverse relationship between the level of support and degree of knowledge. Those with higher levels of knowledge were twice as likely to support the type of UK governmental system compared to those who said they lacked knowledge of the political system, and a similar pattern was discernible for democracy generally. When analysing how important it was to participate in civic activities there was a similar trend as described above between the degree of knowledge and the perception that participation was important. A mixed picture was evident when respondents were asked about how actively engaged they were a range of civic activities. The most active were those with **some** knowledge of political issues, with a quarter claiming to be active and nearly half saying they were occasionally active. Of those who claimed to be knowledgeable and of those with little knowledge, few were actively engaged in civic activities but around half were occasionally involved.

Personality type and civic behaviour

Previous studies ([Dinesen, Nørgaard, & Klemmensen, 2014](#); [Metzger & Smetana, 2010](#)) had suggested that personality type has an influence over people’s disposition towards civic participation. The findings from this study lend some support to this idea, but are not strong. Those in the ‘leader’ and ‘friendly’ categories were more likely to demonstrate civic behaviours, but the figures only account for 11% of all responses.

Generally those in the ‘leader’ category were more likely to be knowledgeable about politics (29% said they were knowledgeable and 53% said they had some knowledge), more likely to support the UK system of government (56%), and feel they could influence change (31% said they could, and 40% said they would have some effect). Overall they seem to have a higher

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

sense of engagement with aspects of political activity, although in all cases the figures are not statistically significant.

Those who identified as ‘outgoing’ were more likely to be engaged in community focused activity (63% said it was important to be involved and 31% said they were actively involved), but also recognised the importance of supporting democracy as a form of government (both generally – 77% - and in the UK – 43%).

Altogether the four personality types were generally supportive of democracy, but support for the UK system of government was weakest amongst those who were ‘introverted’ (37%) and ‘friendly’ (26%). Those who felt least able to effect change were the ‘friendly type’ (16%), and the level of engagement in the community was lowest amongst ‘introverts’ (12%).

Gender

Comparing responses by gender shows some trends, but again revealed nothing statistically significant; males generally reported higher levels of political knowledge whereas females were more likely to be involved in community issues; 43% of males said they were knowledgeable and 45% said they had some knowledge; for females the figures were 16% and 70% respectively. Both genders reported a similar sense of efficacy in bringing about change, although girls were slightly more positive; 48% of girls felt they could be somewhat effective with 30% saying they would not be able to influence change.

Females were also slightly more likely to feel it was important to be involved in improving the community and be more active; 52% said it was important to be involved, compared to 42% of males. Females were almost twice as likely to claim they were actively involved in the community, with 24% claiming participation, compared to 14% of males.

Sense of efficacy

As noted above, students generally revealed a low sense of personal efficacy in terms of influencing events in the local community or society more broadly. Factors such as knowledge of the political system, personality type, gender, social class did not have much bearing on young people’s sense of efficacy.

However analysis relating involvement in civic activity did reveal a statistically significant relationship between the level of activity in civic processes and sense of personal efficacy ($p=.001$). What is not clear is how this relationship operates, i.e. whether higher levels of self-efficacy lead individuals into civic activity or involvement in civic activity promotes higher levels of efficacy.

The relationship between ‘external’ factors and civic engagement

As with the internal factors no clear or strong correlations were found between young people’s level of civic engagement and external factors, although there were evident trends.

School

It has been claimed that schools do influence the ways that students engage with citizenship and civic activities ([Keating et al., 2010](#); [Ofsted, 2010, 2013](#)) and this study provides some evidence to support these. For example, those who remember being taught about politics and government were more likely to follow the news (70%) compared to those who were not taught this in school (55%) or could not remember being taught (58%). Also students who had been taught about politics and government were more likely to be supportive of the UK system – 48% as opposed to 37% of those who were not taught and 17% of those who could not remember.

There was also a trend regarding levels of participation. Nearly 60% of those who were taught about politics and government thought it was important for people to be actively involved in their community and 65% thought it was important to participate in civic activities. The corresponding figures for those who claim not to have been taught or could not remember being taught about politics were much lower.

This would suggest that education in school does have an effect on how students perceive the importance of participation, yet the actual levels of participation were low across all three types of response, with between 20-25% saying they engaged in civic activities.

Family and prior political encounters

It would be reasonable to assume that family influence and personal experience would shape young people's attitudes towards civic engagement. Although the data show there is a positive relationship between these factors it does not appear to be a strong one.

A third of those who claimed to be knowledgeable about politics had families who were politically active (although as discussed previously this often does not extend beyond voting), which is reduced to a fifth where families were not active. However there were some surprising results. Students whose families were not active in politics felt more strongly that they could be 'somewhat effective' in bringing around change compared to families considered active (45% compared to 29%). Also respondents were more likely to be active in their communities if their families were not politically active, and to be more supportive of the UK system of government, than those who were more active.

There was a similar positive, if not strong pattern in regard to prior political experiences. For example a third with such experience felt they could influence change, whilst a quarter of those without prior experience felt they could do this.

Discussion

Despite citizenship being a compulsory part of the school curriculum in England, and despite the focus on creating politically literate and active, responsible citizens, the findings from this survey tend to illustrate a lack of knowledge on the part of many students, and a gulf between attitudes and actions. To an extent it may be that this reflects the findings of

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

Keating et al. (2010); in their large-scale longitudinal study of citizenship education in England from its inception, they conclude that the young people in the study were more likely to have a positive attitude towards civic and political participation if they had received a lot of specific citizenship teaching, both in terms of curriculum time and specialist teaching; in addition they noted that there was a cumulative effect, with attitudes strengthening over time based on prior attitudes, i.e. positive attitudes aged 16, became more positive for students aged 18. Conversely those who reported having had little or no citizenship education were significantly more likely to have poor attitudes to participation. Given so many in this study could not remember having been taught citizenship, Keating et al.'s (2010) findings may explain the attitudes reported here and the relatively low levels of participation (although it should be acknowledged that Keating et al.'s study looked at attitudes towards participation and intention to participate rather than actual levels of activity).

On the positive side, the majority of students are generally supportive of democratic structures (if slightly less enthusiastic about the system of government in the UK), are aware of the importance of engaging with civic activities and with the community, and are keen to be informed about the world in which they live. However it is not clear from where students develop their views. The number of students who claim not to have been taught (a statutory subject) or cannot remember it is relatively high, plus few come from families which are politically active and few have direct personal experience of politics. Most are keen to keep up to date with news, are interested in a range of issues, and so it would seem that many teach themselves what they wish to know, or try to make sense of things as best they can. It would appear from this sample that young people want to know more about civic matters but have not received sufficient education or experience from external support systems. Although it is a positive thing that young people wish to be informed and it would appear have to do this independently, it is not clear to what extent they are able to examine a range of views, critically engage with issues and so develop well-informed opinions.

Without sufficient knowledge many feel unable to influence matters. Other studies, such as [Nelson et al. \(2010\)](#), have found a connection between high levels of civic knowledge and support for democratic values, and the findings from this survey suggest an association between higher levels of knowledge and positive attitudes and levels of participation. Although students feel participation is important, the majority do not believe they have the ability to influence matters, and consequently it can be argued they find reasons not to engage in activities. Given a healthy democracy needs active participation by its citizenry this should be a concern, and reflects findings in other studies (e.g. Keating et al., 2010). Overall there is a strong sense of disengagement from participants from the civic and political community. The qualitative comments suggest that young people do not feel trusted or respected, whilst in turn their perception of politicians means they do not trust them. Although there is a sense that democracy is a 'good' thing, the levels of support for the UK system of government is perceptibly lower.

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

The lack of political engagement is also seen in the conception of a citizen; most students defined citizenship in terms of community engagement and contributing positively to society and a good citizen was defined in relation to personal qualities, such as being kind and caring. This stresses what Geboers, Geijsel, Admiraal and ten Dam (2013) see as a model of 'civil society' where there is an emphasis on social cohesion, coexistence and personal development; this model of citizenship has been criticised by Mead (2010) as a form of communitarianism, which could easily be found in various dictatorships and does little to promote the values of democracy and participation in the political sphere. Although civic engagement is clearly an important element of citizenship, it is a very different conception to models that emphasise a more classical, political model. Part of the problem, as Geboers et al. (2013) imply, is that young people do not yet see themselves as citizens because of the way in which their engagement in the political world is restricted (in the UK young people are not allowed to vote until the age of 18).

It would seem that citizenship education in England needs a careful reappraisal. It seems clear that young people generally see the importance of political and civic engagement, yet feel unwilling and/or unable to participate. The resolution to this situation is complex. At one level it seems there is an argument to develop students' knowledge and understanding of the political, social and community elements of citizenship as envisioned in the original National Curriculum documentation. The range of responses from the students in this survey may reflect the range of approaches different secondary schools are likely to have adopted towards citizenship in the curriculum – schools may teach it as a discrete subject but others may well have combined it with PSHE, taught it through cross-curricular approaches or specific theme days. It is also highly likely that there are few specialist teachers in these schools. The obvious solution would be to advocate more clearly defined citizenship teaching in the curriculum, taught by specialists. Yet on its own these are simply 'tinkering' around the edges.

It seems there needs to be a deeper philosophical debate if young people are to value, protect and promote democratic participation in society. The Council of Europe's (2015) educational manifesto questions whether we are doing the right things, in the right way when it comes to education; if, in future, we wish to live in a democratic society, then this must be a fundamental aim of education. As such, citizenship should not simply be a curriculum subject that is 'squeezed' into an overcrowded school timetable; it needs to be one of the driving forces behind curriculum design. It also means that young people should experience democracy in action in schools and the local community; the idea of 'student voice' is not new, but the extent to which young people have a genuine say in their lives, or are given the means and support to allow their voices to be heard is questionable. At present the findings from this small survey raise questions about the health of democratic society in England, but the findings resonate with other studies, which in turn suggests the issues raised here need careful and serious attention from all levels of the educational system.

References

- Benton, T., Cleaver, E., Featherstone, G., Kerr, D., Lopes, J. & Whitby, K. (2008). *Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS): sixth annual report young people's civic participation in and beyond school*. London: Department for Children, Schools and Families.
- Council of Europe (2015). *Education for change, change for education*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- DfE (2011). *The framework for the National Curriculum: a report by the Expert Panel for the National Curriculum review*. London: DfE. Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/175439/NCR-Expert_Panel_Report.pdf.
- DfE (2013). *National curriculum in England: citizenship programmes of study for key stages 3 and 4*. London: DfE. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-curriculum-in-england-citizenship-programmes-of-study/national-curriculum-in-england-citizenship-programmes-of-study-for-key-stages-3-and-4>
- DfEE/QCA (1999). *Citizenship: the National Curriculum for England*. London: DfEE/QCA.
- Dinesen, P. T., Nørgaard, A. S. & Klemmensen, R. (2014). The civic personality: personality and democratic citizenship. *Political Studies*, 62, 134-152. doi: 10.1111/1467-9248.12094
- Faulks, K. (2006). Education for citizenship in England's secondary schools: a critique of current principle and practice. *Journal of Education Policy*, 21(1), 59-74. doi: 10.1080/02680930500391546
- Geboers, E., Geijssel, F., Admiraal, W. & ten Dam, G. (2013) Review of the effects of citizenship education. *Educational Research Review* 9, 158-173.
- Harris, R. (2006). Editorial: a special issue on Citizenship Education. *Prospero*, 12(3), 3-5.
- Home Office (2004). *2003 Home Office Citizenship Survey: people, families and communities*. London: Home Office.
- Ireland, E., Kerr, D., Lopes, J., Nelson, J. & Cleaver, E. (2006). *Active citizenship and young people: opportunities, experiences and challenges in and beyond school citizenship education longitudinal study: fourth annual report*. Nottingham: Department for Education and Skills.
- Isac, M.M., Maslowski, R., Creemers, B. & van der Werf, W. (2014) The contribution of schooling to secondary school students' citizenship outcomes across countries. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement* 25 (1) 29-63
- Keating, A., Kerr, D., Benton, T., Mundy, E. & Lopes, J. (2010). *Citizenship education in England 2001-2010: young people's practices and prospects for the future: the eighth and*

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

final report from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS). London: Department for Education.

Keating, A., Kerr, D., Lopes, J., Featherstone, G. & Benton, T. (2009). *Embedding citizenship education in secondary schools in England (2002-08): citizenship education longitudinal study seventh annual report*. London: Department for Children, Schools and Families.

Kerr, D. (2005). England's teenagers fail the patriotic test: the lessons from England's participation in the IEA Civic Education Survey. In S. Wilde (Ed.), *Political and Citizenship Education* (pp. 29-47). Didcot: Symposium Books.

Kerr, D., Cleaver, E., Ireland, E. & Blenkinsop, S. (2003). *Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study First CrossSectional Survey 2001-2002*. Nottingham.

Kerr, D., Lopes, J., Nelson, J., White, K., Cleaver, E. & Benton, T. (2007). *Vision versus pragmatism: citizenship in the secondary school curriculum in England citizenship education longitudinal study: fifth annual report*. London: Department for Education and Skills.

Kiwan, D. (2008). Citizenship education in England at the cross-roads? Four models of citizenship and their implications for ethnic and religious diversity. *Oxford Review of Education*, 34(1), 39-58. doi: 10.1080/03054980701584551

Lopes, J., Benton, T. & Cleaver, E. (2009). Young people's intended civic and political participation: does education matter? *Journal of Youth Studies*, 12(1), 1-20. doi: 10.1080/13676260802191920

Mead, N. (2010). Conflicting conceptions of participation in secondary school Citizenship. *Pastoral Care in Education*, 28 (1), 45-57.

Metzger, A. & Smetana, J. G. (2010). Social Cognitive Development and Adolescent Civic Engagement. In L.R. Sherrod, J. Torney-Purtha & C.A. Flanagan (Eds.) *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth* (pp. 221-248). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Nelson, J., Wade, P. & Kerr, D. (2010). *Young people's civic attitudes and practices: England's outcomes from the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study*. Slough: NFER.

Ofsted (2004). *Ofsted subject reports 2002/03: Citizenship in secondary schools*. London: Ofsted.

Ofsted (2005). *Citizenship in secondary schools: evidence from Ofsted inspections (2003/04)*. London: Ofsted.

Ofsted (2010). *Citizenship established? Citizenship in schools 2006/09*. London: Ofsted.

Ofsted (2013). *Citizenship consolidated? A survey of citizenship in schools between 2009 and 2012*. London: Ofsted.

Pring, R. (2006). Against Citizenship. *Prospero*, 12(3), 54-58.

Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading – written evidence (CCE0028)

QCA (1998). *Education for Citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools*. London: QCA.

QCA (2007). *Citizenship: programme of study for key stage 3 and attainment target*. London: QCA.

UK Political Info (n.d.) *General election turnout 1945-2015*. Retrieved from <http://www.ukpolitical.info/Turnout10.htm>.

19 August 2017

Helen Haste, Angela Bermudez, and Mario Carretero – written evidence (CCE0226)

How we think about civic participation has changed dramatically in the last decade. This affects research education, practice and policy. These changes derive in part from changing perspectives on democratic processes. In summary, the definition of ‘civic’ has expanded considerably beyond voting behavior in conventional parliamentary elections. ‘New civics’ includes ‘unconventional’ forms of voice, including both legal and illegal protest, and the wide variety of communication routes now available for making one’s voice heard. It includes organization designed to challenge power, whether local macro or global. It pays attention to volunteering, it also recognizes the importance of single issue activism, not only partisanship. Particularly striking is that ‘new civics’ discussion has made explicit the inherent tension between the goal of creating citizens who will be actively involved in sustaining the existing socio-political system, and the goal of creating citizens who are equipped to challenge critically the status quo a tension which is evident in public discussion of civic education.

What has contributed to these changes? First, the radical upheavals of late twentieth century led to recognition that social movements were a significant aspect of political life not anomalies of extremism; protesters became agents of democracy not pathological deviants.

Second, social media have had a huge impact. Traditionally, the citizen could influence government policy indirectly through voting or pressure group membership, their voices heard through petitions, letters to newspapers or radio phone-in programs. The sense of agency was limited; influence was constrained. Social media has transformed the traditional hierarchies and gatekeepers of communication and voice. Digital media democratizes, in the sense that anyone can – in principle – gain a worldwide audience. This has its dark side as we all recognize, and also there is the ‘echo chamber’ effect: on the whole people tune in what is familiar and also largely consonant with their existing views.

While having ‘voice’ does not necessarily mean having ‘influence’ we have seen massive evidence of the ‘bottom-up’ power of media to mobilize, recruit, organize and publicize social movements with great impact. We see also the effect on participants. Exercising voice, especially when this has a tangible outcome, builds a sense of efficacy in participants and equips them with new civic skills. Quite small investment in technology enables formerly marginalized or disempowered groups to develop and implement strategies for impacting power structures and institutions, and in particular linking with collaborators

across regional and national boundaries. Use of media has enabled young people in very deprived contexts, such as favelas and refugee camps, to tell their own story through the use of cellphone videos, also in so doing, acquiring basic technical skills; both enhance efficacy and competences. Finally, a major democratizing factor of digital media is the pressure for public accountability that it places on people in power and in the public eye.

Traditionally, civic education has been conceptualized as, and researched as, school-based, defined by what is feasible within the school environment, especially classroom practice. There has been a particular emphasis on civic knowledge, especially knowledge relating to the structure and processes of the country's government, and also to the history narratives that sustain national identity. An emphasis on civic knowledge reflects a cognitive primarily of fact-based model of learning with the assumption that understanding how laws are made and how governance is structured will motivate young people actively to sustain the system by voting. New civics challenges much of this and expands the agenda.

How conceptualizing 'democracy' directs education

Underlying any conception of civic participation and the goals of civic education are assumptions about how democracy does, and should, function. We can identify four conceptions informing different emphases in civic education programs: *procedural democracy*, *deliberative democracy*, *democracy as social justice*, and *democracy as a mode of living*. Each implies different goals for civic education and different learning processes.

Procedural democracy implies a system of political organization and decision-making based on representative and participatory procedures that are grounded on principles of freedom, equality, and the rule of law. Civic education aims to provide students with the knowledge necessary for voting in elections or campaigning for parties. In practice however, procedural democracy privileges majority views, achieving consensus, compliance with convention, and keeping order in a stable system. This may marginalize minority, controversial, novel, or particularly complex alternative views on public issues.

Deliberative democracy shares the principles of procedural democracy, but also emphasizes the pervasiveness and importance of conflict, moral controversy, and dissent in social and political life. Therefore, it is important that citizens actively engage in the deliberation of public issues. Civic education for deliberation focuses on developing the capacities for

critical inquiry, moral and political argumentation, and participating effectively in controversial dialogue.

Proponents of *democracy as social justice* argue that focusing on political procedures does not adequately represent the complex, unequal, and conflictive nature of citizenship in contemporary societies. An “authentic” or “deep” democracy must be committed to equality and dignity in equal terms for all. Unless socioeconomic (distributive) justice is guaranteed, the essential values of democracy are at stake. Civic education programs informed by democracy as social justice stress developing students’ capacity to critically understand the multiple forms of systemic violence, oppression, and exclusion, preparing them to analyze power relationships, investigate the ambiguities of political issues, and embrace opportunities for social change.

In a fourth conception, *democracy is a mode of living* founded on values of inclusiveness, pluralism, fairness, cooperation, dialogue, and non-violent resolution of conflict. This requires developing sensitivity, habits, and capacities to build and preserve relationships and connection across lines of difference.

While all these require civic knowledge procedural models views emphasize knowledge of political institutions and constitutional procedures, deliberative models add knowledge of current public issues, and social justice models add knowledge of socioeconomic dynamics. Procedural models emphasize cognitive skills for effective analysis of information, whereas deliberative and social justice models emphasize skills for critical inquiry and controversial dialogue. Democracy as a way of life requires cognitive and socio-emotional skills necessary for resolution of conflict.

What makes civic education effective? The centrality of culture

‘New civics’ participation needs more than transmission of factual knowledge and conventional values, primarily aiming to socialize students into the existing sociopolitical order. The growing individual actively processes information and experience, successively restructuring and reflecting, producing increasingly complex and abstract understanding. What elements of civic education are necessary to scaffold active learning and deep understanding? What happens in civic learning with increasing age? How is what happens in civic learning helped by opportunities to engage with civic issues? Education should foster increasingly sophisticated understanding of civic matters, and provide experiences and contexts to facilitate active, effective, and meaningful processing.

Learning results not only from information, but also from individuals’ action and interaction within a social context. Meaning and understanding are co-constructed and negotiated in

social and cultural interactions, through dialogue with others and with cultural resources for example, linguistic and institutional messages about ethnicity, power, and norms of behavior. Effective civic learning needs to use such cultural resources to facilitate interaction, critical reflection, and negotiation. This includes paying attention to classroom and school climate, community experience, service learning, family interactions, cultural narratives, norms and expectations, socioeconomic factors, and increasingly, social media.

The components of civic competence

Four strands of skills and competence contribute to the effective citizen, each has distinct educational implications. These are: *civic knowledge and understanding*; *civic skills*; *civic values, motivation, and identity*; and *civic action*.

Civic Knowledge and Understanding

Teaching facts about democratic institutions and national history is being challenged by a growing consensus that citizens also require knowledge and understanding about controversial issues, intergroup relations, local and community affairs. Further, civic knowledge alone is not enough to foster active and responsible civic engagement. An active civil society requires also understanding of concepts and principles, the skills for reflective and responsible action, willingness to engage, and commitment to democratic values. Knowledge is more meaningful when integrated with conceptual understanding. For example, students may “know” the list of core human rights, but they may not understand what the concept of “rights” actually entails, why they were codified in a particular historical time, or how they relate to specific conceptions of state.

Civic Skills

Civic skills are often divided into intellectual skills, participatory skills, and socio-emotional skills. Youth are expected to make sound political choices, to take part in collective decision making, conflict resolution, and negotiation, to discuss controversial social and political issues, or monitor government action on behalf of public interests. Knowledge and conceptual understanding are about ‘knowing what’; civic skills are procedural – ‘knowing how’: the capacities to analyze and synthesize information and arguments, as well as to evaluate, reach conclusions, take and defend positions. Examples include considering different perspectives, interrogating and interpreting political communication, and supporting positions with evidence and good argumentation. Participatory skills are capacities for working with others, building coalitions, seeking consensus, negotiating differences, and managing conflict. There are skills for communication (public speaking, petitioning, lobbying, protesting), organization (mobilizing, securing funding, leading meetings), and collective decision making (coordinating perspectives, evaluating alternative solutions, etc.) and also skills for group membership and for conflict resolution.

Socio-emotional and interpersonal skills include handling oneself in healthy relationships with family, peers, and community members. Examples include dealing positively with peer pressure, developing non-abusive relationships, avoiding risky behavior, and coordinating one's needs with the needs of others.

Civic Values, Motivation, and Identity

A third dimension of civic learning comprises values, motives, and identities that promote effective democratic practices, such as taking responsibility voting and helping others, upholding the law, monitoring current affairs in the media, tolerance and respect for diversity, and concern with rights, welfare, freedom, or justice.

Value development is rooted in active meaning making and social negotiation. Discussion of moral and civic dilemmas fosters development of moral judgment and social values. Moral values motivate civic action because they make issues personally relevant. While young people express very little interest in conventional "politics", they are concerned about and active in many community and environmental issues especially single issues that are affectively experienced as morally charged, contributing to a sense of personal responsibility. For effective education it is essential to start from where young people's concerns and interests are, and to understand what motivates them to engage. Individual and collective identities are increasingly recognized as key features in the definition of civic motivation and commitments.

Civic identity is an active and fluid psychosocial process through which citizens make sense of their social reality. It includes agency and efficacy; feeling one is a meaningful actor, responsible to one's community, having confidence in one's ability to take action, and achieve results.

Civic Action

Long before they become formal political citizens, young people experience civic environments which provide learning opportunities, for example situations that call them to stand up against prejudice, discrimination, and harassment. School government affords opportunities for civic voice. Families, peer groups, and social media are sites for discussing controversial issues. Real-life authentic civic action experience contributes to civic identity; motivation, purpose, responsibility, agency, and efficacy.

Youth organizing and how community-based civic action are particularly salient among marginalized communities. Participation requires and fosters coming together, working with others, mediating differences, managing conflict, and establishing shared goals in order to regulate, direct, and develop common affairs. Community activism is characterized by social responsibility and commitment to partner with others in understanding problems, and developing and implementing solutions.

Implications

The broadening definitions of ‘civic participation’ gives both researchers and practitioners far more scope for understanding what contributes to being a citizen, recognising that citizenship is far more than voting behavior, and that civic identity is as much a part of the self as moral or national identity. It challenges the long-standing distinction between our public and private lives, a distinction difficult to maintain once we understand the origins and contexts of motivations for civic action and engagement. This recognizes that civic competences, reasoning, affect and behavior are not explicable only in terms of individual characteristics, nor can effective civic education be achieved if the learner is seen as isolated from the social context. The roles of cultural experience, resources and dialectic are inherent in all aspects of civic competence, expression and the education for their development.

Joe Hayman – written evidence (CCE0059)

As the former Chief Executive of the PSHE Association, the national body for Personal, Social, Health and Economic education (a school subject taught alongside citizenship education) and the author of two books on public perspectives on identity, belonging, community and citizenship in modern Britain, I welcome the committee's call for evidence on this crucial area. I set out below my responses to the committee's questions.

1. As British society has grown and developed, new challenges have been posed to our 'social contract'. Large scale migration has brought people from all over the world to the UK and enabled British people to travel all over the world; these changes, combined with technological advances in relation to global communications, mean many people in Britain have an increasingly international identity and global perspective, and that our population is no longer defined by a single ethnicity, heritage or faith. We also live in a more cynical age, with deference to leaders, experts and institutions diminished and our faith in one another frequently challenged. While the principles of citizenship and civic engagement, of shared rights and mutual responsibilities, remain crucial in the 21st century, it is essential to re-examine them in this changed – and still changing – context.

In this submission, I argue that we should not simply re-examine our notions of citizenship and civic engagement in 21st century Britain but that we should explicitly set out to strengthen the ties that bind us. For the reasons set out above, we cannot take for granted that the people of a country like Britain will feel a strong sense of citizenship, and if our notions of mutual responsibility do drift, then we will all feel the consequences: our politics will be weakened as the mandate and legitimacy of the state and other national institutions is threatened; our social contract will be undermined because a view may form that British people have little in common and therefore have no responsibility to share with or to look after one another; concerns about immigration may drive us to make counter-productive decisions; and fear, mistrust or misunderstanding of our fellow citizens, with whom we might share a nationality but may feel we have little in common, will atomise our communities, reduce our quality of life and leave us all vulnerable.

The question of identity and affinity to nation is inextricably linked to this debate. In Britain, we face twin threats of Islamist and far-right extremism, ideologies which prey upon alienated individuals who feel disconnected from modern British identity; a similar mindset informs the religious and racist hate crime which so troubles our society. These issues stem in significant part from a 'them and us' mentality which breeds fear and division. In response, we must urgently seek to create a genuine sense of 'us' – a true national community – in our increasingly-diverse society. I set out below how strengthening our collective sense of shared values, shared endeavour and a shared future could provide a more meaningful sense of 'us' in a multi-cultural, multi-faith society.

In short, the committee's inquiry could not be more timely: we are going through a significant social and economic transition as a country, and recent events have laid our divisions bare. Strengthened notions of citizenship could play an important role in addressing some of the biggest challenges we face as a society and prevent internal divisions from spilling over and colouring our politics into the future. If our notions of citizenship are to be strengthened, we need to re-examine them in a 21st century context and, as I set out in response to the committee's final question, develop a new institution to respond to the challenge of building 21st century citizenship in the UK.

2. There are two 'entry points' through which one can become a 'full' member of British society: either as a young person progressing into adult citizenship or as a naturalised citizen who has come to the UK from abroad. It follows that the same expectations of citizenship should be set for both groups and the willingness of these 'new citizens' to meet those expectations should be articulated in the same way. This is what makes citizenship ceremonies and the oaths which lie at the heart of them so important: pledges increase our confidence in each other and the idea of a society in which every single member has pledged their commitment to one another – either as a young person becoming an adult or as a naturalised citizen – has the potential to build trust and help to address some of the divisions that we face. Having the same ceremony for naturalised citizens as for young people who grew up in the UK would also send a powerful message about the UK welcoming people from abroad as equals and having the same high expectations of them as any other citizen.

On the question of pride, I believe we should encourage our citizens to be critical thinkers who work towards making the country a better place for us all to live. With this in mind, a blanket pride which ignores the country's past mistakes and current iniquities should be avoided. Yet it is in all of our interests for people feel positive about the UK, so we should encourage celebration of and gratitude for the special things about our society and about one another. True modern citizenship combines this celebration and gratitude with recognition of mistakes and iniquities and acceptance of shared responsibility to address them. It helps in this respect to think of society not as something fixed but rather as an ongoing endeavour which every citizen works together to build and improve.

3. Further formal rights and responsibilities beyond those already articulated in our legal framework are not required in order to enhance our conceptions of citizenship and indeed might undermine the liberal society which we are trying to build. Our legal rights and responsibilities are covered in existing legislation³⁷⁴ and what we are exploring here is a social contract, not a legal one. However, a better articulation of what modern British

³⁷⁴ It is worth noting that if our post-referendum deal with the EU alters our commitment to the European Convention on Human Rights then this will need to be re-examined and a British Bill of Rights or equivalent will be required. This would not need to create additional powers but simply to articulate existing rights and responsibilities and give them grounding in British rather than European Law.

citizenship means could help both new and existing citizens to understand more about their rights and responsibilities. This could be covered outside legislation through, for example, citizenship education textbooks, information on life in the UK for those new to the country and in an enhanced citizenship oath covering not just rights and responsibilities but also capturing a sense of shared values, shared endeavour and a shared future.

4. If we are to encourage greater political engagement amongst our citizens, all young people should automatically join the electoral register on completion of schooling/national citizenship service, as should all newly naturalised citizens. Compulsory voting would be a further step forward: often seen as a draconian or illiberal measure, there is evidence that it ensures that historically underrepresented groups have their voices heard in the political process³⁷⁵. A ‘none of the above’ (NOTA) option on the ballot would be necessary if compulsory voting was to be introduced, since it would not be acceptable to force people to vote for a candidate they did not support, and while it would not be ideal for the NOTA option to be widely taken up, it would at least send a strong message about public dissatisfaction with modern politics. At present, political apathy is often understood as contentment with, or at least acceptance of, the status quo and the fact that around one third of citizens do not vote in general elections often passes without comment: a strong ‘showing’ for NOTA would provide a powerful imperative for change in the political process.

The current inconsistency between the age at which young people can vote and the age at which they can exercise other ‘adult’ responsibilities (for example, getting married) is difficult to justify. An innovative response would be to try to harmonise the age at which young people can vote with the age at which they can marry, leave compulsory education, drink alcohol and qualify to drive – all of which, one could argue, require an adult level of maturity. Another option could be to keep the voting age at 18 but allow young people who have completed their citizenship education or National Citizen Service before age 18 to qualify for the electoral register early, perhaps once they have completed a citizenship ceremony. Combining citizenship ceremonies with some kind of ‘citizenship card’ which provided an entitlement to new freedoms for the young people would make the ceremony much more meaningful for those young people and provide a powerful incentive for them.

5. Despite the best efforts of the citizenship education community and its supporters, the subject has long been a poor relation in schools. The Department for Education’s annual workforce survey, which details the amount of time allotted to every different subject in secondary schools in England, shows that citizenship education makes up on average just

³⁷⁵ As Shane Singh of the Political Studies Association notes, “compulsory voting decreases disincentives for turnout among underrepresented groups and, as such, their participation rates typically begin to approach those of more mainstream groups”. See <https://www.psa.ac.uk/insight-plus/beyond-turnout-consequences-compulsory-voting>

0.3% of teaching hours in Key Stages 3 and 4 in schools across the country³⁷⁶. This compares to 3.6% of teaching hours for Religious Education and 5.1% of teaching hours for ‘mainstream’ subjects like history. 0.3% of teaching hours equates to less than three hours over an entire school year, an insufficient amount of time for meaningful learning. My experience from leading the national body for PSHE education, the subject often taught along citizenship education in schools, is that provision is even weaker at primary level.

The question from headteachers in response to calls to give subjects like citizenship greater curriculum time is always ‘what should we cut?’ and there are no easy answers. Schools are extremely busy as it is and there are strong arguments for a range of subjects to get more curriculum time, as there are for established subjects to maintain their curriculum time. However, for the future health of our society, more time could and should be found in schools for the teaching of citizenship, and many schools with excellent results already find time to teach citizenship well³⁷⁷. Schools should be open to the idea of giving the subject more space on the timetable since high-quality citizenship education creates a positive environment for learning in which pupils understand their responsibilities and the expectations upon them and seek to contribute to the success of the school.

In order to improve citizenship education in schools, not only will the curriculum need to be updated and resources and teacher training improved, but the subject will also have to be made compulsory across all key stages, including at primary level. This is the only way in which things change in schools, and while terms like democracy may be challenging for younger children, understanding of the importance of participation and listening to others can be built from an early age. Making the subject compulsory means that there should be no exemptions from citizenship education: we want our children to learn that the same rights and responsibilities apply to all citizens and it follows that every child should have the opportunity to learn about those rights and responsibilities.

6. The National Citizen Service (NCS) is an increasingly-important part of life for British young people. Ultimately, our aim should be that it is a rite of passage which every young person in the country goes through: all young people should have the opportunity to build on their school-based citizenship education with the opportunity to practice citizenship in the real world through NCS. We should seek to avoid becoming a two-tier society where some young people have had an opportunity to practice and demonstrate their citizenship and others have not. As set out above, completion of NCS should lead to public citizenship ceremonies in the same style as those for naturalised citizens.

³⁷⁶ The full data is available at Row 48 of Table 11 of the DfE workforce study November 2016: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/school-workforce-in-england-november-2016>

³⁷⁷ Ofsted holds 8 case studies of schools with excellent citizenship teaching and outstanding inspection results on its website:

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20141115234447/http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/inspection-reports/our-expert-knowledge/subject-survey-feedback-letters-schools/citizenship-subject-survey-visits>

NCS is not the only opportunity for young people to practice good citizenship, of course: many young people will have been volunteering or playing a role in their communities long before their NCS experience; some will have been involved in the youth democracy movement or campaigned on other issues which matter to them. We should be pleased that young people have multiple routes to civic engagement but it is important for community cohesion and our sense of nation that all British young people have one ‘shared experience’, creating commonality between young people of different backgrounds and ensuring that no one misses out. NCS is the obvious way to deliver this.

7. One straightforward step government could take would be to require businesses over a certain size to give mandatory volunteering time to their employees. It is a reality that many people do not have the time for civic engagement because of work and family commitments: making civic engagement part of ‘work time’ would be one way to address this, and while it would be costly for businesses, it would help to ensure that those with the most time and money are not the only ones making a civic contribution. Government could also work with civil society to reduce the bureaucracy involved in volunteering, making it easier for a range of people to get involved. Flexible volunteering initiatives designed for working people such as North London Cares³⁷⁸ provide an insight into how to do so.
8. We should seek a minimum set of values which all members of our society share and understand as a basic expectation of British citizenship. These should cover democracy, the rule of law, rights and responsibilities, individual liberty, equality, mutual respect and the challenging of prejudice. Yet the real question is how we interpret these values and what we do if they conflict with one another. When talking about democracy and the rule of law, for example, we need to articulate how as citizens we need to abide by collective decisions even if we don’t agree with them but that we can also influence the decision-making process both by voting and campaigning, and explore the obligation of citizens to challenge if the state overreaches and uses law to infringe on citizens’ rights or individual liberties. When discussing rights and responsibilities, we should explore whether we have the right balance between the two, acknowledging that there is no ‘correct’ answer to this question; we also should explore the tensions between group rights, security and individual liberty, acknowledging that the state may at times infringe on our freedoms in order to protect society as a whole. We should acknowledge that there are different interpretations of equality, with some in the country committed to equality of opportunity and others to equality of outcome. When talking about tolerance, we should ask whether respect is the correct response if individuals or communities hold prejudiced beliefs or practice customs that are not in line with shared values like equality.

The tension between our rights as citizens, our shared values and respect for difference is perhaps the most difficult challenge for the interpretation of British values in the modern context: in a free society, we want to protect the right of people to hold different views and

³⁷⁸ See <https://northlondoncares.org.uk/home> for more information

we want to challenge discrimination, yet we also want to promote equality and individual rights. If these principles run counter to one another, a problematic tension is created. Such instances help to clarify the fact that our shared values are not simply a randomly-ordered list of words and that the relative priority we attached to different values is crucial. As an example, our national response to concerns about forced marriage suggests that our rights as citizens and of shared values like liberty and equality have primacy in British society over tolerance for different cultures. Having spaces such as schools or community settings, as well as online, for people to explore these questions is essential to build our collective understanding of modern British citizenship and to build a more cohesive society.

In short, rather like the law, values need to be continually discussed, interpreted and explored as they are tested by a changing world, and it is in that discussion, debate and negotiation that values come to life and become more than words on a piece of paper. While this will inevitably lead to challenging discussions and debates, the imperative to build a sense of shared citizenship in a diverse, pluralistic society requires us to do so, enabling all citizens to understand Britain's values and the hierarchy within them.

9. According to the Edelman Trust index³⁷⁹, 60% of people in the UK feel 'the system is failing them', while the government's own Social Mobility Commission (SMC) says that the UK "has a deep social mobility problem which is getting worse."³⁸⁰ It is not surprising, therefore, that people feel disengaged from a society which does not work for them. The SMC sets out a range of measures to give all people in the UK a fair chance, such as a ban on unpaid internships. To their recommendations I would add blind initial recruitment processes for both paid and voluntary positions in order to ensure that there is no discrimination during initial sifts of applications; I would also recommend improved careers guidance both for young people and for adults, and better, low-cost English language classes for those who need them. Such measures would help to prevent people being left behind, and coupled with efforts to make volunteering more accessible for all (see response to Question 7 above), would help to support the civic engagement of 'left-behind' groups.
10. The concepts of citizenship, civic engagement, social cohesion and integration go hand in hand. As set out above, we live in an increasingly diverse society in which people do not share a single ethnicity, faith or heritage. We therefore need to establish other commonalities if we are to build an integrated, cohesive society. Unifying values, a sense of common endeavour and a vision of a shared future can provide the basis for that shared identity, and can form the basis of a modern social contract which applies to us all no matter

³⁷⁹ Full report at: https://www.slideshare.net/Edelman_UK/edelman-trust-barometer-2017-uk-results

³⁸⁰ The report goes on: "*The impact is not just felt by the poorest in society but is also holding back whole tranches of middle- as well as low-income families - these treadmill families are running harder and harder, but are standing still. The problem is not just social division, but a widening geographical divide between the big cities - London especially - and too many towns and counties across the country are being left behind economically and hollowed out socially*". Full 'State of the Nation' report/recommendations available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/state-of-the-nation-report-on-social-mobility-in-great-britain>

where we were born, what our ethnicity is or what religion we practice. From that renewed social contract, a stronger sense of citizenship can emerge. Civic engagement is important in this respect as it not only provides the opportunity for citizens to fulfil their responsibilities to society but also enables them to meet others from communities outside their immediate circle. Further, it provides the opportunity for people to work with others towards a shared goal, the essence of citizenship and an opportunity to bridge divides between communities.

It is not impossible to imagine circumstances in which diversity, integration and citizenship increase concurrently but building a new ‘civic nationalism’ in the UK will require significant effort, both from the state and from civil society. Yet, as set out below, our institutional response to this challenge is weak, with the responsibility for developing a more integrated society with a stronger sense of shared citizenship falling through the cracks between state and civil society institutions. I argue below that we need a new institution focussed on building 21st century citizenship in the UK.

11. 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, making it imperative that English language lessons are central to the naturalisation process.

The Citizenship test could also be improved: it currently tests factual knowledge, but it does not cover the notion of citizenship in detail or look at the values which underpin British society explored in question 8. When new citizens give their oath, they should understand what British citizenship really means and the values to which they are subscribing (as set out above, I recommend that this should apply to both young people becoming adult citizens and naturalised British citizens).

12. In terms of role models, I believe British Olympic team captures the essence of the country I think we are trying to build: diverse and valued for their unique talents, working together under a shared flag; respected equally no matter their background, working hard to improve themselves, and not letting pride prevent them from acknowledging where things could be better. Proud of their country, but humble and committed to making Britain better, they set an outstanding example for us all.

There are also important initiatives, like the British Youth Council³⁸¹, which encourages young people to participate in the democratic process and to get their voices heard. The truth is, however, that we lack a strong institutional focus on this agenda: while state action is required to address some of the issues explored above, many of the actions needed are focused on a social contract, suggesting that civil society should take the lead. However, community organisations typically focus on specific localities rather than the nation as a

³⁸¹ For more information, visit www.byc.org.uk

whole, the church does not play as strong a role in society as it once did and few civil society organisations see promoting a positive vision of British citizenship as part of their remit. The UK lacks an equivalent institution to, for example, the National Australia Day Council³⁸², which has a specific responsibility for organising that national event and encouraging the positive sense of citizenship which surrounds it. The formation of an equivalent institution for the UK, working not just on one day but all year round, would help to address the issues the committee is exploring as we enter a potentially-turbulent period in our history. I would be happy to provide further information on what this institution could do if this would be of interest to the committee.

5 September 2017

³⁸² For more information, visit <https://www.australiaday.org.au/about-us/national-australia-day-council>

Health and Social Care Alliance, Scotland – written evidence (CCE0165)

1. November 2017 marks the 75th anniversary of the publication of Sir William Beveridge's landmark 1942 report "Social Insurance and Allied Services" (1) which prepared the groundwork for the introduction of the NHS and welfare state some six years later. In making his vision a reality Beveridge asserted the need for individuals to rise above personal interests and 'stand together' to improve the lot of everyone in society. Beveridge recognised that achieving this aim would require an immense act of 'national unity overriding the interests of any class or section'; a task which he thought attainable due to the unique sense of solidarity engendered by the world war in which the nation as a whole was then engaged. The deal therefore was that the state would provide comprehensive healthcare and a level of 'social assistance' with individuals, as part of the social contract, participating in a system of collective citizenship where everyone contributed and benefitted.

2. In the 75 years since Beveridge, the role of the 'citizen' in respect of public services has varied from passive recipient in the early days of the welfare state to consumer under the market tenets of New Public Management. Increasingly however, the role of the citizen as co-producer is recognised as the means of responding to the challenges of increasing demand and austerity as well as addressing the perceived democratic deficit in the planning and provision of health and social services.

3. Scotland has largely rejected the most stringent aspects of market ideology in the governance of its public services, yet in broader society consumerism is rife and this itself impacts on the perception and expectation of roles in the relationship between citizens and public services. If we leave aside the enormous contribution that carers, volunteers and the third sector make to the health and wellbeing of our society this begs the question - does an appetite exist in our society today for individuals to act, as Beveridge put it, in the 'common interest of all citizens' or in other words as citizen co-producers rather than simply passive consumers of health and social services?

4. Malby and Turbitt in their 2011 Guardian article (2) illustrate that that the social contract envisaged by Beveridge remains relevant in our consumer age i.e. *'... Co-production and self-help are the best options we have for improving public services. Both would be much easier in a world where we were all citizens and co-owners. The NHS needs a rich, mature relationship with patients who perceive themselves as citizens, who feel an intrinsic responsibility not only for their own health but towards others who need help ...'*

5. Whilst there are many fine examples of citizen co-production both at individual/practitioner level and in the co-design and commissioning of public services we have some way to go before we live in the world aspired to by Malby and Turbitt. We are also fortunate not to face a national crisis of the magnitude of a world war that might unite us around the step change necessary to produce this paradigm shift in the short term. So given this, how do we progress towards a more citizen co-produced health and social care system?

6. As suggested by Loeffler and Hine-Hughes (3) we need to ‘... *focus strategically on the areas where co-production is likely to work best and be the most cost-effective way of achieving outcomes ...*’

7. Pestoff (4) suggests two factors are important in determining these areas of strategic focus; the ease with which citizens can get involved in public service design and provision and the importance or salience placed on the service by the citizen?

8. Ease of service access depends on things such as availability of information and transport, location, and opening times whereas salience reflects the degree to which the service impacts directly on the day to day lives of a person and their loved ones. The more vital a service is to an individual’s life the greater the motivation to engage in co-producing it. In this respect Pestoff distinguishes between enduring and non-enduring services. Enduring services, associated with the management of long term conditions, require that those with lived experience of a condition i.e. in the role of service user or carer, combine their knowledge, skills and resources in a continuing relationship with those who have professional expertise in order to achieve the best possible outcomes over the longer term. Such exchanges offer opportunities for co-production on a collective basis due to the solidarity engendered by shared health challenges and interest.

9. To our mind citizens today are willing to act as co-producers rather than passive consumers, albeit conditionally. Where there are common challenges to overcome and benefits to be achieved from collective co-operation then citizens will engage in co-production with one another and public service providers.

10. Whilst consumerism is pretty well rooted in our 21st Century society, shifting the balance towards a more citizen co-produced health and social care system is not impossible. It is however incumbent on policy makers and strategists to focus on and invest more keenly in promoting citizen co-production in those service areas in which longer term relationships make its success more likely.

1. Beveridge, W. H. B. (1942). Social insurance and allied services. Report by Sir William Beveridge. London, H.M. Stationery Office.

2. Malby, Becky and Turbitt, Irwin (2011) [‘Is consumerism weakening the NHS?’ The Guardian, 23rd August](#). (Accessed 20th July 2017)

3. Loeffler, E. & Hine-Hughes, F. (2013). ‘Five Steps to making the transformation to co-production’. In Loeffler, E., Power, G., Bovaird, T. & Hine-Hughes, F. (eds.) [Co-production of Health and Wellbeing in Scotland](#), Governance International.

4. Pestoff, V. (2012). ‘Co-production and Third Sector Social Services in Europe’ In Pestoff, V., Brandsen, T., & Verschuere, B., (eds.) ‘New Public Governance, the Third Sector and Co-production, Routledge

8 September 2017

Healthwatch England – written evidence (CCE0168)

About Healthwatch England

Healthwatch England is the independent champion for people who use health and social care services. We exist to ensure that people are at the heart of care.

We listen to what people like about services, and what could be improved, and we share their views with those with the power to make change happen. We also help people find the information they need about services in their area.

We have the power to ensure that people's voices are heard by the government and those running services. As well as seeking the public's views ourselves, we also encourage services to involve people in decisions that affect them. Our sole purpose is to help make care better for people.

Role of local Healthwatch

There is a local Healthwatch in every area of England, one in each top-tier local authority area. They provide information and advice about publicly-funded health and care services. They also go out and speak to local people about what they think of local care, and share what people like and what could be improved with those running services. They share feedback with Healthwatch England so that we can spot patterns in what people are saying about care, and ensure that people's voices are heard on a national level.

Importance of civic engagement/volunteering

- 1.
1. Healthwatch England and the Healthwatch network were set up under the Health and Social Care Act 2012, with the intention of providing local communities with a way of influencing local health and care provision.
- 2.
2. Local Healthwatch organisations:
 - 3.
 - Have the legal power to carry out Enter and View visits to health and social care providers, so they can see these services in action and advise those in charge about how to improve.
 - Represent the views of people who use services, carers and the public on the Health and Wellbeing Boards set up by local authorities.
 - Report feedback about the quality of health and social care to Healthwatch England, which can then recommend that organisations such as NHS England, the Care Quality Commission and other arms-length bodies take action.
- 4.
3. The activity of the Healthwatch network and Healthwatch England is dependent on civic engagement, both as a source of information and in order to carry out its statutory duties.

- 5.
4. Although we as a network have around 800 staff, the network could not make a difference without people being prepared to give up their time to help improve health and care services.
- 6.
5. This volunteering takes the form both of people formally giving up their time to help gather local people's experiences and views and providing signposting advice, and of people 'micro-volunteering' by offering their views and experiences of health and care services.
- 7.
6. Our volunteers outnumber paid staff by a ratio of over 5:1, with a voluntary base last year of nearly 5,000 people from a range of backgrounds, including an active cohort of youth volunteers. In addition, last year over 300,000 people volunteered their views and experiences of health and care services.
- 8.
7. This engagement makes a real difference to people's experiences of health and care. Our most recent public awareness campaign, #ItStartsWithYou, highlighted the effect that individual stories could have on changing the way things work and sought to encourage others to come forward. As one example, **Rebecca Loo**, a mother from Staffordshire, successfully campaigned for health commissioners to redesign the local equipment ordering services when her son's long wait for a foot brace meant he had to have avoidable surgery – wasting precious money and resources and causing her son needless additional pain and discomfort. Working with her local Healthwatch, Rebecca has now been able to spread this approach around the country helping to improve services for many more patients than just her son. This way of working has been identified by NHS England as having the potential to save the NHS tens of millions of pounds.³⁸³
- 9.
8. In this sense, civic engagement has the potential to play a crucial role in the work of the public and voluntary sectors through helping to ensure that public services work for all members of the community.

10. Barriers to participation

9. Last year Healthwatch England commissioned a poll to better understand the reasons why people volunteered, or the barriers that prevented them from participating. 44% of people polled said that they have given up their time in the past for a community they

³⁸³ <https://www.england.nhs.uk/commissioning/wp-content/uploads/sites/12/2015/11/orthcs-final-rep.pdf>

belong to or are currently doing so. Amongst those who do not currently volunteer 49% said that they are willing to do so, with the majority (74%) of this group saying that they would be prepared to donate an hour or more of their time per week.

10. The main barriers appeared to be time, awareness and relevance. 53% of those who said that they don't currently volunteer feel like they don't have enough time, while 18% were unsure of the organisations or causes to which they could contribute. 17% said that none of their local organisations or causes felt relevant to them.
11. We also asked adults in the poll what factors might make them more or less likely to choose a particular issue to get involved with. The most influential factors seem to be whether an issue had touched their lives or their family (63% said this would make them more likely) or if an organisation aims to help members of their community (57% said this would make them more likely).

11. Civic engagement in the 21st century

12. In order to make the most of people's willingness to volunteer, and to maximise the benefits of civic engagement, organisations need more flexible approaches to provide opportunities that fit individuals' needs and remove the barriers that impede people's participation. For example, one student volunteer from Healthwatch Sheffield highlighted how she appreciated the opportunity to fit in volunteering around her studies.³⁸⁴ Similarly, Healthwatch Staffordshire worked with Keele University to create a number of bespoke roles for medical students, who have to spend time working in the community in order to complete their course.³⁸⁵

- **Relationship between civic engagement and social cohesion**

13. Local Healthwatch work to help ensure that health and social care services meet the needs of all users. By sharing the voices and experiences of people who may not otherwise be heard, Healthwatch embody the relationship between civic engagement and social cohesion. Engagement from every section of the community is key to ensuring that public services are right for those using them, and do not exclude anyone. Organisations like Healthwatch can help to facilitate this engagement to ensure different groups, not just those who "shout the loudest", are able to contribute to decisions about services that affect them. As one example, Healthwatch Islington trained a group of young adult volunteers to interview their peers from a range of backgrounds about their mental health and the support services that they would find most useful. This research helped change the way that local mental health services for

³⁸⁴ <http://www.healthwatch.co.uk/news/meet-our-student-volunteer-becky>

³⁸⁵ [Healthwatch Staffordshire Annual Report 2016-17](#), p.7.

young people were being delivered. One volunteer was also asked to sit on the procurement panel that decided who would deliver these new services.³⁸⁶

14. Volunteers also help to reach people who are isolated, or who may have difficulty in accessing services. Another Islington volunteer undertook a ‘mystery shopping’ exercise to discover how many GP surgeries offered interpreters for those who spoke little or no English. Their report then led to an increased number of practices being aware of, and offering, such services.³⁸⁷

Responsibility of society for supporting civic engagement

15. Supported by central government, funded by local authorities and run as social enterprises, the organisations that make up the Healthwatch network represent just some of the ways that third-sector and public sector organisations can support civic engagement. Through enabling people to share their experiences of health and care services in order to affect change, Healthwatch supports a model of civic engagement with health and care services that more closely fits the ways in which people live their lives, by making engagement timely and relevant to them. This model demonstrates just one of the ways in which volunteering and civic engagement underpin public services, and provide a route for those who may otherwise have little contact with community groups to contribute to wider society.

8 September 2017

³⁸⁶ http://www.healthwatchislington.co.uk/sites/default/files/mental_health_report.pdf

³⁸⁷ <http://www.healthwatchislington.co.uk/news/gp-interpreting-what-happened-next>

Healthwatch Essex – written evidence (CCE0032)

Introduction

In March 2016, Healthwatch Essex published the first SWEET! report, which engaged seldom heard young people living in areas of recognised deprivation in South Essex. This work was produced in partnership with sport-for-development charity, Achievement Through Football, to understand these young people's lived experience of health and social care.

The SWEET! Report informed local and national conversation; informing the Essex Health Oversight and Scrutiny Committee's task and finish group, the Suicide and Selfharm Prevention Working Group, and the 'Open Up, Reach Out' young people's mental health transformation plan. As well as this, it has reached a whole host of organisations and events, including the Social Mobility Select Committee, NELFT Nurses' Day, Southend Youth Council, and beyond.

Healthwatch Essex has continued to gather the lived experience of seldom heard young people for this SWEET! 2 report, this time in a different area of recognised deprivation in the county. This has allowed us to recognise similarities in lived experience within the two areas as well as identifying where there may be issues unique to the area, and why this might be.

Jaywick, in the Tendring area of North East Essex, is consistently named the most deprived area in England. Healthwatch Essex partnered with Tendring Enterprise Studio School (TESS) whose students included those who had been absent for large parts of their schooling, had been excluded from mainstream education or had left their previous schools due to issues such as bullying; as well as young people from other seldom heard groups such as gypsy, traveller and Roma communities, looked after children and young carers. Regrettably, TESS closed down in the summer of 2016.

Throughout this report, Healthwatch Essex provides a snapshot these young people's lived experience, and explores the different factors that impact on their health and social care needs. SWEET! 2 collates these findings in a way we hope will allow the needs and experiences of these seldom heard young people to be considered by commissioners, providers and practitioners when making health and social care decisions.

How we engaged

Healthwatch Essex recognised the importance of establishing trust and rapport with SWEET! 2 participants, many of whom had become mistrusting of services and authorities. Therefore, partnering with TESS, who had built strong relationships with their students, was crucial to the success of our engagement.

Staff and students considered the Jaywick area to be over-engaged; telling us that numerous consultations and documentaries had taken place there, but feeling that nothing changed as

a result. This meant it was important to show participants that Healthwatch Essex would work hard to make their investment of time and trust worthwhile.

We began the SWEET! 2 project with an informal introduction to the school, where we chatted with students and observed them in class. We later came back to present an assembly on the work of Healthwatch Essex and the importance of listening to young people. We used this opportunity to talk about the great outcomes our young people's engagement had already produced to highlight our record of using lived experience to influence decision making. We asked TESS students for their permission to undertake SWEET! 2 at TESS, and all were in favour of this.

The majority of TESS students were taking vocational classes and considering their future careers so Healthwatch Essex organised a panel of local health and social care professionals to speak to students. In the first event of its kind, these young people, working towards gaining employment after education, were given the opportunity to converse with health and social care professionals about the types of roles available in these fields, and why they should consider them. In doing so, Healthwatch Essex was able to show students they could form part of the solution to a challenging health and social care landscape, and that they were valued. The film of the SWEET! Debate is available to watch at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ET1Hso1IE8>

Through these activities, Healthwatch Essex became familiar to, and trusted by, the young people, who would greet us by name and talk freely to us when we visited the school. It was only then that we began our engagement sessions with the young people, knowing they would feel able to open up about their (often difficult) lived experience. These sessions consisted of small groups of 3-8 students who felt comfortable with one another, taking place in familiar areas of their school.

In the final stage of our engagement, self-selecting students had the opportunity to speak to us on a one-to-one basis. It was often these sessions that were the most powerful, and the most valuable to our study, showing the importance of a considered and personalised model of engagement.

Zoe told us she was initially planning on speaking to us about her experience of calling an ambulance, but went on to open up about a number of difficult experiences across a range of health and social care issues. She said "I wasn't expecting to tell you what I told you, but you gave me a friendly approach and I felt I could just open up."

As well as this, Zoe clearly felt empowered to help drive our engagement by recommending friends of hers in the school who were known to be quite guarded around adults, but had lived experience that would be useful to our study. She advised us how we should approach them, and to let them know she had already spoken to us, so they would know we were trustworthy.

Healthwatch Essex also interviewed staff at TESS to gather their understanding of the health and social care issues affecting this group of young people, as well as the unique support they felt their school was able to offer.

Through SWEET! 2, we engaged with 59 students and 13 members of staff. All names have been changed.

Key findings

Though our engagement covered a broad range of health and social care topics, a number of themes emerged from the young people's lived experience that seemed consistent across these subjects.

- **Disengagement and distrust:** SWEET! 2 highlighted that many young people simply felt they were not listened to. Across a range of services, young people felt that they would not be taken seriously, that their opinion would not be considered, and that they were not involved in the planning of their care. This led to feeling victimised by services that were there to protect them, and in turn resulted in disengaging with services to the detriment of their health and wellbeing.
- **Someone to be there:** Young people wanted to feel confident that they could find support when they needed it but often felt let down by the difficulty in making health appointments, a high turnover of social workers, and the closure of services that had previously supported them. The best outcomes seemed possible when a trustworthy adult could provide consistency in their work with a young person, and could guide them across multiple agencies.
- **The role of education:** Through our partnership with TESS we were able to observe a model of joined-up working in practice, where Student Advocates liaised between home life and education, and support staff worked closely with a range of services across social care, mental health, youth offending, safeguarding, health, and employment services to secure better outcomes for their students. Improved health and wellbeing led to improved educational attainment which bettered the young people's prospects of escaping poverty and the associated factors of poor health and wellbeing.
- **Lower awareness, higher need:** As we discovered in the first SWEET! report,³⁸⁸ young people engaged in SWEET! 2 showed less awareness of services and public health messages compared to more mainstream samples of young people.³⁸⁹ Despite this, these young people were likelier to engage in risky or unhealthy behaviours - and at an earlier age. Participants told us they wanted the relevant

³⁸⁸ Fletcher, Hannah (2016). 'SWEET! Report: Services We Experience in Essex Today.' Essex: Healthwatch Essex: p. 11

³⁸⁹ Fletcher, Hannah (2015) 'YEAH! Report: Young Essex Attitudes on Health and Social Care.' Essex: Healthwatch Essex: p. 20

information to make informed decisions for themselves and earlier in their lives before they had adopted behaviours they learned from peers or family that became hard to break.

- **Seeing the whole puzzle (and not just the piece):** Every person's health and social care needs are multifaceted, but SWEET! 2 participants in particular had needs across a range of health and care areas that could not be addressed simply by looking at an isolated part of a wider picture. Lindsay's story involves drugs and alcohol, safeguarding, education, justice, social care, mental health and the broader health of her family:

When Lindsay was 12, a family friend took her to the supermarket and bought her alcohol. She drank the alcohol at his house, where he spiked Lindsay's drink and made her smoke marijuana (although she did not know that was what it was at the time). He then sexually abused her.

Lindsay confided in a school friend and said that within hours news of the incident had circulated round her school. Lindsay told us: "No one believed me. Everyone turned against me." Several pupils made threats of violence towards Lindsay, and the police were called due to concerns for her safety. Children's Services were also called, and Lindsay was asked to repeat everything she had disclosed to her friend.

Lindsay arrived home to find Children's Services had already searched her house and questioned her mum. Lindsay felt that her case had been "handled really badly," which had "broken" her mum. Before the incident, Lindsay's mum had given up smoking, but the stress of being questioned with no knowledge of what Lindsay had been through caused her to start chain smoking. Lindsay blamed herself for the effect this has on her mum, explaining "it's all my fault," and that "she was terrified she was going to lose me."

Later, Lindsay had to give a statement in court, but a 'lack of evidence' meant that no charges were made. After voicing concerns for her safety, she was told a restraining order was in place to protect her from this man...though she later found out this had never been the case. "I was lied to," she said.

Lindsay said that the incident "crosses my mind every day." She began counselling shortly after, but felt the counselling "made it worse" as the counsellor became frustrated when she was unable to remember events of her early childhood. This experience caused her to say "I am done with counselling. I would never have counselling again."

Lindsay went on to have a boyfriend who pressured her into taking drugs, and was abusive if she did not comply with his demands. She told us he controlled who she could talk to, and what she could wear. She wanted to leave, but because she lived with him most of the time, she felt herself unable. Despite still being deeply affected by this period of her life, Lindsay now has an understanding boyfriend, though she sometimes panics when he shows physical

affection. She hoped to achieve good grades at TESS that would allow her to work towards starting her own catering business.

Achieving better health and wellbeing outcomes for young people like Lindsay won't be possible if we only seek to improve isolated fragments of a person's health and social care journey. Lindsay wanted to be listened to and treated seriously, to work with services rather than have them make decisions without her input. When we look at Lindsay's experience as a whole we see that her health and wellbeing is determined by a whole host of factors beyond physical and mental health. The need for services to work together to share best practice, identify risk and exchange information to secure improved outcomes for both vulnerable young people and the broader population alike becomes evident when we recognise that, as the Mental Health Taskforce (2016) has said: "Helping people lead fulfilled, productive lives is not the remit of the NHS alone. It involves good parenting and school support during the early years, decent housing, good work, supportive communities and the opportunity to forge satisfying relationships. These span across national and local government."³⁹⁰

Recommendations

Meaningful engagement

Ensuring that seldom heard young people have their voices heard can take time, trust and the right method of engagement. Yet the benefits from this investment will be exponential, and understanding the needs of those that stand to benefit from services the most is the first step to securing better outcomes both for them and for future generations of health and social care users.

Healthwatch Essex is delighted that organisations across the county are increasingly seizing the imperative to engage with young people, in line with the CQC's recommendation that "all children are involved in giving feedback on and co-designing their local services, ensuring they are as accessible and relevant as possible."³⁹¹ With a county-wide move toward co-production and transformation, now is the time to embed the lived experience of all young people into the services they use. We must be mindful that our engagement is meaningful, and extends beyond the usual platforms of youth parliaments and patient forums in order to find the 'hidden voice' of the most vulnerable young people in our county.

Healthwatch Essex continues to gather and report on the lived experience of young people in our county, and welcomes continuing partnerships with health and social care organisations where we may represent the voices of the young people we engage with.

³⁹⁰ Mental Health Taskforce (2016) 'The five year forward view for mental health.' London: Mental Health Taskforce: p. 15

³⁹¹ Care Quality Commission (2016) 'Not Seen, Not Heard: A review of the arrangements for child safeguarding and health care for looked after children in England.' Newcastle upon Tyne: Care Quality Commission: p. 46

Establishing trust

Many young people who need the services the most often feel they have been let down in the past, and it will take hard work to overcome their reluctance to engage with these services. Establishing the trust of young people who feel disengaged or apathetic toward their health and social care is crucial to improving outcomes for this group.

We recognise the mounting pressure that health and care professionals face, making it difficult to build relationships. We want services to push for a system where all health and social care staff are enabled to invest the time needed to build trusting relationships with the young people they see in order to uncover issues that might be hidden from view, understand the young person's perspective and allow them to make informed decisions about their care.

Seek to empower

Every child and young person has the protected right to be involved in all decisions affecting their lives. This includes the right to make decisions about their care,³⁹² but SWEET! 2 participants rarely reported being given this opportunity. Young people who have been taken into care, who have relatives in prison, who care for others, and so on, can feel powerless. Yet the CQC says "Children want to be respected, involved in decisions and plans, and informed of the outcomes of assessments and decisions that affect them. This empowers them and gives them confidence and competence. The extent to which children are listened to significantly influences how safe and happy they feel."³⁹³

Health and social care professionals working with young people should take a person-centred approach that recognises the individuality of each young person and what might work best for them, working with young people at every stage of their health and social care planning.

Two-way communication is essential in empowering the young person both by allowing them to express their views, and to receive an explanation as to why certain decisions are made in order to be involved in an understanding as opposed to feeling decisions are intentionally made in spite of their opinions.

Joined-up working

The integration of health and social care services is gathering pace due to the challenges of resourcing and the changing nature of the population's needs. We must seize this opportunity to identify how services can work together to transform outcomes for young people with the most complex needs, such as SWEET! 2 participants.

³⁹² PEN (2015) 'Improving Patient Experience for Children & Young People.' London: PEN: p. 4

³⁹³ Care Quality Commission (2016) p. 9

Increasingly, the case is being made for multi-agency teams within services that can provide expertise or experience across a range of issues in spite of mounting pressure on time and resource. As the CQC has said, “health professionals are in a strong position to address children’s health and welfare needs and identify safeguarding concerns, but no single person can have a full picture of a child’s circumstances.”³⁹⁴ Through working with TESS, we were able to see first-hand the effectiveness of a team of staff with contacts and knowledge across mental health, social care, home life, safeguarding (and so on) and how this allowed for a connected pathways for the young people.

Investment in the area

We heard from SWEET! 2 participants that the Jaywick area was over-engaged, with little change coming about as a result of their feedback. We recommend that further engagement in this area is considered, and takes place within a clear framework that will bring about actual change.

In the current economic climate we understand a prevailing savings-based focus, but without investment in the most deprived we can expect to see increased social and economic costs, which we know that investment can reverse in the long-term.³⁹⁵ Since the closure of TESS, we are unaware of any similar provision for young people in the Tendring area where the young people we spoke to demonstrated a very real need for information and awareness on a broad range of health and social care topics and surrounding services.

“It would be good to know more about smoking, sexual abuse, illness...we need more advice about it all.”

Children’s Services and family life

Children’s Services

Participants had largely experienced a form of intervention with Children’s Services. More than half of SWEET! 2 participants identified themselves as having had contact with these services, compared to 1 in 10 from the more mainstream participants engaged in our YEAH! 2 report.³⁹⁶ We learned of the young people’s experiences of family intervention, social workers, and being taken into care.

Some of the young people we spoke to were able to reflect on the positive impact these interventions had had:

³⁹⁴ Care Quality Commission (2016) p. 4

³⁹⁵ House of Lords (2016) ‘Overlooked and left behind: improving the transition from school to work for the majority of young people.’ London: Authority of the House of Lords: p. 5

³⁹⁶ Fletcher (2016) p. 25

Leah recalled 6 interventions from Children’s Services from a young age, saying their assistance in managing various aspects of her life (such as moving to a new home) had “made life better.”

Maisie told us that while “it was hard to be taken into care,” she now realises it was the best course of action, and has allowed her to lead a “better life.”

Katie said she was grateful for Children’s Services intervening in family life, as their concern for her safety assured her that it was unacceptable for parents to be violent towards their children. Their actions justified the upset she experienced in her home life, as she described previously feeling as though she was overreacting and it was “all in my head.” She also felt that without the intervention of Children’s Services, she may have gone on to repeat these behaviours to her own children one day, had it not been confirmed that this was unacceptable parenting.

As we found in our SWEET! and YEAH! 2 reports, SWEET! 2 participants still referred to Children’s Services as “Social Services,” and often participants felt afraid or mistrusting of these services. These feelings came from the widely-held belief amongst participants that Children’s Services were simply an agency that intervened to separate children and young people from their families.

“I’m scared of Social Services because they might take me away.”

Pastoral support staff at TESS were frequently in contact with Children’s Services, which they told us was usually beneficial, although it could be frustrating when cases reached no resolution. They explained the presiding fear among students that Children’s Services would destroy the family unit, saying that this took the form of an “us and them” attitude which had resulted from negative experiences of the services in the past, or from overhearing negative experiences from friends and family members.

Staff told us that the mention of Children’s Services evoked a panic response in the young people, who feel guarded about their experiences and want to avoid contact with the services. We heard from some participants who had previously disguised the issues they faced at home in fear of being separated from their families.

Kaya’s mum had been physically and verbally abusive to her, and Kaya described an incident where she said “the verbal abuse was so painful, I told her I’d rather she hit me instead.” Children’s Services came to Kaya’s home on numerous occasions after concerned relatives had contacted them. But because of Kaya’s role as a young carer, she felt her younger sibling needed her at home and therefore convinced Children’s Services there was nothing to worry about.

This anxiety around Children’s Services was also fuelled by the perception that services could act on false accusations which had created a fear of families being separated without

cause. It was not only the young people who were affected by this fear, but their parents too:

Children’s Services visited Ethan’s mum’s house during a custody dispute following their separation. Ethan told us that because the visit was unexpected and the house looked untidy, he and his siblings were almost removed from the home. Ethan told us that his mum phoned the school, who were able to convince Children’s Services to let the family stay together, as they were able to vouch for his mum’s parenting. While Ethan was grateful for the part played by the school, he said the fear of having her children taken away caused his mum to have a nervous breakdown.

Lindsay was sexually exploited by a family friend when she was younger, and through confiding in a friend Children’s Services came to her school and asked her to repeat what had happened. Before Lindsay could tell her mum, Children’s Services searched her home and questioned her. Lindsay told us she felt the services had “handled it all really badly,” which had “broken” her mum. Before the incident, Lindsay’s mum had quit smoking, but following the stress of the intervention started to chain smoke. Lindsay told us that this was because her mum “was terrified she was going to lose me.”

Interventions such as these had a lasting impact on the young people, and often caused them to view services as “unfair.”

When Tia’s uncle went to prison her cousins were taken into care, and were not allowed contact with Tia or her family until they turned 18. She found this unfair, and as though the whole family had been “punished” by a father’s criminal activity; a theme that also arose in our first SWEET! report.³⁹⁷

We understand that every case is unique, and that our study only provided us with a part of the picture. However, it is clear that the young people with positive experiences of Children’s Services were those who understood that interventions from services had been in their best interest. Those who had disengaged with services, or were mistrustful, were those who feared services would not consider their point of view, or allow them to make decisions about their care.

“My social worker doesn’t listen to me, so I don’t communicate with her.”

“My brother was abusive towards my mum because he has ADHD. We had a social worker come round every few months, but not anymore. Now they don’t do anything for him. He was more calm when they came to see.”

The Children’s Commissioner has noted that “Too many children are not consulted about decisions about them and are not able to understand or influence what happens to them.” And that there is a need to “...secure a seismic shift in ambition for all children in care which

³⁹⁷ Fletcher (2016) p.15

puts the voice of the child, continuing and constant relationships and a focus on recovery at its heart.”³⁹⁸

Some participants acknowledged that Children’s Services were there to protect them and felt that if young people felt more informed and involved in every aspect of their care it could resolve some of the fear and distrust that leads to disengagement.

The NSPCC estimates that for each child identified as in need of protection from abuse, there are another eight who suffer in silence.³⁹⁹ The CQC iterates that “trust in the professional is crucial and [young people] won’t open up about issues unless they feel that the person actually cares.”⁴⁰⁰

We recognise that the current social care landscape is wrought with challenges that include a high turnover of staff, stretched resources and difficulty in ensuring all young people are given the time they need. But if staff are enabled to take the time to build trusting relationships with the young people they work with, the benefits of which would seemingly be exponential.

Adoption and foster care

It was uncommon for SWEET! 2 participants to live in a traditional two-parent home, with many living in single-parent families, with grandparents or in foster care. When we asked these young people their experiences of foster care, we mostly heard from young people whose parents fostered. They told us about the effect this could have on family life. For some participants, their families had agreed to short-term emergency placements, but a shortage of suitable placements led to them having to foster these children long-term.

Clare’s foster-sister will now live with the family until she turns 18, but her parents had initially only agreed to a short-term emergency foster placement. Clare told us she felt “pushed out” of the family by her foster-sister (who she does not get on with), and felt that her family had not been given a choice in this long-term arrangement.

Gary’s parents initially agreed to foster 2 young children over one weekend, but the children have been in their care for over 18 months. It was 9 months until Children’s Services processed the paperwork for the family to receive payments, and it took a year for his parents to be granted protection of the children. These delays had made family life stressful.

Families who foster provide a vital service to improve the safety and wellbeing of many children and young people. At a time when more foster carers are needed, services should work with families to ensure that the prospect of delayed payments and protections does not deter families from fostering. It is vital that both the voice of the young person being

³⁹⁸ Children’s Commissioner (2015) ‘Ambitious for Children.’ London: Children’s Commissioner: p. 5

³⁹⁹ Jütte, Sonja *et al* (2015) ‘How safe are our children?: The most comprehensive overview of child protection in the UK.’ London: NSPCC: p.8

⁴⁰⁰ Care Quality Commission (2016) p. 27

fostered, and the young person already in the family, are heard and considered when making decisions.

Young carers

It was not uncommon for SWEET! 2 participants to have caring responsibilities for a family member, although the majority of these young people did not always realise they were young carers. Participants spoke to us about their experience of helping care for others affected by a range of issues such as disability, mental illness, and addiction.

Several participants told us that caring for their siblings frequently impacted their educational, employment or social availability, often combining seeing friends with childcare.

When Gemma lived with her family she explained that every morning she would wake her brother up, make him breakfast and get him dressed for school. She would then make a coffee for her mum, and wake her up too, before getting ready herself and walking her brother to school. Gemma told us that although her mum had been abusive to her, when Children's Services intervened she pretended that everything was okay in order to remain caring for her brother.

Martha and her mother were responsible for the care of her grandfather. Martha's mother worked night shifts, and so Martha stayed at her grandad's house overnight. She would wake up many times in the night to check on him, and to give him his medication. She said it was a lot of responsibility for someone her age, but that it was worth it because it gave her the chance to repay her grandad for taking care of her when she was younger.

For many of the young people at TESS, the ability to participate in vocational education was regarded as their pathway out of deprivation. We know that young carers are more likely to live in a household where no adults are in work, and on average live in households with an average of £5,000 a year less than families without a young carer,⁴⁰¹ but that caring responsibilities are a risk factor for being NEET.⁴⁰² As the eligibility requirement for carer's allowance requires a person to be 16 or over and not in full-time education or earning more than £110 a week⁴⁰³ the odds of breaking the cycle of deprivation seem stacked against young carers.

More must be done to identify and support young carers in order to minimise these odds. More flexibility is needed to allow young carers to participate more in education, employment and training opportunities without impacting their eligibility to receive an allowance. As CentreForum says, "A young carer becomes vulnerable when the level of care-

⁴⁰¹ Frith, Emily (2016) 'CentreForum Commission on Children and Young People's Mental Health: State of the Nation.' London: CentreForum: p. 60

⁴⁰² Delebarre, Jeanne (2016) 'NEET: Young People Not in Education, Employment or Training.' London: House of Commons Library: p. 9

⁴⁰³ House of Lords (2016) p. 87-88

giving and responsibility to the person in need of care becomes excessive or inappropriate for that child, risking their emotional or physical wellbeing or educational achievement and life chances.”⁴⁰⁴

Housing

SWEET! 2 participants often lived outside of the family home in foster care, with grandparents, in social housing, on a friend’s sofa or with a partner. These participants frequently felt they had no space that was their own, and often spoke about the types of homes they would like to live in “one day.”

The idea of having a stable and suitable home was, for the young people, interconnected with broader stability in their lives across mental health, employment prospects and general health. It is not surprising that they felt that these things often suffered as a consequence of unstable home lives, as the Mental Health Taskforce states “Stable employment and housing are both factors contributing to someone being able to maintain good mental health and important outcomes for their recovery if they have developed a mental health problem,” and that “Children living in poor housing have increased chances of experiencing stress, anxiety and depression.”⁴⁰⁵

Abigail ran away from her physically abusive home life. Later, she explained to her grandmother “I’m not worried about the beatings I’ve had, I’m worried about the beatings I’m going to get” and Abigail has lived with her grandmother ever since. However, Abigail says her grandmother can be hostile and make her aware she is unwelcome, and even though she now gets on better with her mum there is no longer room for her in the family home. Abigail felt she had always been a burden to others, and wanted to experience a home of her own.

Despite often living in temporary arrangements, most of the young people were unsure what support existed to help them find housing, and how to access it, which contributed to their feelings of instability and anxiety.

For some female participants, their planned route out of troubled home life or unpleasant social housing (particularly homes with multiple occupants) was to find a wealthy boyfriend to move in with. The concern for TESS staff was that this made it harder to safeguard these young people against abusive relationships and exploitation. On top of this, female students had often been advised by their parents to get pregnant in order to access social housing and welfare. These attitudes made it harder for TESS staff to incentivise these young people into education and employment, which would help them breaking the cycle of deprivation.

Staff told us earlier intervention was needed before these attitudes become so ingrained that young people consider them the most reliable route to housing.

⁴⁰⁴ Frith (2016) p. 60

⁴⁰⁵ Mental Health Taskforce (2016) p. 6

2 participants told us they were grateful for their safe and pleasant social housing placements. 6 others commented on the negative stigma attached to social housing. This, combined with the fact that permission was often needed before they could add their own decorative touches to these properties, caused a feeling that they would never feel they had a “proper” home.

We must not underestimate the benefits of safe and suitable housing for young people such as these, whose lives are often chaotic and filled with uncertainty. A stable home environment can be a huge step toward stability in education, employment and health management, and the Mental Health Taskforce has acknowledged that “Housing is critical to the prevention of mental health problems and the promotion of recovery.”⁴⁰⁶

Young people, such as SWEET! 2 participants, living in areas of deprivation are more likely than their peers in mainstream environments to need earlier alternatives to living in the family home. Unless we ensure they have a stable and safe home environment, they may be left exposed to exploitation, poorer mental and physical health, and poorer educational and employment attainment.

Gangs and offending

Unlike participants in our first SWEET! report,⁴⁰⁷ SWEET! 2 participants were less willing to engage around their lived experience of offending (although we knew from staff that a number of participants had previous involvement with the Youth Offending Service). We found that this was because in the same way SWEET! 2 participants felt fearful or mistrusting of Children’s Services, they felt similarly towards the police and the justice system.

We heard from several participants whose male relative (such as a dad, uncle or brother) was in prison, or who had been...most commonly because of misusing or supplying illegal drugs. These participants typically appeared more withdrawn and mistrusting than their peers. As we learned in the section on Children’s Services and family life, having a relative in prison often led to young people being separated from their families.

Despite their disengagement from our sessions, we know that these young people have experiences that can shape our understanding of their needs. CentreForum has said that:

“Prisoners’ families face high levels of stigma with nearly three quarters missing out on local help despite having multiple needs. They are often considered a ‘hidden group’ in local

⁴⁰⁶ Mental Health Taskforce (2016) p. 17

⁴⁰⁷ Fletcher (2016) p. 20

service provision with historically poor national and local accountability for the wellbeing of prisoners' children and families."⁴⁰⁸

Some of the young people were able to explain their mistrust or fear of the police by sharing their experiences:

Stuart lived with his dad, and his mum has a mental health condition that causes her to experience paranoia. Stuart says she falsely accused his dad of harassing her, and went to the police. Stuart remembers the police coming to arrest his dad and keeping him in a prison cell overnight. His dad received a criminal record which meant he lost his well-paying job. This had been a distressing time for Stuart and his dad, and he feels their lives are worse off now.

Harry, who came from a traveller community, told us the police had not intervened when his family were targeted for hate crime. He had missed several years of education due to behavioural issues and discrimination, in keeping with the findings of the Children's Commissioner who says "Many Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children miss out on school with a disproportionate number reporting bullying and exclusions."⁴⁰⁹

Harry told us he was constantly harassed in the community, and that any girlfriend he has will be harassed by association. For this reason, he finds it difficult to integrate with non-travellers who are often prejudiced towards his culture. Before moving to the area, Harry's family were frequently targeted for crime and violence, until they eventually retaliated and fought with one of their harassers. This resulted in Harry and his family being in trouble with the police.

Harry was currently involved in a dispute with a non-traveller who he had invited to fight him. Even though he fought unarmed, he thought the other boy might bring a knife, and TESS staff were working to discourage him from fighting. However, Harry told us he gets bored easily and engages in risk taking behaviour which has led him to conclude "I will be dead by 20." He is known to the police in the area, and feels he is unfairly targeted for being a traveller.

While several participants had moved to the area from London and felt it was comparatively safer, many others were concerned about the increasing presence of gangs in their community. Gang members operated in their estates and were present in the surrounding town centres, which made them feel unsafe and wary out in the community. Participants commonly attributed the increase in local gang activity to the relocation of people from London.

TESS staff told us that because many of these young people were vulnerable they were more likely to be enticed into crime, and were therefore targeted for recruitment by gangs.

⁴⁰⁸ Frith (2016) p. 58

⁴⁰⁹ Children's Commissioner (2016) 'In Brief: Issue 6.' London: Children's Commissioner: p.5

When it was announced that TESS would be closing, staff noticed that gangs had started to congregate in the area that had not done so previously, and that gang-related incidents affecting TESS students were increasing.

With the school closing, staff were fearful that students with fewer alternatives into education or employment would be exploited by gangs making false promises of wealth and safety.

Investment is needed in the most deprived areas in order to provide alternative opportunities to crime in order for young people to break the cycle of deprivation. When young people in such areas reach working age, many employment opportunities take them out of the locality. This perpetuates deprivation as the area is disproportionately inhabited by those who cannot find work.

Both staff and students commented on the negative impact caused by numerous documentaries about Jaywick's deprived status, which had a knock-on effect on housing prices and negative stereotyping of residents of the area. The only positive that could come from these shows, staff felt, was that it would make it harder to ignore the need for investment in the area.

The Children's Commissioner says "We want to see new investment in children in the poorer areas of the country to turn around the odds through practical support such as children's centres to help children and their parents escape poverty."⁴¹⁰ Without this investment we know that the cycle will only continue – those eligible for free school meals are more likely to be NEET, as are those who have turned to crime and had contact with youth offending services.⁴¹¹ The cost of this goes beyond the direct experiences of the young people themselves, as we know each young person who is NEET is estimated to cost the economy £56,000 through benefit payments, lost tax revenue and youth crime and healthcare costs.⁴¹²

Additionally, more research is needed around the health and social care lived experience of young people with a family member in prison. Prisoners' families are likely to miss out on local provision, but as long as their voices remain hidden we will fail to understand how we can reverse these odds.

Mental Health

1 in 10 young people are believed to have a diagnosable mental health condition,⁴¹³ but this applied to more than half of SWEET! 2 participants. This difference may be explained by the

⁴¹⁰ Children's Commissioner (2015) p. 9

⁴¹¹ Delebarre (2016) p. 8-9

⁴¹² Peacock, Louisa (2011) 'Young Neets cost economy £56,000 each.' London: The Telegraph: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/jobs/hr-news/8868190/Young-Neets-cost-economy-56000-each.html>

⁴¹³ Mental Health Foundation (2016) 'Mental health statistics: children and young people.' <https://www.mentalhealth.org.uk/statistics/mental-health-statistics-children-and-young-people>

fact that young people living in deprived areas are more likely to report lower life satisfaction,⁴¹⁴ and that those who are looked after or adopted, victims of abuse or exploitation, have been involved with the justice system or are members of gangs are particularly vulnerable to developing mental health problems as well as having a parent who has had mental health problems, problems with alcohol or has been in trouble with the law; having parents who separate or divorce; having been severely bullied having been physically or sexually abused; living in poverty or being homeless; experiencing discrimination perhaps because of race, sexuality or religion; acting as a carer for a relative, taking on adult responsibilities; having long-standing emotional difficulties.⁴¹⁵

As CentreForum states:

“Social disadvantage and adversity increase the risk of developing mental health problems. Children and young people from the poorest households are three times more likely to have a mental health problem than those growing up in better-off homes.”⁴¹⁶

As we found in our first SWEET! report,⁴¹⁷ many SWEET! 2 participants spoke about the mental health of their parents, with several assuming a pivotal role in the care of their parents and siblings.

SWEET! 2 participants spoke about their experiences of living with mental health conditions such as depression, anxiety, addiction, eating disorders and OCD.

“The counselling was good, but I don’t get that anymore so I can’t vent my emotions and my friends are getting the bad end of it.”

Staff at TESS worked closely with the Emotional Wellbeing and Mental Health Services (formerly CAMHS) to broker referrals on behalf of students, and were concerned about the impact the school closing might have.

Zach told us he had known for a long time that he was gay, but had always been unsure of how to deal with his sexuality and the stigma surrounding it, or where to find advice. Because of this, Zach spent a number of years feeling “completely alone” with no idea of who he could approach. He described reclusive behaviour and a deep sense of unhappiness.

Eventually, Zach approached the school counsellor who was unable to give him any advice or signposting. Confidentiality was a worry, and it took Zach a great deal of courage to approach the counsellor. He said that not everyone in his situation would have that courage.

While Zach has many questions on this topic, he has told a few trusted people that he is gay. He said that had he not done this his sense of isolation would only have increased. “Being

⁴¹⁴ Ipsos MORI (2016) ‘Health and Wellbeing of 15 year olds in England: Findings from the What About YOUth? Survey 2014.’ London: Health and Social Care Information Centre: p. 10

⁴¹⁵ Frith (2016) p. 12

⁴¹⁶ Frith (2016) p.5, 12

⁴¹⁷ Fletcher (2016) p. 32

gay is a big part of me,” he said, “and it was bad for me to keep it hidden away because of fear.” He felt that everyone should be informed about LGBT relationships and identities, rather than individuals having to try to find support. He also felt this would go a long way in reducing the negative stigma which can have a sizeable impact on the mental health of young LGBT people.

Zach spoke about the discrimination and bullying he experienced at his previous school, and the negative impact this had on his mental health and therefore his education. Zach’s experience shares similarities with Harry’s, whose we looked at earlier on in this report. Harry missed several years of education because of the harassment he faced as a member of a traveller family. Marginalised groups such as LGBT people and those from Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities are at greater risk of mental illness,⁴¹⁸ perhaps in part because of the negative stigma these groups face.

Not only can bullying contribute to mental illness, but mental illness can lead to bullying. A survey by Time to Change found that a quarter of young people with a mental health condition avoided education because of stigma and bullying.⁴¹⁹

Megan was also bullied in her previous school to the extent that she was now fearful about applying to college in case she will face further bullying.

Megan also attributes her mental illness as a consequence of the physical and verbal abuse she had once experienced in her home life. Her symptoms include paranoia, anxiety and hearing voices. While she has a counsellor now, it has taken her many years to access this support – in the past she went to her GP in hope of a diagnosis, but after a blood test her GP never got back to her.

Body image was a concern for female participants who often told us that their physical appearance was the biggest contributing factor to their sense of self-worth. Some went so far as to say that looking good was more important than academic or career success, and insecurity prevented them from exercising outdoors or participating in team sports. Staff recognised that this low self-worth contributed to the young people being vulnerable to eating disorders and exploitative or abusive relationships. However, with the local eating disorder charity overstretched and facing closure there was uncertainty of where these young people could be referred in future.

National findings have recently emerged showing that the wellbeing of girls has deteriorated in recent years.⁴²⁰ A large-scale study by Ipsos MORI found that girls were more likely than boys to have low levels of life satisfaction, with 46% of girls seeing

⁴¹⁸ Mental Health Taskforce (2016) p. 7

⁴¹⁹ Parkin, Elizabeth (2016) ‘Children and young people’s mental health – policy, services, funding and education.’ London: House of Commons Library: p. 18

⁴²⁰ Coughlan, Sean (2016): ‘Teenage girls: Mental well-being worsening.’ London: BBC News

themselves as “too fat”...and we know that there is a link between body image and the levels of life satisfaction young people report.⁴²¹

Despite being at higher risk of mental ill health by a number of factors, the vast majority of SWEET! 2 participants (a higher proportion than their mainstream peers)⁴²² had not received information on mental health and the surrounding services. Understandably, participants unanimously agreed that it was crucial for them to be informed on this topic in order to seek timely support and reduce the negative consequences poor mental health could have on their lives.

“I would like it if there was more help to deal with emotions. I’m currently shut off from the outside because of recent bullying.”

“I think children and young people should be educated from a young age about mental health...but not with school friends....they should mix with other schools and have small workshops, therefore they won’t be judged by school friends.”

We know that mental health impacts the likelihood of poorer educational attainment, involvement with the justice system and becoming dependent on drugs, as well as being more likely to smoke and drink, and earn less money or experience unemployment as adults.⁴²³ With suicide now the leading cause of death for males from the age of 15 upwards we must ensure that all young people, particularly the most vulnerable in society, have the opportunity to receive timely and quality care. As well as the personal cost to the young person and those around them, we cannot ignore the £105 billion social and economic cost of poor mental health in England each year.⁴²⁴

Healthwatch Essex is delighted that young people’s mental health has become a policy priority in recent times, but there is still a long way to go to minimise the factors contributing to poor mental health. With the most vulnerable young people in society far likelier to experience mental health problems, the Mental Health Taskforce advocates for the reduction of inequalities in improving mental health for young people,⁴²⁵ and while Mind acknowledges the increased investment in mental health they state:

“...there’s still a lack of recognition that mental health can be as much a social issue as a clinical one. If we fail to address the underlying social issues which may have a bigger impact on people’s lives and health than treatment or therapy, we undermine any potential benefit

⁴²¹ Ipsos MORI (2016) p. 9

⁴²² Fletcher, Hannah (2016) ‘YEAH! 2.’ Essex: Healthwatch Essex: p. 12

⁴²³ Frith (2016) p. 5-6

⁴²⁴ Mental Health Taskforce (2016) p. 10

⁴²⁵ Mental Health Taskforce (2016) p. 23

from health services. It's vital that local commissioners are decision-makers act now to protect and improve these community services."⁴²⁶

Public Health

Drugs & Alcohol

As with the first SWEET! report,⁴²⁷ we found that larger numbers of SWEET! 2 participants engaged with drug and alcohol use than more mainstream samples of their peers. Again, cannabis was the most commonly-used drug among participants, with several saying they smoke it habitually. Participants largely felt that cannabis was a "good" drug as they knew adults who used the drug to ease pain or anxiety, and several thought it would soon be legalised – one of the young people told us her father had smoked cannabis habitually for 22 years for back pain. However, participants seemed unaware of the risks associated with early cannabis use such as psychosis,⁴²⁸ other mental health issues and poorer general health.⁴²⁹

More than half told us they regularly "binge drink," with only 4 claiming they knew how to drink responsibly. About a third of participants said it was difficult to manage their own drinking, saying that each drink tended to lead to another.

Some participants felt that habitual drug and alcohol use was a factor of life in a more deprived seaside town, saying that these substances were sometimes used to self-medicate or pass time – feeling that there was little else to do by way of employment or leisure.

"I smoke green but I want to quit."

Peer pressure was another key factor in participants' introduction to using drugs and alcohol:

Lindsay told us she first smoked cannabis at the age of 12, after a family friend gave it to her and told her it was "something nice, called Rainbow." This family friend also bought her alcohol. Later, Lindsay had a boyfriend who pressured her to take drugs with him, and would become angry and aggressive if she did not comply.

Jay's friends encouraged him to smoke cannabis with them when they went fishing. He did this for a while, but he had bad reactions and decided to stop. He was unsure where to get support to quit, and Jay said he now feels he needs to smoke something when the group goes fishing so has switched to cigars.

⁴²⁶ Mind (2016) 'One in two people with mental health problems have felt suicidal because of money, housing or benefits issues.' London: Mind: http://www.mind.org.uk/news-campaigns/news/one-in-two-people-with-mental-health-problems-have-felt-suicidal-because-of-money-housing-or-benefits-issues/#.WDwJS_mLTIU

⁴²⁷ Fletcher (2016) p. 39

⁴²⁸ Frith (2016) p. 42

⁴²⁹ Ipsos MORI (2016) p. 13, 16

Several of the young people spoke of the disruptive effects of a relative's addiction, which had caused parents to separate and had even resulted in the death of one participant's relative. Participants were worried about addiction in their own friendship circles, voicing concern for friends whose drinking habits involved drinking daily, drinking large quantities or neat spirits, or drinking alone.

The majority of participants felt it was therefore important to have reliable information on drugs, alcohol and addiction. They said curiosity about such things was part of being a teenager, and therefore it would be more useful to learn how to drink responsibly than told not to drink at all. Because of their particular lived experience, SWEET! 2 participants also wanted the chance to learn about addiction, and personal safety (around topics such as drink spiking, and being targeted for crime or exploitation when drunk). As their peers were likely to use drink and use drugs, the young people explained they were naturally curious about why people engaged in these behaviours, and what the effects felt like.

Jamie's friend use cocaine, and have asked him to use it too. He observed that his friends didn't seem concerned about their health, even though they always regretted taking the drug the next day. Jamie said he wanted to understand why his friends want to take this drug, and how it makes them feel.

Despite being more likely than YEAH! participants to engage with drink and drugs, fewer reported receiving information on these topics.⁴³⁰ Roughly a third told us they received no information and those who had reported inconsistency in how or what they learned. Getting such interventions right is crucial in allowing young people to make informed decisions, as 2 participants who felt they had received a good education on these topics told us that their learning had satisfied their curiosity enough to deter them from engaging with risky behaviours.

Young people's illegal drug use continues to be a key policy concern for the government,⁴³¹ and the Children's Commissioner aims for raised awareness of the dangers of drugs and alcohol.⁴³²

With this demographic of young people likely to be exposed to drugs and alcohol at a younger age, it's important to deliver interventions before they begin engaging in these behaviours.

Sexual Health

As with drugs and alcohol education, several young people claimed to have received no information on sexual health, and those who had found it inconsistent: some found it too

⁴³⁰ Fletcher (2015) p.21

⁴³¹ Ipsos MORI (2016) p. 16

⁴³² Children's Commissioner (2015) p. 8

limited and others found it too overwhelming. Yet SWEET! 2 participants wanted clear information on sexual health so they would be able to make informed decisions.

Liam is gay, and said he'd only ever learned about heterosexual sex and relationships, which didn't apply to him. He was unsure if condoms were necessary in same-sex relationships, as STDs had only ever been spoken about as occurring between a man and a woman. Liam felt "incredibly isolated" by sex education classes, as he felt there was no alternative to being straight. Because of this, he didn't come out as gay, or seek a relationship, for many years. Liam wanted the chance to learn about his own sexual orientation, and how to have safe sex and healthy relationships. He thinks it would be good for others to learn about same-sex relationships too.

There was a drive from both students and staff of TESS for sex education to include discussions on healthy relationships, and signs of exploitation or abuse. With many female pupils planning on starting a family as soon as they finished school, staff felt it was important to educate young people on the emotional motivations and consequences of sex, and the potential impact on mood and self-esteem. Staff went on to say that these young people often feel obligated to have sex, and it would be good for them to develop confidence and defence mechanisms.

Furthermore, findings by the Children's Commissioner reveal that young people who had been sexually exploited felt they would have benefited from good relationships and sex education in school.⁴³³

The need for consistent and reliable information on sexual health, sexual orientation, relationships and consent among all young people is evident. For SWEET! 2 participants, there is also a clear need to deliver this information at an earlier age when they are exposed to attitudes about sex and pregnancy in their home, community and school life.

Nutrition and Exercise

SWEET! 2 participants felt confused by the conflicting information they received on healthy eating, with debate around whether a healthy diet meant eating lots of salad, or buying diet microwave meals. There was also apathy amongst participants towards their current and future health, claiming they didn't care about the benefits of eating healthily.

Participants were also frustrated that healthy food was more expensive than unhealthy fast-food...they explained they would be able to buy several burgers for the cost of the ingredients for a salad, and research has shown that young people from the most deprived areas are less likely to get their "5 a day".⁴³⁴ Some of the young people worked in fast-food outlets where they were allowed to eat for free.

⁴³³ Children's Commissioner (2015) p. 7

⁴³⁴ Ipsos MORI (2016) p. 11

Expense also played a role in their ability to exercise, with participants saying that gym memberships were not affordable and that exercising outdoors was often not possible due to concerns for their safety in the community, and feelings of self-consciousness and low self-esteem. Again, research has found that young people in the most deprived areas are the least likely to achieve an hour of moderate/vigorous exercise in a week.⁴³⁵

SWEET! 2 participants wanted clear direction on how to achieve a healthy diet, with a third saying they had never had the chance to learn about this. A popular idea was to use school time to plan healthy meals, and as some were responsible for the cooking at home they felt this would also benefit the health of their families.

As mental health problems were prevalent among these young people, staff felt information on nutrition and exercise should highlight the potential mental health benefits of a diet and exercise. Staff also felt there was a need for a clearer message around balance and moderation, as the young people often described feeling guilt about their food choices which could lead to disordered eating.

Smoking

Research shows that young people living in areas of deprivation are likelier to smoke⁴³⁶ and that those with mental health conditions are twice as likely to smoke.⁴³⁷ The majority of TESS students were smokers, most commonly telling us they began smoking between the ages of 12 and 14, and smoking an average of 10-20 cigarettes a day.

Staff explained smoking was a learned behaviour that frequently began at home, and the young people confirmed that the main reason for starting was because friends or relatives smoked...in fact several of the participants' parents were the ones who provided them with cigarettes.

Lee began smoking when he was 13, because both of his parents and all of his siblings were smokers. For this reason he felt it would be particularly hard for him to quit.

Few participants reported having received information on the negative effects of smoking and how to quit. Those who had said that while sessions were off-putting, they had yet to quit.

Again, participants often displayed apathy toward the impact of smoking on their health, with some saying they were unconcerned about their futures, and others feeling that they wouldn't need to change these behaviours until they were older. One participant went so far as to tell us "Smoking will kill me, but I'm not fussed."

⁴³⁵ Ipsos MORI (2016) p. 10

⁴³⁶ Ipsos MORI (2016) p. 12

⁴³⁷ Mental Health Taskforce (2016) p. 14

Participants felt that the most effective deterrent from a lifetime of smoking would be to receive key information on the harmful effects before they started smoking. They explained that this information was less effective once they become addicted, as quitting was very difficult. People with prolonged mental illness are at risk of dying 15-20 years earlier than other people, and the Mental Health Taskforce acknowledges the prevalence of smoking among this group, calling for integrated services that offer health checks and smoking cessation programmes to those effected by severe mental illness.⁴³⁸

The Role of Education

CentreForum states “Education is one of the strongest predictors of good health; the more schooling people have the better their health is likely to be. More formal education is consistently associated with lower death rates. School exclusion can often be a life-changing decision and experience. It often adds to already accumulating risks in a child’s life.”⁴³⁹ Yet many SWEET! 2 participants had dropped away from mainstream education through exclusion, bullying, caring responsibilities, chaotic lifestyles, mental health issues and truancy before enrolling at TESS.

So far in this report we have established the link between young people living in areas of deprivation and poorer health and social care outcomes, and the support needed to help young people break the cycle of deprivation. The House of Lords has said “Getting a job is one of the most direct routes out of poverty,”⁴⁴⁰ but we know that those living in deprived areas, from poorer backgrounds, with low educational attainment, and so on, are disadvantaged in their chances of moving up the social ladder later in life.⁴⁴¹

In working with the school it was evident that TESS refused to accept these odds for their students, and placed value on vocational skills. Tailored guidance was in place to minimise disruption to the students’ education, as well as pastoral staff able to refer the young people and their cases to Children’s Services or the Emotional Wellbeing and Mental Health Services. A Student Advocate was in place to communicate with parents and carers to bridge the gap between home life and school, which could positively impact both environments for the young people. We also observed classes in which staff used the subjects they were teaching to cover themes that were relevant to the young people’s health (for example, in an English class, the teacher had chosen to cover a book which allowed for discussion around mental health, self-esteem and drugs) which demonstrated a whole-school approach to promoting good health and wellbeing.

⁴³⁸ Mental Health Taskforce (2016) p. 6, 14

⁴³⁹ Frith (2016) p. 60

⁴⁴⁰ House of Lords (2016) p. 26

⁴⁴¹ House of Lords (2016) p. 20

These staff spoke of the importance in taking the time to build a personal relationship with a young person that could overcome trust issues and aggression and reach a point where they were able to intervene in the students' decision making processes.

TESS students often praised the “safe space” they felt TESS provided where they were able to focus on their education away from bullying, troubled home lives and pressures to reach an academic standard they were incapable of.

Archie said TESS offered “loads of support” and a “small, friendly environment” to learn in. He explained he achieved more at TESS than at his previous school which was exam-focused and high pressured, where he was also bullied. Archie told us TESS works with pupils on their personal goals and growth, rather than being completely focused on academic results. Archie spoke about the positive impact this environment had on others, noting that a classmate of his had severe anger issues and was aggressive to staff and students but is now one of the highest achieving pupils in his class.

TESS staff told us that not every young person's strengths lie in academia but as this is the focus of mainstream schools a young person's confidence and self-worth can be depleted if they feel unable to reach the educational standards expected of them. At TESS the young people were able to study vocational modules in mechanics, catering and childcare and work towards employment. A teacher explained “They may not get A-C grades, but their lives are changed.” Students told us that because they often took on responsibility for the lives of themselves and others the emphasis on life skills helped prepare them for an independent future.

A report from the House of Lords has found that “The transition from school into work is a vital point in the lives of young people. Making a successful transition through a high quality and valued pathway can mean a successful career. Becoming trapped in poor quality and under-valued alternatives can mean a lifetime of poverty.”⁴⁴² But with TESS closing staff expressed great concern about young people's ability to make this transition without this structure in place. Staff explained the inclusive and encouraging nature of the school helped deter young people from crime and drug use and kept them focused on goals that would better their futures. The value of the school was obvious, as later in our engagement when the school's classes had stopped young people were still coming into the building to spend time around staff.

The Mental Health Taskforce has said “Employment is vital to health and should be recognised as a health outcome. The NHS must play a greater role in supporting people to find or keep a job,”⁴⁴³ and it is estimated that educational underachievement costs £22bn per generation.⁴⁴⁴ However, the ability for young people such as SWEET! 2 participants to

⁴⁴² House of Lords (2016) p. 4

⁴⁴³ Mental Health Taskforce (2016) p. 17

⁴⁴⁴ Peacock (2011)

break the cycle of deprivation can be hindered by bullying, troubled families, chaotic lifestyles, caring responsibilities, mental health conditions, substance misuse and involvement in crime. In order to reverse these trends there must be integrated, multi-agency support in place to allow young people to overcome such disadvantages. Failing to invest now will only increase the personal and economic cost of unfulfilled potential.

Learning disabilities

We know that those with disabilities are more likely to be NEET⁴⁴⁵ and report lower life satisfaction.⁴⁴⁶ Most of the students of TESS had a statement for a learning disability or behavioural issues. Combined with the other factors that affected young people in our study, TESS staff were concerned that these students would face even more barriers when the school had closed. The small and personal environment had proved to be beneficial to their learning, and working closely with staff allowed them to work on behaviour. With many opportunities for education and employment taking place out of the area staff felt that the anxieties and difficulties these young people often had in using public transport and entering busier and unfamiliar environments would be a further barrier.

“I have dyslexia and autism which makes it hard to do some things, like making friends.”

Participants with a diagnosed learning disability told us that up to the point of diagnosis they had received no awareness on what a learning disability was, and how it could impact their learning. We learned the confusion that could be caused by not having relevant information, and the value appropriate support could bring.

Amy had an autism diagnosis, but told us she wasn't informed about what support she would need or how autism would affect her behaviour and ability to learn.

David also had an autism diagnosis. He attended a weekly club which helped him build confidence and become less withdrawn through participating in social activities with others. He also said the inclusive environment at TESS made it easier for him to make friends and feel involved in school life.

Participants with learning disabilities spoke of bullying in their previous schools which they said stemmed from a lack of awareness:

“I have been bullied because of this. It actually started in primary school. I used to get beaten up a lot. I learned that being upset and crying attracted the attention of bullies even more so soon any sadness became anger.”

The National Autistic Society found that only 16% of autistic people and their families think the public understand autism in a meaningful way, but felt that if the public had a better understanding it would improve the health and wellbeing of autistic people and their

⁴⁴⁵ Delebarre (2016) p. 8

⁴⁴⁶ Ipsos MORI (2016) p. 27

families,⁴⁴⁷ which can also be said for all young people with disabilities who encounter bullying or discrimination. They have said:

“Better public understanding of autism would expand these worlds and improve the health and wellbeing of autistic people and their families. We can’t always change all the environmental factors that can make going out difficult, like crowded spaces and sensory challenges, but if the public understood autism better, it would mean anxiety about their reaction is less likely to contribute to these unacceptable levels of isolation.”

GPs, Hospitals and Additional Services

Just as SWEET! 2 participants often avoided contact with Children’s Services and the police, they could also be avoidant of mainstream health services.

Participants told us it was too difficult to secure GP appointments, which often required calling at 8am the day you wished to be seen and hoping there was a space.

“I wanted to make an appointment but all of them were gone. When this happens you have to wait until the next day and go to the doctors really early to try to get an appointment.”

“It takes ages to get through to someone and then the next minute all the appointments are gone.”

Even if they were successful in getting an appointment, some told us these appointments usually conflicted with school and work times. While we know that increasing difficulties in accessing services is a national issue,⁴⁴⁸ TESS staff told us this could particularly effect SWEET! 2 participants whose sometimes chaotic lifestyles added an extra barrier to booking and upholding appointments.

Tony and his family were travellers, and when they moved to the area they tried to register at their local surgery but were turned away. Tony felt this was because they were travellers. The family managed to register at a different surgery, but Tony explained that the time it took to make an appointment and then be seen meant he went to a walk-in centre or A&E instead. He felt these services were easier to use.

Around half of SWEET! 2 participants had used emergency services in recent years. As this sample of young people largely avoided making appointments at a GP surgery, participants commonly saw A&E as a catch-all service for any medical issue, with some telling us they skipped their GP altogether and went straight to A&E. However, some claimed they would not even attend A&E, feeling they would not be taken seriously.

Despite a high use of A&E, an awareness of 111 and walk-in centres was incredibly low amongst SWEET! 2 participants, with only 2 having heard of walk-in centres, and 1 having

⁴⁴⁷ The National Autistic Society (2016) p. 2, 17

⁴⁴⁸ House of Commons Health Committee (2016) ‘Primary care.’ London: House of Commons: p. 5

heard of 111. However, 5 told us they felt that walk-in centres sounded like good alternatives to A&E, but they did not know where their nearest service was located.

Without a wealth of their own experience with health services, participants mistrust or anxiety was heightened by negative press around local hospitals that led them to believe they could expect long waits and poor standards of care.

“My girlfriend’s grandad died in the hospital where he received poor service and neglect.”

This fear, compounded with a lack of experience, could produce unpleasant outcomes:

Tom felt that because his family had not used mainstream health services very often, they were unaware of how they were expected to behave in them. Tom told us that his relative became very aggressive in hospital when his baby was very ill, and the police were called to take him away. Tom said he had been angry because he was frightened for his baby, and being taken by the police made him feel even less in control.

The House of Commons Health Committee says that “Primary care is the bedrock of the National Health Service and the setting for ninety percent of all NHS patient contacts.”⁴⁴⁹ It is therefore a concern that the young people we spoke to in SWEET! 2, who arguably present a higher need of such services, are at risk of disengagement. With SWEET! 2 participants often caring for parents or siblings it might be that the needs of those in their care are also affected.

Concluding Thoughts and Next Steps

We are sad to say that TESS closed down at the end of summer 2016. At present, we are unaware of similar provision for young people with similar lived experience in the Tendring area.

Healthwatch Essex has continued to engage with seldom heard young people, going on to gather the lived experience of young people in a secure mental health unit. These findings will produce a SWEET! 3 report.

Last summer Healthwatch Essex carried out the final instalment of the YEAH! project, engaging with around 1,000 young people from throughout the county. This time, we collected their lived experience around public health topics which will form the YEAH! 3 report to be released later this year.

In 2017 we will continue seeking the lived experience of the “hardest to reach” groups of young people in our county in order to embed their voice in health and social care decisions made around services. We will begin to focus on the safeguarding needs of young people who have experienced gang recruitment, sexual exploitation and trafficking.

⁴⁴⁹ House of Commons Health Committee (2016) p. 3

We hope that the courage of the young people who spoke to us for this SWEET! 2 report will be rewarded by having their voices used to create positive change by those making decisions about the services they access and need. These are some of our county's most disadvantaged young people, and we must act to reverse the odds that can seemingly be stacked against them. As the Children's Commissioner has said:

“Disadvantage casts a long shadow over children's lives – it affects their experience of school and educational outcomes, their ability to participate in their local community, the opportunities they enjoy throughout childhood, their health and ultimately life expectancy.”⁴⁵⁰

As ever, Healthwatch Essex wants to work with commissioners, services and health and social care professionals in order to form part of the solution in these challenging times.

22 August 2017

⁴⁵⁰ Children's Commissioner (2015) p. 8

Susan Hedley – written evidence (CCE0074)

1) SUMMARY

2 Credentials

3 Q.1 21st century citizenship and engagement

4 Q.2 Suggestion for citizenship training and events

5 Q.3 Suggestion for “democracy service” on committees, similar to jury service

6 Q.4 Suggestions for soon-to-be-voters

7 Q.5 Eedie and Bethan

8 Q.6 On compulsion

9 Q.7 Recommendations for supporting engagement

10 Q.8 British values: threats to them and suggestions

11 Q.9 Left behind communities and groups: my recommendations, including my submissions to other inquiries.

2) CREDENTIALS

2.1 A private citizen, widely floating voter with no paid or voluntary office, and no previous involvement in politics other than going to cast my vote, until, made possible by variable work shifts, observing numerous Northumberland County Council Full Council, Cabinet, and various Scrutiny Committee meetings over last 4 years, local Parish Council meetings, and meetings of North East Combined Authority committees.

2.2 After decades working in varying fields and locations, now employed back in Northumberland to serve numerous customers from all walks of life in a market town on the boundary between urban post-industrial areas, sparse rural areas, and urban Tyneside.

3) Q.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?

3.1 I have noticed that since the EU referendum, instead of most people saying “ it’s a waste of time, it makes no difference, they’re all the same, they’re all in it for themselves, they have decided already and they don’t care about us”, most people now have some opinion and awareness of local and national politics and are prepared to express an opinion about it – so maybe they have already become more engaged, because they saw that in the EU referendum where each vote had an equal chance of having an effect, their vote did count, and that they needed to vote to get what they wanted. The result of the 2017 Parliamentary election might also be reinforcing their conclusion.

3.2 So maybe it needs to be proved that their votes and voices are listened to and can make a difference before they are prepared to spend their precious time on being engaged.

3.3 Without their engagement, our democratic system will become moribund and fail.

4) Q.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?

4.1 I think that there would be several benefits if everyone were treated equally and with substantial ceremony as they gain the right to vote.

4.2 Giving everyone the same opportunity together, whether they were just reaching the age to vote or were just gaining it through becoming British citizens, would allow people from all walks of life to meet and interact and have the same introduction to our democracy.

4.3 Perhaps everyone coming up to 18 as well as those seeking citizenship should have the same education and preparation together and be encouraged to take the Life in the UK test.

4.4 Within a reasonable time of them attaining the right to vote by whatever means, perhaps they should be required to select a date when they could attend a major event to celebrate their attainment of the vote, meet others who are doing the same, meet elected representatives, and see and learn the locations and means by which they can follow, observe and participate in all stages of democratic policy and decision-making, including knowing how they can report on these if they wish.

4.5 I think that this is of fundamental importance in getting people through the door and engaged when they are not from groups who are traditionally “in the know”.

4.6 This might include a point in the event where they could nominate and vote on a subject for the elected representatives do deal with to illustrate how procedures work, and how an individual’s vote can count.

4.7 This might also help elected representatives to connect with new voters, and possibly to identify rising issues which might need their attention.

5) Q.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?

5.1 See section 4 above.

5.2 Perhaps there should also be “democracy service” on a par with jury service, whereby perhaps 4 citizens are required to sit on a local authority scrutiny committee to help to bring day-to-day insight and experience to discussions, but without having a vote on the committee.

Unlike Jury service though, they should be positively encouraged to talk to as many people as possible about the proceedings which they have seen, and perhaps encourage them to come and watch. Even if they didn’t feel confident enough to speak in a committee, they could usefully tell other people who they meet about what they have seen.

5.3 Over the last few years of observing various local government meetings, I have been extremely worried that I am more often than not the only member of the public who is observing, and that often there are no reporters there either. This means that whatever information which people get about local government workings is not first hand, and is either filtered through press- releases, or is not available until it is published in the agenda of the next meeting as minutes to be agreed, so that it is too late in the proceedings for them to act. Minutes are rarely word for word, and miss the nuances of how participants have interacted.

5.4 Despite the fact that they have very rarely seen proceedings, and do not have access to first-hand information to see how they work, many of my fellow citizens seem all too ready to be disparaging about democratic proceedings and as such detached from them.

6) Q.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?

6.1 Some young people might well be disengaged before they even reach the vote, because they are seeing decisions or omissions made, or issues ignored, the results of which they will have to live with and/or clear up in future decades, without having any recognised means of having their voice heard in the decisive debate.

6.2 SUGGESTION

We probably have more data available about under-18s to help to verify their identity than for any other generation. After the disappearance of the two Child Benefit data discs in 2007, it is possible that even criminals could do it.

6.3 Could polling stations not be used for them to cast an advisory vote?

This would encourage the political debate to include the issues which are of greatest concern to them, and would therefore allow those of voting age to hear and balance their judgements before voting.

It would also allow young people to get used to taking part in votes before their vote achieves legal standing.

6.4 If the unelected House of Lords can have an influence, surely our soon-to-be-voters i.e.16/17 year-olds should have an authoritative means of being heard.

6.5 At the very least, some sort of third soon-to-be-voters elected house, or forum based on equality and inclusiveness, should be set up on an equal basis to Commons and Lords to debate, examine and report on issues, even if they can have no part in legislating.

7) Q.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?

7.1 EVERYONE should Google “Eddie and Bethan – It’s Debateable” and spend the 5 minutes which it takes to listen to this Radio 4 Listening Project’s slot last broadcast on Wednesday 16th August 2017 at 10.55.

7.2 In 5 minutes, these two perspicacious primary school girls clearly explain the importance of learning debating skills and being able to understand other points of view.

It is more common sense about the essence of democracy than I have heard in decades from the powers-that-be who appear on Radio 4, and IT SHOULD BE MADE PART OF THE LIFE IN THE UK TEST.

7.3 OFFICIAL ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN ON WHAT EEDIE AND BETHAN SAY.

7.4 [A pity that with its recent imposition of registering and logging in in order to access licence-payer funded Listen Again, the BBC has locked out all of those licence payers and potential friends of democracy across the world who are not prepared to hand over curatorship of their contact details for yet another database whose number and range of customers and wealth of cultural detail on them must be a very desirable one for hackers, and who are not prepared to allow the BBC to harvest their preferences, and, unless they specifically object, to seek to direct their future choices].

8) Q.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?

8.1 COMPULSION = DEVALUATION AND ADMISSION OF FAILURE –it devalues and diverts resources from genuine effort, bringing the whole into disrepute because individual motivation is lost in the perception of it being compulsory, and it might also provoke active hostility and attempts to undermine it from those who it does not suit, and whose time, talents and enthusiasm might be spent more profitably in other avenues.

8.2 There are already too many compulsory calls on people’s time and resources, which reduces their power to choose what is most suitable in their situation, and perhaps their sense of, and right and motivation to, self-determination, thus undermining their sense of responsibility.

9) Q.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?

9.1 See section 14 of my submission to

the [Communities and Local Government](#) Select Committee>[Inquiries](#)>[Parliament 2015](#)>Overview and Scrutiny in Local Government:

9.1.1 Require a LOCAL PORTFOLIO HOLDER with specific budget to uphold and promote democratic systems to voters and encourage their engagement.

9.1.2 EMULATE

-Northumberland County Council’s excellent Democratic Services Department

-Councillors and Democracy section of NCC website, especially Forward Plan of Key Decisions and Calendar of Meetings, which includes working groups not open to observe.

9.1.3 Publish DRAFT MINUTES – currently, minutes of meetings aren’t generally available to voters until published in agenda of following meeting, when too late to get questions onto agenda.

With internet, it should be possible to circulate draft minutes to members quickly, and publish them to voters with any queries to be raised at next meeting highlighted.

This way, voters could contact elected representatives in meaningful time, rather than always being left one step behind, awaiting publication of previous minutes in next meeting agenda.

9.1.4 Look at providing more detailed minutes for those who can’t observe due to time or distance – e.g. HANSARD. COULD VOLUNTEERS OR STUDENTS BE ENCOURAGED TO HELP?

9.1.5 See also its section 14.5 on points relating to the conduct of public consultations.

9.2 In addition to my recommendations to that inquiry, live-streaming, as Parliament manages to do, might be extremely helpful in making first –hand democracy accessible to many more people, especially if it were done by volunteers such as media students, who could at the same time develop a valuable knowledge of what they were streaming, and enable minimum strain on local authority resources.

9.3 At local authority meetings, have a compulsory agenda item where, if members of the public are present, they are welcomed and there is a brief explanation of the function of the meeting, who the people are, what their role is, and what political group and ward they represent, and a brief explanation of the items on the agenda. This explanation might encourage more people to continue to follow them if they were observing for the first time, especially if they were being live-streamed.

9.4 More account should also be taken of the needs of people with disabilities, such as explaining to people who cannot see, on which side the various political groups sit in chamber, and making sure that speaker’s names are given in full.

9.5 There should also be heavy emphasis on making sure that public address systems are working effectively, that participants are required to switch on their microphones when they speak, and that public address systems are not subject to interference by items such as mobile phone signals which haven’t been switched off, or by people speaking over each other.

I have seen too many instances of pivotal points being inaudible in such circumstances.

10) Q.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?

10.1 Having been able to borrow the Life in the UK test Study Guide, Handbook, and guide to passing the English test for British Citizenship, from the library [although Northumberland libraries do not hold a copy of “Life in the UK: a Guide for new residents], it seems to me that it is all reasonably put together.

10.2 EXAMPLES OF THREATS

10.2.1 However, I have seen one or two men from another continent who, without having good enough English to be able to understand points in debate, do not seem to have absorbed the information about equality of gender, and who speak to and treat women in a way which I have not seen British men do for 40 years.

10.2.2 I have also met women who, for their own safety, have felt forced to move out of the areas where their family has lived for generations because of the behaviour of immigrant men.

10.2.3 I have also been managed by a new citizen from another continent who did not appear to have any respect for the people in the community into which they had come, and appeared determined to flout any laws, including employment laws, which they could get away with flouting.

10.2.4 In all of these instances, when questioned, the immediate response has been that the questioning is racist. I do not think that these are isolated instances.

10.3 COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS

10.3.1 WHEN GENERATIONS OF OUR BRITISH PEOPLE HAVE PUT IN UNTOLD EFFORT AND SUFFERING IN THE FIGHT TO ACHIEVE THE VALUES OF RESPECT, EQUALITY AND JUSTICE FOR WORKERS AND EVERYONE ELSE WHICH MAKES OUR DEMOCRACY WHAT IT IS TODAY, and attracts so many people from across the world, it is extremely galling and disturbing to see these values being taken back decades by a small minority of immigrants who do not come here out of a desire to participate in our democracy, but out of a desire to extract whatever they can from it in material terms.

10.3.2 IF OUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES WERE PREPARED TO ACKNOWLEDGE AND ADDRESS THIS PROBLEM, THEN IT COULD NOT UNDERMINE OUR DEMOCRACY. Instead they are cowed by the prospect of their actions being labelled racist instead of standing up as they should for the people who they represent.

10.3.3 This means that THOSE WHO HAVE THE LEAST VOICE AND MOST EXPOSURE TO SUCH ABUSES, and who our democracy is supposed to protect i.e. women, children and others amongst the most vulnerable, and those on low incomes, whether at home, at work, or reliant on public transport, ARE DISPROPORTIONATELY AND ADVERSELY EFFECTED.

10.4 OUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES CAN ONLY SPEAK OUT ABOUT THESE ISSUES IF THEY AND THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE ARE WHOLLY HONEST ABOUT HOW BRITAIN HAS ACTED ON PEOPLE AND COMMUNITIES ACROSS THE WORLD IN THE PAST, where and how Britain has gained its wealth, and who now controls its wealth.

10.5.1 I think that it might be helpful if, in the Life in the UK Test, even more emphasis were placed on respect for British Democracy, and the part that ordinary British people played in bringing it about, and the effects on communities across the world of British interactions with them, whether positive or negative, so that this could be the basis of proper democratic debate in our society.

10.5.2 I have also failed to spot any useful mention of the NHS in the Life in the UK literature [and who funds it, who works in it, where they are trained etc.], even though it might be one of the biggest attractions of entry into the UK and one of the biggest influences in weak local economies across the world.

11) Q.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?

11.1 See section 14 [RECOMMENDATIONS] of my submission to

the [Communities and Local Government](#) Select Committee > [Inquiries](#) > [Parliament 2015](#) > Overview and Scrutiny in Local Government

11.2 See also my written submissions at the back of the report of the Speaker's Commission on Digital Democracy

response 773075227 and Digi 039

11.3 N.B. Current newspapers are no longer available in Northumberland libraries.

11.4.1 Above all, governmental bodies at all levels should reverse and explicitly address the cut-back-imposed culture of "desk-top studies" and expecting the actively interested or the desperate to find them online, both of which probably serve to reinforce existing connections rather than making new ones, and instead they should go out to where the majority of voters are who are don't have time to be interested and are not desperate, but who do pay taxes and are very busy doing their best for the future of their families and communities.

11.4.2 SUGGESTION

Use existing official communications such as Council Tax bills and electoral registration to include optional forms for people to give a picture of their circumstances, most pressing requirements and concerns, and best methods for engaging in democracy.

e.g. I recently heard at a meeting that in one ward, 60% of residents in Gento housing don't have computers.

11.5 We should be aiming for transparency, accountability, and availability to scrutiny of democratic processes such that citizens of all ages, resources, walks of life, locations, and origins know and can access all stages open to direct their participation and observation.

6 September 2017

HM Government – Supplementary written evidence (CCE0249)

1. The meaning of citizenship and civic engagement in the 21st Century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

In a speech to the Charity Commission in January, the Prime Minister set out the Government's determination to build a shared society based on the values of citizenship, responsibility and fairness. In the speech, the Prime Minister spoke of how the word 'citizen' implies that we have responsibilities to the people around us, and that whilst individual rights are to be valued, there should be more focus on the responsibilities that we have to one another. Society is built on the bonds of family, community, citizenship and strong institutions.

The Government is committed to building a stronger civil society that works for everyone – one in which people are supported to come together and improve their own lives and people of all ages are encouraged to play a part in their community as active citizens. From responses to the annual Community Life Survey⁴⁵¹ which explores levels of community cohesion and engagement, it is evident that Britain is on the whole well-integrated, with 85% of respondents feeling they belonged very or fairly strongly to Britain and 81% of respondents agreeing their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together.

However, Government must not be complacent. More needs to be done to make sure nobody is excluded or left behind and we must be prepared to take strong action where people refuse to integrate and fail to embrace the shared values that make Britain great. The Department for Communities and Local Government is reviewing the available evidence on the main causes of poor integration, and in the coming months will bring forward plans for tackling these issues through a new integration strategy.

The Community Life Survey also collects information on social action and on three types of civic engagement: participation, consultation and activism. In 2016-17, the most common form of civic engagement was 'civic participation', with 41% saying they had undertaken some form of participation in the last year and 5% saying they had participated at least once a month. Annual levels of civic participation and civic consultation have increased from 33% to 41% and 16% to 18% respectively between 2015-16 and 2016-17. In 2016-17, 60% of adults had engaged in some form of civic engagement (participation, consultation, or activism) and/or formal volunteering, an increase from 2015-16 (55%).

It is important for all British citizens to understand and uphold the rights and responsibilities that are implicit in this status, and citizenship is taught in schools as a fundamental part of the national curriculum. Education plays an important role in helping children develop the

⁴⁵¹ Community Life Survey in England 2016-2017

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/631936/Community_Life_Survey_-_Statistical_Release_2016-17_FINAL.pdf

knowledge, skills and values that will prepare them to be active citizens in modern Britain, and to grow into fully rounded members of society who treat others with respect and tolerance.

The Government also attaches great importance to helping those who settle here to understand the rights and responsibilities that come with British citizenship. The aim of citizenship education and the tests for those who decide they want to become British is to ensure that none of our citizens is excluded from meaningful participation in society. It is not about promoting conformity to a particular stereotype of “Britishness”. It is about making sure that the common citizenship, which is so often implicit in all that we do, is also formal and explicit so that it is easier for everyone to understand and share in. It also reinforces the fact that our sense of identity, and understanding of mutuality and interdependence, comes just as much from our contributing to the society around us, as it does from accessing any entitlements that we possess.

Passing the Life in the UK Test has been a requirement for those seeking to naturalise since 1st November 2005, and a similar requirement was extended to settlement applications in 2007. Nationality law also requires that as part of the naturalisation process for acquiring British citizenship applicants must also have sufficient knowledge of English (or Welsh/Scottish Gaelic), and attend a citizenship ceremony and undertake the oath and pledge.

Volunteering and/or civic engagement do not feature in the naturalisation requirements. However, the core “Life in the UK” text contains a chapter on “Your Role in the Community” which covers subjects such as values and responsibilities; being a good neighbour; getting involved in local activities; helping in schools; looking after the environment; and blood and organ donation.

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?

All schools and relevant further education providers are expected to actively promote the fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance for those of different faiths and beliefs. These are the bedrock of British values and without them we cannot expect any young person to play a full part in civic society in this country.

Schools have a vital role in promoting integration and an understanding of different faiths and communities. All publicly funded schools are required to promote community cohesion, including through the national curriculum Citizenship programme of study, which includes knowledge of the diverse range of identities in the UK and the importance of respecting others. Schools can provide many opportunities for their pupils to learn about and mix with people from different backgrounds – for example through visits and establishing links with

other schools. All schools and relevant further education institutions are expected to promote the fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance for those of different faiths and beliefs.

As referred in question 1 above, the Life in the UK core text and test are designed to ensure people who are applying for British citizenship appreciate what being a British citizen means, and that it is as much to do with what you contribute to society as the entitlements it brings. The Life in the UK core text, which was last substantively updated in 2013, traces the development of British democracy, its legal system, language and culture over time, to assist the reader in understanding how the UK has become the country which it is today.

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?

The Government's view is that in a democratic society, a value is placed on personal freedom. Some freedoms are protected by law, but more frequently they are a matter of social and cultural conduct that demonstrates respect for others, with the law being there as a remedy for serious failings. We expect those who live in our society to regard people of all faiths, races and cultures with respect and tolerance, and for that to be reciprocated by support for the society which makes that possible. Whilst this means we undertake to respect and understand that different people may hold different views about what is 'right' and 'wrong' at a personal level, all people living in England are subject to its law. Where religious or other beliefs lead to observance of laws particular to that religion, then particular care needs to be taken to explore the relationship between state and religious law, and to ensure that protections granted by state law are not being violated or compromised. The rule of law is there to protect freedoms that we believe are meant to be enjoyed at the individual level, both by citizens who grow up in this country and by those who choose to live here.

As the Prime Minister made clear (when speaking as Home Secretary) "...in a pluralistic society like ours, there are responsibilities as well as rights. You don't only get the freedom to live how you choose to live. You have to respect other people's rights to do so too. And you have to respect not just this fundamental principle but the institutions and laws that make it possible.

The overwhelming majority of people in Britain accept and positively cherish this proposition. We choose to live here, immigrants come to live here, and many millions of people around the world dream of building a life here precisely because we have a free society, diverse communities and pluralistic values."

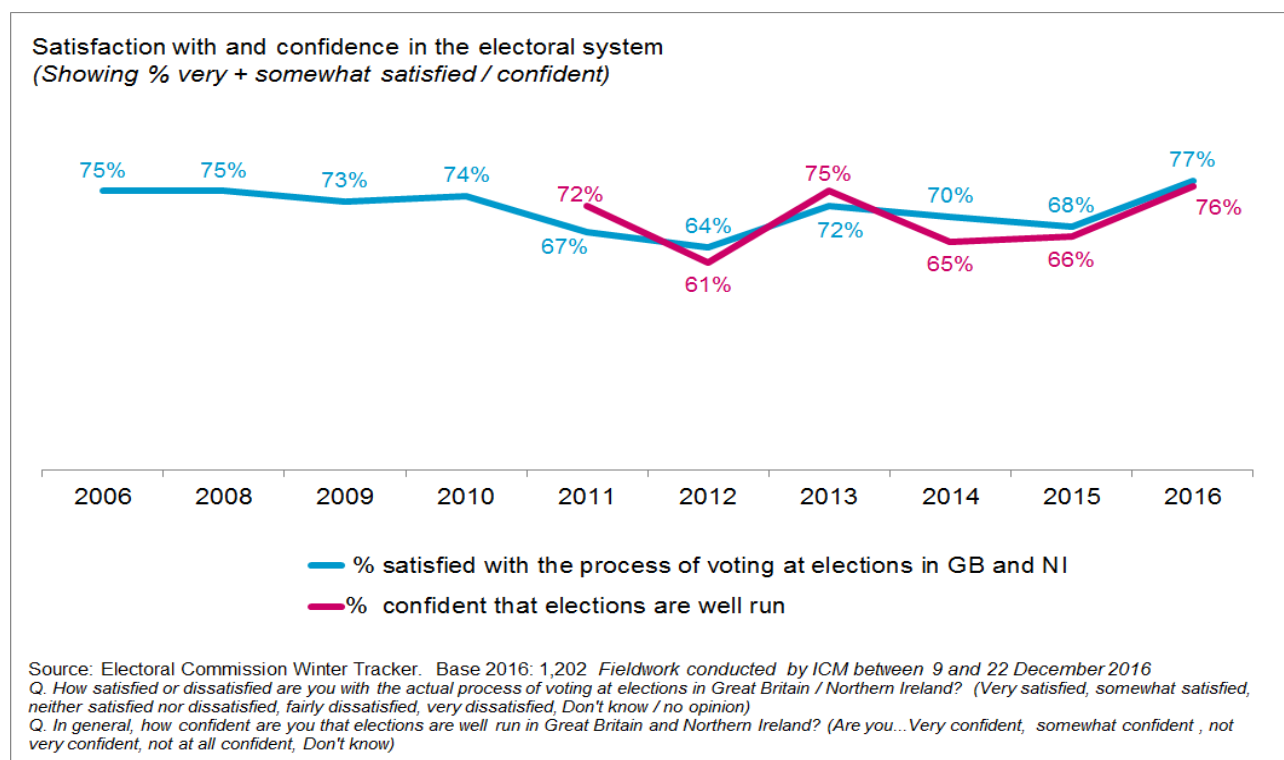
4. Do current laws encourage active political engagement? What are your views on changes to the franchise for national or local elections, including lowering the voting age? Should changes be made to the voting process or the voting registration process?

The Government is committed to creating a democracy that works for everyone, and has pledged to continue to modernise and improve the electoral registration process, making it as accessible as possible, so that every voice counts. Government has an important role in setting the legislative framework and providing the tools to ensure that all electors are able to play an active part in the democratic process. We also recognise, though, the valuable role others have to play and we have been keen to work with our partners, who have a vital stake in the electoral ecosystem. We recognise that organisations from other sectors have expertise in developing and sustaining new approaches to engage people, particularly those groups that are less likely to be registered to vote. In addition, we are working with the Scottish Government as a result of the devolution of competence in respect of local government elections and elections to the Scottish Parliament provided for in the Scotland Act 2016, and with the Welsh Government as a result of the forthcoming devolution of competence in respect of local government elections and elections to the National Assembly for Wales provided for in the Wales Act 2017.

The **Electoral Registration and Administration Act 2013** paved the way for the introduction of Individual Electoral Registration in Great Britain from June 2014. This included amending the Representation of the People Act 1983 and was the biggest change to the electoral registration system in a century. It abolished the old, patriarchal ‘head of household’ paperwork in favour of a citizen-centred approach, including the launch of a new website enabling **online registration**. As a result it has never been easier to apply to join the electoral register. This can be done online at www.gov.uk/register-to-vote in as little as 3 minutes. The effect has been transformational, with 27,912,055 applications to register to vote made since its launch. The service caters for citizens both at home and abroad, meaning UK citizens resident in Great Britain, or formerly resident in Great Britain, are able to participate in democracy wherever they are in the world by registering online.

In addition to this citizen-led, user friendly interface with the registration system we also need to modernise its foundations. This includes reviewing the annual canvass in England, Wales and Scotland, required by the Representation of the People Act 1983, to consider if it can be made more efficient and easier for Electoral Registration Officers (EROs) to administer. Building on pilots in 2016, working with the Scottish Government we have launched an additional **24 canvass pilots in 2017**. The pilots allow EROs to undertake less prescribed, more cost effective approach to canvass, allowing for innovation and giving EROs the freedom to trial and implement what works best in their locality – the areas they know best. The results of the pilots will be considered in due course to inform any future changes to the canvass.

The process of voting is seen by the general public as positive, with satisfaction levels for elections the UK increasing by 9 percentage points to 77% in 2016. This shows a trend back towards the higher levels of satisfaction previously seen between 2006 and 2010.



People were more likely to say that they are satisfied with the voter registration system too. 80% said that they were satisfied with the process, showing a 5 point increase on December 2015. 73% of people also feel confident that the personal information they provide in order to register to vote is held securely.

On the whole, the electoral process is generally seen to be safe from fraud and abuse (73%), with only around 1 in 10 (8%) saying that they believe electoral fraud to be a common and widespread issue.

The Cabinet Office’s Digital and Democratic Engagement Team leads the Government’s commitment to encourage democratic participation and promote voter registration, particularly amongst those groups who are least likely to be on the electoral register. It engages with local authorities to ensure policies, and the delivery of projects, are sense-checked and on track. In addition, it works with voluntary and community organisations with unique links to under registered groups in order to underline the importance of democratic participation more widely.

Promoting Democratic Engagement

Within the context of the legislative framework for electoral registration, the Government is committed to ensuring that ours is a democracy that works for everyone. As such we are working to promote engagement, including amongst those groups that are traditionally less likely to be registered to vote. For example, within the scope of the law and purdah guidance, we have supported the Electoral Commission's public awareness campaign and

worked across Government departments to reach a diverse range of audiences. This has been successful in helping to build the **largest ever parliamentary register of 46.8 million electors** ahead of the 2017 General Election.

However, some groups still face barriers to participation. We are addressing these through a combination of policy and communication activity, including tackling specific issues that discourage some people from accessing our democracy. These include:

(i) Disabled people

The Government is committed to ensuring the Register to Vote website is as accessible and user friendly as possible for everyone, including people with disabilities. We are considering a range of suggested website improvements identified through various feedback channels and user research activities, including amending the online voter registration process to capture the accessible format needs of disabled voters and for this information to be passed onto relevant electoral service teams for action. Once this review, which includes an accessibility audit, has been completed, we will report on its outcomes and our intended next steps.

We are also committed to improving the access to support for blind and partially sighted people, through changes to the Certificate of Visual Impairment by the Department of Health at the request of the Minister for the Constitution. Providing the facility for local authorities to use records for those with visual impairments to support participation in electoral events provided the person's consent has been given to do so. As a result, people with vision impairments will have access to wider services which will assist them in voting at elections.

We will continue to work with leading charities including Mencap, RNIB, Scope and key electoral stakeholders to improve the accessibility of future elections for disabled people.

(ii) Young People

The 2017 General Election saw youth turnout reach a 25-year high, estimated at 67%. This was an increase of 16 percentage points on the 2015 General Election. However, statistics show that young people remain under-registered and Government has been working with the civil society sector to boost this group's participation in society and democracy. For example, the National Citizen Service (discussed in more detail below in the response to question 6) provides participants with the opportunity to build new skills for work and life, while taking on new challenges, meeting new friends and giving back to their communities. A standing commitment to democratic engagement was also incorporated as part of the NCS Trust's Royal Charter granted in April 2017. This builds on the current requirement of the NCS Trust to promote social mobility, personal social development and support employment prospects by equipping them with relevant practical skills. It reads as follows: 'In exercising its primary functions, the NCS Trust must a. treat the need to safeguard and promote the wellbeing of participants as the paramount consideration, and b. have regard to the desirability of i. promoting social mobility, ii. promoting the personal and social development of participants, iii. promoting the employment prospects of participants by

equipping them with relevant practical skills, iv. 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, and v. ensuring value for money.'

(iii) Students

The Cabinet Office has been working with parliamentarians, including Baroness Royall, to ascertain how best to increase the registration levels of students in England. This resulted in measures being included in the **Higher Education and Research Act 2017** to allow the Office for Students to require Higher Education providers to actively promote electoral registration amongst their student populations.

(iv) Anonymous Registration

The **Government will propose changes** to the current anonymous registration scheme, to make it more accessible to those escaping domestic violence. Anonymous registration allows those whose safety would be at risk if their name and address appeared in the electoral register to register to vote with confidence.

(v) Overseas Voters

The Government is looking to encourage greater participation in our democracy by all under registered groups. The Conservative Party manifesto for the current Parliament included a commitment to legislate to scrap the current 15 year time limit on voting from overseas. Our aim is to deliver **votes for life for British citizens resident overseas**, ahead of the next scheduled General Election in 2022. The Government's position is clear: participation in our democracy is a fundamental part of being British, however far you have travelled.

Democratic Engagement Strategy

The Government is committed to a Democracy That Works For Everyone. The Government's Democratic Engagement Strategy, due for publication in November, will examine the challenges and opportunities for democratic engagement and voter registration, review existing evidence, explore the experiences of under registered groups and those working with them, and set out the Government's next steps in response to this learning.

Voting Age

As regards changing the franchise, we have no plans to lower the voting age for UK Parliamentary elections. This is outlined in the Conservative party manifesto commitment to maintain the minimum voting age for these elections at eighteen.

The Scottish Parliament has lowered the voting age to 16 for elections to the Scottish Parliament and local government elections in Scotland using powers devolved by the UK Government. Equivalent powers to amend the franchise for elections to the National Assembly for Wales and local government elections in Wales will be devolved to the National Assembly for Wales when the relevant provisions in the Wales Act 2017 are commenced.

There is no standard age of majority in the UK at which one moves from being a child to being an adult. Instead, the rights and responsibilities young people gain, and the activities in which they can participate, build over time. People gain the right to do some things when they turn 16 and other things when they turn 17 or 18.

According to the most recent evidence the Government is aware of most people in the country seem to believe that 18 is the age at which most young people are likely to be sufficiently politically aware, mature, and independent enough to make up their minds as to who should represent them. For similar reasons, you have to be 18 to sit on a jury. While there is some variation within the UK and around the world, the overwhelming majority of democracies consider 18 to be the right age to enfranchise young people.

Secure Elections

Moving to whether changes should be made to the voting process, in line with our manifesto commitment, we plan to legislate to ensure that a form of identification must be presented before voting. It is intended that this requirement be tested through pilot schemes at local government elections in England to be held in May 2018. Pilots will help to identify the best way of administering this new requirement.

In his review, Sir Eric Pickles argued that requiring voters to provide a form of identification at polling stations before voting could improve the rigour of our electoral system. The Government agrees that the options for asking voters to present identification should be explored further. The pilot schemes we are planning to run in a number of local authority areas in England in 2018 will be designed to test the impact of voter identification on all aspects of elections in Great Britain, including cost and turnout.

The Government is committed to providing a clear and secure democracy, but we remain aware of the important consideration that not all registered electors would be able to provide a passport or a driving licence (or other specific documents) if requested. Consequently, the Government's response to Sir Eric's review sets out a variety of other types of identification that voters may be asked to produce in pilot schemes before voting.

If the pilot schemes are successful, voter identification measures could be introduced in other polls in Great Britain. Our view is that any measures need to be proportionate, and should enhance public confidence in the integrity of our democracy.

It is the Government's abiding determination that every poll is as accessible as possible and engages the interests of those the Government serves.

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?

Education plays an important role in equipping children with the knowledge, skills and values that will prepare them to be citizens in modern Britain. All schools are under specific duties to promote the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development (SMSC) of their pupils and, to prepare them for the opportunities and responsibilities of adult life. Furthermore, we expect all schools and further education (FE) institutions to promote the fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of those of different faiths and beliefs. The Department for Education (DfE) has provided advice to schools on how they can do this, for example by establishing a strong school ethos supported by effective relationships throughout the school; meeting requirements for collective worship; and providing relevant activities beyond the classroom. Schools are also required to have a behaviour policy, which encourages good behaviour and respect, and prevents all forms of bullying and intolerance. Under the Children and Social Work Act 2017, all primary schools will be required to teach Relationships Education, and all secondary schools will be required to teach Relationships and Sex Education, ensuring pupils are taught about healthy and respectful relationships.

Citizenship is taught in many areas of the school curriculum, including subjects such as religious education, personal, social, health and economic education (PSHE), history, English, geography, and other activities that the school chooses to offer. For example, schools can also promote citizenship through participating in programmes such as the National Citizen Service (NCS) or Cadet Expansion Programme (CEP), which enables young people to develop key skills such as responsibility, teamwork, self-reliance, and a sense of service to others.

Citizenship is also part of the national curriculum at key stages 3 and 4 and it is compulsory in maintained secondary schools. Primary schools can also choose to teach Citizenship at key stages 1 and 2, following the non-statutory framework for Citizenship, which is available on gov.uk. 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.

A high quality Citizenship curriculum helps to provide pupils with knowledge, skills and understanding to prepare them to play a full and active part in society as responsible citizens. Pupils are taught about democracy, government and how laws are made and upheld. Teaching should equip pupils to explore political and social issues critically, to debate, and to make reasoned arguments.

All education providers should also encourage their pupils to respect other people, whatever their personal circumstances, background or beliefs. . When inspecting schools and FE settings, Ofsted takes account of how well schools and FE institutions promote the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils, including their understanding of, and respect for, different faiths and cultural diversity.

DfE is working with the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) to produce guidance and

resource packs to help teachers lead knowledge-based debates on topics relating to fundamental British values and contemporary political and social issues, including extremism. The first set in a series was launched in July 2017 and is available on the Educate against Hate website. In July 2017, online modules “Side by Side” were launched for students in FE.

Universities do not have a curriculum in the same way that schools do. However, they still have a role to play in assisting their students to understand citizenship. They have a responsibility to provide a safe and inclusive environment for all students. This includes legal obligations for ensuring that students do not face discrimination, harassment or victimisation and to have regard to preventing people from being drawn into terrorism. This can help students better understand the society they are part of and the responsibilities that citizens have towards each other.

Democracy is one of the fundamental British values we expect schools and FE institutions to promote. DfE has provided advice to schools on how to teach this, including through holding classroom-based debates. Debate is fundamental to a thriving democracy and has a clear place at the heart of our education system. Universities and FE colleges have a particularly important role to play in allowing challenging and varied debates.

As with other curriculum subjects, Ofsted does not report separately on the effectiveness of citizenship as part of its inspection process. Key aspects of citizenship are, however, considered within the judgements on leadership and management, and personal development, behaviour and welfare. In the case of school inspection, inspectors also consider pupils’ spiritual, moral, social and cultural development. Inspectors expect schools and colleges to provide a broad and balanced curriculum, which prepares pupils and students for life in modern Britain and promotes the fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect for and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs and for those without faith.

The national curriculum was comprehensively reviewed and then published in 2013 and we currently have no plans to review it. The national curriculum outlines the body of essential knowledge that must be taught in maintained schools; this essential knowledge should not change significantly over time. Alongside this, we have also been reforming GCSEs and A levels to be more demanding and knowledge based, to match the best education systems in the world and to keep pace with universities’ and employers’ expectations.

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?

The National Citizen Service (NCS) is a voluntary personal and social development programme open to all 16 and 17 year olds across England and Northern Ireland. Since

2011, over 300,000 young people from all walks of life have participated in NCS, and over 100,000 are expected to take part in 2017 alone. NCS is the responsibility of the Department for Digital, Culture Media and Sport, and delivered by the NCS Trust, currently an independent community interest company, through a network of regional and local delivery partners.

The NCS Act achieved Royal Assent in April 2017, and the NCS Trust was granted a Royal Charter and a clear mission to make NCS available to all young people, particularly those from deprived backgrounds, to contribute to a Britain that works for everyone. The Charter also guarantees the Trust's operational independence.

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. NCS was set up to achieve the following three purposes:

- Social Cohesion - By exposing young people to peers from different backgrounds;
- Social Mobility - Through teaching young people 'softer' skills for work and life;
- Social Engagement - By encouraging young people to contribute to their communities and therefore feel a part of their local areas as active citizens.

Consecutive independent evaluations show that NCS participants are emerging from the programme more confident about getting a job, more confident leading and working in teams and more confident meeting and working with others from different backgrounds.

The NCS Trust estimates that past NCS participants have donated around 10 million hours of volunteering while participating in the NCS programme and the 2015 independent evaluation of NCS showed that past NCS participants contribute four additional hours per month to their communities versus their peers who did not take part in the NCS. This engagement demonstrates that young people are emerging from the programme more assured of their ability to make a difference on the world around them and more able to locate the right people to talk to in their communities to make things happen. As a result, these young people are poised to continue to make a contribution to their local areas as active citizens invested in the future of their communities.

The evaluation also shows that young people are more likely to vote after taking part in the programme, indicating that NCS has helped them understand their role in the democratic process. And indeed, the NCS Trust were recently granted a Royal Charter that includes under the body's wider functions a requirement to "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".

NCS is a voluntary programme taking place outside school during either the summer holidays or autumn and spring half terms. The summer programme takes place over four weeks, with a slightly shorter version running for the spring and autumn.

Consecutive, independent evaluations commissioned for all past programmes since 2011 show that NCS is having its intended impact on participants across all seasons. Young people are emerging from the programme more confident, more engaged and more socially responsible, indicating that the traditional structure of the programme and both the 3 and 4 week models are working.

The Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport is committed to working with the NCS Trust to ensure that the design of the NCS programme continues to deliver the intended results as well as value for money. This includes evaluating the different length programmes.

Government wants to make sure that every young person who wants to is able to take part in the NCS. We believe that NCS will be most attractive to young people and can have the most impact by retaining its voluntary ethos. Young people need to want to take part to create an atmosphere of a shared experience at a pivotal point in their lives to ensure that NCS continues to have a positive impact across its main outcome areas.

The NCS Trust currently work primarily with “The Basics” (Bite the Ballot) & “Rock Enrol” (Cabinet Office) to deliver sessions on democratic engagement. Both modules inform young people about how to get on the electoral register, and in many cases young people are registered to vote during these sessions.

The Basics (Bite the Ballot) is embedded in all direct delivery under The Challenge (approximately 35% of the total provision). Analysis from summer 2015 showed that 15% of other programme timetables included either The Basics or Rock Enrol.

Outside this, 30% of the remaining phase 2 timetables make explicit reference to other sessions or activities about democratic engagement. These included workshops with local politicians, sessions with local Youth Parliaments or other structures, challenge sessions on youth manifestos, and youth-led debates.

In addition to this existing activity, it was suggested during previous debates in the House of Lords on the NCS Bill in November 2016 that NCS should include a greater political element and a closing ceremony centred around a celebration of British citizenship.

Government recognises the benefits of citizenship education for young people. Though NCS can achieve some of the same outcomes as citizenship education, such as a sense of community and desire to participate in community matters through volunteering, it is not a citizenship scheme. The NCS primarily exists to achieve its three core purposes: social mobility; social cohesion; and social engagement. As such, the NCS Trust is not funded, resourced, or equipped with the specific expertise to provide instruction in citizenship. Adding this requirement would be burdensome and distract the NCS Trust from achieving its core functions.

Moreover, the purpose of the existing NCS graduation ceremony is for participants to celebrate their personal NCS journeys and everything they have learnt on the programme in the presence of their friends and family. There is a risk that broadening the scope of the graduation ceremony into citizenship could exclude some communities or individuals which would change the shared celebratory feel of communal achievement that is an integral feature of the current ceremonies.

Consecutive independent evaluations show that NCS is good value for money. **The 2015 evaluation of the programme by Ipsos Mori showed that** for every £1 spent on the summer 2015 programme, up to £1.50 of benefits are realised⁴⁵².

However, DCMS agrees with the recently published NAO and PAC Committee reports on NCS that argue that the value for money of the programme needs to be improved as NCS expands. The NCS Trust and DCMS are therefore working closely together to enhance the value for money of the programme. The NCS Trust will shortly be re-commissioning their provider network when the current set of contracts expire in Autumn 2018. This will be a key opportunity to ensure that the new provider contracts deliver better value for money. NCS Trust is also developing a series of pilots to test new ways of delivering the programme at lower costs and finding new delivery partners. This will inform the re-commissioning process.

What other routes exist for creating active citizens?

DCMS grant funds the British Youth Council (BYC) to encourage young people to engage with democracy and have their views heard on topics that matter to them.

One such initiative is the UK Youth Parliament, a youth organisation made up of approximately 600 democratically elected members (300 Members of Youth Parliament, and 300 Deputy Members) aged between 11 and 18 years. Members are elected to represent the views of young people in their areas both to Government and to national and local youth service providers.

BYC also coordinate Make Your Mark, the largest ballot of youth views in the UK. It gives the UK Youth Parliament its mandate and gets young people aged 11-18 involved in democracy, helping them to learn to engage, debate, listen and negotiate on a variety of topics. In 2016, 978 216 young people voted and the aim is to reach a million votes through the 2017 ballot.

DCMS supports the #iwill Campaign which is coordinated by the charity Step Up to Serve. The campaign aims to achieve a once in a generation step change in attitudes towards social

⁴⁵² The NCS Trust has also commissioned a report on the value for money of the programme which monetises wellbeing
<http://www.ncsyes.co.uk/sites/default/files/NCS%20Wellbeing%20and%20Human%20Capital%20Valuation%20-%20Jump.pdf>

action to ensure social action is celebrated by society and a part of life for as many 10-20 year olds as possible. Over 700 businesses and charities have pledged support for the campaign. The #iwill fund is an integral part of this work and brings together £40m of seed funding from Government and Big Lottery Fund to create a central investment pot. Since its inception there has been £16 million of match funding from organisations such as Pears Foundation, the Duke of Edinburgh and Sport England. All this activity and funding is designed to increase the number of 10-20 year olds taking part in meaningful social action to 60% by 2020.

Sport has a huge role to play in encouraging individuals to become active citizens engaged in meaningful volunteering activities. Sport is heavily reliant on its 5.6 million volunteers, both at a grass roots level and through additional support required to run major events.

The Sport and Recreation Alliance estimated there were approximately 150,000 community sports clubs in the UK (2014) and each of these benefits from the support of an average of 24 volunteers. Volunteering is the backbone of sport and sports clubs and those are kept going through a wide range of voluntary activity. It offers a wide-range of technical and nontechnical roles: coaching; refereeing, officiating and stewarding; fundraising; providing transportation; coaching and administration, and multiple opportunities for people to get involved and contribute to the life of their communities.

Volunteering is at the heart of Government's sport and physical activity strategy. Sport England launched their new Volunteering strategy in December 2016 and is investing over £20 million over 4 years (2017 - 21) to support its implementation. This strategy sets out our plans to allow more people to engage in all types of volunteering through sport and physical activity as 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?

This Government's set out its vision for a **Shared Society**, where nurturing the responsibilities of citizenship is the bedrock of a fairer and stronger Britain that works for everyone. As part of this, there is significant potential to harness more effectively the skill and passion of citizens, communities and businesses to help tackle long-standing challenges this country faces. That's why we are:

- Accelerating the development of projects that complement public services through the Centre for Social Action.
- Devolving power and resources so people can take action on issues they care about.
- Encouraging the role of social action to be considered in the design of public services.
- Encouraging and enabling more people to take part in social action

Social action is about people coming together to help improve their lives and solve problems that are important to their communities. Social action can broadly be defined as practical

action in the service of others, which is:

- carried out by individuals or groups of people working together
- not mandated and not for profit
- done for the good of others - individuals, communities and/or society
- bringing about social change and/or value

Social action:

- Increases the resources available to achieve social goals
- Gives public services access to new expertise and knowledge
- Enables broader and better targeted support
- Empowers local groups, enabling local solutions and building resilient communities
- Creates new models for how society can respond to challenges
- Helps reduce demands on public services

The UK is a very generous place, with a long and proud tradition of social action, and levels of volunteering and giving have increased. The Community Life Survey shows that 75% of people give money to charity in the average month; and the Charities Aid Foundation (CAF) World Giving Index shows that the UK is the most generous nation in Europe and one of the most generous countries in the world. Individuals' charitable giving continues to be an important source of income for charities in this country. CAF's research indicates around £10bn was donated to charity in 2016.

This Government is committed to helping to build a compassionate country that works for everyone. So we will continue our work to make giving as easy and compelling as possible; and take steps to help civil society organisations to access the tools, training and moments they need to harness the generosity of the public.

What can the Government and Parliament do to support civil society initiatives to increase civic engagement?

Government support for charitable giving

Government has recently taken a range of steps to encourage and enable giving. This includes funding subsidised fundraising training for small, local charities; simplifying the Gift Aid Small Donations Scheme; launching the inaugural Local Charities Day to celebrate their work; matching public donations to local charities to incentivise giving and encouraging innovation by testing the effectiveness of matched crowdfunding to fund art and heritage projects.

In addition, we coordinated a series of **Giving Roundtables** bringing experts together to consider what more can be done. We heard strong messages about the need to support small charities to develop their fundraising and digital skills; to encourage more collaboration in communities; and the opportunity to unlock more giving from high-net-worth individuals.

Following the Roundtables, we have already announced funding for a further three years of subsidised fundraising training, and we'll be setting out more detail on our other plans to take these themes forward in due course.

The Centre for Social Action

The CSA aims to identify and accelerate the development and spread of high impact social action initiatives that complement public services and improve social outcomes.

On 1 December 2015, then Minister for Civil Society Rob Wilson, publically committed investing '*£15 million in a new phase in the Centre for Social Action, taking the ideas that can make a difference, and enabling them to grow and become routine in our public services and communities*'.

Examples of CSA work:

- In the first phase (2013-2016), the CSA backed 215 initiatives, many in health and education/social mobility as well as others like jobs, digital and rehabilitation.
- The portfolio includes the Dementia Friends social movement; helping establish, scale and mainstream models like Code Club, City Year, The Access Project and Shared Lives; backing new social action innovations that technology has only recently allowed like GoodSam; helping to shape whole system change in health, care and tutoring.
- Programmes have collectively mobilised more than 2 million people into social action, and leveraged around £30m alongside a Government investment of £36m.

More than 30 programme evaluations have shown that social action transforms lives; helping students that had fallen behind at school to catch up, job seekers to find work, isolated older people to feel less lonely, and more. Examples include:

- Dementia Friends: 1.2m volunteer Dementia Friends created public savings in reduced medical care, paid care and working benefits and valuable impacts in volunteering time.
- End of Life Social Action Fund: funded 7 volunteer befriending services to provide social support to people at end of life and their carers.

Programme evaluation found that increased contact with befriending volunteers demonstrated a significant improvement in quality of life for people in their last year of life. Examples include:

- Into University: reached 18,000 students in 2013-14 with 79% reaching university and £4.20 social value generated for every £1 invested.
- Code Club: expected to scale to nearly 30% of English primary schools by 2018 at a cost of just £9 per pupil per year.

Enabling Social Action

In February 2017 OCS and New Economics Foundation (NEF) launched the [Enabling Social Action Tool](#) which provides resources, ideas and case studies on how to embed social action into existing public services, develop new programmes and create the conditions for social action, including community action.

Community Action

The [Prime Minister Theresa May's speech](#) on shared society called on Government to step up and, rather than allow people to just get by on their own, be part of the solution by supporting people to have their voices heard across every layer of society. This is exactly what community action policy has been doing and will continue to do. “We are a country built on the bonds of family, community and citizenship and there is no greater example of the strength of those bonds than our great movement of charities and social enterprises”.

Community action is about people taking action on the issues that matter to them to help improve their own lives. The following are examples of our key programmes and the impact they have had.

The **Community Organisers** programme trained individuals to work in communities and act as local leaders, bringing people together to take action on the things they all care about. The original Community Organisers programme (2011-2015) listened to over 150,000 residents, worked in over 400 neighbourhoods and supported over 2000⁴⁵³ community projects. We know that where community organisers are at work, people have a stronger sense of belonging to their neighbourhood, they feel more valued, they become more likely to team up and improve their area. Following the success of this programme, we have committed to expanding the number of Community Organisers recruited to 10,000 by March 2020. The programme will train organisers through local hubs, the National Citizens Service, Public sector, VSO and local partnerships.

In **Community Organiser** areas, communities have benefited from projects and listenings; 75% of organisers and 72% of employers think that it is more common that people form new groups around shared ideas and projects; 70% of organisers and 64% of employers think that it is more common that people have the skills to organise activities and projects for themselves and others in the neighbourhood. Analysis by TNS-BRMB found that individuals living in organiser areas were significantly more likely to agree that local people pull together to improve the neighbourhood (51% and 39% respectively), reported a stronger sense of belonging to their neighbourhoods; and were more likely to organise a paper petition (44% and 37% respectively) or organise a group (9% compared with 4%).

The **Community First** Neighbourhood Match Fund (2011-2015) was a small grants programme targeting deprived wards. Local people set funding priorities for their own communities and around 600 volunteer panels made 27.2 million in funding recommendations to nearly 18 000 projects. Communities have matched this to the tune of over £93m, including £15.3m in cash and 5.5m volunteering hours. For every £1 of government money, people matched with the equivalent of £3.40 of in kind support, exceeding expectations three fold.

⁴⁵³ [Evaluation of the Community Organisers Programme](#), P59

As a result of Community First, 72% said that it is more common that people are taking part in local groups, events and activities. Local groups in these areas - traditionally seen as 'cold spots' by funders - have also been strengthened. 86% of projects funded through Community First said that their experience had encouraged them to apply for funding from other sources; the proportion of project leads who felt highly confident they could organise local activity to address local needs increased from 48% to 67%.

Cities of Service (Sept 2014 - Oct 2015) worked with local authorities to encourage people to take action around key local strategic issues. Seven local authorities grew volunteer teams to tackle issues from loneliness amongst older people, to food poverty. Over 10,000 volunteers were engaged across the 7 Cities, reaching over 18,500 beneficiaries.

Initiatives consist of a mixture of low-intensity or one-off activity, like 'Love Where You Live' in Barnsley and 'Pride in Your Community' in Telford, to more intense one-to-one support such as 'Circles of Support' offering befriending and activities with older people in Swindon. In Barnsley, 945 volunteers spent 2,249 hours improving their local environment, including removing 13 tonnes of rubbish from the Trans Pennine Way.

Volunteering in Health & Social Care

In health and care, we are scaling projects that harness the assets of communities to provide support to statutory services and draw on the passion and commitment of volunteers to offer support beyond the capacity of the public sector.

NHS England STP & Social Action: Government has been working with NHS England on better embedding social action & volunteering in health and social care through membership of their People and Communities Board.

NHS England have asked its 44 NHS Footprint areas to work with local health and social care leaders, including the Voluntary and Community Service Enterprise sector to prepare what are known as local Sustainability and Transformation Plans (STPs). NHS England as part of its Five Year Forward View strategy have committed to people and communities being at the heart of this work. NHS England has also agreed that social action and volunteering is a key enabler and should be included in each STP. The 44 STP areas cover every part of England, each STP will set out how best to spend funding, support growth and transform care in the face of rising demand and more complex patient needs.

Q-Volunteering

Through a new three year programme called Q-Volunteering, the Office for Civil Society and the programme partners (NHS England, the Department of Health, Healthwatch England, the NHS Confederation, NHS Horizons and Care England) are working with local NHS ambulance-led partnerships, to develop a social action-based system transformation and leadership programme in health and care. Locally led ambulance services will recruit and train volunteers to promote self-care and patient activation, in order to support better outcomes for patients, carers and help moderate pressure on local health and care.

Encouraging civic engagement more broadly

The Localism Act 2011 gave new rights to individuals and communities in England, making it easier for them to have a say in developments at a local level and achieve their ambitions for the place where they live. These included the Right to Bid, Right to Challenge and Neighbourhood Planning. The Government has funded the establishment of the ‘My Community’ website <https://mycommunity.org.uk/>, which has tools and resources to support communities take action to shape their local area.

Every town, village or neighbourhood is home to buildings or amenities that play a vital role in local life, including community centres, libraries, swimming pools, village shops, markets or pubs, which if closed or sold into private use, would be a real loss to the community. Under the Right to Bid, local authorities are required to maintain a list of assets of community value which have been nominated by the local community. When listed assets come up for sale or change of ownership, the Act then gives community groups the time to develop a bid and raise the money to bid to buy the asset when it comes on the open market, helping local communities keep much-loved sites in public use and part of local life.

Over 4,000 Assets of Community Value have been listed in England and we estimate that our programmes alongside the Community Right to Bid have helped around 150 assets to be transferred into community ownership since 2012. We have provided funding to support communities to exercise these rights, including £1.85 million to help community groups to take on the ownership of their local pub alongside £1.77 million from the organisation Power to Change. We are also providing £3.25m over the next two years through the Communities Fund programme to support a mix of local authority and community-groups to deliver solutions to entrenched social issues such as domestic violence and long term unemployment.

The Government believes that innovation in public services can offer greater value for taxpayers’ money and better results for local communities. The best councils are constantly on the look out for new and better ways to design and deliver services. Many recognise the potential of social enterprises and community groups to provide high-quality services at good value, and deliver services with and through them.

In some places, however, voluntary and community groups who have bright ideas find that they do not get a proper hearing. Under the Right to Challenge, these groups, parish councils and local authority employees have the right to express an interest in taking over the running of a local authority service. The local authority must consider and respond to this challenge; and where it accepts it, run a procurement exercise for the service in which the challenging organisation can bid. This makes it easier for local groups with good ideas to put them forward and drive improvement in local services. For example, community enterprise Halifax Opportunities Trust, used the Right to Challenge to bid for the contract to manage a large proportion of Calderdale Council’s Children Centres. The Halifax Opportunities Trust won the tender, securing contracts for services worth over £8m.

Through the Neighbourhood Planning process, communities can for the first time produce plans that have real statutory weight in the planning system, enabling people to choose where they want new homes, shops and offices to be built, have their say on what those new buildings should look like and what infrastructure should be provided, and grant planning permission for the new development they want to see go ahead. As a result, over 2,200 groups have started the neighbourhood planning process since 2012, in areas that cover nearly 13 million people across England, and over 390 successful neighbourhood planning referendums have taken place, with an average 'yes' vote of 89%, on an average turnout of 33%. Locality, a national network of community-led organisations, is delivering the Government's neighbourhood planning support programme, for which DCLG have made available £22.5 million for 2015-18 to provide grants, technical support, advice and the MyCommunity website. In addition, local authorities are funded to fulfil their legal duty to support organisations producing a neighbourhood plan or neighbourhood development order. Funding for local authorities has been available since October 2012.

Many of the projects supported by DCLG's integration programme have the aim of encouraging participation in society and promoting social action to build community cohesion and reduce social exclusion. This includes £9.7 million since 2011 for the Near Neighbours programme which brings together people from different faiths and no faith to improve their neighbourhoods and create links and build networks and skills in some of our most multicultural (and deprived) inner city areas. Between 2014 and March 2017 this programme supported around 1,400 local events and small community projects that brought different faith and ethnic groups together reaching over 209,000 people.

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?

The Government defines British values as including regard for the rule of law, participation in and acceptance of democracy, equality, individual liberty, free speech and mutual respect, tolerance and understanding of different faiths and beliefs. These values, which were reiterated in the Government's manifesto, are supported by the overwhelming majority of British people, and are sustained by our most important local and national institutions.

This Government is committed to creating a fair society in which all people, of whatever ethnic origin or background are valued, are able to participate fully and realise their own potential. The Prime Minister has spoken of the need to ensure that our society works for everyone. 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 and we have also launched an audit to look into racial disparities in our public services.

The UK is an open and diverse country where people from all parts of society can be successful. This is a key part of the UK's values and will not change.

Extremism poses a threat to our shared values. The Government defines extremism as the vocal or active opposition to our fundamental values, including the rule of law, individual liberty and the mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs. If left unchallenged, those values that bind our society together start to fall apart. Women's rights are eroded, hatred, intolerance and bigotry become normalised, minorities are targeted and communities become separated from the mainstream. The Government therefore has a responsibility to protect the public from all of the harms – in addition to terrorism – which extremists pose to our society. We want to defeat all forms of extremism, wherever it occurs.

The Government is taking a comprehensive approach through our four-year Counter Extremism Strategy (published in October 2015). The strategy addresses extremism in all its forms, including Islamist and far/ extreme right extremism.

The strategy sets out a range of action, including Government support for the public sector and civil society to confront extremist narratives that run contrary to our shared values; our commitment to working with everyone who is committed to standing against extremism in their communities; our determination to disrupt the most harmful extremists, including prosecuting those who break the law; and supporting efforts to improve community cohesion.

We have made significant progress in defending our shared values against extremism in recent years. As part of the Counter-Extremism Strategy Government has:

- Improved our understanding of extremism through the work of the Extremism Analysis Unit - which has also helped disrupt extremist activity.
- Awarded funding and support for 53 civil society groups to tackle extremism via our £63m 'Building a Stronger Britain Together' programme. We intend to expand our network to over 100 groups in the coming months.
- Grown our network of Community Coordinators embedded in Local Authorities, to develop knowledge of extremism locally and identify and support groups challenging extremism. Twenty-seven are in post to date and 42 Local Authorities have agreed to work with us overall.
- Published the main findings from the review into Islamist extremist funding and what Government is doing in response⁴⁵⁴.

⁴⁵⁴ Written Ministerial Statement by Amber Rudd 12 July
<http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statements/?page=1&max=20&questiontype=AllQuestions&house=commons&use-dates=True&answered-from=2017-07-03&answered-to=2017-07-14&dept=1>

- Published a new Hate Crime Action Plan (in July 2016). Key achievements include launching funding schemes for protective security measures for places of worship and community-led projects to tackle hate crime, and measures to increase reporting of hate crime and support victims.
- Continued to act to prevent extremism from gaining a foothold in our schools, including through strengthening regulations to safeguard children missing from education (introduced in September 2016).
- Concluded independent reviews of integration and of Islamist extremism in prisons. In direct response to the latter’s recommendations, Government has established a joint (OSCT-HMPPS) unit to take work forward, including introducing prison separation units in to manage a small number of the highest risk prisoners away from the general prison population.
- Launched an independent review into the application of Sharia law. The Chair will submit her final report later this year.
- Introduced new powers - via the Digital Economy Act 2017 – to enable Ofcom to act quickly against community radio stations and Internet Protocol TV channels when they breach Ofcom’s content standards. We have also revised the UK’s Broadcasting Code to make clear that hate speech and derogatory content is not permitted.
- Excluded ten individuals from the UK on the grounds of unacceptable extremist behaviour.

However, Government recognises that there is still too much tolerance of extremism in our country and we need to become far more robust in identifying it and stamping it out. We will therefore be establishing a new Commission for Countering Extremism. The Commission will advise the Government on how best to tackle extremism and will support the public sector and our communities to promote and defend our shared values and confront extremism wherever it exists.

The Government will continue to do everything it can to tackle extremism – but we know we can only defeat it through working in partnership with local communities. We will continue to stand with everyone who shares our values to keep our multi-faith, multi-society society one of the most successful in the world.

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?

Britain is on the whole well-integrated, but more needs to be done to make sure nobody is excluded, or left behind, and that we are prepared to take strong action where people refuse to integrate and fail to embrace the shared values that make Britain great.

Dame Louise Casey's review into how to boost opportunity and integration in isolated communities considers a number of issues, including population change; patterns of residential and school segregation; public attitudes and values; social and economic exclusion; and the equality impacts of cultural and religious practices. It concludes with a series of recommendations to Government for promoting integration. Dame Louise also considered the role of leadership and recommended that the Government should work with the Committee for Standards in Public Life to ensure that British values are enshrined in the principles of public life.

The Government's manifesto has committed this administration to help people in more isolated communities to engage with the wider world, help women in particular into the workplace, and teach more people to speak English.

As mentioned in the answer to question 1, the Department for Communities and Local Government is reviewing the available evidence on the main causes of poor integration, and in the coming months will bring forward plans for tackling these issues through a new integration strategy.

Other work is in hand across Government to address the inequalities faced by particular groups, including:

- A Race Disparity Audit to at look the inequality in outcomes experienced by people of different backgrounds in every area of our public services from health to education, childcare to welfare, employment, skills and criminal justice. The first tranche of data will be published in autumn 2017.
- Alongside the Industrial Strategy work on developing local industrial strategies, a Civic Renewal approach will aim to support struggling areas, whose economies have not recovered from the impact of deindustrialisation, through regeneration and urban renewal. The Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy is also developing proposals that will enable greater labour market access and participation for under-represented groups (including women and the disabled), ensuring that they can boost their earning power.
- Expanding the existing DfE Opportunity Areas across England, targeting social mobility 'coldspots' through education. Increased funding of £72 million is available to support local education providers and communities to address the biggest challenges in the twelve areas.

The Government aims to drive social mobility by breaking the link between a person's background and where they get to in life. In education, we have protected the pupil premium, worth nearly £2.5 billion this year, so that schools receive funding to support pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds. The Department for Education's gap index shows

that the attainment gap between disadvantage pupils and their peers has narrowed by 9.3 per cent at key stage 2 and 7.0 per cent at key stage 4 since the pupil premium was introduced in 2011. This means better prospects for a more prosperous life as an adult.

Education alone will not be enough to transform social mobility. The best employers are already taking important steps, including engaging and supporting young people in schools, introducing fairer recruitment practices, removing barriers, opening up alternative routes to entry, and monitoring progress – but there is more to do to ensure that background is not a barrier to a good career.

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?

The Government believes that through the promotion of fundamental British values and equality of opportunity, we create the conditions for people to live and work together, to bridge boundaries between communities and to play a full role in society. When this is underpinned both by opportunities to succeed, and a strong sense of personal and social responsibility to the society which has made success possible, the result is a strong society.

Government supports national and local initiatives which aim to bring communities together around shared values, such as The Great Get Together in June 2017 to mark the first anniversary of Jo Cox’s death and reinforce her mantra that “we have more in common than that which divides us”, and The Big Iftar taking place annually since 2012 where Muslims open their doors to invite the wider community to break their fast with them during Ramadan. DCLG funds the Inter Faith Network which organises Inter Faith Week to encourage people from different faiths to participate in local activities together – Inter Faith Week 2016 saw over 600 events take place across the UK.

DCLG is also funding the Joseph Interfaith Foundation to provide culturally sensitive training for young refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia to enable them to integrate into the UK society, including by building their understanding of respect for the rule of Law, parliamentary democracy and the concept of female equality as part of women’s Human Rights.

Schools play a vital role in promoting integration and are all required to promote community cohesion and fundamental British values. The teaching of religious beliefs and cultures helps in the development of an understanding and respect for different faiths and communities. Good quality religious education can develop children’s knowledge of the values and traditions of Britain and other countries, and foster understanding among different faiths and cultures. That is why religious education remains compulsory for all state funded schools, including academies and free schools, at all key stages.

Schools without a religious designation should have a curriculum for religious education that reflects that the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian, whilst taking into account the teaching and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain. Faith schools also make a strong contribution in this area and there are many excellent examples of Church and faith schools providing opportunities for their pupils to mix with children of different faiths and backgrounds. DfE and DCLG are working closely to ensure that schools play a key role in supporting with Government's wider integration agenda. DfE will continue to work closely with church and other faith schools to promote and support integration and community cohesion. We will set out further details of our approach in this area and in relation to the 50% cap on faith admissions in faith free schools in due course.

Dame Louise Casey's review explored diversity and integration in schools and the Government is currently preparing an integration strategy that will set out how we address these important issues.

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?

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.

With regards to children and young people, the Government's ongoing school reforms focus on creating a school-led, self-improving system in which every child and young person has opportunity to achieve their full potential, regardless of ethnicity, gender or background. Under current school funding arrangements, local authorities may allocate a proportion of their funding to schools based on the number of pupils in each school for whom English is an additional language (EAL), and who have been in the school system for a maximum of three years. In 2016-17, 136 local authorities used the EAL factor in their local funding formulae, spending £282 million in total. Schools may also draw on their pupil premium funding to support those EAL pupils who are classed as disadvantaged.

Some pupils in the overall EAL group will have recently arrived in England from overseas – so mobility is another relevant factor that local authorities can currently use in their funding formulae. It provides additional funding to schools that had at least 10% of their pupils not starting at their school in August/September (and January for Reception pupils) over the previous three years. 66 local authorities used this factor in 2015-16, allocating a total of £24m through it.

Earlier this year, the Government's second consultation on introducing a national funding formula for schools proposed that an EAL factor should form part of the new formula. We will be announcing our plans for implementing the national funding formula in due course.

The Department for Education's school census now requires maintained schools in England to report annually on the written and spoken English language proficiency of their individual EAL pupils. This will help schools in planning their support provision for their EAL pupils and will also inform future policy on supporting EAL pupils.

To support adult learners the Government provides funding through the Adult Education Budget (AEB) for education providers to offer a range of approved English courses, depending on the needs in their local areas.

Government funding of English for Speakers of Other Languages (EOL) 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.

English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) courses are fully-funded for jobseekers on work-related benefits⁴⁵⁵ 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.

Adults in England also benefit from a legal entitlement to fully-funded English courses up to Level 2 (GCSE A*-C (9-4) or equivalent). This means anyone who has not completed their GCSE or equivalent in English language has access to a range of free courses to improve their skills. Those adults whose first language is not English may choose to pursue a regular English qualification, for example a Functional Skills or GCSE qualification, instead of, in addition to, or after completing an ESOL course. Adults are also able to access funded unaccredited community courses, including in English language. In 2015/16 583,600 adults in England received funding to participate in English courses. All adults benefitting from AEB-funded provision have to meet the general eligibility criteria, including in most cases a three-year residency requirement⁴⁵⁶. This reflects the Government's expectation that those newly arrived in England who have chosen to settle here, for example to improve their employment prospects, invest their own time and resources into learning English. Adults who are granted refugee or humanitarian protection status by the Home Office are eligible for the same skills funding as any other English resident and are not subject to the normal three year qualifying period.

AEB funding is allocated to education providers who have the flexibility to decide their level of ESOL and English language provision based on local needs. Therefore the amount of

⁴⁵⁵ See [AEB funding rules](#) - page 4ff

⁴⁵⁶ See [AEB funding rules](#)

funding spent on ESOL and regular English provision varies from year to year. In 2015/16 just under £100m of the Adult Education Budget was spent on ESOL provision.

The Government also provides 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 Somalian ethnic groups, who 2011 Census data shows have the lowest levels of English.

On 18 January 2016, the previous Prime Minister announced a new English language offer worth £20 million over this Parliament. As a first step in rolling out the new programme, DCLG committed £3.7 million 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.

The Casey review published in December 2016 found that English Language was a common denominator and a strong enabler of integration. The report found that poor English Language skills, and thereby poor labour market outcomes, led to a strong correlation of increased segregation among Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic households in most deprived areas, suggesting a negative cycle that will not improve without a concerted and targeted effort. DCLG are developing proposals to address this as part of an Integration strategy.

To avoid a gap in provision Ministers agreed a further £4.6m funding to extend our existing community based English language provision for another year to reach over 19,600 new learners by March 2018.

The Government has also pledged up to £10m over 5 years for ESOL provision specifically for those refugees fleeing the Syrian conflict who have come to the UK under the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Programme. This funding will be available to Local Authorities to which these refugees are allocated as part of the resettlement programme and will enable them to access language tuition and integrate into local communities.

In addition, the £140m Controlling Migration Fund includes £100m to help ease local pressure on services in areas strongly affected by migration. This could include funding for English language support and other cohesion activity. To date £2.9m has been awarded to local authorities to support additional English Language tuition for migrants, and £3m for cohesion.

British citizenship is a privilege, not a right. We expect those wishing to settle here to demonstrate they are ready and able to integrate into society. We have made the acquisition of citizenship more significant. All applicants for naturalisation are required to pass both the new, revised Life in the UK test and have the relevant English language speaking and listening qualification. 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

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?

In addition to the initiatives referred to in the responses to the above questions, some further examples are set out below.

The London 2012 Olympics and Paralympics showcased British Citizenship at its finest. One of the major contributing factors to the success of the London 2012 Games was the role played by volunteers such as LOCOG's Games Makers and GLA's London Ambassadors. There was a strong appetite from the public to volunteer - for the 70,000 Games Maker positions, over 250,000 applications were received and 40% of Games Makers were new to volunteering.

On the back of this renewed ardour for volunteering in sports, the legacy programme 'Join In' was established to continue to promote sports volunteering. At the heart of Join In is a network of Local Leader volunteers, many of whom are former Games Makers, who help coordinate and engage people in volunteering activities around the country. As well as sharing local volunteering opportunities, Join In also promotes opportunities to volunteer at some of the biggest sporting events in the world, like the Tour de France and Commonwealth Games.

DCLG's Near Neighbours programme (referred to in response to question 7) includes the Catalyst young leaders programme which develops the skills and experience of 18-30 year olds so they can play their part in building a strong civil society – over 300 young people have passed through the programme since 2011.

The Government is actively supporting those working to protect their communities from extremism and promote shared values via our £63m 'Building a Stronger Britain Together' (BSBT) programme of support for community groups and strategic communications campaigns. Launched in 2016, BSBT encompasses a network of community co-ordinators, embedded in priority local authorities; funding and practical communications support to groups working to challenge and build resilience to extremism locally; and a programme of targeted campaigns to counter extremists' narrative and promote shared values.

BSBT is currently funding and supporting 53 civil society groups to tackle extremism and we are committed to supporting over 100 groups in the coming months.

Twenty-seven community coordinators are currently in post and we expect to have 42 embedded in local authorities across the UK by the autumn. Strategic communications campaigns underway this financial year include *Britain Helps*, which raises awareness of British aid in conflict zones and facilitates a dialogue with British Muslims on foreign policy; and *Safer Giving*, which seeks to disrupt extremist organisations from receiving charitable funding.

HM Government - supplementary to the oral evidence given on 6 September 2017 (CCE0255)

Information requested by Select Committee (in order it appeared in transcript)

1. Data on who takes Citizenship GCSE (DfE)

See Annex A.

2. Data on disadvantaged or hard to reach participants in NCS (DCMS)

See Annex B.

3. Information on Innovation Fund. Clerk and Baroness Pitkeathley subsequently confirmed that it was Cabinet Office's innovation fund they wanted information on <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-government-campaign-to-get-people-on-the-electoral-register> and <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/half-of-young-people-not-registered-to-vote-confirmed-by-new-government-research> (CO)

Cabinet Office has confirmed that as the Innovation Fund was published in 2013 under the Coalition Government this is no longer being taken forward.

4. Evidence of where good things have happened and been spread (All)

See Annex C.

5. Copies of the two surveys carried relating to FBV and any related reports (DfE)

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/teacher-voice-omnibus-november-2015-survey-dfe-questions> Page 37 of the *NFER Teacher voice omnibus*

Research report, July 2016

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/teacher-voice-omnibus-november-2016-survey-dfe-questions> Pages 32-33 of the *Teacher Voice Omnibus Survey*

Research report, July 2017

6. How many people do we think are at risk of extremism in this country? (HO)

National statistics on the numbers of people referred to Prevent and receiving support through Channel are not routinely published. However, since 2012, over 1000 people have been supported through the voluntary confidential Channel programme.

The Government defines extremism as: *'the vocal or active opposition to our fundamental values, including the rule of law, individual liberty and the mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs. We also regard calls for the death of members of our armed forces as extremist.'* Our Counter-Extremism Strategy sets out

the harm that extremism can cause beyond terrorism, including the justification of violence, promotion of hatred and division, rejecting the democratic system, and harmful and illegal cultural practices. The strategy sets out a programme of work designed to defeat extremism at source wherever it exists, support those vulnerable to extremist narratives and safeguard our communities from the harm that these narratives can cause.

7. Data on immigrants voting / taking part in elections (CO)

Cabinet Office has confirmed that they do not have a way of checking the number of immigrants voting. A joint pilot trialling a Home Office automated service for checking people's immigration status returned too many false positives for it to be used with electoral registration.

8. List of forthcoming relevant responses, reports, reviews, commissions coming up in the next 6 months (All)

See Annex D.

Data on who takes Citizenship GCSE (DfE)

This is new data which needs to be put through a quality assurance and clearance process, and will therefore follow shortly.

Diversity in the UK Youth Parliament and National Citizen Service

UK Youth Parliament:

The UK Youth Parliament is made up of 600 elected young people (300 Members of Youth Parliament, and 300 Deputy Members) from across the UK aged 11-18. In 2016:

- 52% were female
- 33% were from a BAME background
- 12% reported a disability
- 9% were eligible for free school meals

The Government is committed to ensuring that as many young people as possible are given the chance to have their voices heard. The strength of UK Youth Parliament is not in the annual debate, but in the hundreds of thousands of young people involved in the Make Your Mark campaign in the lead up to the House of Commons vote, from all parts of the country, and from a variety of different backgrounds. Furthermore, every individual youth parliament member brings with them not just their own voice, but also that of the thousands of young people that voted to elect them as a representative of their constituency.

National Citizen Service (NCS)

In summer 2016:

- 17% NCS participants were eligible for free school meals (vs. 8% of the population).
- 32% NCS participants were from BAME backgrounds (vs. 22.5% of the population).
- 5% NCS participants reported a special education need (vs. 2% of the Year 11 population).

NCS costs a maximum of £50, and bursaries are available for those who require financial assistance.

NCS Unit Costs

To clarify the figure used at the hearing of an approximate NCS unit cost of £2,000 per participant, please see below a breakdown of the costs per NCS place for 2014 to 2016:

Year	Average Cost per Participant
2014	£1826
2015	£1825

2016	£1780
------	-------

These costs are calculated by dividing the all in costs of NCS delivery by the total number of NCS participants. The 2016 actual differs from the figure quoted in the NAO report as it has been informed by the most recent cost data from the NCS Trust's finalised end of year report.

As the NCS Trust transitions to a Royal Charter Body and refreshes its provider contracts, reducing the unit cost of the programme will continue to be a priority for DCMS and the NCS Trust.

NCS Evaluations

DCMS (and formerly the Cabinet Office when the responsibility for NCS sat in the Cabinet Office) commission yearly independent evaluations on NCS. These evaluations can be found on the NCS Trust website. The publication list also includes one year and two year on studies for the 2013 cohort of NCS participants.

2013 NCS Evaluation by Ipsos MORI

(http://www.ncsy.es.co.uk/sites/all/themes/ncs/pdf/ncs_2013_evaluation_report_final.pdf)

2014 NCS Evaluation by Ipsos MORI

(<http://www.ncsy.es.co.uk/sites/default/files/NCS%202014%20Evaluation.pdf>)

2015 NCS Evaluation by Ipsos MORI

(<http://www.ncsy.es.co.uk/sites/default/files/14-090747-01%20NCS%202015%20Evaluation%20Report%20Final%20PUBLIC%20v2%2031072017.pdf>)

The most recent evaluation of the 2016 programme is being undertaken by Kantar Public in partnership with London Economics, and is scheduled to be published later this year.

As per the Public Accounts Committee's report recommendation, we are also exploring how the measure the long term outcomes of the programme beyond the one / two year on studies. To this end, DCMS has appointed a provider to carry out a feasibility study to determine how long term outcomes could be best reviewed. This study is set to yield findings by February 2018.

Examples for the Committee where good things have happened and how they have been spread

DCLG

Near Neighbours Programme

The Near Neighbours programme, which started in 2011, brings together people from different faiths and no faith to improve their neighbourhoods and create links and build networks and skills in some of our most multicultural (and deprived) inner city areas. The programme includes a small grants fund which offers grants of between £250 and £5,000 to community projects that bring together people from different faith and ethnic groups to do projects that improve their communities. The programme has also been delivering local community leader training and capacity building through partner inter-faith organisations.

The programme, initially operated in East London, Birmingham, Leicester, Bradford, Burnley and Oldham. In 2014 it expanded into West London, the Black Country, Luton, Nottingham, Leeds, Rochdale and Bury, and this year it was extended again into Blackburn and Manchester.

Between 2014 and March 2017 Near Neighbours supported around 1,400 local events and small community projects that brought different faith and ethnic groups together, reaching over 209,000 people. The programme also includes the Catalyst young leaders programme which develops the skills and experience of 18-30 year olds so they can play their part in building a strong civil society – over 300 young people have passed through the programme since 2011. During this year the programme will pilot “difficult conversations” sessions in two areas (Luton and the Black Country), to give communities space to discuss difficult community issues. More information about the programme is available at <https://www.cuf.org.uk/near-neighbours>

Community-Based English Language Programme

In 2013 DCLG ran an English Language Competition to grant fund new providers who could develop and deliver innovative community-based English language tuition to isolated adults with the lowest levels of English who were unlikely to access tuition in more formal settings such as Further Education colleges. In November 2013, DCLG awarded £6m across 6 projects with very different models with the aim of supporting 24,000 learners by March 2015. We expanded delivery by allocating an additional £2m to the projects to reach an additional 9,400 learners (bringing the total target to 33,400) by the end of the 2015/16 financial year. By March 2016 they had exceeded this target by reaching a total of over 39,800 people.

In January 2016, the previous Prime Minister announced a new English language offer worth £20 million over this Parliament to help at least 40,000 women in the most isolated communities in England get the training they need. The new offer would be informed by the Casey Review and learning from DCLG’s existing programme.

As a first step in rolling out the new tuition (pending the findings of the Casey Review) DCLG invested £3.7 million last year for existing providers to support 12,000 people by March 2017 – they exceeded this target reaching nearly 14,000 new learners.

Following publication of the Casey Review in December 2016, DCLG are developing options for new English Language provision as part of an Integration strategy. To avoid a gap in provision Ministers agreed a further £4.6m funding to five of our existing community based English language projects for another year to reach over 19,600 new learners by March 2018.

DCMS

National Citizen Service (NCS)

The NCS Trust and DCMS are committed to taking an innovative approach to growing the National Citizen Service.

The NCS Trust recently established an innovation unit to run a series of pilots over the next two years to test new ways of delivering the programme through new and existing partners in five key areas:

- Growth
- Reach and inclusion
- Impact
- Quality
- Value for money

If successful, learning from these pilots will be incorporated into elements of future programme delivery and will inform the NCS Trust's phased re-commissioning of their provider network that will start in 2018. This approach builds on the Autumn 2016 Pathfinders where 18 organisations outside the established NCS network were appointed to run pilot programmes to test different ways of recruiting to and delivering the programme.

Type of report, review, etc.	Lead Department	Timescale
Plans for implementing the national funding formula.	DfE	Announced 14 September https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/justine-greening-statement-on-national-funding-formula Link to policy paper https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-funding-formula-for-schools-and-high-needs
Announced an open call for the second Phase of the Centre for Social Action Innovation Funds for the 50+ volunteers	DCMS	15 September http://www.nesta.org.uk/project/connected-communities-innovation-fund
Race Disparity Audit	Cabinet Office	10 October https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/race-disparity-audit
Treasury Minute Response to the Public Accounts Committee's report on NCS	Treasury	19 October
Proposals to enable greater labour market access and participation for under-represented groups (including women and the disabled).	BEIS	Mid November (tbc)
Democratic Engagement Strategy	Cabinet Office	November
Integration Strategy	DCLG	Autumn
Museums Review to set out how museums and galleries across England can thrive and become even more inclusive.	DCMS	Autumn
Appointed Kantar Public in partnership with London Economics to conduct an evaluation of the 2016 NCS programme.	DCMS	2016 Evaluation Report is due to be published later this year
Independent review on Full-Time Social Action to consider what the voluntary sector, industry and, if needed, government can do to support full-time volunteering.	DCMS	Aim is to make recommendations to government by December 2017

HM Government - supplementary to the oral evidence given on 6 September 2017
(CCE0255)

Independent review into the application of Sharia law. The Chair will submit her final report later this year.	HO	Expected to report later this year
Establishing a new Commission for Countering Extremism. Applications for the role of Lead Commissioner (a public appointment) close on the 15 October.	HO	tbc
Details of DfE's approach in relation to the 50% cap on faith admissions in faith free schools.	DfE	tbc
Research will begin and be ongoing on the current barriers to registration for certain groups	Cabinet Office	tbc

John Holford (Robert Peers Professor of Adult Education, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Sharon Clancy (Senior Research Fellow, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Jeannie Holstein (Assistant Professor in Strategic and Public Se

John Holford (Robert Peers Professor of Adult Education, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Sharon Clancy (Senior Research Fellow, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Jeannie Holstein (Assistant Professor in Strategic and Public Sector Management, Business School, University of Nottingham), Ken Starkey (Professor of Professor of Management & Organisational Learning, Business School, University of Nottingham) – written evidence (CCE0172)

Addressing Questions 1, 5 and 7:

- *What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century?*
- *What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship?*
- *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?*

1. Summary

‘The primary aim of the learning society is to help people learn to love learning – a culture of learning – and regard it as their civic responsibility to continue to learn’ (Jarvis, 2008, p. 215).

1.1 For most of their history, British universities have had a strong local civic role, educating the adult public in their communities. This had a highly beneficial effect on democracy and citizenship. Since the 1980s, however, this role has declined, as higher education has increasingly focussed on economic objectives and on young people of school leaving age.

1.2 This paper argues we should recapture and reimagine universities as vital centres of local citizenship and civic activity. A key element will be to strengthen their role in the *informal education of adults in their communities*. To achieve this, universities must be encouraged to devote resources to public educational activities, and to ensure these are fairly allocated among different social groups and across people’s entire lifespans.

2. Background

2.1 During the 19th and 20th centuries, universities in England were seen as having a profound role to play in civic life. This can be seen particularly in the development of civic universities (Birmingham, Manchester, etc.) and the creation of polytechnics and colleges of technology, in the university “extension” movement, and in extra-mural adult education through most of the 20th century. This civic life included embeddedness in local regional economies in the broader European technical tradition. Since the 1990s, however, although higher education has expanded massively, taking in a far larger proportion of UK school-leavers, teaching many students from overseas, and even developing campuses abroad, universities’ wider role in strengthening citizenship and civic engagement in their own localities has much diminished.

John Holford (Robert Peers Professor of Adult Education, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Sharon Clancy (Senior Research Fellow, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Jeannie Holstein (Assistant Professor in Strategic and Public Se

2.2 There are several reasons for this. For example:

- the intensifying focus of public educational policy since the 1980s on economic and narrowly-defined vocational outcomes and on young people (some “lifelong learning” rhetoric notwithstanding);
- the removal of polytechnics from local control and their rebranding as universities, diminishing their distinct regional industrial and educational mission;
- universities’ (especially older “civic” universities’) becoming internationally recognised “brands” (through the globalisation of higher education), and incentivised to recruit greater numbers of students from overseas;
- the trend to “accountability” and the growth of an “audit culture”, which tend to emphasise centrally-set targets, focus on “what works”, and discourage local initiative and experimentation;
- the well-known difficulties faced in developing quantifiable indicators for “measuring” citizenship and forms of civic engagement, and their impact (Holford 2008);
- the narrowing of universities’ regional responsibilities to distinct forms of economic aim, for example as part of global innovation ecosystems;
- the “academic drift” of the former polytechnics away from their distinct regional and technical education missions;
- the recent reimagining of social inclusion in terms of social mobility and individual “success”, resulting in an emphasis on using higher education to move young people out of their communities of origin;
- The emphasis on ‘corporate social responsibility’ within universities, as opposed to concepts of ‘public’, ‘civic’ or ‘community’ engagement in which we, ‘the public’, are recognised as being part of many different communities and active producers of knowledge.

3. Universities as Integrative Civic Spaces

3.1 We argue that ***public policy should encourage and enable universities to develop stronger forms of democratic partnership with their local communities through genuine community and civic engagement.*** Universities can be profoundly important contributors to their local civic environments and to such debates. This is partly because of their history and “embeddedness”: unlike many businesses, they tend to “stay put” in their locality. They can also be ‘anchor institutions’ in the sense of integrative civic spaces which have a particular engagement with their surrounding community (Axelroth and Dubb, 2010).

4. Building Trust in Community/University Relationships

4.1 ***Good community and civic engagement are long-term, ongoing and cumulative in nature, enabling relationships and trust to build and strengthen over time.*** Trust building is particularly important among disenfranchised and disadvantaged communities. Deep knowledge of the community and its locality is essential. Historically, such intensive forms of engagement have fostered a heightened sense of responsibility in people for their own community/ies, helped engender civic sensitivity and involvement in democratic processes,

John Holford (Robert Peers Professor of Adult Education, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Sharon Clancy (Senior Research Fellow, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Jeannie Holstein (Assistant Professor in Strategic and Public Se and increased likelihood of voting. This, in turn, fosters citizens who have a more equal chance of participating in society:

By participating in elections and other civic engagement citizens are able to influence politics; the involvement of all citizens in democratic processes and the extent to which they are enabled to be involved are crucial for ensuring that all citizens have an equal chance of participation and political integration (Salter et al, 2017, p. 152).

4.2 Civil society is a complex, shifting and uncompromising space. Little emphasises this more than post-Brexit Britain, where divisions are very evident. ‘Wicked’ issues can seem utterly intractable. These include the schisms of poverty and financial inequality; health and an ageing population, with more people living with disabilities and mental health issues; ecological change; and ever-faster technological innovation.

4.3 **Community-university engagement is by necessity complex and requires a long-term commitment.** Universities have a role in helping us work out what we want community and ‘good citizenship’ to mean. Does our ‘community’ encompass where we live, our shared interests and passions, our allegiances and affiliations? What is ‘good citizenship’? What gives us the range of skills, attitudes and activities which enable us to become “agents of positive social change for a more democratic world” (Jacoby, 2009, p.9).

4.4 The late Sir David Watson, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Brighton and Principal of Green Templeton College, Oxford, called for a re-imagining of universities’ social role: there should be “dialogue across the boundary between the University and its community which is open-ended, fluid and experimental” (Watson 2003, p. 16), a “thoughtful, argumentative interaction with the non-university world” (Watson, 2007, p. 3), bringing community members, community/voluntary sector practitioners and university teachers and researchers together as citizens and neighbours.

4.5 In fact, however, ‘public engagement’ and ‘knowledge transfer’, as developed recently, have been imagined as the one-directional transmission of knowledge *from* universities *to* others - driven by the call for research to be “publicly accountable and impactful” (Mahony and Stephansen, 2016, p. 585). On this approach, the ‘public’ has been little more than “the target of engagement activities” such as marketing and research dissemination (ibid, p. 590). **Without a genuine exchange of knowledge, involving hard-won trust between universities and their local citizens and communities, the ‘public’ become recipients only.**

4.6 **Universities’ engagement with civil society has also been damaged by the crisis in the voluntary sector.** Faced with a £2.3 billion fall in income from government contracts and grants (NCVO, 2015, cited in Hemmings, 2017, p. 41), the voluntary sector’s capacity to act in an ambassadorial or campaigning vein with universities, to share community knowledge and expertise and to offer a voice to the most marginalised in society, has been severely curtailed.

5. Universities and Part-time Mature Students

5.1 Many universities (especially those in the Russell Group) do not routinely draw students from their local area. At the same time, participation in higher education, as measured by socio-economic disadvantage, is strongly unequal. A particular problem is the

John Holford (Robert Peers Professor of Adult Education, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Sharon Clancy (Senior Research Fellow, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Jeannie Holstein (Assistant Professor in Strategic and Public Se extra barriers mature learners have in attending university (intensified recently by the upsurge in fees), and the paucity of widening participation measures aimed at their needs. As a recent report points out, “most current WP outreach activity focuses on interventions in schools, partly because policy makers can appear infatuated with getting 18 year-olds from under-represented groups into selective universities” (Open University, 2017, p.4). Les Ebdon, Director of the Office for Fair Access (OFFA), has argued that the dramatic (61%) decline in the numbers of mature part-time and full-time learners in Higher Education since 2010 – which shows no sign of levelling off – directly conflicts with the drive to greater social mobility.

5.2 For obvious reasons, ***part-time, mature students are most likely to remain embedded in their localities, to provide continuing leadership in their communities and voluntary networks, and to be able to give “voice” to their excluded and “invisible” friends and neighbours.*** Universities’ large-scale abandonment of their mission to such people damages democracy and community. Part-time, mature students were central to university and community-based adult education and provided a space for understanding communities and fostering long-term collaboration. Such spaces also offered opportunities for dialogue and debate, enabling people to critically reflect on civil society from their current positions (“beyond the lecture hall”) and generating research based on people’s real and self-identified needs.

5.3 Research shows that ***adult learning, across the lifespan, strengthens democratic engagement*** and is “associated with higher levels of interpersonal and social trust, social connections and community engagement” (Schuller, 2017, p. 7). This is particularly true of “liberal” education, aimed at teaching the whole person. It enables us to “see the world as a web of interrelated processes of which we are integral parts, so that all of our choices and actions have consequences for the world around us” (A.N. Whitehead, quoted in Mescle, 2009, p.9). This is very different from universities’ current focus on skills and vocational/employer-based needs. ***Recent comparative research shows that academic or mixed academic/ vocational education is much more effective than vocational education alone in developing a lasting interest in politics, in voting, and in being civically engaged*** – effectively, in making ‘good citizens’ (Salter et al 2017). Yet “current policy in England presages the eradication of large swathes of publicly funded adult education” (Tuckett, 2017, p. 230).

6. The Challenge

6.1 Relatively speaking, universities are privileged and resource-rich institutions. They should form a crucial part of our shared associational life. They must again be encouraged and enabled to play a vital role in supporting the development of a knowledge democracy. They need to become places in which we collectively re-shape, re-think and re-frame what civil society should look like.

6.2 To do so, they must be prepared to learn from the communities of which they are part. They have much to learn from patterns and traditions of learning which fall outside the standard and enter the realms of the “all-too invisible” groups in society and the messiness of real community life.

6.3 In recent years, however, incentivized by policy initiatives to “deliver measurable impact” in the short-term, university leaders have generally been unable, or

John Holford (Robert Peers Professor of Adult Education, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Sharon Clancy (Senior Research Fellow, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Jeannie Holstein (Assistant Professor in Strategic and Public Se unwilling, to devote resources and time to building long-term relationships with their local communities.

7. Recommendations

7.1 ***We call for a serious rethink of the “policy drivers” that have, since the 1990s driven universities away from interacting with their local communities on a deeper basis than one-directional “public engagement” and “knowledge transfer”. This requires not only the removal of damaging policy drivers, but new policies to encourage sustained democratic engagement, at a local, civic level.***

7.2 Widening participation needs to embrace people failed by initial schooling, those furthest from the labour market – the part-time and mature learners who are being lost to the system of higher education.

7.3 Post-compulsory education must not be merely “a subsidiary contributor to wider economic policy” (Tuckett, 2017, p. 234). “Lifewide learning” is needed. Its benefits include developing engaged and impassioned communities who feel able to shape the world around them. A “life-wide” learning strategy is needed, “locally shaped”, and able “to respond effectively to adults’ appetite for learning, however unexpected” (Tuckett, 2017, p. 244).

7.4 We **recommend** in particular the following:

- (a) Universities should be encouraged and incentivised to work with civil society organisations to provide more non-formal training for citizens involved in voluntary organisations. This is a route through which many people find their way back into the formal education system after previous failure.
- (b) Policies should encourage universities to develop and maintain educational relationships with communities in the regions they serve. These should include non-formal courses and informal learning, especially in forms relevant to strengthening citizenship in the community.
- (c) Universities should create opportunities for individuals to learn citizenship skills through practice and participation in activities relevant to them across a range of contexts, and by supporting the development of learning resources. Such learning is likely to foster transferable citizenship skills from one area to another and could create disproportionate benefits.
- (d) Formal education needs to engender a critical dimension, enabling people to challenge and question normative assumptions about who are active citizens, and how they learned to be so. Higher education, can be a way of empowering people to think differently about what they may have learned elsewhere. Models of student engagement which link undergraduate teaching with the potential for developing civil society-based research initiatives, such as the Student as Producer model ⁴⁵⁷ have proved very effective in facilitating university/community engagement.

⁴⁵⁷<https://www.lincoln.ac.uk/home/abouttheuniversity/discoverlincoln/teachingandlearning/studentasproducer> (Accessed 7/9/17). Also see Clancy, Clancy, S. (2011), *Social justice and higher education: Universities as agents of change in the context of the “Big Society”*, MA Dissertation, University of Nottingham.

John Holford (Robert Peers Professor of Adult Education, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Sharon Clancy (Senior Research Fellow, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Jeannie Holstein (Assistant Professor in Strategic and Public Se

- (e) The Learning City model⁴⁵⁸ is gaining traction, with a number of British cities (e.g. Bristol) assuming Learning City status. This is an important prospective model for developing civic engagement across a range of partnerships, and with universities at the core.
- (f) Adult education at its best developed comprehensive links with its communities. Universities need to “redevelop our outreach work, building alliances with community bodies, faith organisations and workplaces of all sorts. It is possible to make learning accessible, and it is possible to build alliances across the breadth of our communities to create vibrant learning cultures, where everyone can feel at home” (Tuckett, 2017, p. 243).
- (g) Policy should support non-traditional spaces of adult education, such as the four remaining independent residential adult education colleges – Hillcroft College, Surbiton, Fircroft College, Selly Oak, Birmingham, Ruskin College, Oxford and Northern College, Barnsley. Their success rates with mature students from a range of disadvantaged backgrounds show that Access to Higher Education courses, leading to vocational qualifications in areas such as Health and Social Sciences, Social Work, Youth Work, etc., open up access to the job market, even for older learners.

⁴⁵⁸ A Learning City is “a city which effectively mobilizes its resources in every sector to promote inclusive learning from basic to higher education; revitalize learning in families and communities; facilitate learning for and in the workplace; extend the use of modern learning technologies; enhance quality and excellence in learning; and foster a culture of learning throughout life. In so doing it will create and reinforce individual empowerment and social cohesion, economic and cultural prosperity, and sustainable development” (UNESCO, 2015, p.9).

John Holford (Robert Peers Professor of Adult Education, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Sharon Clancy (Senior Research Fellow, School of Education, University of Nottingham), Jeannie Holstein (Assistant Professor in Strategic and Public Se

References

- Axelroth, R. and Dubb, S. (2010) *The Road Half Travelled - University Engagement at a Crossroads*, The Democracy Collaborative at the University of Maryland.
- Clancy, S. (2011), *Social justice and higher education: Universities as agents of change in the context of the "Big Society"*, MA Dissertation, University of Nottingham.
- Hemmings, M. (2017) The Constraints on Voluntary Sector Voice in a Period of Continued Austerity, in *Voluntary Sector Review*, Volume 8, no. 1, pp. 41-66.
- Holford, J. (2008) [Hard measures for soft stuff: citizenship indicators and educational policy under the Lisbon Strategy](#) *European Educational Research Journal* 7(3), pp. 331-343.
- Holford, J. and van der Veen, R. (2003) *Lifelong Learning, Governance & Active Citizenship in Europe*, Final Report of the ETGACE Research Project: Education & Training for Governance & Active Citizenship in Europe: *Analysis of Adult Learning & Design of Formal, Non-Formal & Informal Educational Intervention Strategies*, Supported by the European Commission (Directorate General for Research), Framework Programme 5.
- Jacoby, B., et al (2009) *Civic Engagement in Higher Education: Concepts and Practices*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass
- Jarvis, P. (2008) *Democracy, lifelong learning and the learning society: Active citizenship in a late modern age*, London: Routledge
- Mahony, N. and Stephansen, H.C. (2016), *The Frontiers of Participatory Public Engagement*, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 19, Issue 6, page(s): 583-597; Article first published online: March 7, 2016; Issue published: December 1, 2016.
- Office for Fair Access (Offa) (2017), *Understanding the impact of outreach on access to higher education for learners from disadvantaged backgrounds: an institutional response*. London: Offa. Available at: <https://www.offa.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Final-Report-Understanding-the-impact-of-outreach-on-access-to-higher-education-for-disadvantaged-adult-learners-docx.pdf> (accessed 31 July 2017).
- Salter, E., Kuemmerling, A., Bond, R. and Sabates, R. (2017), *Education and civic engagement: A comparative study of the benefits of post-compulsory education in England and Germany*, *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies*, Volume 8, Issue2, pp.152–168.
- Schuller, T. (2017) *What are the wider benefits of learning across the life course?* Future of Skills and Lifelong Learning, Foresight, Government Office for Science.
- Tuckett, A. (2017) The rise and fall of life-wide learning for adults in England, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, Volume 36, Issue 1 -2, Routledge, pp. 230-249
- UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (2015), *UNESCO Global Network of Learning Cities - Guiding Documents*, Hamburg, Germany.
- Watson, D. (2003), 'Universities and civic engagement: A critique and a prospectus', keynote address presented at the 2nd biennial Inside-out conference, *The Civic Role of Universities – Charting Uncertainty: Capital, Community and Citizenship*, Brighton, UK.
- Watson, D. (2007), *Managing civic and community engagement*, Open University Press, Maidenhead, UK.
- Whitehead, A. N. (1929) *The Aims of Education*. New York: Macmillan.

8 September 2017

Holocaust Educational Trust – written evidence (CCE0252)

The Holocaust Educational Trust was founded in 1988 during the passage of the War Crimes Act. Our aim is to raise awareness and understanding in schools and amongst the wider public of the Holocaust and its relevance today. We believe that the Holocaust must have a permanent place in our nation's collective memory.

We have chosen to answer only those questions from the call of evidence which directly relates to our programmes, namely 5 and 12.

5. Education and citizenship

Holocaust education and citizenship

Holocaust education provides an excellent example of the role of education in encouraging young people to engage with citizenship issues. The Holocaust was a defining event in human history whose legacies continue to shape the modern world: its study therefore has contemporary as well as historical relevance. This does not mean that it should be a source of easily packaged homilies for modern society, but rather that as a paradigmatic event it can enable students to engage with challenging questions which encourage them to think critically about the world around them, and their place in it.

Most obviously, the Holocaust represents the most extreme manifestations in history of antisemitism and denial of human rights; much of the current framework of international, and specifically European, human rights law was created in direct response to the Holocaust and Nazi crimes. If practised properly, Holocaust education can therefore encourage students to consider the complex roots of prejudice and the potential consequences of the weakening pluralism, the judicial system and civil society.

In particular, effective Holocaust education requires reflection on the importance of the choices made by the very large numbers of ordinary people, who in varying ways made the Holocaust possible. Exploration of the means by which Jews, and a courageous minority of non-Jews sought to resist the genocide again highlight the importance of choices and can provide inspiring examples of the power of the human spirit, as can provide inspiring examples of the power of the human spirit, and can provide inspiring examples of the power of the human spirit, as can study of the post-war lives of survivors. Holocaust education thus encourages students to grapple with a host of challenging questions which are essentially about what it means to be human.

In addition, study of the Holocaust in the UK can demonstrate specifically why good Citizenship is so important. Although British territory – with the notable exception of the Channel Islands – was never occupied. Britain was not insulated from the effects of Nazi policy towards Jewish people. For example, thousands of central European Jews came to the UK as refugees in the 1930s, notably almost 10,000 mostly unaccompanied children through the Kindertransport programme of 1938-39, whilst around 2,000 Holocaust survivors were similarly admitted after the war. Study of their experiences therefore contributes to young people's understanding of the cultures and traditions which have shaped the British society and of the essential role of voluntary groups and ordinary citizens in their story. It should be stressed that study of such issues does not mean uncritical celebration of Britain's role or values, but rather critical engagement with them. Learning about the Kindertransport, for example, requires consideration of why the Home Office largely refused to admit parents and of the hostility which the child refugees faced from some sections of society.

In summary, learning about the Holocaust forms one of the most powerful means through which young people can reflect critically on issues of identity, behaviour and ethics which should be at the heart of good citizenship.

The curriculum

As the preceding comments imply, Holocaust education raises citizenship issues by its very nature, regardless of the subject in which it is studied. Nonetheless, we do believe that Citizenship (and its equivalents in the devolved nations) as a specific subject can play an important role in the delivery of powerful educational experiences. Although we very strongly feel that History should always be at the heart of any programme of study on the Holocaust, we encourage secondary schools to adopt where possible a cross-curricular approach, engaging other subjects including Citizenship.

Our teaching resource, *Exploring the Holocaust*, is a free and comprehensive downloadable teaching pack for Key Stage 3 (or S2 in Scotland) which includes lessons and accompanying classroom materials for History, Religious Education and Citizenship. In line with the British focus of the current Key Stage 3 National Curriculum in England, the lessons for Citizenship address questions raised by the British responses to the Holocaust to enable students to study issues such as immigration and the plight of refugees, the role of the media in Nazi Germany, the role of government, law and justice, and what it means to be a good citizen.

At post-16 our Lessons from Auschwitz Project, funded by the Department of Education in England, the Scottish and Welsh governments and the Northern Ireland Executive, offers two students from every school in the UK the opportunity to participate in a four-part course centred around an unforgettable one-day visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau. As the final stage of the course, participants undertake "Next Steps" projects in which they share their

experiences with their schools or local communities prior to becoming Holocaust Educational Trust Ambassadors, a community of young people committed to learning about and remembering the Holocaust and encouraging others to do the same. In doing so, they contribute in a significant way to the citizenship agenda.

12. Initiatives and role models

Our Ambassadors are incredible role models, young people from the UK who have been inspired by their participation in the Lessons from Auschwitz Project to keep the memory of the Holocaust alive and to fight hatred, racism and prejudice afterwards, through university and even once they are in the workplace. They do this on a voluntary basis, often juggling their personal priorities because they are so enthused with a passion for ensuring that the Holocaust is never forgotten.

A few examples of our Ambassadors' amazing work is attached with this letter. They constantly amaze us with their dedication and passion for a cause which they have no personal family connection to, but recognise the societal importance of. If the inquiry would like to speak to role models of British citizenship in the UK, our Ambassadors would be brilliant examples.

I hope this is a helpful response to this inquiry.

Dr Neil Hopkins, Senior Lecturer in Education, University of Bedfordshire – written evidence (CCE0016)

John Rawls, the American philosopher, stated in his book *Political Liberalism* (1993) that diversity and conflict (in terms of people's beliefs, philosophies and worldviews) is something that is inevitable in contemporary liberal democracies. Rawls, as a committed liberal, believed this diversity was not something that should be counteracted by imposing or privileging a particular doctrine at the expense of other beliefs. Rawls's question, therefore, was how can we live together where such diversity occurs, ensuring citizens are free to believe and express their views without society breaking down into never-ending conflict. Rawls's potential solution was the 'overlapping consensus', a concept whereby citizens of different persuasions are able to adhere to collective attitudes, values and norms through the lens of their own religion or set of beliefs (what Rawls termed a 'conception of the good'). Rawls believed such an overlapping consensus could be achieved by citizens who adopted 'reasonable' conceptions of the good because they held respect and tolerance of other views (for example) as an important element of their own belief systems.

This has a direct bearing on any discussion of Fundamental British Values (as introduced by the government after the 'Trojan Horse' affair). The question to ask ourselves is: 'Is the introduction of Fundamental British Values' in schools and colleges an attempt to create or formalise such an overlapping consensus in British society?' Whilst it is difficult to argue with the central tenets of each of the five elements that comprise Fundamental British Values, the way they have been introduced into the education system and whether they articulate 'Britishness' in any significant degree are problematic. 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. I teach in a university that has many British Asian students on its programmes and there is anecdotal evidence that many in the British Asian communities are worried that Fundamental British Values and the PREVENT duty in schools and colleges has singled out radical Islam as a potential threat to the welfare of British citizens. It could be argued this has led to a 'drift' in thinking by many towards viewing Islam *per se* as a danger to liberal values in British society (see Qureshi (2015) and Mogra (2016)). If the Lords' Select Committee can use this call for evidence and publication of its report to generate such a national discussion on Britishness and the values this encapsulates, this can only be of benefit to schools, colleges, universities and the wider society.

Fundamental British Values and the PREVENT duty have become essential aspects of citizenship education in schools and colleges. This has come at a time, however, when it could be argued citizenship (as a curriculum subject) has been increasingly downplayed in school and college curricula. When the new National Curriculum was introduced in 2014,

Dr Neil Hopkins, Senior Lecturer in Education, University of Bedfordshire – written evidence (CCE0016)

the programme of study for citizenship was very brief in comparison to other subjects. This could be seen as a means of ‘unshackling’ the subject from needless regulation and prescription. However, it could also be sending a signal that the subject is relatively unimportant. Evidence suggests there are very few citizenship specialists undertaking initial teacher education in secondary schools and colleges (and, likewise, citizenship co-ordinators in primary schools). This apparent lack of specialisation has led to a potential marginalisation of citizenship education in the curriculum where the subject is often allocated to humanities specialists or teachers with a religious education background. There are many instances where citizenship is not treated as a curriculum subject at all and is integrated into a school’s PSHE, SMSC or tutorial provision. This provision leaves it open to the confidence and expertise of the individual teacher whether citizenship is adequately covered and explore with the students. There is a danger with such provision that schools and colleges ‘cover the bases’ and ‘tick the boxes’ by making sure they adhere to the statute and regulations on British Values and/or PREVENT without adequately ensuring there is the time and space for students to fully debate and argue what it means to be British and what constitutes radicalisation (for example).

These issues inevitably lead to the question of pedagogy concerning citizenship education. It must be acknowledged that there is already excellent practice occurring in this area – the Anglo-European School in Ingatestone, Essex, for instance, has done ground-breaking work on incorporating citizenship and human rights education into the fabric and governance of the school. The practice of ‘Rights Respecting Schools’ supported by UNICEF have also done a great deal of work promoting citizenship and human rights in RRS schools. These examples are important because they show that citizenship should not be seen as a completely separate discipline or subject from the rest of the school curriculum. Citizenship needs to be ‘plumbed into’ the very structures of the schools and colleges themselves in order as citizenship is a set of practices as well as a programme of study. I have written about this extensively from a college point-of-view in my book *Citizenship and Democracy in Further and Adult Education* (2013). British schools and colleges have often been very effective in encouraging and facilitating student voice (as analysed in the work of Julia Flutter and others). It is important, however, that student voice isn’t seen as tokenistic or focusing on issues that are relatively mundane and unimportant – student voice should allow (where possible) for the students to have a significant say as stakeholders in their own education. This in itself is a clear manifestation of citizenship education in action.

The final point I want to make regards political literacy in citizenship education. Political literacy was strongly advocated by the Crick Report in 1998 as a means of encouraging students to become active citizens in their local communities and the wider society. This means that citizenship education has to go beyond the confines of the classroom and school/college to advocacy and involvement in issues that concern students in the world around them. I think this has proved the most difficult to achieve as teachers and heads/principals are worried about political neutrality and accusations of indoctrination.

Dr Neil Hopkins, Senior Lecturer in Education, University of Bedfordshire – written evidence (CCE0016)

Because of this, projects involving citizenship in the wider community have tended towards 'safe' issues such as local environmentalism. It is here, however, that schools, colleges and the National Citizen Service could work in tandem to actually explore what is meant by 'political literacy' and how that can be facilitated to enable young people to become active citizens and have the confidence to be advocates for what they passionately believe in. The good practice that has been raised in the paragraph above cannot solely remain within the boundaries of the school and college – the subjects raised in schools and colleges will often extend to engage with people, groups and institutions in the community. The Youth Parliament and local councils that encourage youth representation are excellent examples of citizenship being taken beyond the classroom walls. The Inns of Court encouraging student role-play of key trials is another creative instance of facilitating the duties and practices of citizenship.

Political literacy, as articulated by Crick, inevitably involves questioning and challenging existing attitudes and states of affair. It also involves working against perceived discrimination and injustice. These are not things that can necessarily be kept in tidy pedagogical boxes – they are messy as democracy itself is messy (this possibly explains why many teachers are reticent to tread onto such territory). Work in the field of dialogical teaching (as advocated by Robin Alexander, for instance) offers some possibilities on how debate and discussion can be facilitated in a robust but respectful way. Indeed, many teachers who skilled in citizenship education are already using these skills with their students. Gert Biesta and Peter Lawy in their paper 'From teaching citizenship to learning democracy' (2006) take the means of dialogics further and encourage students to question 'what is a good citizen?'. Biesta and Lawy argue that citizenship education has had a tendency to assume what good citizenship is and for students to comply with this rather than challenge and analyse the concept as part of their studies.

This brings me full circle back to Rawls's overlapping consensus and Fundamental British Values. Biesta and Lawy's invitation to question what good citizenship is can be extended to notions of Britishness and whether there is a consensus regarding this. The Select Committee's invitation for evidence on citizenship and civic engagement offers a welcome opportunity to refresh and extend the discussion on citizenship education in what are politically disquieting times. I welcome the opportunity to submit this evidence to their Lordships.

References

Alexander, R. (2008), *Essays on Pedagogy*, London: Routledge.

Biesta, G. and Lawy, R. (2006), From teaching citizenship to learning democracy: Overcoming individualism in research, policy and practice, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 36 (1): 63-79.

Dr Neil Hopkins, Senior Lecturer in Education, University of Bedfordshire – written evidence (CCE0016)

Department for Education (2014), Promoting fundamental British values as part of SMSC in schools [online]. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/promoting-fundamental-british-values-through-smsc> (Accessed: 30 July 2017).

DfE (2015), The Prevent duty [online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/439598/prevent-duty-departmental-advice-v6.pdf (Accessed 30 July 2017).

Flutter, J. (2007), Teacher development and pupil voice, *The Curriculum Journal*, 18 (3): 343-354.

Hopkins, N. (2013), *Citizenship and Democracy in Further and Adult Education*, Dordrecht: Springer.

Mogra, I. (2016) The “Trojan Horse” affair and radicalisation: an analysis of Ofsted reports, *Educational Review*, 68(4): 444-465.

Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (1998), *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools [The Crick Report]*, London: QCA.

Qureshi, A. (2015) Prevent: Creating ‘Radicals’ to Strengthen Anti-Muslim Narratives, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 8(1): 181–191.

Rawls, J. (1993), *Political Liberalism*, New York: Columbia University Press.

9 August 2017

Peter Hopkins, School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University – written evidence (CCE0070)

Background to submission

1.1 Our testimony draws upon a project where we examined the political interests and political participation of young Muslims (aged 15-27) in Scotland. Through this research we have gained significant insights into barriers and possibilities encountered by young Muslims when engaging in politics and in public life, which we believe is valuable for the work of Citizenship and Civic Engagement Committee. Our final report from this project has been published here:

<https://research.ncl.ac.uk/media/sites/researchwebsites/youngmuslims/MuslimYouthScotland.pdf>

In addition to the research on political participation, we also draw on other academic experiences of working with Muslims communities to broaden our contribution.

Key summary points

- 2.1 Everyday experiences of racism and Islamophobia are potentially very discouraging factors when it comes to facilitating the participation of young Muslims in public life.
- 2.2 Negative media and political representations of Muslims and the interpretations of government policies such as Prevent are damaging the confidence of young Muslims.
- 2.3 The reinforcement of gender stereotypes about Muslim women – both within the Muslim community and within society at large – present challenges for their broader engagement in public life.
- 2.4 There is significant potential for greater Muslim participation in public life based on the growing presence of Muslim role models in Scottish politics and society.
- 2.5 There is much potential for expanding and promoting the strong ethos that many young Muslims have for charity and volunteer work; drawing on and promoting their interest in global politics and utilising their transnational outlook to foster connections and dialogue around the world.

In response to the questions identified by the Committee, we respond in particular to questions 7 and 9 below:

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?

3.1 From our research, we recommend that society can support civic engagement by taking more seriously the assets and strengths exhibited by young Muslims. Central, devolved and local government could all contribute here too. In our research, we identified the following strengths and assets amongst the young Muslim men and women who participated in the research:

3.2 Strong ethos for charity work and volunteering - A key - but under-recognised - way young Muslims engage in civic life is through charity work and volunteering. In our research, we found that the majority of our participants volunteered or did charity work, ranging from global to local charities and different forms of campaigning. A strong ethos for charity and volunteer work is a substantial asset of Muslim young people and has significant potential to promote political and civic participation. To harness its potential, Muslim young people need to receive greater recognition and publicity for the different ways they engage in charity work and help those in need. Many of our participants combined international charity work with local charity issues demonstrating their concern for and interest in both international and local affairs. A number of participants asserted that in the face of negative stereotypes they thought it was important for young Muslims to demonstrate an involvement in local affairs, with local charity and volunteer work as a way of achieving this. Therefore, expanding the repertoire of volunteering and charity work could be a significant way to promote visible participation and assist with the integration – and recognition – of young Muslims and the valuable contributions they make to society.

3.3 Strong concern about global political issues - Our research has demonstrated that young Muslims frequently have a sharp awareness of, and a strong concern about, global political issues and matters. This, we believe, is an asset of Britain's youthful Muslim community. Through promoting young Muslims' interest in global politics, a new generation of global thinkers and international strategists can be fostered in the UK. Rather than discouraging the global outlook of young Muslims, these interests could be promoted and have the potential to provide an important platform for Muslims to participate in British public life.

3.4 A transnational outlook (connected with family heritage/diaspora) - Due to connections with diasporas and migrations, young Muslims frequently offer a transnational outlook; many convey connections with multiple places, facilitating networks between the UK and other parts of the world. In our globalised and interconnected times, a transnational outlook can be a major asset, helping to foster connections and dialogue with other countries and world regions. Young Muslims provide a distinct transnational outlook, which could be utilised and promoted to assist their participation in public life. Rather than perceiving migrant/diaspora connections in a negative light, there is an opportunity to nurture these transnational characteristics, which could open up new possibilities for young Muslims in UK society.

Peter Hopkins, School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University – written evidence (CCE0070)

3.5 Emerging Scottish Muslim role-models – below, we state that a lack of suitable role models is a barrier to the participation of Muslims in public life. While we believe there is still a need for more Muslims to take an active role in public and political roles, we also believe that there is an emerging and growing presence of publically prominent Muslims and they are very important for engendering the participation of younger Muslims in public life. If those in public roles can foster good relations and contact with Muslim young people, acting as positive role models, it should greatly assist with the growing participation of Muslims in public Scottish life.

3.6 A young and educated population - In Scotland there is a growing Muslim population that is young and educated, with many signs of increasing confidence in the face of many barriers and prejudices. From our research, there are positive signs that many in this new generation are determined to engage in public life and make their voices and opinions heard. Therefore, an emerging aspirational youth is a growing asset and it should hopefully foster greater participation in public life and integration.

3.7 The importance of locality - We are primarily drawing from research carried out in Scotland and we have observed that many young Muslims believe that Scotland provides distinctive opportunities and challenges in terms of participating in public life compared to other places in the UK. For a number of our participants, there was a sense that Scottish politics – specifically the Scottish National Party (SNP) and Scottish nationalism - provides a distinct form of politics that is conducive to their participation and involvement in politics. Participants stated that they perceived SNP politics to be inclusive and distinctive from traditional Westminster political parties that had toxic legacies for some. This perceived distinctive form of politics resulted in a number of participants engaging in politics and campaigning with/for the SNP. The contextual specificities of Scotland then, are assisting and encouraging some young Muslims to actively participate in politics and public life. What we hope this example demonstrates is that locality is important; where Muslims live can significantly impact on their desire and possibilities to participate in public life. While our example in Scotland demonstrates a context that can assist participation for some, other geographic contexts in the UK can function just as easily as a barrier to participation (or not). The history, political culture and society of certain locations can potentially make participation for Muslims a significant challenge compared to other areas. Therefore, we should consider the history, culture and the politics of places where Muslims live as potentially one of the biggest barriers to their participation in public life.

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?

4.1 From our research with young Muslim men and women in Scotland, we found the following barriers when it comes to them being active citizens and to engaging politically:

4.2 Racism/Islamophobia - From our research, everyday racism and Islamophobia present one of the most consistent and worrying experiences that young Muslims in Scotland have to negotiate. We find that such experiences intensify after terrorist incidents (regardless of where in the world these take place) and have increased as a result of Brexit. These everyday experiences of racism and Islamophobia work to discourage the active participation of some younger Muslims and is one of the biggest barriers to their participation in public life. That being said, some of our participants demonstrated tenacity in terms of how they managed and responded to racism and Islamophobia.

4.3 Media and political representations about the ‘Muslim Community’ - Negative media and political representations about ‘Muslims Communities’ present significant barriers to the participation of young Muslims in public life. Muslim young people are sometimes discouraged from engaging in politics and public life out of a fear of being misrepresented and branded as “extremist” or non-patriotic for example. In many of our interviews, a frustration with how Muslims were represented in media and political narratives was expressed. There is a sense that the media and political parties only represent Muslims in a negative light, and pay little attention to their positive contributions to British society. Government policies such as Prevent are being used in such a way that suspicion is cast upon young Muslims, resulting in a level of apprehension with regard to political expression and general engagement in public life. Nonetheless, we have also observed that for some young Muslims, political participation and public engagement is perceived as a resource to challenge stereotypes and negative representations. In a number of interviews, participants asserted that they felt that there was a need for Muslims to engage in more prominent public roles in order to provide alternative narratives and re-represent the Muslim identity. Therefore, we have seen an emerging awareness that participation in politics and public life is a way to challenge stereotypes, Islamophobia and negative representations. However, it would appear that negative representations and stereotypes are more of a barrier than a motivation to participate in public life.

4.4 A lack of appropriate role models - A number of our participants referred to there being a lack of Muslim role models in prominent public and political positions and explained that this discouraged them from taking an active role in political affairs. We found that the small number of Muslims who are in publically prominent positions in Scotland often have a positive impact on the aspirations and confidence of young Muslims. A number of participants highlighted that Muslim politicians such as Humza Yousaf were positive role models, providing them with confidence to participate in political affairs. However, the continued lack of Muslims in public and political roles means there is still a shortage of role models to inspire and engender confidence in young Muslims to engage in public life.

4.5 Gender stereotypes - We have found that women participants often felt that they had to deal with multiple prejudices based not only on religion but also gender, making their engagement in public life especially challenging. Gender norms within communities and the stereotyping of Muslim women tend to reinforce the idea that women should not

Peter Hopkins, School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University – written evidence (CCE0070)

participate in political affairs. Therefore, gender and everyday sexism should be considered as a key barrier to the participation of British Muslim women in public life. Nonetheless, we also observed a growing confidence in young Muslim women, with a number of participants engaging in politics and taking on publically 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.

The team who did the research

Peter Hopkins is a Professor of Social Geography at Newcastle University and he has extensive experience of researching and writing about Muslims in Scotland and Islamophobia in the UK. His books include *'Geographies of Muslim Identities: Diaspora, Gender and Belonging'* and *'The Issue of Masculine Identities for British Muslim Identities after 9/11: A Social Analysis'*.

Dr Robin Finlay is a Social and Cultural Geographer at Newcastle University and has growing experience of researching and writing about migration, diasporas and Muslim identities in the UK and Spain. His publications include *'Narratives of Belonging: The Moroccan Diaspora in Granada, Spain'* and *'Young Muslims Political Interests and Political Participations in Scotland'*.

Dr Gurchathen Sanghera is a Lecturer in the School of International Relations at the University of St Andrews. He has conducted research with Muslims in both England (particularly in Bradford) and Scotland. He has published on a range of issues connected to this including: social capital, gender relations and methodological issues.

6 September 2017

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 – written evidence (CCE0047)

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 – written evidence (CCE0047)

Submission of evidence in response to questions 5 and 9. **Barriers in learning political engagement for disadvantaged communities and how they can be addressed within the education system**

Summary

Disadvantaged school students have less access to participatory forms of learning Citizenship at school compared to their more advantaged peers and thus lose out on opportunities to learn the skills and attitudes for political engagement. This is one reason why disadvantaged communities feel left behind as they feel they have a limited voice in the decision making of the country. One explanation for why this is happening is due to the voluntary nature of these activities within the school environment. Advantaged students self-select to participate as they frequently have been shown to have had a head start in learning these skills and interest for political engagement already in the home. Our evidence suggests that access to compulsory citizenship education classes is not affected by social economic background in England. In addition, these classes are shown to have a stronger effect on disadvantaged students reducing the inequalities in future political engagement.

Introduction

White working class communities can be argued to feel left behind partly as a result of the English education system that reaffirms their political position and lack of voice in society. Although the education system often gives the appearance of being meritocratic and has the capacity to produce social mobility and improve life chances it often reproduces the status quo and even enhances differences. This is widely researched in terms of academic performance and social mobility into labour market outcomes but much less researched in terms of learning citizenship skills and social mobility regarding political outcomes in power and decision making. Our recent research on, 'Tackling inequalities in political socialisation: A Systematic analysis of Access to and Mitigation Effects of Learning Citizenship at School' (Hoskins, Janmaat and Melis *forthcoming in the Journal Social Science Research*) has recently addressed these questions and established;

- 1) The elements within the English education system that have formed a barrier to the learning of political voice of disadvantaged communities
- 2) How these barriers in the English education system can be overcome through Citizenship Education and the role that the education system can play in reducing socioeconomic differences in political engagement

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 – written evidence (CCE0047) We will address these two aspects in this order below.

1) The elements within the English education system that have formed a barrier to the learning of political voice of disadvantaged communities

Students learn citizenship attitudes, values, knowledge and skills through participatory approaches to learning that can be classified in 3 ways;

- I. Real life or simulated political situations in the school, for example, school councils ([Hoskins et al 2012](#)).
- II. Through the transfer and debating of political knowledge in citizenship education classes (Whiteley 2012) and,
- III. Through using a participatory pedagogical approach to teaching and learning across all disciplines that invites the students to express their own opinions in class and to disagree openly with the teacher. This is often referred to in the literature as an ‘open climate of classroom discussion’, a pedagogical strategy that has been found to have a strong and sustained positive influence on political engagement ([Hoskins et al 2012](#); Torney-Purta 2002; Hahn 1998; and Campbell 2008).

In our research, (Hoskins, Janmaat and Melis forthcoming), we found that disadvantaged youth have significantly less access to political activities in school and an open classroom climate for discussion (Table 1). Using the Citizenship Education Longitudinal dataset, that followed a representative sample of young people from schools in England 2002-2014 (starting at age 11-12) and using advanced statistical analysis, we found that from the age of eleven young people from disadvantaged backgrounds are less likely to be involved in Political activities at school including student councils, debates, mock elections and less likely to perceive that they are in a school and class environment in which they are invited to contribute, state their own opinion and have their voice heard. This access to political learning, moreover, was influenced by social background for each year studied between the ages 11-16 years old (see table 1). We think that there is no justifiable reason why young people from different social backgrounds should have different levels of access to political learning during their compulsory years of education and this continual reinforcement over many years may well be contributing to certain communities feeling a lack of power and control in their lives.

Table 1. Social gaps in access to citizenship education, open climate of classroom discussion and political activities as learning sources for political engagement. The results of the OLS Regression analysis whilst controlling for gender and ethnicity.

Round 1

Round 2

Round 3

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 – written evidence (CCE0047)

	Age 11-12		Age 13-14		Age 15-16	
	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.
Citizenship Education						
Social & Economic Background	0.032	0.02	0.039	0.023	0.009	0.024
Classroom Climate						
Social & Economic Background	N/A	N/A	0.078***	0.023	0.084***	0.018
Political activities						
Social & Economic Background	0.072***	0.022	0.089***	0.022	0.164***	0.016

*P < 0.05; **P < 0.01; ***P < 0.001. *

One possible explanation for different levels of access to political activities in school is that these opportunities are likely to be voluntary and that young people from disadvantage backgrounds are more likely to opt out of these activities. For example, participating in debates or students councils may well be a choice and influenced by an individual's existing levels of political efficacy, political skills and interest. These qualities could already be higher amongst students from more privileged social backgrounds as these aspects of competences are likely to be cultivated within more middle class home environments. There is clearly a case for making political activities at school compulsory for all students, across all classes and all schools. In addition, getting teachers to encourage students from less advantaged backgrounds to stand for positions in school councils could also play an important role in reducing political inequalities.

A second explanation concerns access to an open classroom climate. As this is a learning process rather than a specific activity it is more complicated to ensure access for all

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 – written evidence (CCE0047) students. We argue that what is likely to be occurring is a result of miscommunication between disadvantaged students and more middle class teachers and middle class school environments. Thus young people from less privileged social backgrounds may feel less able to have their voice heard and to express their opinion in class. Better training of teachers to support open discussion across the whole curricular and school environment for all children regardless of their social background could be one method for enhancing access to this form of learning. In addition, highlighting to parents the importance of political discussions and supporting children to take decisions in the home could also be another useful avenue for policy development.

2) How these barriers in the English education system can be overcome through Citizenship Education and the role that the education system can play in reducing socioeconomic differences in political engagement

Perhaps the most important finding from our recent research (Hoskins, Janmaat and Melis *forthcoming*) is on Citizenship Education. We found no evidence to suggest unequal access by social background or prior levels of political engagement on access to Citizenship Education (see table 1). Importantly we also found that Citizenship Education is beneficial for learning political engagement in every year studied. In fact using a specific statistical analysis to assess *changes* in political outcomes among children in England between ages 11 and 16 (Hoskins, Janmaat and Melis *forthcoming*) we also found Citizenship Education to be *more* effective in enhancing the political engagement levels of those from lower social backgrounds than of those from more privileged backgrounds, thus decreasing the differences between social groups intended political engagement. In England education is now compulsory until the age of 18. If citizenship education could also be made statutory until that age, it offers the prospect of further reducing social inequalities in political engagement. This promising finding regarding citizenship education builds on the research from Gainous and Martens (2012) who found similar results in the US.

In England citizenship education could be targeted at disadvantaged students, for example, within vocational education and training courses that in general include a higher intake of socially disadvantaged students. Nevertheless, we would not argue that citizenship education should only be for less advantaged students as not all more privileged young people are socialised into political engagement in the home and vice versa. We suggest that compulsory citizenship until 18 combined with ensuring quality citizenship education in vocational education and training are promising policy directions to support young people from more disadvantaged backgrounds to gain a greater political voice in the democratic system.

Reference: Hoskins, B., J.G., Janmaat, and G, Melis (Forthcoming) Tackling inequalities in political socialisation: A Systematic analysis of Access to and Mitigation Effects of Learning Citizenship at School' *Social Science Research*.

1 September 2017

Hospital Broadcasting Association – written evidence (CCE0259)

The Hospital Broadcasting Association (HBA) welcomes the opportunity to submit evidence to the Lords' committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement. Voluntary endeavour, on which hospital broadcasting is almost entirely dependent, is an important part of citizenship and civic engagement.

The HBA and its members

Answers to your consultation questions

Q1. What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

Q2. 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?

Q3. 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?

Q4. 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?

Q5. 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?

Q6. 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?

Q7. 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?

Q8. 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?

Q9. 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?

Q10. 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?

Q11. 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?

Q12. 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?

Christine Huebner – written evidence (CCE0221)

Executive Summary of key points

This submission provides evidence on the meaning of citizenship among young people in the U.K. Based on a qualitative study on the meaning of citizenship and civic and political engagement among 15-18 year olds (ongoing research)ⁱⁱ, the following key conclusions are presented:

- a. Citizenship has a variety of meanings for young people. Only some young people view citizenship as related to rights and responsibilities. Many young people view citizenship as belonging to a community and acting responsibly and independently for the advancement of that community.
- b. The communities young people relate to are not always unique or necessarily local or national; some young people relate to multiple and comprehensive communities, some even to a global community.
- c. Some young people feel marginalized as citizens-to-be, for not participating in the labour market or not being given the same rights as adult citizens. In particular political participation gives rise to a two-tier view of citizenship among young people.
- d. Young people view current citizenship education as not related to their view of citizenship. Some would like to see in particular more formal education on possibilities for political participation. This should be mandatory for all young people. Others see no need for citizenship education.

To question 1. The meaning of citizenship

1. There is little empirical evidence on the meaning of everyday citizenship in the UK, in particular among young people. Notable exceptions are studies by Ruth Lister and colleagues (2003)ⁱⁱⁱ and Pamela Conover (1995).^{iv}
2. Citizenship is not part of the everyday language of young people, a finding also previously reported by Lister et al. (2003).ⁱⁱ However, when prompted, young people have a range of opinions on what they think citizenship means. They relate the concept to a variety of issues relevant to their everyday lives.
3. Citizenship has a variety of meanings for young people. Some young people connect citizenship predominantly with rights, such as the right to hold a passport or the right to healthcare in the UK. Others find it easier to think of the responsibilities of citizens, such as obeying the law or acting respectfully towards others.
4. Instead of speaking of concrete rights and responsibilities many young people view citizenship predominantly as belonging to a community and acting responsibly and independently for the advancement of that community. Conover (1995) finds this so-called relational conception of citizenship to be more prevalent in the U.K. than in the U.S.
5. This relational conception of citizenship is strongly based on identity, social relations and belonging. Some young people describe it as based on an insider status that a citizen takes up in his or her community. From preliminary findings it seems that the stronger young people feel embedded in their communities, the more intuitive they find this particular interpretation of citizenship.
6. While belonging to a community is an important aspect of these young people's perception of citizenship, the type of communities they identify with does not define their views of citizenship. There are a variety of communities within which young people view themselves: local, regional or national as well as transnational communities. A number of young people identify explicitly as global citizens, connecting the concept to human rights and global challenges. Some young people have multiple and layered identities.

To question 9. Barriers to active citizenship

7. Some young people view economic independence and, in particular, participation in the labour market as an important aspect of citizenship. In their eyes paid labour constitutes a significant contribution to the community. While still in full-time education these young people do not view themselves as citizens, but instead as citizens-to-be. There is a distinct view that education does not count as a respectable contribution to the community.

8. Some young people view themselves as active citizens, through paying taxes, being part of the labour market, or (in Scotland) having the right to vote. In contrast to their self-image, they feel marginalized as citizens-to-be by policies such as the staged National Minimum Wage based on age and the opposition to the lowering of the voting age across the U.K.
9. Few young people mention formal political participation as fundamental aspect of citizenship. When prompted most consider voting as a civic duty, but not other forms of political participation.
10. For some young people, the distinction between voting and other forms of political participation gives rise to a two-tier view of citizenship. While voting is considered a duty for every citizen, further political participation, such as being a member of a political party or campaigning for a particular issue, is considered an activity making someone a “good” rather than just a normal citizen. Other forms of political participation are not considered duties of ordinary citizens, because they are too time-consuming and better left to expert citizens.

To question 5. Citizenship and education

11. In particular those young people who hold a relational view of citizenship do not relate currently available citizenship education to the above conceptions of citizenship. Only young people who view the role of the citizen primarily as participation in the labour market relate to what is taught. For many young people, citizenship education is indistinguishable from PSHE.
12. Some young people see a need for factual education on the political system and the rights and responsibilities of being a citizen. They want, in particular, to learn about the possibilities and procedures of formal political participation, such as how to vote and other ways to get involved politically. Some young people believe that this kind of education on citizenship and politics should be available from an earlier age than current citizenship classes and should be mandatory.
13. Other young people, mostly those who view themselves as citizens, see no need for citizenship education in particular.

Human City Institute – written evidence (CCE0124)

The Response

Below is a response from the Human City Institute and the Faculty of Health and Life Sciences at the University of Coventry and the Human City Institute. Writing in a personal capacity, the response was compiled by:

Professor Guy Daly is Pro-Vice-Chancellor and Executive Dean, Coventry University, and Chair of the Human City Institute. He comes from a health and social care background professionally and is a social policy academic. His research interest include social care, housing policy, local government, and the governance of public services. Guy is currently Joint Editor of the journal Research Policy and Planning. Guy was an elected councillor in Birmingham from 1990 to 1998, a member of various schools' and further education colleges' governing bodies, and a board member of both Birmingham Heartlands Urban Development Corporation and Trident Social Investment Group. He represents Coventry University on a range of networking groups as well as being a Non-Executive Board Member of Coventry and Warwickshire NHS Partnership Trust.

<http://www.coventry.ac.uk/study-at-coventry/faculties-and-schools/health-and-life-sciences>

Kevin Gulliver is Director of the Human City Institute and a freelance housing and regeneration consultant and researcher with more than 30 years' experience. He previously chaired the Centre for Community Research – a non-profit and community-focussed research agency based at University of Aston Science Park in central Birmingham – and been a Board member of a large housing association. He holds academic and professional qualifications in housing, research and health service management. Before going freelance, Kevin worked at senior levels for twenty years in policy and performance, research, corporate planning and communications roles for some of the country's largest housing organisations, regeneration partnerships, statutory and voluntary sector agencies.

www.humancityinstitute.wordpress.com

What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

Citizenship and civic engagement have evolved into the 21st century and cover digital and electronic elements as well as more usual approaches (citizens' rights, democratic engagement, involvement in the third sector). The internet and social media now enable citizens to engage in different ways (especially through single issue movements such as Occupy).

There has also been a resurgence of referenda to address crucial issues (such as Scottish independence and Brexit) and to determine whether devolution to city regions and Metro Mayors should go ahead).

Both citizenship and civic engagement remain crucial to a thriving democracy that respects the rights of all. Identity is bound-up with how citizens view their rights, legitimacy and involvement in all aspects of the economy and civil society.

Equality in engagement with communities of interest (especially based around ethnicity and geography) is vital to fostering better citizenship.

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?

A model that the UK might follow is the USA where allegiance to both the Constitution and the Flag are part of citizen ceremonies and pledges of loyalty. This is more difficult in the UK since there is no written Constitution (although there are Magna Carta, a Bill of Rights Habeas Corpus and separation of powers). Also, as a former imperialist power, the flag as a unifying emblem may be problematic (as indeed the Monarchy might be).

Greater focus on ‘citizenship’ issues in the educational system could be of benefit in cementing a British identity, as long as such issues are placed in the context of history and the changing nature of contemporary Britain.

Pride in being British should be encouraged but must be linked to a future, progressive vision of a shared society and values that support a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society, as well as one that celebrates equality and diversity.

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?

The lack of a written Constitution, particularly since Brexit and the proposal to transfer European Union law en masse via an enabling (‘Henry VIII’ Act) certainly undermine engagement. However, it might be argued that recent referenda have galvanised political engagement – especially among young people.

Extension of mechanisms that encourage political engagement should be considered. Making voter registration easier is essential; as is actions to reduce gerrymandering as in the last government’s pledge to reduce the number of MPs. Lowering the voting age to 16 (possibly for local government initially) could have a beneficial effect on fostering citizenship.

Perhaps compulsory voting, similar to the method used in Australia, could be piloted in the UK to test whether it would be effective in raising voting numbers and making British democracy more representative and cohesive.

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?

Programmes to inculcate citizenship and support civic engagement from a young age are of great value and can only have a generally beneficial effect in creating more active citizens. That having been said, they can only benefit a minority of citizens, although they encourage advocacy on behalf of civic engagement as an ideal.

It might be possible to make attendance by all at some sort of citizenship activities compulsory (as with jury service) with employers required to release staff for a few days per year. This might help fulfil companies' corporate social responsibility (CSR) ambitions and approaches.

Other routes for creating active citizens need to embrace both economic and political spheres:

- Worker control/part control companies (via mutual approaches or worker representation on company boards).
- Enabling communities to control social housing and neighbourhood assets through tenant management organisations and community interest companies for instance.
- Supporting routes into community finance to reduce debt and reliance upon high-cost and/or payday lenders, and tackle precarious living – possibly via a Community Reinvestment Act.
- Facilitating greater access of young people and low income families to access internships in Parliament, major companies etc. to improve equality of access to top professions currently dominated by public school leavers and children from higher income households.

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?

Government at all levels has a duty to promote an active citizenry to ensure a vibrant democracy. This is especially important at local government level where participation in the

political process is less robust than at a national level of through referenda. The new Combined Authorities and Metro Mayors, have a key role to play.

Ongoing devolution within the British state, one of the most centralised internationally, should foster greater levels of engagement if accompanied with devolution of adequate budgets and recognisable powers in areas that matter to local people.

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?

British values need to be built around concepts such as greater equality, rights and responsibilities as citizens, and opportunities to participate in wider economic, political and civic life.

Despite Britain being a former colonial power, its more recent history has included fighting for universal abolition of slavery, combatting fascism, introducing universal suffrage and supporting legislation and statutory powers to tackle discrimination and disadvantage associated with defined characteristics (such as gender, ethnicity, disability and lifestyle).

While there is further progress to be made in these areas, values based around these elements of liberal democracy have the potential to form a binding contract between citizens and the state. And these values surmount the aims to foster a multi-cultural society where/if the values of any minority cultures run counter to these values.

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?

There are well-documented barriers based around gender, class, economic status, ethnicity, disability, lifestyle and geography. Chief among these has been growing inequality in income and wealth, stretching back four decades, growing insecurity and precarity in the employment market and housing system, and declining community solidarity, exacerbated by austerity policies (particularly welfare reforms and the rise) since 2010.

Austerity has had telling impacts on already fragile local economies and disadvantaged communities since those on the lowest incomes and the most vulnerable groups have been disproportionately affected.

Actions to address such disparities and ensure a fairer and more equal society where all have the opportunity to prosper will need to be deep and far-ranging. These actions might include (for example):

- More progressive taxation on income and introduction of a wealth tax.
- Introduction of a universal basic income to replace the welfare system.

- Greater devolution of power and influence to regions, local authorities and communities.
- Extension of mutual approaches across the economy and society.
- More localised economic development and retention of economic and social value locally.
- Adequate and affordable housing for all.

HCI's ['Human City Manifesto: Realising the Potential of Citizens and Communities in the Shared Society'](#) describes a range of approaches.

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?

Investment must be made into schemes that enable integration into British society and support the development of community cohesion. Proficiency in English is crucial to this process.

Recently, we have seen cuts in provision of ESOL classes and similar, so this needs to be reversed to support integration and community cohesion.

While education approaches should stress the value of other languages and cultures, an ability to speak and write English is vital for new migrants to participate fully in their country of choice and for migrant communities to interface with existing communities.

A face-to-face and side-by-side approach is advocated.

8 September 2017

Ian Jones, Chief Executive, Volunteer Cornwall – written evidence (CCE0034)

1. I think the notion of belonging has to be more nuanced than from a top down national perspective. People have to first feel that they belong to the place in which they live and then that place is part of something bigger to which they belong. It is not the other way around. People are feeling disengaged from national agendas and politics and thus want to feel purpose at a local level this is where citizenship comes in. We have to address the two but not by top down diktats.

Identity links the sense of belonging with the sense of purpose that gives meaning. It is essential that we support people at the local level and then communicate to show how this builds up to a national sense of being. There is a complexity in the relationships we are trying to manage, it is not a machine, it is emergent and has to be nurtured organically from the bottom up.

Citizenship matters a great deal in the 21st century. We are social beings and need to connect, our culture is undermining these connections and we need to ensure they are strengthened to deal with the ‘wicked’ challenges facing people, communities and nations, issues such as climate change, strains on resources and biodiversity, demographic changes, fragile economies and political systems etc.

2. Identify is not something that can be fostered upon someone. It is something that one has through engagement and participation with others. It is cultural and relates to values, norms and behaviours. We have to give people the opportunities at a local level that bring them together so they themselves share the common values and behaviours that create citizenship.

I do not think citizenship ceremonies would do much to assist with the challenges ahead. I think some events and ceremonies would work, praising the collaboration and engagement at a local level showing what people can achieve together to make their community a better place in which to live. People will only feel part of something big if they feel that they themselves have contributed and participated in shaping and delivering things. The political system and governance structures are failing to achieve this and any top down approach to tell people what it is to be British will fail.

I think there is a role for activities within the educational system. I think out of classroom learning within communities and creative classroom activities with external partners would help. I think the National Citizen Service is not addressing needs or future challenges. It does not embed the ethos of voluntary action or link into necessary local motivation and support that is required to keep young people engaged.

3. I think we have to embed rights and responsibilities in all we do. All public service provision should be underpinned by coproduction at the local level. Involve local people in the creation, design, development and delivery of services. This involves supporting voluntary

action as a form of responsibility. Not one that is forced upon people but through recognition that the place and services in a locality are the communities and not the governments.

It has to be through reciprocal duties between citizen and state, at a local level and then nationally. Force of law can be invoked to ensure public services are made to engage local people in a more creative manner, one that engages communities and works with them. Too often arms of government want to treat people passively or manipulate them. Any law has to empower people to voluntarily become involved and not empower government to instruct and direct.

They can be monitored and enforced at the local level through agreements between civil society and public sector between community organisations that build and develop social action and social capital and those responsible for public funding and services. We nearly had this with the Local Area Agreements and a few National Indicators 1, 2, 3 and 6. We were responsible for NI6 and could challenge partners on how they were supporting us to deliver it. We were also partners in the other indicators and could help shape and deliver activities.

NI1 % of people who believe people from different backgrounds get on well together in their local area	NI2 % of people who feel that they belong to their neighbourhood
NI3 Civic participation in the local area	NI6 Percentage of residents participating in regular volunteering

4. The current political structures are outdated and archaic. Yes we can lower the voting age, and also make it easier to register, however there is a shift taking place where passive representation is no longer accepted by many of the population. They want to participate and have active involvement in shaping the community in which they live. We have to develop new models of engagement linking representation and participation and more equitable relationships between the national and the local.
5. As above we have to be more creative in what we do around citizenship. We can be too prescriptive in the planning and delivery of curriculum. Education is more than rote learning of facts; we have to have young people with a sense of purpose and innovative thinking to cope with challenges in an increasingly complex world.

It is not just about teaching citizenship within stage of education but embedding it in mainstream curriculum and leaning outside the classroom. One can deliver learning that

links English, maths, humanities, science with the world in which young people find themselves. Engagement involve them in situations that make them aware that they are part of a community etc. Curriculum and qualifications do need amending as we have managed out creativity and the ability to innovate to engage young people at the local level in new and collaborative ways of thinking.

Political participation has to be more than representation people want to be engaged as equals not as passive recipients governed by a distant political and media elite. Participation is about action, about doing things and not just voting as mentioned previously we have to link representation and participation to make people responsible for what happens where they live.

6. No, NCS does not do a good job of creating active citizens. It is a top down structure of engagement that is rigidly managed; to me it is a pet political project and is not value for money. Young people need continuous facilitation and motivation if they are going to continue to be engaged in their community after the structured programme ends. NCS does not do that and is particularly problematic in rural areas. NCS funding should be used to mainstream social action of young people continuously at the local level and not just for short defined programmes.

The UK had a good infrastructure for building social capital and encouraging social action and it has been undermined by national programmes like NCS and austerity with cuts to local activities. Also silo funded programmes by particular departments are also problematic as citizenship is about place and multifaceted and not about function of government.

It is essential that citizenship is intergenerational and not boxed as activities for young people or retired people. We have to get all people active in their communities understanding their rights and responsibilities.

People need to become active citizens because they want to not because it is compulsory. The commitment has to be due to belief that they are doing the right thing for the right purpose underpinned by a culture of reciprocity. Citizenship has to be lived not just taught.

Locally based social action and social capital infrastructure organisations should be encouraged to join things up between the voluntary, community and social enterprise sector and the public sector. We have been trying to do this in Cornwall for many years and this effort is generally undermined by national campaigns, cuts and silo funding and gaming between institutions. Progress has been made but a long way to go.

7. Central government can set the framework, indicating why civic engagement and social action are important. It can establish systems the embed this ethos is public sector contracts, the Social Value Act has not really be very well implemented, utilised or embedded.

We have to make it the norm that people want to add value to public services by undertaking voluntary action. This means it has to be the local level where the difference is being made. We need infrastructure organisations like Volunteer Cornwall to promote, develop and coordinate activities that link the public realm with the third sector in a more deliberate manner.

8. Values are fundamental in how we develop citizenship and how institutions and organisations encourage and promote it. These organisations need to share common values and challenge each other when they do not follow through, we need continuous encouragement and investment in social action to build social capital (both bonding and bridging).

Trust, honesty, reciprocity are vital values to have. We have to enable and encourage and not expect people just to do things.

Main problem we have is that over the decades the dominant economic paradigm has a purposefully developed a culture of individual consumerism which has distracted from building communities. There is recognition that shallow engagement through material consumption does not give lasting wellbeing or create cohesion, in fact the evidence shows that doing things with others has a lasting benefit to people and communities, [NEF's Five Ways to Wellbeing](#). There is a strong case to build citizenship and social action which will also improve people's wellbeing and enhance individual and community resilience.

9. People feel left behind when they believe that they have no control of what is happening in their lives and they see other people speaking on their behalf and what is best for them. We have to encourage and show people that it is their community and their future and facilitate and motivate their engagement.

The only barrier is a willingness to invest in the development of social capital. We spend millions of pounds every year developing the economy but not much at all on social capital. The infrastructure to do this does not cost much as many volunteers help to promote social action and citizenship but it has to be supported. Community Organisers concept did not work as they spoke to people about what they wanted but then expected other organisations to coordinate and facilitate activities. As an organisation we had people come to us to do this at the same time as our infrastructure money was cut so we could not assist.

10. There is a very strong link between citizenship, civic engagement, social cohesion and integration. It is all about people sharing common goals and understanding aspirations, these are generally very similar about family, security, undertaking worthwhile and purposeful activities that provide meaning in one's life. We have to develop such social action that brings people together to address common issues in their community, we have to promote this and encourage participation. It does not happen overnight. A number of years ago I gave a presentation to the All Party Parliamentary Committee on Civil Society

and met the then Minister Nick Hurd to discuss Big Society. It was clear to me that central government did not understand how local communities function in terms of social action. People's continuous engagement has to be nurtured, developed and they need to be given feedback on the impact and outcomes being achieved, it will not last unless this is done.

Diversity is a good thing if one wants to generate new [ideas and innovation](#), what matters is what we do at a local level that brings people together to build bridging social capital. At the moment funding to do this has been reduced dramatically due to cuts from central government and then local authorities. Also government is very poor at doing this itself as its perspective can be political, hierarchical and cumbersome when we need lateral emergent engagement as it is complex not complicated.

11. Communication is crucial, the proficiency for people to talk to each other and thus generate understanding is very important. ESOL classes need to be easily available and there has to be some practical engagement built into learning English not just classrooms. We have to encourage people from different cultures and backgrounds to volunteer together to learn at the same time not just language but share common bonds that makes us human.
12. We work with the local authority to pick up and transport Syrian refugees from the airport when they land in the UK and bring them down into our community. Groups and individuals then work together to assist them to settle in and the community to embrace them. It is not a case of having a 'hero' to do this but a combined effort across the board, public, voluntary sectors and local volunteers. This combined effort shows what Britain is about, not divisive and unwelcoming but cohesive and supportive.

23 August 2017

The Imagine Project – written evidence (CCE0127)

Co authors: Professor Kate Pahl, Sheffield University; Professor Sarah Banks, Durham University; Professor Angie Hart, Brighton University; Professor Paul Ward, Huddersfield University.

Imagine is a large five-year Economic and Social Research Council project (2013-17) funded through the Research Councils UK Connected Communities programme (Grant number ES/K002686/2). The project involves university researchers from a range of disciplines working together with a variety of community organisations across the United Kingdom to explore why and how people participate in civic and public life. Our key contribution is connected to the ways in which it is possible to co-produce research to understanding the context of civic engagement within diverse communities. The research has foregrounded the importance of community development, community activism, and arts and humanities approaches to civic engagement.

Summary/key points

- Co-produced research is important. We use the term ‘co-production’ to describe methodologies that are collaborative, participatory and democratic and which try to access hidden or otherwise absent voices in civic life. Co-producing research has enabled us to develop methodologies that include voices and perspectives that uncover different forms of engagement, whether this be with groups of Muslim women, young people, people with complex needs or diverse groups within community settings. Community research teams are an essential part of this as they are able to set priorities that are important to them.
- Funding should be made available for open ended, experimental projects that make use of creative arts and a multiplicity of methodologies to encourage dialectical thinking. This can include groups researching hidden histories, artistic and visual understandings of engagement, including poetry, visual and relational art and approaches that rest on creating spaces for dialogue and communities of practice.
- Community development support is essential. Local authorities are cutting back but there needs to be staff supporting community projects and initiatives, regardless of whether or not there is a co-production partner such as a University.
- We welcome the fact that the Select Committee is seeking to understand better the benefits of civic engagement. In this response we focus in particular on the relationship between civic engagement and identity (1), the ways that civic engagement, in its varied and different forms, can be supported (7), barriers to belonging and citizenship (9) and issues of social integration, citizenship and role models (12).

Question 1: Civic engagement and identity:

What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

1. *People belonging to communities of place, identity and interest need to be able to reclaim their own histories.* In one part of the *Imagine* project, a research team explored activities, achievements and legacies of the Community Development Projects (CDPs) of the 1970's in three areas: Benwell (Newcastle), North Shields and Hillfields (Coventry). The CDPs were part of an experimental Home Office anti-poverty programme, initiated in the late 1960s in 12 'deprived' neighbourhoods, adopting an action-research approach. The CDPs understood the value of historical research and importance of documenting 'hidden histories' of local working people to counter histories of the powerful. In Benwell, North Shields and Coventry today groups of local people are keen to write their own histories to challenge the stigma still associated with the areas, thus strengthening and empowering local community groups (see www.dur.ac.uk/socialjustice/imagine/). This applies also to BAME groups who want to see their contribution to British society recognized as part of 'British history' which underpins civic engagement.

Question 7: How can civic engagement be supported?

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?

1 *The government should provide funding to community development workers so that communities can run projects in a productive way.* These could take the form of small development grants that are 'light touch' in terms of review and which encourage experimental development projects.

2. *Co-production of research is important.* If delivered in an ethical way, co-production can empower communities and elevate voices that traditionally have been on the margins. This is a democratic form of knowledge creation and a more ethical way of working with communities that feels less like 'doing things to communities'. Research that is co-produced by universities and community organisations has the potential to empower communities to collectively construct new life worlds, in that the process of doing research together, and co-producing the research questions can make visible new kinds of knowledge that can be articulated and heard in new ways. Collaborative research can bring communities to the heart of social research while capturing the funds of knowledge held in communities that exist outside the corridors of education institutions. Through *Imagine* we worked with community researchers embedded in their communities to explore civic engagement, which takes many forms. Co-production can also help some of the most marginalized people in

society to become agents of social change. An example of this comes from our work with young adults with learning disabilities and other complex needs in Sussex and Blackpool. They co-produced a research project on the resilience of young adults with learning disabilities with an *Imagine* PhD student. Led by the young adults with learning disabilities and other complex needs, resilience games were produced that could support other young people to build their own resilience and to lobby local government for changes that would support the resilience of young people with complex needs more widely. For example, one group of young people engaged with their local bus company to lobby for bus company staff to be trained to support people with complex needs travelling on buses.

3. *Citizens have a right to get knowledge back.* A key message from a roundtable on the theme of *The role of research in promoting and supporting community development in urban neighbourhoods* at the Imagining Benwell Workshop, Discovery Museum, Newcastle, 21 January, 2016

(www.dur.ac.uk/resources/beacon/ImaginingBenwellWorkshopReport21.1.16finalversion.pdf):

If we are thinking about improving places, we need to ask why they are as they are. We need to divest ourselves of the idea that people have made them as they are. Citizens have a right to get knowledge back. The role of social sciences is to say how things can change. People know their areas best.

4. *Civic engagement is a process and needs support.* Our work has shown that it does not happen overnight and it needs workers at grassroots level supporting disengaged communities, hence, the importance of community development workers.

5. *The idea of ‘Communities in control’ from the Localism Act needs to be understood from a community perspective.* A summary of comments from a roundtable on the theme of *Communities in control* at the Imagining North Shields Workshop, The Meadows, North Shields, 3 April, 2016:

(www.dur.ac.uk/resources/beacon/ImaginingNorthShieldsReportfinalversion4.5.16.pdf):

- Localism powers are difficult to enact in areas of deprivation. Is the Localism Act designed for the benefit of voluntary groups in leafy suburbs wanting to take over the local pub or library?
- The infrastructure is not effective enough - for example, funding from the Cabinet Office was given to start a Neighbourhood Plan in a 6-month time period when it takes much longer.
- The local authority doesn't have an asset transfer policy and there are loopholes in the Localism Act: e.g. even if a building is listed as a community asset, if the local authority decides to demolish it they can without consultation. Whereas if they wanted to sell it they have to give 6 months' notice.

- There are not enough resources to support communities in control.
- Each local authority is dealing with it differently; some are devolving really difficult situations.
- It is too complicated and complex. Taking control requires a community development background and business experience. Lots of communities would not know where to start taking control and need support to do this.
- Is it about transferring assets or liabilities?
- The pace and speed is too fast and it can generate false hope in communities. There is a need to have a good sense of what the community can do.
- Local councillors have a role in supporting the communities they represent to exercise more control over their social/local environment. Concern was expressed about the decline in political engagement including at the community level.

6. *Social cohesion needs to be co-produced.* One of our community research team commented that there should be events that celebrate diversity and BME people will buy into that. People new in this country are not then being forced to leave their culture behind and adopt an alien one.

7. *Organisational structures can support civic engagement.* When we considered the legacy of the Community Development Projects of the 1970's we learned about the importance of organisational structures (e.g. Coventry and Newcastle Law Centres developed from Coventry Income and Legal Rights Service and Benwell Community Law Project).

Question 9: What are the barriers to belonging and citizenship? 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?

1. *Impact of austerity.* Some community organisations struggle to survive in a context of economic austerity and increasing needs, while others have risen to the challenge and have expanded their remit (for example, food banks). Many are keen to play a role in designing and delivering services, but this requires support from local and central government. See responses to question 7.

Question 12: Issues around social integration and role models?

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?

1. *The creative arts can be a powerful mode of civic engagement.* We have found the arts to be an effective way to engage the voices of marginalized women and girls by bringing them into research through artistic approaches, such as poetry, art, photography and drama. One

example of this is the ‘Threads of Time’ project, based in Rotherham. It explored minority ethnic girls’ identity and their understanding of citizenship linked to place, culture, faith, history and tradition, and examined what it means to be British. A Union Jack was created that contained images contributed by the whole group (see Figure 1). On the large flag, they added images of all the things they saw as defining Britain today. Poetry and visual images for us ‘count’ as evidence of how young people imagine their futures to be. Below we provide examples of the Union Jack images and of the poetry:



Figure 1 Union Jack

EDL don't belong in Rotherham

Rotherham is my home and I like living here and every time the ‘Army of Hate’ visits us they leave our community feeling vulnerable, the police have enough to deal with, without this unnecessarily pressure added. The’ EDL’s motto is ‘Not racist, not violent, and no longer silent.’ Does anybody else see the irony in this? ‘Not racist’ EDL is a fascist group who are clearly Islamophobic; they are not silent when they are hurling racial abuse. Most Muslims in Rotherham respect the law and want to live peacefully if EDL allow us. I write this sitting at home as EDL have disrupted another Saturday and create tension between communities long after they are gone, which hardly seems fair.

(‘Lucy’ [British Asian girl, pseudonym], aged 16).

Living on My Street

My street is a very long street. It is very multi-cultural.

On my street live English, Irish, Pakistanis, Scottish, Indian, African, Afghans, Italian, Polish, Slovaks and Spanish

It's good to meet and mix with other people, and learn about each other,

We all get on with each other.

We don't argue.

We accept everyone.

My street is the best street in Rotherham.

2. Civic engagement is an essential component of marginalized communities' lives. Through civic engagement they have to construct support networks, volunteer, be neighbourly, develop community-based education, create safe spaces, and share resources in order to make life manageable. These are day-to-day activities that enable British society to function. Such roles can be uncovered and validated and recognized as citizenship through co-production that understands their value. Ceremonies suggest that citizenship is a test to be passed, a right to be earned, rather than a recognition of the civic contribution that migrant and ethnic minority communities make every day.

8 September 2017

The Inter Faith Network for the UK – written evidence (CCE0250)

Context

The Inter Faith Network for the UK has been concerned with aspects of citizenship since it was first established in 1987.

This is reflected in its publications such as *Faith, Identity And Belonging: Educating For Shared Citizenship* (2006) which explored the issue of Citizenship Education in England's schools and *Faith, Citizenship and Shared Life in Britain Today: A Discussion Document* (2007), discussed further below, which looked at the issue of Citizenship more broadly.

This short response focuses on just some of the questions in the consultation.

8. What are the values that all of us who live in Britain should share and support?

We do not submit a list for consideration but the Select Committee may be interested to be aware of IFN's work on values.

a) "IFN's vision and values"

IFN's vision is of "a society where there is understanding of the diversity and richness of the faith communities in the UK and the contribution that they make; and where we live and work together with mutual respect and shared commitment to the common good."

The values which we aspire to reflect in all our work are:

- Service to others
- Integrity
- Accountability
- Trust
- Consultative and cooperative working
- Valuing diversity
- Inclusiveness
- Listening and openness

- Courtesy
- Mutual respect
- Respecting dissent and people's right to express this

The question of values and their part in our society has been at the heart of IFN's work from early days – from the publication of *The Quest for Common Values* back in the 90s, through working to support the faith communities in the development of the Millennium Act of Commitment, to more recent exploration of what might be called the 'procedural values' of how we engage positively and effectively with each other within society – even, and perhaps especially, where we differ.

Relevant are such IFN documents as *Building Good Relations with People of Different Faiths and Beliefs* which contains principles fundamental to positive interaction between people in a diverse society. This is annexed.

The Millennium Act of Commitment, mentioned above, remains widely used today – particularly in civic contexts:

*In a world scarred by the evils of war,
racism, injustice and poverty,
we offer this joint Act of Commitment as we
look to our shared future.*

*We commit ourselves,
as people of many faiths,
to work together
for the common good,
uniting to build a better society,
grounded in values and ideals we share:*

*community,
personal integrity,
a sense of right and wrong,
learning, wisdom and love of truth,
care and compassion,
justice and peace,
respect for one another,
for the earth and its creatures.*

*We commit ourselves,
in a spirit of friendship and co-operation,
to work together
alongside all who share our values and ideals,
to help bring about a better world
now and for generations to come.*

b) Faith, Citizenship and Shared Life in Britain Today: A Discussion Document

This discussion paper mentioned at the outset of this response recognises some of the issues that the Lords Select Committee is exploring.

Active Citizenship

The Discussion document states:

“Most religious traditions have both a personal and a public dimension and invite their believers to follow a way of life which shapes not only their personal lives and relationships but also the way they contribute to wider society. In a few cases, members of a religious group will believe that it is inconsistent with their spiritual practice to become involved in the political process. Their viewpoint needs to be respected. But most people of faith want to engage, alongside others, in the activities of the ‘public square’. For some this will take the form of direct involvement in the political process, while for others ‘active citizenship’ will be expressed mainly through voluntary service to the community. But all of them will bring their personal faith to bear in varying ways in their contribution to public life. (9)

In recent years there has been an increased recognition of the contribution which the various faith communities make to our shared public life. The leaders of faith communities have generally welcomed the increased engagement which has developed with Government, both central and local, and with other public institutions. Faith communities have an important and legitimate role to play within society through contributing to the formation and implementation of public policy, and in providing services both to their own members and to the community more generally. They have been playing a significant part in the regeneration of socially and economically disadvantaged communities.” (10)

Examples of this are abundant, especially the way that religious traditions work together to mobilise their communities, and others, to work together to respond to social need, as can be seen from the report *Public Faith and Finance* published by the University of Bristol in 2016. As Lord Bourne of Aberystwyth noted at IFN’s National Meeting in 2016:

“Across the country, people from different faiths are working hard in countless churches, mosques, temples, gurdwaras, synagogues and elsewhere, and in charities and community groups, to make their communities better places.”

But it also recognises that this can only occur in a context where there is an absence of barriers of discrimination and inequality.

Shared Values

IFN recognises that people of faith derive their values, in part, from their traditions that are passed on through scriptures and loved traditions. It also recognises that whilst values may come from different sources there is much agreement on the values needed to live and support a modern democratic society. This at times includes values that are not necessarily valued themselves by states, such as dissent. The Discussion document notes:

“There is a strong and important tradition in this country of dissent, and indeed of civil disobedience, which should be respected, while recognising that society, through its governmental institutions, needs to place appropriate limits on the actions through which this dissent may be lawfully expressed. People of many faiths have in the past been associated with these movements of dissent and will no doubt continue to be so. While they can be expected to acknowledge the authority of a democratic government, they will inevitably have a prior commitment, rooted in their particular religious tradition, to the pursuit of compassion, justice and truth, as they try to live out with integrity the values which they derive from their religious faith.” (17)

But it also recognises that dissent and robust engagement are very different from extremism and violent opposition.

Integration not assimilation

Sharing values, though, does not mean assimilating oneself to a larger or dominant culture; as the Paper notes:

“The process of integration requires mutual engagement and involves change which affects everyone, but can enlarge the understanding and experience of us all.” (49)

Hence, integration within a nation has to be based on a model which does not merely tolerate difference but respects difference and, at times, celebrates it. As the Paper recognises:

“Britain today is our society, the one of which we, as British citizens, have co-ownership.” (31)

What matters is the way we build mutual respect and underpin that by laws that allow for personal and communal flourishing.

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?

On this, we would wish to note that religious identity can be a cause of being ‘left behind’ if a person encounters discrimination or social exclusion because of this. Vital to shared citizenship in our society is enabling full and positive engagement of people of all faiths within the workplaces, education and all other contexts.

IFN has been pleased to play an active role in enable the guidance materials provided by a number of bodies which assist towards this end, most recently those of the Equality and Human Rights Commission for employers about religion in the workplace.

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?

Many national inter faith bodies contribute to a positive vision of citizenship within a tolerant and inclusive society through particular inter faith programmes and events. Just a few examples would be the programme for refugees and asylum seekers of the Maimonides Foundation; the youth Interfaith Summit of 3FF, the projects of Mitzvah Day, Sadaqa Day and Sewa Day; the work of the St Ethelburga's Centre on tools for dialogue and working jointly on areas such as the Environment. Many, many more could be highlighted.

Around the UK over 250 local inter faith groups in towns and cities and also rural areas carry out work which is a living demonstration of people of different backgrounds who make work together in ways which witness visibly to tolerance and respect and contrite the cohesion of their local areas. Most have strong working relationships with their local authority and, through participation in civic events, strengthen the bonds of trust and cooperation between faith groups and local government. Just a few examples would be Faith Network for Manchester, York Interfaith, Bristol Multi Faith Forum, Medway Inter Faith Action, Cornwall Faiths Forum, Warwick District Faiths Forum, Birmingham Council of Faiths and Northampton Inter Faith Forum.

At UK level, the same might be said of the Inter Faith Network for the UK which was founded in 1987 and works with its nearly 200 member bodies to promote inter faith understanding and cooperation. These members include national faith community representative bodies of different faiths; national, regional and local inter faith bodies; and educational and academic bodies with an inter faith interest. IFN works with Government and other public agencies and with many other organisations to encourage positive interaction within society through inter faith understanding and cooperation.

In Scotland, the role of Inter faith Scotland is very important, as is that of the Inter-Faith Council for Wales in Wales and of the Northern Ireland Inter Faith Forum in Northern Ireland.

A significant programme currently supported by Government is the Near Neighbours programme of the Church Urban Fund and Archbishops' Council of the Church of England. This funds many local projects which strengthen as sense of shared citizenship and belonging.

As noted in *Inter Faith Week Stories from 2016, inspiration for 2017* Inter Faith Week each November, on which IFN leads, brings faith communities together, and many choose to celebrate through practical cooperation for the common good. An array of multi faith social

action events took place for the 2016 Week. Popular initiatives included helping the homeless; campaigning for environmental change; improving public spaces; and action to support refugees, migrants and asylum seekers.

A huge variety of organisations took part in 2016, including places of worship; national faith community bodies; inter faith bodies; voluntary organisations such as those working with refugees and the homeless and public agencies. Some organisations and projects, such as Near Neighbours programme (noted above), organised and encouraged events held by many others.

Mitzvah Day took place close to Inter Faith Week and some inter faith Mitzvah Day activities were held early, during the Week. Mitzvah Day is led by the Jewish community and is one of three annual major days of faith-linked social action throughout the year, along with Sewa Day and Sadaqa Day which fall earlier in the year.

But to reduce Citizenship to social action would, of course, be an error. Citizenship is also about engaging with others, engaging in mutual learning and being enriched by what is encountered. Inter Faith Week provided a great opportunity for events showcasing the arts, culture and music of faith communities across the UK. People also used art, culture and music to remind one another of the things that unite people of different faiths, and to explore and display harmony and common ground. Members of the public experienced the art, culture and music of faith communities by visiting a place of worship or going on a faith trail. People of different faiths also came together to produce art as part of a joint social action project to raise awareness of issues such as hate crime, or the refugee crisis.

Examples of this ranged from a ‘Day of Craft for Women’ in Feltham, West London, organised by Hounslow to Friends of Faith to storytelling as part of the Jewish Museum’s Inter Faith Week ‘Inter Faith Celebration Day’ in London.

Education for Citizenship

Education is key not only within schools but also in the wider social context. Schools are important places not only for learning about being a citizen but also where they can experience being citizens and see good citizenship modelled, see: *Faith, Identity And Belonging: Educating For Shared Citizenship* (2006).

IFN has highlighted the work of The National Citizens Service (NCS) (www.ncsyas.co.uk) in providing opportunities for inter faith engagement, partly through inclusion in publications such as *Inter Faith Learning, Dialogue and Cooperation: Next Steps* (2016) and its Executive Director was involved in the early conversations about its establishment, having advocated strongly for such a programme while a Commissioner on the Commission on Integration and Cohesion.

Conclusion

IFN's Discussion Paper in 2006 noted:

“There is at present much discussion about what is involved in being a ‘citizen’ and about related questions of ‘identity’ and ‘belonging’.” (14)

and:

“It is clear from recent public debate that the term ‘citizenship’ can have negative overtones for some people because they understand it as demanding an exclusive loyalty of a narrow, conformist and nationalistic kind.” (16)

It is important in any debate about citizenship that a narrow definition is avoided, one that becomes exclusive of legitimate difference. Since the Act of Toleration of 1689 the concept of what it is to be a citizen of these Isles has grown to encompass difference and diversity in such a way that the nation has become enriched culturally, economically and, perhaps most importantly, spiritually.

In its section on ‘Being British’ the paper noted:

“An individual’s sense of belonging is linked to their understanding of their identity, which is in turn linked to their history and family roots. Accompanying the debate on ‘citizenship’ there has been discussion on what it means to be ‘British’ and on how far diversity and a sense of unity within our society can be reconciled. The debate has focused on how we live together as diverse people and communities within one society. ‘Multiculturalism’, ‘integration’ and ‘cohesion’ are terms which are often currently used in discussing these questions. While it may be helpful to have agreed

definitions of these words, what is more significant is for there to be some shared understanding of the characteristics of the kind of society which we want to have in this country.” (22)

There is still a clear need to develop a shared understanding of the language used in such a way that as many as possible can be included and as few as possible disenfranchised.

September 2017

Intergenerational Foundation – written evidence (CCE0104)

The Intergenerational Foundation (www.if.org.uk) is an independent think tank researching fairness between generations. IF believes policy should be fair to all – the old, the young and those to come.

Introduction

The Intergenerational Foundation (IF) welcomes the opportunity to comment on government policy towards citizenship and civic engagement. Growing age segregation is changing the shape and structure of British families and communities. IF would like to stress that this feature of the generational divide not only holds significant economic costs, but also acts as a barrier to integration, tolerance and cohesion. In order to promote a more trusting and cooperative society, we would like to bring the following points to the select committee's attention:

1. Different age groups are growing apart

Last year IF published a research paper entitled, '[Generations Apart? The growth of age segregation in England and Wales](#)', in which we demonstrated that over the last two decades different age groups have become increasingly segregated at both a micro-level and macro-level. On the micro-level, members of the same age group are becoming more highly concentrated in the same neighbourhoods. Retirees and young adults are growing closer to their own groups and further from one another, and today just 5% of the typical urban under-18's neighbourhood population are over the age of 65. Our urban areas are becoming a tale of two cities. On the macro-level, rural and suburban areas are growing older and large cities growing younger in relative terms; between 1991 and 2014 the median age of rural areas rose almost twice as quickly as urban, inner-city areas.

2. Age segregation is costly

While spatial age segregation is often viewed as natural, or even beneficial, the recent trend is troublesome for a number of reasons. Age groups living apart places growing pressure on public services. When young adults and their retired parents live in close proximity to one another, the former can provide health assistance for the latter, and the latter childcare for the former; but as families drift apart, the onus falls on the state to care for both. Moreover, the Social Integration Commission in 2014 estimated the cost of age, ethnicity and socio-economic segregation to be over £6billion each year.

An even greater concern with regard to citizenship and civic engagement, however, is the social and political cost of the phenomenon. A lack of face-to-face contact — a natural byproduct of age segregation — undermines trust and solidarity between generations. [IF research](#) suggests that older people in Britain have the most negative impression of the young out of any country in Europe. Spatial divides cause social divides, make different

groups more susceptible to media stereotypes and limits opportunities to identify common goals, culture and knowledge; age segregation is self-perpetuating phenomenon.

Finally, uneven concentration of age groups causes political problems, as competition among the old and young for limited resources and institutions to meet their age-specific needs causes the political subordination of shrinking local minority age groups. This is a particular concern in rural and suburban areas, where the combination of older populations and disparities in propensity to vote leave young people underrepresented. Far from benign, the current pattern promises to reduce intergenerational social contact, to place strain upon care services, to cause disparity in political power, and to foster distrust and fear. It promises to compromise integration, tolerance and cohesion in British society.

3. Housing policy is a key cause of growing segregation, but can also effect positive change

One of the main causes of this divide is Britain's housing crisis. Students and young families are renting privately in city centres at higher rates as they are no longer able to afford property in the suburbs; the rise in the house price to median income ratio means that far fewer young adults are able to take their first steps onto the property ladder. The flight of youth to the city centres is also a concern for rural communities, whose future viability is threatened by shrinking local working-age populations. The housing crisis and rural-urban economic imbalance must be addressed in order to treat the aforementioned social and economic ills.

As IF has [previously argued](#), a policy that makes it easier for people living in large homes to subdivide them without requiring planning permission has huge potential to open new housing units. Promoting downsizing-in-situ would have a number of benefits: it would enable older people who want to downsize — but would not be willing if it meant leaving their local communities — to do so. In subdividing the top storey of their homes into one bedrooms flats for young people to buy, they would increase housing supply and relieve the inflationary pressures that limit property ownership among young people; and living in close quarters would increase inter-age mixing, fostering understanding and shared experience. Providing opportunities to downsize in cities would also allow older property-owners in cities to find more suitable living spaces without being forced to move to rural areas; this could be achieved by enabling private developers to provide older people with housing under Section 106 agreements. Finally, ensuring new developments contain a wide mix of housing types and a variety of tenures will promote inter-age communities.

Together, these policies could stabilise or even begin to reverse the trend towards growing age segregation, which would have benefits for both young and old alike.

7 September 2017

International Association for Community Development – written evidence (CCE0036)

This response is from the International Association for Community Development (IACD). Community development is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline concerned with the organisation, education and empowerment of people within their communities and the International Association for Community Development (IACD) is the only global network for those who work in this field.

We are accredited with the U.N. and have members across the world.

This response is based on our long and wide experience of working on a wide range of community development issues, comparing experience and drawing lessons from dozens of countries over a period of 64 years. (2018 is our 65th anniversary year). Our HQ is based in Glasgow, UK and we receive core funding from the Scottish Government as well as income from membership subscriptions and from our activities.

IACD:-

- organises international conferences and smaller regional events;
- publishes an international community development magazine and other resources;
- supports national community development associations;
- runs international study visits and exchange programmes;
- provides continuing professional training opportunities;
- has an extensive bank of teaching and learning resources;
- seeks to influence and respond to international public policies that impact upon communities and the sector;
- advocates for community development at the U.N. and other international arenas.

More information about the association can be found on our website www.iacdglobal.org

1. As an international organisation, IACD is concerned with issues that cross national borders. But we recognise that for people to be able to participate and relate to each other anywhere there have to be democratic frameworks in each country. People have to feel themselves to be citizens of somewhere in particular in order to be citizens of the world. And where they are not citizens, whether because they are visitors, refugees, asylum seekers or stateless persons, they particularly need the hospitality and inclusiveness of those who are citizens.

However, formal citizenship is not enough to ensure commitment to shared values and cooperative endeavour. Symbolic and educational measures are important but what is even more essential is personal involvement in practical community action, linking the individual with others in some purposeful joint effort. This builds the *experience* of citizenship without necessarily theorising it. It may consist in action to improve one's neighbourhood, take part in a social activity, help people suffering from a particular health condition, campaign on a current issue, protect the environment or numerous other topics. It is through such lived activities, carried out in a spirit of mutual benefit and respect, that people know themselves to be members of society alongside others, whether from similar or different backgrounds.

The visible expression of these types of activities is the community sector of independent groups in each locality or across wider areas in all countries. Community development (CD) is the set of techniques and values which nurtures this sector. A policy on citizenship should therefore give a high priority to ensuring the health of the community sector, deploying CD practitioners where needed to achieve this. Here we would urge the committee to acknowledge and indeed build upon the UK's extensive tradition of governmental and non-governmental support for community development as a practice profession since the 1960s both domestically and overseas.

The importance of CD in this respect is not merely its fund of skills and techniques but the values of equality, diversity and cooperation that are built into them. Community activity sometimes arises from dissatisfaction with local conditions, from protest, and from social tensions, and it is vital that its motivations are understood and guided into constructive forms. This applies equally to communities of locality and communities of identity, interest or ethnicity. CD practitioners work with them all, respecting the identities that people choose for themselves but at the same time instilling the message that all must respect the identities chosen by others. These values are of course not unique to CD, but CD is the occupation which applies them in the detailed life of local groups and networks.

2. We find the phraseology of this question slightly disturbing, as it implies that your concern is only with people who are formally citizens. We see it as vital that other people living in this country (or in any country) who for one reason or another do not have formal citizenship status should nevertheless be included in citizen-like activity and experience. It is important to make extra effort to overcome the feelings of alienation and exclusion that they are likely to experience. This is not incompatible with encouraging pride in being or becoming British, but such pride should be vested in Britain's once-famed qualities of tolerance and inclusiveness, not in some supposed superiority or exclusiveness.
- 3/4. We see the main obstacles to active citizenship not as matters of legality but policies which exacerbate inequality and divisiveness. We believe that the virtual disappearance of the 'Big Society' initiative shows that it was unwise to seek to separate community involvement from state support and cooperation with public services. The community sector and parts of the voluntary sector have significantly dwindled in the last few years, notably in England

(less so in Scotland). We would advocate new investment in those forms of community and voluntary activity which particularly enhance the experience of cooperative involvement in society (not merely in the form of contracts to voluntary organisations to deliver parts of the public services). This includes recognising once again the important role that local councils can make in employing CD strategies AND professionals.

5. There is undoubtedly scope for better education in citizenship. Past initiatives on this subject in schools have sometimes been little more than arrangement of volunteering. Although we recognise and welcomed the initiative taken in the early 2000s regarding citizenship education in all secondary schools as a core subject, that encompasses such notions as political literacy (knowledge and skills) and practical experiences of getting involved in local communities (of locality, interest and identity). What needs to be conveyed is a more all-round understanding by young people (and indeed adults through community education support and the role of the media) of how society works, in terms of decision-making and negotiation between different interests through the democratic framework at national and local levels. Many schools, colleges and universities do have imaginative schemes in this area, but others regard it as a marginal issue which can be dropped in order to concentrate purely on formal qualifications. We would like to see a review of the extent and content of genuine good practice on citizenship education, followed by strong guidance throughout the lifelong education system. However, again we would stress that the emphasis should be on understanding how society works and on practical experience of co-operative activity, not merely on symbolic declarations.
6. We do not have a single view on the efficacy of the national citizen service. We can see considerable value however from all young people, in that important transition period after school, engaging in community development type programmes and have seen this work in many countries, where it is well planned and supervised and where there is a strong partnership between schools, post school institutions and the local voluntary sector in ensuring a rich practical placement. Such citizenship service programmes should also be linked with proactive policies and funding programmes by the government et al that assist the host voluntary/community organisation to professionally host young people (and indeed adults) engaging in a citizenship service experience. VSO and CVS in the UK have had years of experience in this area which should be learnt from.
7. The most natural and common motivations to civic engagement often occur in relation to public services, since these affect people's daily lives, whether in the form of housing, education, health, policing, environment or other fields. To encourage active citizenship it is therefore necessary that the services are delivered in such a way as to invite and value user involvement and in what is currently known as 'co-production'. This should go beyond merely consultation, by developing active decision-making partnerships between providers and users. CD is again a key instrument here, but, given the closed nature of large institutions, the requirement for them to develop genuine partnerships has to come from government and its local agencies. A number of tragic disasters in recent years (the Grenfell

Tower fire being only the most recent) reveal a chronic lack of partnership and joint decision-making between providers and users. And it is for this reason that we would strongly urge that the committee learns from the best of the past, where CD practitioners employed within the local state and other agencies can have a hugely significant role to play in training and supporting all public servants to adopt more citizen engaging and empowering processes.

23 August 2017

Involve – written evidence (CCE0187)

Involve – written evidence (CCE0187)

Who we are

Involve is a charity and think tank. We want to build a democracy that works for everyone – that gives people real power to effect change in their lives, communities and beyond.

We believe our political system is lacking three essential qualities of democracy:

- Openness – The public should be able to understand, influence and hold decisions-makers to account for the actions and inactions of their governments;
- Participation – People should have the freedom, support and opportunity to shape their communities and influence the decisions that affect their lives;
- Deliberation – A key role of democracy is exchanging and acknowledging different perspectives, understanding conflict and finding common ground, and building a shared vision for society.

We believe that these qualities of democracy are essential for solving 21st century challenges - including extreme inequality, the impacts of globalisation, climate change, rapid technological development and the pressures of an aging society - and for achieving a more equal distribution of political power.

Evidence

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?

1.1. Active citizenship and civic engagement are essential qualities of any healthy and functioning society and democracy. The literature and research on active citizenship suggests a wide range of benefits for individuals, the state and society:

- Creates a vibrant civil society, an important counter-check to the state and the market
- Fosters social capital (i.e. the ties and shared norms between people)
- Develops people's confidence and sense of self-determination
- Contributes to well-being
- Strengthens the legitimacy and accountability of democratic institutions
- Empowers local communities
- Builds social cohesion
- Improves the effectiveness and efficiency of public services
- Increases political efficacy and self-esteem

1.2. Involve's Pathways through Participation research, with NCVO and the Institute for Volunteering Research, found that active citizenship can be grouped into three main categories (although there are clearly many overlaps between them):

- Social participation: the collective activities that individuals are involved in, including being involved in formal voluntary organisations (e.g. volunteering for a charity shop or being a trustee), informal or grassroots community groups (e.g. a tenants' and residents' association or a sports club), and formal and informal mutual aid and self help (e.g. a peer-support group or a community gardening group).
- Public participation: the engagement of individuals with the various structures and institutions of democracy, including voting, contacting a political representative, campaigning and lobbying, and taking part in consultations and demonstrations.
- Individual participation: people's individual actions and choices that reflect the kind of society they want to live in, including buying fair trade or green products, boycotting products from particular countries, recycling, signing petitions, giving to charity and informal helpful gestures (such as visiting an elderly neighbour).

Citizenship, civic engagement and identity

1.3. Our Pathways through Participation research found that how and why people participate is closely linked to their sense of identity. This extract from the research summarises the findings on the links between active citizenship and identity:

1.3.1. Participation is about individual motivations and personal preferences. People got involved in activities that had personal meaning and value and that connected with the people, interests and issues that they held dear. We identified six categories of meanings that motivated interviewees to participate:

- helping others
- developing relationships
- exercising values and beliefs
- having influence
- for personal benefit
- being part of something.

1.3.2. People often have multiple motivations for participating – some linked to a belief system or moral code, for example the 'greater good' – and others more self-interested. We found that people gain as well as give when they participate. This is not to suggest that participation lacks altruism, but rather that if there is not some mutual benefit then people's involvement may falter. Interviewees often spoke about gaining from participating (in terms of friendship, satisfaction, influence, support, confidence, skills and recognition) as much as they gave (in terms of time, money, compassion, care and energy).

1.3.3. Individuals often participated in activities and groups because of the people they knew, liked, enjoyed being around and cared about. A desire to make and/or embed social connections, meet new people and combat isolation or loneliness led many people to get involved in a collective activity. The human desire to be with others in a joint endeavour, and the strength and quality of the relationships between fellow participants that grow through belonging to a group, came through vividly in our research.

1.3.4. We found that people's values, beliefs and worldviews are closely linked to their experiences, social connections, cultural and social norms, and perceptions of community (of place and interest), as well as life spheres (the different elements that make up an individual's life – for example, family and work). All these elements are integral to people's identity and self-image and are crucial to understanding their motivations for participation.

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?

2.1. Membership and belonging are formed through active engagement with community and social life. A more effective way of strengthening people's identity as citizens than ceremonial events would be to demonstrate people's stake and efficacy within their community and wider society. The Hansard Society's Audit of Political Engagement shows that only 23% of people perceive that they have an influence over decision-making locally, falling to 16% for decision-making nationally.

2.2. Research has shown that the involvement of people in local decision making can have a range of benefits both for them and public bodies. This includes making people feel more connected to their local community, increasing their sense of self efficacy, and encouraging other forms of civic engagement. Attempts to promote citizenship must, therefore, extend beyond the symbolic to involving people in shaping their lives, communities and beyond.

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?

Involve – written evidence (CCE0187)

3.1. Citizens should have the right to have their voices heard by the state on the issues that affect their lives. One model that could be explored is the Tuscany Regional Participation Policy.

3.2. The Tuscany Regional Participation Policy (TPPR) institutionalises participatory, deliberative processes as a regular part of administration and governance throughout Tuscany. Introduced into Tuscan regional law in 2007, and strengthened in 2013, the central purpose of the TPPR is, as declared in Article 1 No 46/2013, “contributing to renew democracy and its institutions by integrating them with practices, processes and tools of participatory democracy”, and, through this, to develop “greater social cohesion, through the diffusion of a culture of participation, and valuing all forms of civic engagement, knowledge and skills disseminated in society”.

3.3. The law goes on to establish an obligation on local and regional governments to develop varied participatory processes for engaging citizens in the construction of public policies and projects. These obligations are based on the principle that participation is a basic human right and that it is the responsibility of public institutions to provide opportunities for this, and ensure the right tools are in place to enable effective participation.

3.4. The law also provided for the creation of an independent institution in charge of the promotion of participatory processes: “the Authority for participation”. This body has the role of monitoring the development of a more participatory culture across the region and distributing funding to support innovative methodological approaches to participation (including the use of new information and communication technologies) to enable new forms of exchange to develop between institutions and citizens.

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?

4.1. At the heart of the electoral reform debate are questions of fairness and values. Any electoral system will include biases that impact who votes, how they vote and who benefits. These are important constitutional decisions that must be made through an open and fair process. Politicians and political parties naturally have a self-interest in promoting a system that increases their chances of being (re)elected, and therefore are not best placed to make decisions that reflect the wider public interest. We believe, therefore, that these are decisions citizens themselves should have a role in making.

4.2. There are already a number of international examples of Citizens’ Assemblies being held on such issues. Citizens’ Assemblies bring together a randomly selected group of the

public to deliberate and reach recommendations on an issue, which are often then either reviewed by Parliament or go to a public referendum. Ireland, for example, is midway through its second citizens' assembly on constitutional reform. The first covered issues including presidential terms, voting age, the electoral system, and voting rights for expats, while the current assembly's remit includes considering fixed term parliaments and referenda.

4.3. While voting is an important expression of citizenship and civic engagement, it is not the only one. There are a wide variety of other mechanisms through which citizens can be engaged in informing and taking decisions in local and national policy making. As well as the benefits to people's sense of belonging, efficacy, citizenship, etc., outlined above, these forms of engagement give a more detailed and accurate picture of people's policy preferences than voting. Therefore, in addition to electoral reform, attention should be paid to these wider opportunities to promote political engagement.

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?

5.1. Through our work with young people, they have told us that there should be more of an emphasis on citizenship education within the school curriculum. Unless you do politics at A-level or have politically engaged parents it is unlikely that you will leave school understanding the political system and how decisions get made.

5.2. Beyond the classroom, though, we believe that the most effective way to form young people into active citizens is to give them the experience of making a difference on an issues that matters to them. No classroom lesson can replicate the feeling of actually exercising political power.

5.3. An example of such an approach from Involve's own work is our MH:2K project on youth mental health. Mental health conditions affect about 1 in 10 young people in the UK, with vulnerable groups particularly at risk. MH:2K was developed by Involve and Leaders Unlocked to engage young people in conversations about mental health in their local area. It empowers 14-25 year olds to identify the mental health issues that they see as most important; engage their peers in discussing and exploring these topics; and work with key local decision-makers to make recommendations for change.

5.4. The MH:2K model consists of six key components:

Involve – written evidence (CCE0187)

1. Recruitment of a core team of young people as ‘Citizen Researchers’, including those with direct experience of mental health issues and individuals from at risk groups.
2. Design Days to allow this team to explore key national and local information about youth mental health, alongside their own views and experiences. The Researchers determine which mental health issues are most significant for their area. They receive training in research, facilitation and public speaking.
3. Roadshow: The Citizen Researchers co-design and co-deliver workshops to engage at least 500 other young people in the topics they have identified to be the most significant for their area. The workshops stimulate informal learning and gather young people’s views on the issues and potential solutions.
4. Results Day: The Citizen Researchers help analyse and extract key findings. They work with local decision-makers to develop strong, practical recommendations for change.
5. Big Showcase: The Citizen Researchers present their findings and recommendations to key stakeholders at a showcase event, involving facilitated conversations about next steps.
6. An Expert Panel of key local decision-makers and stakeholders informs the project’s work throughout its lifetime.

5.5. The process was piloted in Oldham between September 2016 and May 2017. Twenty young adults from diverse backgrounds were recruited to become the first MH:2K Citizen Researchers. Armed with the right knowledge and support, the Citizen Researchers selected five key priorities to address through the pilot: Self-harm; Stigma; Professional Practice; Family and Relationships; The Environment; and Culture of Education. The recommendations of the Citizen Researchers were heard by representatives of Oldham Council, CCG and youth sector organisations, many of which are in the process of being implemented.

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?

7.1. There are a range of ways in which the state can encourage civic engagement, but it must be recognised that people’s motivations for participating in political and social life are often deeply rooted in their sense of identity.

7.2. This extract from our Pathways through Participation research summarises our findings and recommendations on supporting civic engagement:

1. Participation is personal and must be viewed first and foremost from the perspective of the individual taking part

7.2.1. Policy-makers and practitioners who wish to promote and encourage participation must view participation holistically, because trying to channel individuals into narrowly defined areas of participation is unlikely to result in more active citizens. If an individual does not identify with a particular cause or activity, reducing the barriers to them becoming involved is unlikely to make a difference. Any attempt to encourage participation must take into account the differing and multiple motivations people have for becoming and staying involved.

7.2.2. Participation is inherently about a free choice to take part without coercion. Our interviewees defined their own participation and made their own decisions about how and why they participated according to their upbringing, life stages, personality traits, beliefs and values, interests and personal circumstances. In contrast, government policy was never described as a motivating factor by the interviewees, and any influence was reported negatively: imposition of government agendas and intentions on people’s existing activities, for example, was viewed as politicising their participation and was almost unanimously rejected.

7.2.3. People’s negative reaction to the imposition of agendas that are not theirs has potentially been exacerbated by government’s encouragement of comparatively narrow, highly formalised and structured forms of participation (e.g. public consultations, regeneration boards, health consultative bodies, formal volunteering). This does not fit easily with the variety of participation activities we identified. It can also be counter-productive: it can dissuade some people from participating and limit the diversity of people involved, or kill-off local groups through, for example, processes and demands that are too formalised, and generally inhibit less structured forms of participation.

2. Participation can be encouraged, supported and made more attractive

7.2.4. Our research identified a range of factors that fostered people's participation. There are many basic practical reasons why people do and do not participate that can be addressed. Our research challenges assumptions that non-participation is about apathy, laziness or selfishness. Participation opportunities need to complement people's lives and respond to people's needs, aspirations and expectations. The 'build it and they will come' approach does not work in isolation.

7.2.5. People juggle many competing demands for their time and attention and their priorities will vary according to personal circumstances and life stage. This has implications for the role that participation can play in local communities and wider society. Current policy agendas that look to citizens to take control and manage community assets or deliver public services, for example, are unlikely to be attractive forms of involvement for people who want to engage in a more episodic, light-touch way.

7.2.6. While participation is already widespread, there is significant potential for more opportunities to participate to be made available to a wider range of people. We found that few people had a full picture of the range of opportunities available to them locally. Decisions about what to do and how to get involved tended to be almost entirely the result of personal contact (e.g. being asked by a friend) or finding information of direct personal relevance (e.g. an advert to join the parent-teachers' association of their child's school). Support bodies and other public and voluntary and community organisations also often had only a partial picture of local activities, groups and events, which limited the extent to which they could help provide access to relevant and appropriate opportunities for individuals wanting to participate.

7.2.7. These findings complement previous research which has, for example, found that smaller, grassroots organisations rarely engaged with Volunteer Centres and often existed independently of such structures. However, we observed that well-run and welcoming groups, the right physical locations in which to meet and sufficient funds can create the right growing conditions for people to participate and provide a positive experience that will encourage them to continue participating.

7.2.8. Many interviewees highlighted how their parents and wider family had played an influential role in instilling a culture of participation and/or the values and beliefs that later framed their participation. But not all interviewees had been socialised into participation through their family; schools and youth groups (such as Scouts and Guides) also played an important role in providing opportunities for participatory activities during people's formative years.

7.2.9. Institutions, organisations and groups enable participation by providing resources and support, and in some cases, bridging communities through their everyday

contacts with people. Places of worship and community centres provided a range of opportunities to participate, some within their own walls and some beyond. The importance of physical spaces where diverse groups can meet, and bonds and networks are formed and maintained, was found throughout the research: without access to a hall or a room many collective activities would simply not happen. The spaces that provide access to a range of activities and people allow pathways and connections to be established that support sustained participation.

7.2.10. Individuals who are bridge-builders within communities were also an important enabling factor. They brought people together and facilitated access to opportunities and routes into participation. However, sometimes key individuals were seen as a mixed blessing if they acted as barriers to the involvement of others, perhaps protecting their own positions at the expense of others, or preventing new people from taking up leadership roles.

3. Significant barriers to participation are entrenched

7.2.11. At present much policy remains focused on initiatives to address the symptoms (e.g. technology to promote volunteering and giving opportunities) without addressing the underlying causes (e.g. lack of confidence or resources).

7.2.12. We found that deeper and more entrenched issues in society are reflected in disparities in the practice of participation. Issues of power and inequality in society are critical to understanding how and why people get involved and stay involved. The uneven distribution of power, social capital and other resources means that not everyone has access to the same opportunities for participation nor do they benefit from the impacts of participation in the same way. Such persistent and structural socio-economic inequalities are clearly challenging to address and cannot be removed without profound political and societal changes.

7.2.13. Our recommendations are clustered around three themes:

1. Develop realistic expectations of participation

7.2.14. An over-optimistic view of participation can portray participation as the answer to all society's ills but it is important that we acknowledge its limitations and develop realistic expectations of what can be achieved. This requires policymakers to be clear about the purpose of the participation they want to see happening, and to recognise that almost everyone already participates in one way or another. It also requires institutions, organisations and groups to recognise that participation is dynamic and that opportunities need to be flexible; that participation should be mutually beneficial –

participants need to gain something from the experience; and that people have limited time and sometimes just want participation that is sociable and enjoyable.

2. Understand what policy and practice interventions can and cannot achieve

7.2.15. Policy and practice interventions can influence participation, but there are many other factors that shape how and why an individual participates, and that affect the desired impact of policy and practice decisions. Participation is more bottom-up than top-down, and does not always happen in the ways policymakers and practitioners want or expect. Some factors that shape and encourage participation are easier and quicker to influence and shape than others.

7.2.16. We suggest that:

- An individual's motivations are difficult to shape in any predictable way but policy-makers and practitioners should acknowledge their importance and aim to understand them.
- An individual's resources cannot be wholly shaped by policy-makers and practitioners, but can be influenced by policy and practice decisions and initiatives.
- An individual's opportunities to participate can be shaped collectively by policy-makers and practitioners.

3. Improve participation opportunities

7.2.17. The first step in improving participation opportunities is to establish strong foundations by starting at an early age, providing appropriate formal and informal places and spaces for people to meet and join in activities, and creating links and pathways between individuals and organisations through networks and hubs.

7.2.18. Improving participation opportunities requires starting where people are and taking account of their concerns and interests, providing a range of opportunities and levels of involvement so people can feel comfortable with taking part, and using the personal approach to invite and welcome people in. Support is needed to enable institutions, organisations and groups to learn how to operate more effectively and therefore sustain people's interest and involvement. It is vital to value people's experience and what they do, at whatever level of intensity. Language referring to the 'usual suspects', 'NIMBYs' and 'do-gooders' is pejorative and creates a negative mood around active participation and should be avoided. The design and management of public consultations should be improved, so that participants feel it is worth taking part and that their contribution can make a difference.

7.2.20. Finally, organisations and government at all levels need to be aware of the benefits of participation, and use these to promote involvement. Similarly, those already

Involve – written evidence (CCE0187)

involved can tell positive stories about their experience, and encourage others they know to participate. The recruitment of new participants is almost always more effective through word of mouth.

8 September 2017

Dr Toby James, Senior Lecturer, University of East Anglia – written evidence (CCE0131)

Introductory remarks and overview

1. The committee has invited evidence on the changing nature of citizenship and civic engagement in the twenty-first century. This is an important and timely issue because of the challenges that the committee flags in its terms of reference.
2. Being a citizen involves more than just voting at elections. However, elections are the primary mechanism through which citizens can give their democratic voice and hold governments to account. Participating in elections is therefore an essential component of being a citizen. There is a civic duty for every individual to take part in the electoral process. But there is also a duty upon central and local government to make it as easy and convenient for citizens to take part in the electoral process as possible. Societal changes mean that many individuals may lack the time to navigate through difficult bureaucratic hurdles to register and cast their vote.
3. I am a Senior Lecturer at the University of East Anglia whose research focuses on how electoral administration and management can be reformed to increase civic engagement at the ballot box. My research has been funded by many organisations (ESRC, AHRC, Nuffield Foundation, Electoral Commission, British Academy and the McDougall Trust) over many years. I am currently the Lead Fellow on Electoral Modernisation to the All Party Parliamentary Group on Democratic Participation and co-author of the group's report on *Getting the missing millions back on the electoral register: a vision for voter registration reform in the UK*.⁴⁵⁹ I am therefore submitting evidence to the committee based on my research and will comment specifically on the questions where I have unique findings that may assist the committee.
4. In summary, this submission argues that the committee could improve citizenship at the ballot box by recommending concrete reforms to continue to modernise the electoral process to keep it in line with the twentieth-first century.

Question 4: 'Do current laws encourage active political engagement?... Should changes be made to the voting process or the voting registration process?'

5. Being a citizen involves much more than taking part in the electoral process by casting a vote. However, this is an essential component of it. Without active participation at the ballot box then the results of elections may not be

⁴⁵⁹ James, T.S., Bite the Ballot and Clear View Research (2016) '[Getting the missing millions back on the electoral register](#),' the All Party Parliamentary Group on Voter Registration, April 2016, with Bite the Ballot.

representative of the views of the population and there is a much less rigorous check on the accountability of decision-makers, at national, local and mayoral elections.

6. Turnout at UK elections remains low, especially amongst young people. At the 2017 general election, 54 per cent of 18-24 years olds voted. Overall, 68.5 per cent voted. This was a reversal of the long decline in turnout in UK general elections and the gap between young and old narrowed considerably. There remains a large gap, however.⁴⁶⁰ Turnout is also much lower in other types of elections. Turnout in the 2017 Metropolitan Mayoral elections ranged from 21 to 32.9 per cent.⁴⁶¹ There remains a democratic deficit.
7. There are many reasons why citizens do not vote. This includes a general level of disengagement and cynicism about politicians and the ‘establishment’. One reason why many people do not vote, however, is that the process of casting a vote was designed in the Victorian era and require a fundamental re-think for the twenty-first century. Society has become more complex with individuals and families having different working patterns and lifestyles. The electoral process has not kept pace with this. Studies show that making it more convenient for the citizen to vote can increase the chances that they will cast their vote.⁴⁶²
8. Those policies, which have an evidence base, that the committee could consider are as follows:
 - **Voting at any polling station.** Citizens are currently required to vote in a designated polling station - one located near to where they live. However, this is often not convenient for many voters. The system of having a paper-based register in polling stations prevents citizens being able to vote in any polling station, such as one near to their workplace, university or school. In many countries, however, citizens can vote in a variety of polling stations because electoral officials have an electronic version of the register. This allows them to mark off a voter who casts their ballot. Such a system would require capital investment in the UK, but deserves to be piloted. It would also address concerns about electoral fraud.
 - **Extended voting hours including weekend voting.** Elections are held on a Thursday in the UK out of tradition rather than a rational analysis. Turnout might be higher if elections were held at weekends or advance voting was available. There were some

⁴⁶⁰ Toby S. James (2017) [‘How strong is the democratic integrity of the UK elections? And are turnout, candidacies and participation being maximized?’](#) in Patrick Dunleavy (eds) *The Democratic Audit of 2017*. London: Democratic Audit.

⁴⁶¹ House of Commons Library (2017). ‘Turnout’, Research Paper SM02633.

⁴⁶² Toby S. James (2012), *Elite Statecraft and Election Administration*, Palgrave, Basingstoke.

limited pilots of this between 2000-2007, but mixed evidence on the effects. It deserves further piloting.⁴⁶³

- **All-postal elections.** Experiments with all-postal elections in the UK between 2000-2004 suggested that this could have a significant positive effect on turnout in local and European elections. In many cases turnout rose by 50 per cent on the previous election.⁴⁶⁴
9. To take part in the electoral process citizens need to be registered to vote. The evidence is that there are millions of people missing from the electoral register, however. This is a problem that has developed over several decades as society has changed and reforms have not been to made the electoral registration process to keep up with this. The latest systematic estimate is that there were around 8 million people missing from the electoral register in December 2015, around 16% of the adult population.⁴⁶⁵
 10. Levels of electoral registration are also highly uneven. The evidence is that the register is less complete in urban areas (especially within London), amongst recent movers and private renters, Commonwealth and EU nationals, non-white ethnicities, lower socioeconomic groups, citizens with mental disabilities and young people. This matters more than ever before because this is the register on which the boundaries for future general elections will be drawn. These groups will have less representation in the UK Parliament than others. Democracy will suffer as a result.⁴⁶⁶
 11. Registration rates are also declining sharply among some groups. Table 1 charts out the proportion by age groups between the 2014 and 2015 register. Less than half of ‘attainers’ – the next generation of voters – are on the register, but nearly everyone over-65 is. But this is a situation which has worsened during the implementation of individual electoral registration (‘IER’) – a system that made it an individual’s responsibility to register to vote and asked them to provide their National Insurance number. Registration rates increased amongst older voters, but declined among younger voters.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶³ Toby S. James (2011) ‘[Fewer “costs”, more votes? U.K. Innovations in Electoral Administration 2000-2007 and their effect on voter turnout](#)’, *Election Law Journal*, 10(1), p.37-52,

⁴⁶⁴ Toby S. James (2011) ‘[Fewer “costs”, more votes? U.K. Innovations in Electoral Administration 2000-2007 and their effect on voter turnout](#)’, *Election Law Journal*, 10(1), p.37-52,

⁴⁶⁵ Toby S. James (2017) ‘[How strong is the democratic integrity of the UK elections? And are turnout, candidacies and participation being maximized?](#)’ in Patrick Dunleavy (eds) *The Democratic Audit of 2017*. London: Democratic Audit.

⁴⁶⁶ Toby S. James and Oliver Sidorczuk (2016) ‘[Missing Millions](#)’, *Fabian Review*, 2 August 2016.

⁴⁶⁷ Also see: (2014) ‘The Spill-over and Displacement Effects of Implementing Election Administration Reforms: Introducing Individual Electoral Registration in Britain’, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 67 (2): 281-305; Toby S. James (forthcoming), *Comparative Electoral Management: Performance, Networks and Instruments* (Routledge: London and New York).

Age group	Completeness of the electoral register (%)		
	2014	2015	Change during introduction of IER
16-17	51	45	-6
18-19	76	65	-11
20-24	70	67	-3
25-34	74	70	-4
35-44	85	82	-3
45-54	91	90	-1
55-64	93	93	0
65 plus	95	96	+1

Table 1: Changes in registration rates after the introduction of IER. Source: author based on data in Electoral Commission (p.45)

12. Although it is in large part an individual’s responsibility to ensure that they register to vote and are on the electoral roll, there is evidence of confusion among behalf of the public. Research shows that:

- Citizens regularly attend polling stations to vote but are turned away because their names are not on the electoral register. At the 2015 general election, two-thirds of polling stations turned away at least one voter.⁴⁶⁸
- Citizens often don’t register because they think that the government knows about them because they pay their council tax and access other government services.⁴⁶⁹
- There are a large number of duplicate applications that overwhelm electoral officials. Unsure whether they are registered, citizens register again and again, ‘just in case’.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁸ Alistair Clark and Toby S. James (2017) ‘Poll Workers’ in Pippa Norris and Alesandro Nai (eds), *Watchdog Elections: Transparency, Accountability, Compliance and Integrity*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

⁴⁶⁹ Toby S. James (2014) ‘Electoral Management in Britain’ in Pippa Norris, Richard Frank and Ferran Matinez I Coma (eds) *Advancing Electoral Integrity* (New York: Oxford University Press).

⁴⁷⁰ Alistair Clark and Toby S. James (2017) ‘Fair and Free? Electoral Administration in the 2016 EU Brexit Referendum.’ Paper prepared for the Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, and the UK Political Studies Association Conference, Glasgow, April 2017, with Alistair Clark.

- Electoral officials are generally under-resourced and this is affecting their voter outreach work.⁴⁷¹
13. There are many reforms which could make the registration process easier for the citizen, but which could also potentially save substantial amounts of time and resources for electoral officials (please also see the report on *Getting the Missing Millions Back on to the Electoral Register* for more information)⁴⁷²:
- **Support voter outreach work in schools.** New research shows that when local electoral officials visit schools to speak about voter registration and elections, voter registration rates among young people increase. However, funding cuts to local authorities has meant that these now happen less frequently.⁴⁷³
 - **Prompt students to register to vote during university enrolment.** Students are one of the most under-registered groups. A provision in the Higher Education Research Act means that universities will have to take any steps set out by the Office for Students to register their students. These steps are subject to ministerial guidance. An easy way to improve voter registration rates among students is to prompt them to register to vote at university enrolment each year. This should therefore be set out in clear directions from the Minister of State.⁴⁷⁴
 - **Encourage recipients of National Insurance number notification letters to register to vote online.** A National Insurance number is needed for citizens to register to vote. Many people do not know their National Insurance number and the process of finding it is often inconvenient and challenging. As noted above, attainers, one of the most under-registered groups, are sent their National Insurance numbers in a letter from HMRC just before their sixteenth birthday. With the necessary details at hand, this could become an important point at which they are also asked to register to vote.
 - **National civic engagement forums.** There are a variety of venues for electoral officials to work with stakeholders to identify emerging threats for electoral fraud and best practices to prevent it such as the annual Electoral Integrity Roundtable. There is no similar forum for civic engagement and voter registration. This could be an annual event organised by the Electoral Commission or Cabinet Office to which

⁴⁷¹ Toby S. James and Tyrone Jervier (2017) '[The cost of elections: The effects of public sector austerity on electoral integrity and voter engagement](#),' *Public Money and Management*, volume 37(7).

⁴⁷² James, T.S., Bite the Ballot and Clear View Research (2016) '[Getting the missing millions back on the electoral register](#),' the All Party Parliamentary Group on Voter Registration, April 2016, with Bite the Ballot.

⁴⁷³ Toby S. James and Tyrone Jervier (2017) '[The cost of elections: The effects of public sector austerity on electoral integrity and voter engagement](#),' *Public Money and Management*, volume 37(7).

⁴⁷⁴ Toby S. James, Josh Dell and Lord Rennard (2017) '[Too late for GE2017 – but now universities will have to play a role in registering students to vote](#),' Democratic Audit, 2 May 2017.

grassroots campaign organisations, political parties, academics, electoral officials and other stakeholders are invited to share best practices.

- **Assess the impact of voter ID proposals.** There is a risk that government proposals to require citizens to provide voter-ID could negatively affect voter participation.⁴⁷⁵
- **Voter registration website.** A system of online voter registration was introduced in 2014. However, for people to check whether they are on the electoral register, they need to contact their local authority. These enquiries can slow down the work of election officials and their staff. People may therefore register online again online, ‘just in case’, which then creates further work. It would be more efficient for the would-be voter and electoral services if citizens could check their own registration status online. Such a system was introduced in Ireland (see, www.checktheregister.ie) in 2006.⁴⁷⁶
- **Prompt citizens to register to vote when accessing other government services.** When a citizen pays their council tax or car tax, they could be asked to register to vote.⁴⁷⁷
- **Pilot election-day registration.** Citizens are required to register in advance of an election, but many miss-out because they register after the deadline.
- **Review the need for a single national electronic register.** There is no single electoral register in the UK – but hundreds of local registers which hinders the ability to improve accuracy and completeness. This is a technical reform – but makes many other reforms possible.
- **Automatic registration.** Citizens could be automatically registered to vote. In practice, automatic registration would probably need to focus on specific such as attainers who receive their National Insurance card. The principle could be piloted and expanded, however.

Question 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?

⁴⁷⁵ Toby S. James (2017) ‘[Voter ID is a risky reform when 8m people are already missing from the electoral register](#)’, Democratic Audit, 28th December.

⁴⁷⁶ Caroline Lucas and Toby S. James (2017) ‘[Why isn’t the electoral registration process fully online?](#)’, Open Democracy, 29th March 2017.

⁴⁷⁷ Toby S. James (2012), *Elite Statecraft and Election Administration*, Palgrave, Basingstoke.

Dr Jan Germen Janmaat, LLAKES Research Centre, Department of Education, Practice and Society, UCL Institute of Education and Professor Bryony Hoskins, Department of Social Sciences, University of Roehampton – written evidence (CCE0060)

14. Please see my comments in relation to question 4. Central and local government should play a key role in promoting civic engagement. The evidence is, however, that local government has been less proactive in this task because of funding cuts. Visits to schools are therefore becoming less common than they once were.⁴⁷⁸

8 September 2017

Dr Jan Germen Janmaat, [LLAKES Research Centre](#), Department of Education, Practice and Society, UCL Institute of Education and Professor Bryony Hoskins, Department of Social Sciences, University of Roehampton – written evidence (CCE0060)

Submission of evidence in response to question:

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?

Response:

As liberal democracies are not ideologically neutral but are founded on a set of basic civic values, such as tolerance, equal treatment, respect for the law and political engagement, schools have a role to play in fostering these values. Schools can do this in a variety of ways. [Evidence](#) from existing research suggests that both *citizenship education* and ‘*learning by doing*’ or *participatory approaches* are effective in fostering these values. [Citizenship education](#) traditionally aims to transfer and debate political knowledge and terminology that young people need to understand the political system. It also trains them in the skills to navigate and participate in the political process. [Learning by doing approaches](#) essentially mimic the democratic political process in order to foster the skills and values such as negotiation, communication, efficacy, a sense of engagement, belonging and ownership among students. Such approaches include creating student councils and holding elections, as school activities that have been shown to have [lasting effects](#) on student political engagement, and facilitating a climate in which sensitive political and social issues can freely be discussed. Such a climate has been found to not only [cultivate political knowledge and participation in general](#), but also to [mitigate social disparities](#) in students’ political engagement. Citizenship education and learning by doing approaches should not be seen as

⁴⁷⁸ Toby S. James and Tyrone Jervier (2017) ‘[The cost of elections: The effects of public sector austerity on electoral integrity and voter engagement](#),’ *Public Money and Management*, volume 37(7); Toby S. James and Tyrone Jervier (2017) [The Cost of Elections: Funding Electoral Services in England and Wales](#), ClearView Research: London, with Tyrone Jervier, June 2017.

Dr Jan Germen Janmaat, LLAKES Research Centre, Department of Education, Practice and Society, UCL Institute of Education and Professor Bryony Hoskins, Department of Social Sciences, University of Roehampton – written evidence (CCE0060) mutually exclusive. They complement one another and citizenship education can incorporate learning through practice pedagogies.

Citizenship education should be made available in the final two years of lower secondary (i.e. Key Stage 4) and in upper secondary (i.e. in Sixth Form and in Further Education), because [mid to late adolescence is a crucial period](#) for the formation of political identities and dispositions. Late adolescence is such a politically defining period because young people at this age begin to turn to [society as a source of exploration](#) after having examined family membership and questioned parental authority in early adolescence. Young people are therefore likely to be [particularly receptive to educational influences](#) on political dispositions during this life stage. But curiosity about society is not synonymous with political/civic engagement (indeed, this link is what citizenship education tries to establish). This means that not all adolescents will self-select into citizenship classes, even though they are likely to be curious about society. Therefore citizenship education should be *compulsory* as this ensures that everybody will benefit from the lessons. 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 socialization.

The most important change that needs to happen in the current education system is the introduction of citizenship education as a compulsory course in upper secondary. The existing system of 16 to 19 education is characterised by a rigorous separation of the academic (A levels) and vocational (NVQ /Btech) track. The vocational track only offers [training for specific professions](#) rather than general courses. Citizenship education is altogether absent. It is therefore not surprising that existing research has found [track attended to have an independent effect on students' political engagement](#), with students pursuing A levels having [significantly higher levels of political participation](#) (both in terms of voting and protest activities) than their peers studying for NVQ or B-tech qualifications, controlling for pre-track levels of political engagement. As students of disadvantaged backgrounds, who as a rule are less politically engaged, are disproportionately assigned to vocational education (since their GCSE results do not allow them to do A levels), the existing tracked system of upper secondary education only exacerbates social disparities in political engagement.

Other countries acknowledge the importance of education for active citizenship in upper secondary vocational education. France and Sweden already have citizenship education as a compulsory programme in all tracks of 16-19 education, and The Netherlands has recently introduced it in the vocational track. The highly esteemed system of vocational education in

Joint submission – written evidence (CE0199)

Germany includes [a school component with general courses](#) such as citizenship education. Sweden has even [standardised citizenship education](#) across the various tracks in upper secondary. The UK would do well to learn from these examples.

Note: The research informing this response was funded by the Centre for Learning and Life Chances in Knowledge Economies and Societies (LLAKES). LLAKES is an ESRC funded Research Centre (grant ref: ES/J019135/1).

5 September 2017

Joint submission – written evidence (CE0199)

Introduction

At a time when our society feels more divided than ever, with disenfranchisement and a sense of exclusion on the rise, this inquiry is a timely and welcome step towards improving community integration for young people across the UK.

As part of this submission, a number of youth charities have come together to pool their expertise and experience across a number of issues, offering insight on how to make the UK a more inclusive society; one that is composed of prosperous communities of engaged, young citizens.

These charities are: **The Scout Association, Leap Confronting Conflict, UK Youth, V Inspired, Girlguiding, NCS Trust, The Mix, Ambition, British Youth Council, Citizenship Foundation and City Year UK.**

As a group, we have developed a submission that contains details of what we have learned about citizenship and civic engagement through our work with young people.

We all agree that developing a sense of citizenship and encouraging civic engagement is something that is most effective when it is done earlier in life.

The sooner young people discover a model of positive and active citizenship, the more likely they will be to emulate it and the more likely they are to feel included in their communities.

Most importantly, young people need to be empowered to define their own thoughts and be in control of how they participate in a global community. But it is important to recognise that the idea of citizenship has changed as the world has changed. How young people engage in their communities today is very different to previous generations especially as a result of technology and social media allowing individuals to connect and engage with others around the world.

We know that many teachers and schools do a fantastic job of teaching citizenship, and we firmly believe that citizenship should form part of the curriculum and be encouraged and supported.

Nevertheless, how citizenship is taught and promoted is inconsistent across the country and varies from year-to-year. That is not to say, however, that schools should shoulder the burden alone. We must work in partnership.

When it comes to building an inclusive society, we strongly believe that the third sector has a vital role to play. Many charities already do exceptional work when it comes offering young people opportunities that allow them to take part in society and learn to become active citizens. However, on matters of social exclusion and citizenship there are lessons to be learned and more that can be done in partnership with Government.

We know from our experience that programmes that offer structure for young people are successful at bringing young people together and imparting valuable knowledge and experience. We also know that when a young person's development is recorded and their achievements are recognised, it can improve levels of self-esteem and other important life skills. Young people who are able to access these kinds of programmes are supported in their development as active citizens.

We believe it is essential that the Government supports the youth sector in delivering its work in developing active citizens, and seeks a cross-departmental approach to these issues. We would encourage both the Committee and the Government to review closely the experience of the youth sector when making recommendations or considering future policy initiatives.

In the pages that follow, you will find further detail on our positions, which draw on a variety of evidence. We hope the Committee find this submission useful as part of your considerations and would be happy to provide further thoughts and evidence as needed.

Executive summary & recommendations

There are deep divisions in our society and we welcome the Committee’s remit to explore the issues of citizenship and civic engagement in the twenty-first century.

As a sector, we believe that citizenship is about understanding one’s role and responsibility to others in their community, as well as understanding society’s challenges and working collectively to make a difference.

We must work together to build an inclusive society and strongly believe that organisations like ours have a vital role to play. But, it will also require a long-term commitment from Government if we are to help young people to build deeper roots within their communities.

Working collectively, as part of our submission we make 10 recommendations that we would encourage the Select Committee to consider in greater depth as part of this inquiry.

Recommendations

1. Utilise money from dormant assets to support third sector organisations to drive and deliver civil society initiatives

...

Following the publication of the Dormant Asset Commission’s report, the Government committed to consulting on how to best use this money. Potentially up to £2bn to support good causes. We strongly recommend that Government acts quickly to identify how a proportion of these funds can be used to support the citizenship agenda.

2. Create a legal status for full-time volunteers

...

Full-time volunteers are in “legal limbo” and have no legal status other than NEET. Full-time volunteers have an important role to play and can have a significant return on funding with participants improving their employability skills. They should be legally recognised.

3. Automatically register young people onto the electoral roll at the point they also receive their national insurance number

...

The Government must find ways to make the registration process easier by utilising technology and social media platforms to encourage young people to get involved in the democratic process. Automatically registering young people on the electoral roll would be one way of doing this.

4. Collaborate with existing reviews and make bold recommendations to Government

...

Following recent events, several reviews are now underway, including the Youth Social Action Review being chaired by Steve Holliday. We would encourage the House of Lords

<p>Citizenship & Civic Engagement Committee to work closely with this review as it presents a real opportunity for the Committee to make bold recommendations that Government should be encouraged to accept and act upon.</p>
<p>5. Implement The Russell Commission’s recommendations on how to support civic engagement</p> <p>...</p> <p>Specifically, the Committee should look carefully at any proposal that helps to: i) Implement strategies to ensure volunteering within public services is an attractive proposition for young people, and ii) Involve young people at the highest level to help establish the types of roles that would appeal to them.</p>
<p>6. Carefully consider how a lack of representation affects the extent to which young people are willing to engage with politics and within their local communities</p> <p>...</p> <p>Some research, combined with our experience, suggests that young people are put off by imbalance and disparity of those elected to represent them. For example, a recent IPPR report, <i>Power to the people? Tackling the gender imbalance in local government & combined authorities</i>, highlighted the barriers women faced to entering local government. If we are to succeed in encouraging young people to participate, we must find ways to remove such barriers.</p>
<p>7. Review and implement findings of international ‘domestic gap years’ in the UK</p> <p>...</p> <p>We would encourage the Committee to look at international comparisons and how “domestic gap years” work. Important lessons can be learnt that should be implemented in the UK for similar voluntary schemes.</p>
<p>8. Encourage schools to work closer in partnership with third sector organisations and emphasise supporting young people in care</p> <p>...</p> <p>It is essential that schools are encouraged to be more open to working in partnership with a number of organisations including ourselves. What’s more, particular effort is needed on i) Supporting young people in care ii) Young people in prison reintegrating into society and iii) helping young people from poor and deprived backgrounds. A collective approach should be supported in order to resolve our shared objectives.</p>
<p>9. Invest in existing role-model and mentoring initiatives</p> <p>...</p> <p>Young people are most influenced by people they know personally – it could be a parent, a teacher or a friend. However, role-models, whoever they are (e.g. celebrities, high-profile individuals or a friend) can make a real impact on a young person’s life. For</p>

that reason, we need to invest further and show greater support for role-model and mentoring initiatives.

10. Encourage young people to think seriously about their values and how they relate to the values of others within their community

...

We believe young people should be encouraged to think seriously about their values and how they relate to the values of others within their community. Providing a definition of British values is not required but much could be gained from creating space for young people to explore their own identities and how they are embedded in society.

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?

Citizenship & civic engagement

- 1.1 Citizenship is a critical part of an inclusive society. We believe citizenship is about understanding and acting upon one's role and responsibility to others in their communities, as well as understanding society's challenges and working collectively to make a difference.
- 1.2 We believe that young people can play an important role in their communities, and that the practice of 'citizenship' and 'civic engagement' should be nurtured from a young age.
- 1.3 It is important to understand and recognise that the nature of citizenship has changed: what it means for young people today is very different to what it meant to previous generations. For example, young people are much more connected on a global level and place a greater emphasis on using digital platforms to engage a wider audience.
- 1.4 The way in which young people connect and engage through digital channels and social media platforms has fundamentally changed the very essence and dynamic of citizenship.

- 1.5 More broadly, we believe civic engagement is too narrow a concept to address the issues identified by the Committee. The focus should be on helping people to understand their communities and giving them the opportunities to express themselves and make a positive contribution independently.
- 1.6 It is essential that young people are in control of this process and can identify among themselves what it means to be a citizen in today's world.
- 1.7 Building knowledge of democracy and democratic processes and institutions will help young people to achieve this. Society as a whole needs to both enable and encourage young people to take part in the democratic process. It is important that we learn from the enthusiasm demonstrated by young people at recent elections to encourage them to stay involved – for too long youth engagement in politics at a local and national level has been poor. Parliamentarians finding opportunities to visit local youth programmes to meet their young constituents will help young people to gain an appreciation for local and national politics, whilst engaging them in key issues which affect their age group.

The problem today and why it matters

- 1.8 Society is becoming increasingly divided. The Brexit result revealed deep divisions across the country while the Social Mobility Commission's report, *Time for Change*, warned that social and economic division will widen without radical and urgent reform.
- 1.9 In our experience, young people feel increasingly disconnected from their communities which has dangerous consequences. Recently, the country has witnessed an increase in recorded hate crimes, violence and extremism.
- 1.10 Young people are being targeted and, in many areas, feel disenfranchised. This results in wasted opportunity and untapped potential, which negatively impacts our societies as a whole.
- 1.11 Some young people who are disproportionately represented amongst people who have grown up in care, been excluded from school or caught up in the criminal justice system are particularly likely to feel disconnected from their communities. Programmes that promote civic engagement should make particular efforts to engage these young people.
- 1.12 However, we know that when individuals feel part of their community and are recognised for the impact they make, it has a huge benefit on their mental wellbeing (as this [research](#) from the #iwill campaign illustrates). [Research](#) from Ipsos Mori found that

NCS improves personal resilience, leaving participants feeling better equipped to handle whatever comes their way. Research from the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow (2016) also found that people who were Scouts or Girlguiding members in childhood have better mental health in later life. What's more, research from the Duke of Edinburgh awards shows that two-thirds of young people feel that being engaged in their community helped to develop their self-esteem (DoE research). Even for very young children, the difference can be dramatic. A randomised control trial organised by the Cabinet Office in 2014 showed that the Citizenship Foundation's Make a Difference Challenge for primary pupils reduced levels of anxiety amongst the pupils taking part by 22%.

- 1.13 Research also shows that young people understand the importance of active community engagement, but believe there are limited options for them to engage. As a part of The Scout Association's '*A Million Hands*' social action programme, 3,000 young people were surveyed by ComRes (2015) which found that 82% of 12-24 year olds across the UK believe it is important that young people help to solve some of the biggest social issues in this country, but only 36% believe they were given that opportunity.
- 1.14 There is research to support that taking part in volunteering and social action activities improves young people's sense of community.
- a. For instance, in **VInspired's *Get Active for Good Cashpoint (2017)*** programme evaluation, both Award Holders and volunteers reported a high level of trust in others. Cashpoint is a micro-grant initiative that gives young people the funding and support they need to set up their own voluntary project to tackle community issues that matter to them. 93% of Award Holders said that either many people or some people can be trusted, whilst the equivalent for secondary volunteers was 90%.
 - b. Social trust is an important indicator of the strength and quality of a society and community. In terms of social capital and, specifically, the trust and shared norms participants felt they identified with their community, the findings were very positive for Award Holders. 89 per cent of Award Holders strongly agreed or agreed that they understood the organisations and people that influence their local area. As a measure of community cohesion, 81 per cent of Award Holders felt that their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together.
 - c. Similarly, data taken from 2013/14 and 2014/15 evaluations of VInspired's Talent programme found a significant positive difference in young people's connectedness to community post intervention. The 2014/15 evaluation found that participant's indication of feeling part of the local community increased 73% on average and participants' willingness to get involved in local activities increased 93% on average. The 2013/14 evaluation found a positive average improvement in relation to participants' feeling part of the community.

- d. Additionally, the [Behavioural Insights Team](#) evaluation of youth social action, using RCTs, also found that involvement through taking part in youth social action had real significance for young people's sense of community.

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?

Strengthening people's identity as citizens

- 2.1 To strengthen identity, it is important that the Government takes a long-term, committed approach that has cross-party and cross-departmental support.
- 2.2 As part of this, society must provide year-round safe spaces for all young people to get together and explore the commonalities of their identity, engage in enriching activities, to understand the differences of those from other backgrounds or communities.
- 2.3 It is essential that we create opportunities for young people to voluntarily come together within their communities, supported by trusted adults and positive peer networks, helping them to feel invested in their community, define their role in society and the positive contribution they can make.
- 2.4 This is about much more than being considered as British or aspiring to be British. As mentioned earlier, for young people, the nature of citizenship has changed and is as much about being a global citizen as a national citizen ([research](#) by Ipsos Mori for

example shows that just 20% of people would say their nationality was among the top three or four things they would tell a stranger was important about them). Some people take great pride in being British and that is fine, however particular versions of ‘Britishness’ can be misconstrued as an outmoded view of the world. That is why we take the shared view that instead there ought to be space for pride in a shared sense of place and of a shared community.

Recognising social action and positive contributions

2.5 Being too selective or focused on ceremonies or events can in fact drive further divisions through being too prescriptive. Where would the line be? Who would be included in such events?

2.6 More important to young people is recognising action and other acts of citizenship, and rewarding positive contributions. The lack of recognition today is partly to blame for the sense of disenfranchisement some feel.

2.7 Programmes that understand this contribution are more valuable and incentivise young people to do more in future.

- a. **The Duke of Edinburgh Award** recognises the efforts of young people on the scheme by celebrating when they complete each award level. The young people work towards Bronze, Silver or Gold Awards and are invited to a special ceremony upon completion of each. Recognising achievement is an important part of the scheme and impact research they conducted with the University of Northampton in 2007 showed that:
 - i. 82% noted their DofE has made them want to continue with volunteering/voluntary activities.
 - ii. 62% feel that doing their DofE has helped them make a positive difference to their local community.
 - iii. 74% of young people said they developed self-esteem as a result.
- b. **National Citizen Service (NCS)** requires participants to spend 60 hours designing and delivering a social action project in their local community. Following completion of the course, young people attend a ‘celebration event’ where they officially graduate from the programme and are awarded a certificate. Independent evaluations show that following their NCS experience, young people volunteer up to seven hours more per month, on average, and indicate an increased likelihood to vote in future elections.
- c. **The Scout Association badges** are used similarly to the Duke of Edinburgh awards to recognise achievement and motivate young people. They can be focused on a variety of different things:
 - i. **Activity badges** allow Scouts to show their progress in existing pursuits, but also encourage them to try new things and form new interests.

- ii. **Challenge awards** involves accomplishing a number of more ambitious tasks within the Troop or community. There are several challenge badges across a number of themes, from physical and outdoor challenges, to dealing with the local community or issues connected with the Scouting world.
 - iii. Research by ComRes for The Scout Association (2015) shows that 74% of Scouts said they “help tackle social issues”, compared to 46% of non-Scouts
- d. **Girlguiding** has always provided girls and young women with opportunities to recognise achievements through social action – within their local communities and participation for positive change on a larger scale. This is done through a structured programme of activity such as activity badges, interests badges, and the Queens Guide Award and Young Leadership Qualification. Through Girlguiding’s Action for Change project, girls reported a 20% increase in confidence to influence change within the UK’s democratic decision-making processes
- e. **Leap Confronting Conflict's** Lighting the Fire Awards recognise the positive contributions that young people make in supporting other young people to manage conflict better and act as inspirational role models for other young people.
- f. **UK Youth’s Youth Achievement Awards (YAA)** are nationally recognised and have been developed as a framework for providing non-formal learning and recognition, to support and encourage young people on their journey from childhood to adulthood, as they progress into social action roles and leadership roles.
 - i. Through the YAA young people are encouraged to actively participate in their own “Social Development Journey”, developing, acknowledging and articulating life skills and competencies which help them to become a positive force for change in their own lives, and the lives of others.
 - ii. The awards provide a framework which recognises the four levels of responsibility taken by young people participating in activities that interest them.
 - *Social Engagement* through the YAA BRONZE – recognises and encourages young people to get involved
 - *Social Learning* through the YAA SILVER – recognises and encourages young people to work with others and share responsibility
 - *Social Action* through the YAA GOLD – recognises and encourages young people to take individual responsibility and play an active role in organising activities. This can be community based.
 - *Social Leadership* through the YAA PLATINUM – recognises and encourages young people to move into a leadership position.
- g. **V•inspired** has a long established record in recognising the volunteering contributions of young people. Their V•Awards scheme - <https://vinspired.com/get-awards> - recognises these achievements based on hours of service. These Awards are formally recognised by the likes of UCAS and serve not just to recognise young

people's contribution and to create a habit of service; they're valued evidence to support young people in their transition to higher education or employment.

- h. **The Citizenship Foundation's Mock Trial Competitions** help young people understand the legal justice system and how the rule of law works. The use of a competition format, as part of a wider pattern of support, helps young people gain a sense of achievement from their taking part. Amongst those taking part in the scheme, evaluation shows a 20% increase in those young people confident in defining a legal right.

2.8 As a sector we welcome new guidance from DfE, where young people on 16-19 study programmes can now include social action, such as volunteering, to be classed as a form of work experience. Such interventions encourage young people, their parents/carers and teachers to see that social action has a 'double-benefit' to both the young people participating and the community they are serving. <https://www.tes.com/news/further-education/breaking-news/social-action-included-study-programme>

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?

4.1 Our view here is that – whatever the voting age – it is important that Government finds a way to make the registration process easier by finding new ways, utilising technology and social media platforms, to encourage young people to get involved. Perhaps there is an opportunity to enlist schools and universities to be involved in this, by automatically enrolling those of voting age on the electoral roll, as has successfully happened at institutions like Sheffield University.

4.2 Consequently, we would recommend that young people are automatically registered onto the electoral roll at the point they also receive their National Insurance number.

4.3 More broadly, it is important to recognise that this is not just a youth issue – every citizen should believe in their ability to understand, but also to influence and change the democratic process, boosting involvement.

4.4 What's more, we would encourage the Committee to look closely at how a lack of representation affects the extent to which young people are willing to engage with politics.

4.5 For example, we noted with interest the recent Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) report, *Power to the people? Tackling the gender imbalance in local government & combined authorities*, which found that women are faced with a number of barriers to entering local government and progressing into leadership roles. The report revealed

just 33% of councillors and 17% of council leaders in England are women - something the IPPR suggested is causing a “democratic deficit”. Equality of male and female councillors would require an increase of 3,028 women (more than 50% on number of women currently in post).

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?

Engaging people at a younger age

5.1 The evidence is clear that engaging people at an earlier age will have a positive impact and result in a stronger sense of citizenship. Research published by think tank Demos shows that the 29% of young people currently participating in social action develop self-discipline, resilience and empathy by doing so. Furthermore, evidence from the CBI (See CBI [First Steps report](#)) shows that social action helps develop optimism, determination and emotional intelligence - skills which are key to employability. The Cabinet Office's Randomised Control Trial showed that primary pupils taking part in the Citizenship Foundation's Make a Difference Challenge were more likely to have increased empathy levels, problem-solving skills, grit and community skills. Children who took part shared, on average, a level of empathy 6% greater than those who didn't. These children were also adept in problem-solving, and showed a level of grit significantly above that of the children who did not participate. Similarly the level of community investment was considerably higher.

5.2 We cannot overstate the importance of a long-term approach that has cross-party consensus. It is only with consistent, and sustained engagement at a young age, that we can reap the benefits of a more confident, resilient and empathetic population.

Current approach in schools

5.3 The current situation and approach is inconsistent – some schools are excellent, some are poor. The quality of approach is different year-on-year for a number of reasons and largely depends on individual teachers and their personal preferences. We applaud the work of 'Citizenship' teaching in schools where it is offered, however there are no incentives for schools to maintain any focus on it as a subject. Lessons should be learnt from the 'character' agenda when funding, through Character Grants, was promised but quickly fell away. Indeed, a lack of interest from government or regulatory bodies such as Ofsted make it much harder for schools to give Citizenship adequate focus even where they have a desire to.

5.4 This is compounded by a lack of monitoring of what is happening across the board and only anecdotal evidence on how to make decisions and define a policy approach.

5.5 Teachers do a terrific job and we recognise that they have huge pressures on their time. That's why we strongly believe that the third sector must work with schools so that there is provision for citizenship programmes for all young people. Collectively, we have

an important role to play. Together we can make a significant impact. This is also recognised by teachers themselves. For example, Demos' *Learning by Doing* report (2015) found that 58% would welcome partnerships between their schools and Scouts to provide students with other types of learning activities, and that 60% thought that non-formal learning activities provided by organisations like Scouts should play a bigger role in the education system.

5.6 While our individual views differ slightly on the extent to which teaching good citizenship should be compulsory, collectively we believe that where citizenship remains in the curriculum it needs to be given the right support so that schools are consistent in their approach. More evidence is needed in the primary sector which should be an area of focus for Government over the next two years. This would allow sufficient time to get the necessary data on which to make decision in future, any study should examine the extent and quality of citizenship education in schools, support for schools to improve provision, and teacher training both for new citizenship teachers, and for existing teachers who want to be able to teach it effectively.

5.7 What's more, we would encourage the Committee to consider how schools might use third sector partnerships to provide meaningful opportunities. This is particularly successful in Germany through the Schule Plus initiative (<https://www.schule-plus.de/>). The programme is best described as a "unique social online-network connecting schools with external partners, who offer various external offers to enrich the schooling curriculum." It is free of charge for schools and helps them to connect with a range of organisations, including from the third sector, to "enhance the learning of students".

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 involve a more public citizenship ceremony? Are they good value for money? What other routes exist for creating active citizens?

6.1 The sector agrees that programmes, whether year-long such as NCS, part-time or more flexible volunteering opportunities, should not be made compulsory, rather young people should be supported to engage with volunteering and social action projects in ways that support and complement their individual circumstances.

6.2 There are also many routes that support younger children to be active citizens; including non-formal education programmes run by uniformed groups such as Girlguiding and the Scout Association, as well as others including the Woodcraft Folk, that provide opportunities for children as young as aged five to participate in social action and volunteering. These programmes help to develop a sense of belonging and ownership in the local community.

6.3 By engaging with children at Primary age level the notion of being an active citizen becomes the norm, rather than being seen as something extraordinary or to be done at a certain stage in life. Recognising that volunteering, social action and community engagement activities all help create active citizens, and are currently delivered by the third sector in a range of ways, calls for a need to widen support for the citizenship agenda rather than viewing it as an age-specific opportunity, and complementary to more formal, year-long schemes.

The role of voluntary programmes - learning lessons from international comparisons and celebrating success

6.4 We would encourage the Committee to look at international comparisons and how “domestic gap years” work. Important lessons can be learnt. Section 6.5 explains this in more detail.

6.5 NCS engages a broad range of groups and individuals. 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). This social cohesion has a positive effect on young people who leave the programme with increased social trust and a higher likelihood to mix with young people from different backgrounds ([2015 NCS Evaluation](#))

- 6.6 Many young people might have volunteered for the first time when at school or when participating with uniformed organisations. However, for many others, NCS will be the first time they will have volunteered, which is cause for celebration. NCS is working with sector organisations, including Scouts, Duke of Edinburgh, International Citizen Service, and others, to ensure NCS is just the start of an enduring journey for young people, and that young people are provided with further training, volunteering or employment opportunities post-NCS). However, there is more to be done in this space.
- 6.7 NCS currently works with “The Basics” (Bite the Ballot) and “Rock Enrol” (Cabinet Office) to deliver sessions on democratic engagement, and to register tens of thousands of young people to vote.
- 6.8 At the end of the NCS programme, participants celebrate their achievements from a graduate ceremony, where they are presented with a certificate. Whilst civic engagement is a key part of NCS’ mission, it is not the only part. Therefore, NCS does not currently carry out public citizenship ceremonies as part of the programme.
- 6.9 NCS Trust remains of the opinion that NCS should not be mandatory, in order to preserve its youth-led and voluntary ethos.
- 6.10 Many young people might have volunteered for the first time when at school or when participating with uniformed organisations. However, for many others, NCS will be the first time they will have volunteered, which is cause for celebration. However:
- The main gap is around supporting young people when they join or leave these organisations. There is currently no support from schools when they join the NCS, and none when they consider career opportunities afterwards.
 - The International Citizens Service is a good model to emulate as it actively supports its young people who have completed the programme to use the experience when taking their next steps in life.
 - However, it must be borne in mind that young people will get much more from any NCS experience or equivalent if they have had good citizenship education (both formal and informal) from a young age, and if, following NCS, they are supported to carry on their citizenship activities.
- 6.11 A wide variety of programmes show that those that run well offer value for money. They also prove the importance of recognition – e.g. NCS graduation, Scout and Girlguiding badges etc. Again reiterating the importance of valuing positive contributions.
- a. A recent [Wellbeing and Human Capital Evaluation](#) independently commissioned by NCS Trust, and published earlier this year, reported a social benefit-to-cost ratio of between £5.93 and £8.36 for NCS. This includes the impact of NCS on university

entry, which is on average 12% higher for young people taking part in NCS compared to those who don't, with those living in the poorest areas almost 50% more likely to get into higher education if they do NCS.

- b. **V•Inspired Talent** – a full-time volunteering placement which supports young people to gain an accredited Level 2/3 qualification and develop real world skills and experience for progression into employment, education or training.
- c. **V•Inspired** was created as a dedicated implementation body for the findings of the [Russell Commission](#) – which stated that it should be natural for young people to volunteer and natural for organisations to either offer young people the opportunity to volunteer or support them in doing so. The Russell Commission proposed that society as a whole benefits from volunteering, as young people express themselves as active citizens.
 - d. **Giving Nation:** A national initiative by the Citizenship Foundation which supports young people to give. Whether it is time, energy or voice, every young person can play a part in challenging the issues that face others. The programme challenges students to turn their generosity into action by selecting the issue that matters most to their class. Young people then take action as social entrepreneurs, fundraisers, campaigners or volunteers.

6.12 There are also numerous international examples:

France

6.13 France also has a Government sponsored full-time social action programme. The 'Service Civique' initiative was launched in 2010, and has helped tens of thousands of volunteers to pour 25 hours of their time every week into good causes and public services.

- a. The programme aims to strengthen national cohesion and promote social diversity among its 16 to 25 year-old participants who can engage in the programme for a period of 3 to 12 months. It can be carried out in 9 main areas: culture and leisure, international development and humanitarian action, education, environment, crisis intervention, memory and citizenship, health, solidarity and sport.
- b. Such is the success of France's 'Service Civique', it is to expand to 150,000 places per year by the end of 2017.
- c. The programme prides itself on producing civically engaged young people;
 - i. 57% of the young people who were not registered on the electoral roll before their Service Civique year had done so since or intend to do so.
 - ii. 80% of the volunteers intend to vote in the next elections too.
 - iii. Moreover, 89% of volunteers feel useful to others and to society, and for 93% of them the Civic Service is a good way to meet people of different backgrounds.

USA

6.14 In the USA, 80,000 young adults participate in full-time social action annually as part of ‘AmeriCorps’. AmeriCorps is a network of local, state, and national service programmes that connects young Americans each year in intensive service to meet community needs in education, the environment, public safety, health, and homeland security.

- a. Participants serve in full or part-time positions over a 10-12 month period. Upon completion of their service, members receive an education grant known as the ‘Segal AmeriCorps Education Award’ of up to \$4,725 to pay for college, graduate school, or to pay back qualified student loans.
- b. Since 1994, nearly one million volunteers have contributed over 1.4 billion hours of service to local communities.
- c. Research demonstrates that service through AmeriCorps creates empowered and prepared leaders who are civically engaged and committed to strengthening their communities.
- d. Alumni believe that the experience improved their ability to bridge divides and solve problems, while also developing skills and expanding opportunity to advance their careers and education.
- e. Key stats include:
 - i. 80% of alumni feel confident they can create a plan to address a community issue and get others to care about it.
 - ii. 93% of alumni said that after service, they felt comfortable interacting with others different than themselves, as compared to 72 percent before.
 - iii. 94% said that national service broadened their understanding of society and different communities.
 - iv. 79% of alumni are involved or plan to become actively involved in their community post-service, compared to 47 percent prior.
 - v. 94% of alumni are registered to vote, well above the national average.

Germany

6.15 Germany also offers young people from this age the chance to engage in full-time social action as a transition year through three federal organisations: the BFD, Bundesfreiwilligendienst (German voluntary service); the FSJ, Freiwilliges Soziales Jahr (voluntary social year); and FÖJ, the Freiwilliges Ökologisches Jahr (voluntary ecological year).

- a. While all the programmes cater for young people, the FSJ and FOJ are aimed entirely at young people from the age of 15-27. The FSJ alone allows 50,000 young German’s the opportunity to undertake full-time social action each year.
- b. These programmes allow a young person to volunteer full-time for between 6-24 months on a community project close to their hearts for public good.

UK

- 6.16 City Year UK has demonstrated that full-time volunteering can create active and engaged citizens in a UK context through its ‘year of service’ programme.
- a. Their volunteers are issued a survey at the beginning and the end of the year that assess their development across a number of areas.
 - b. Evidence from this survey showed engagement with the programme helps to shape positive social attitudes and create engaged citizens.
 - c. Volunteers reported impressive attitudinal shifts over the course of our programme such as an increased likelihood to vote and take a leadership role in civil society and improved attitude towards other social groups (age, ethnicity and religion). For example:
 - i. There was a 22% rise in volunteers who said they were very likely to vote in the next General Election.
 - ii. Over 50% said that participation in the programme had positively affected their attitude toward those from different age groups and ethnic, religious and socio-economic backgrounds.
 - iii. There was a 40% rise in volunteers who felt people in society could be trusted. City Year volunteers are over twice as likely as their peers to cite a responsibility to their community as a motivation to volunteer.
 - iv. Volunteers are 70% more likely than their peers to take on a leadership role in civic society.

6.17 While NCS is a valuable experience for thousands of young people, encouraging active citizenship in the form of social action, it is, on its own, not enough. Community based, universal and open-assessed youth services are vital in engaging young people of all ages, supporting them to value their community and feel valued by their community, take part in political discourse, and make a positive contribution.

Legal status

6.18 A significant problem with full-time and part-time volunteering is the “legal limbo” it leaves individuals in. While this poses more immediate issues and concerns for some charities involved with this joint submission, it is a broader issue that the sector as a whole is facing.

6.19 In essence, the lack of a legal status other than NEET means volunteers are not recognised in the legal structure. This is a missed opportunity.

6.20 The fact is that full-time volunteers have an important role to play and can have a significant return on funding with participants improving their employability skills.

- a. We see this in the work of City Year UK and their volunteers. Through that year of full-time volunteering, 18-25 year olds can make a real difference to the life chances

of school pupils from the most disadvantaged communities, while gaining valuable leadership experience and boosting their own career prospects.

- b. Volunteering Matters also provide full-time social action opportunities in health and social care setting, while other charities such as The Scout Association and vInspired use full-time volunteers as part of their wider work.

6.21 Despite pouring in thousands of hours to better their communities, this ‘legal limbo’ actually punishes full-time volunteers in the following ways. Below are a number of ways not having a legal status makes it difficult to do full-time social action:

- a. **National Insurance Credits:** Full-time volunteers are not entitled to National Insurance Credits (NICs) meaning they have their pensions eligibility cut by one year. They are not a drain on the economy, yet because they have no recognised status they are unfairly punished by not being automatically granted the NICs that would protect their pension entitlements. Contrastingly, those looking for work while on benefits, caring for children or sick relatives and doing jury service do qualify.
- b. **Ill-health:** Full-time volunteers are forbidden from being paid expenses if they are ill. That makes it hard for people to sustain their commitment over several months or a year.
- c. **Personal development training:** Full-time volunteers are forbidden from receiving personal development training, or help from the charity they serve with when they look for jobs at the end of their programme, even though career progression is a major motive for, and benefit of, taking part.

6.22 In order to support existing and full-time volunteers and programmes, we call on the Government to create a legal status for full-time volunteers.

Collaborating with existing reviews

6.23 It would be prudent to engage with existing reviews and Government initiatives that have similar aims and goals. We would encourage the Select Committee to consider the benefits of such engagement.

- a. For example, in March of this year Steve Holliday, the former Chief Executive of National Grid plc, was appointed by then Civil Society Minister Rob Wilson to lead a review that examines how to increase participation in full-time social action by young people. It also examines the challenges faced by organisations working in this area.
- b. When he was appointed, Holliday explained his view that “social action benefit[s] the development and character in young people, giving them employability skills while making a real difference in their communities.”
- c. He further added that the review would explore how to “expand full-time volunteering as a real option for young people.”

- d. Alongside Holliday, the advisory panel will include experts from relevant sectors and is expected to make recommendations to the Minister for Civil Society by October 2017. Therefore, now would be an ideal time to coordinate views collectively.
- e. In addition, it is worth considering the findings of the [Casey Review](#) and the [Milburn Reports](#).

6.24 There is a real opportunity for the Committee to make bold recommendations that Government should be encouraged to accept and act upon.

6.25 Importantly, the committee should recognise the value and importance of a diverse range of groups working to deliver shared outcomes. Many provide for a range of different age groups and offer a different perspective. There is no one size fits all approach.

6.26 On the NCS specifically, we must work together and be supported in helping broaden the programme by encompassing both pre and post support. The National Audit Office report, published in January 2017, recognised how NCS has “shown it can attract large numbers of participants and participation has a positive short-term effect on young people.” However, questions remain whether “these effects were enduring”. By working in partnership we can help to ensure they are. In addition, in March 2017, the Public Accounts Committee recommended that the NCS should do more to work with existing youth organisations in order to deliver the programme. The NCS Trust should be supported in their efforts to explore such options, and this should be balanced with support for the full array of offers for young people available.

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 Government and Parliament do to support civil society initiatives to increase civic engagement?

Building a cross-departmental approach

- 7.1 Government and Parliament can best aide this by providing the framework, policy guidance, convening powers, and the support required to help deliver programmes.
- 7.2 We would encourage the Committee to look again at The Russell Commission which set out a number of recommendations for how to support civic engagement. Specifically, this included i) Government developing and implementing strategies to encourage greater levels of volunteering within public services taking account of the need for quality opportunities that are attractive to young people, and ii) Government should involve young people at the highest level to help establish the types of roles that would appeal to them. Arguably, these needs still exist.
- 7.3 From experience and through [research](#) we know that for young people, engaging with issues which matter to them is the most effective way to engineer and sustain interest in civic engagement. To understand this, we need to engage and involve young people in co-production from the outset.
- 7.4 There needs to be a discrete focus on youth policy within DCMS that identifies new streams of funding, such as utilising dormant assets and building sustainability into programmes and organisations. Essentially there must be a cross-departmental approach, and an understanding that encouraging active citizenship requires multiple central government departments, Local Authorities, and third sector organisations to work collectively to drive long-term systemic changes.
- 7.5 All programmes need to be accessible with a diverse communications approach so that everyone benefits. As it stands, some parts of society are being phased out or disincentivised. The accessibility for other young people is very important and a key priority for Government, e.g. young people with a barrier to employment (such as a disability). However, this again raises the point about the legal status of volunteers.

Utilise money from dormant assets to support third sector organisations to drive and deliver civil society initiatives

- 7.6 In March 2017, the Dormant Assets Commission published its final report to Government. The Commission estimated that there could be up to £2 billion of additional funding potentially available for the benefit of good causes.

7.7 The Charities Minister at the time, Rob Wilson, suggested that the funds could be used to “transform the charity sector”. The Government has also committed to responding in full to the Commission’s 50 recommendations, promising a further consultation with charities on how the money should be utilised.

7.8 We welcomed both the Commission’s report and the Government’s commitment to using this additional money to support the third sector. We would strongly recommend that Government acts quickly to identify how a proportion of this money can be used to support the citizenship agenda. Examples of the usage of statutory funding to support initiatives include Girlguiding, which has previously benefited from a range of statutory funding streams e.g. **Uniformed Youth Social Action Fund (UYSAF)**

- a. From 2014-2016 Girlguiding received funding from the Cabinet through the Uniformed Youth Social Action Fund (UYSAF) project. The funding supported our work to bring guiding to new communities and to encourage young people to get involved in social action and make a difference. The project was a great success and as a result we:
 - i. Opened 135 new units and supported over 50 units at risk of closing
 - ii. Recruited over 280 new adult volunteers
 - iii. Created spaces for almost 3000 girls
 - iv. Supported almost 4000 young people to take part in 460 social action activities.

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?

Values

8.1 The Casey Review published earlier this year raised serious concerns about the state of social integration in the UK. We welcome the Dame Louise Casey's report and agree that a failure to address citizenship and social integration will mean we fail to address the reported rise in hate crime and extreme violence. All community leaders and institutions have an important role to play and must address the criticism that difficult issues had been ignored, primarily for a fear of being labelled racist.

8.2 Importantly, we strongly agree with the Casey Review's conclusion that *"resilience, integration and shared common values and behaviours – such as respect for the rule of law, democracy, equality and tolerance – are inhibitors of division, hate and extremism"* and that by building on these qualities we can become *"stronger, more equal, more united and able to stand together as one nation."*

8.3 One problem is the lack of a clear definition of British values and how we embed them. From our perspective, the most important thing is to encourage people to think seriously about their values and how they relate to the values of others within their community. People shouldn't be afraid to think about this matter or shy away from it. This must be done in a respectful manner and we would recommend that the Committee considers how this might be done in consultation with young people.

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?

Improving accessibility – especially in rural areas

9.1 Rural communities in particular suffer because of the low population density – as a result they are harder to help. The Australian Government and Australian Third Sector offer excellent examples of positive programmes that overcome these barriers. They run a number of programmes that aim to integrate young people from rural communities into wider society and also inure them to political engagement through various schemes. There are several successful examples:

- a. [The Haywire Summit](#): An annual youth summit in the capital (led by ABC radio, the Australian equivalent of the BBC) where kids can get an all-expenses paid trip to come meet with politicians and talk about problems in their communities.
- b. [Police-Citizens Youth Clubs](#) - PCYCs are very popular in rural towns. The idea is to keep children and young people off the streets and prevent negative habits forming (e.g. drug abuse) by engaging them with sports and other activities and offer mentoring from rural police officers.
- c. [CEP](#) - The Country Education Partnership is a not-for-profit organisation that supports the provision of education within rural and remote communities.

9.2 Because rural areas are more cut-off, they need a greater emphasis on different approaches to reach them and many will require a more digital approach utilising the latest technology. This was identified in the House of Lords Social Mobility Committee’s earlier report - *Overlooked and left behind*. It showed that children in rural areas will have a harder time acquiring the requisite work experience that either employers require or that facilitates the development of work place skills, e.g. self-management, resilience, team work. The same report also identified that young people that did not follow an academic route had been “forgotten” or “overlooked” by policy-makers. The stark warning was that without greater support and “clarity”, the “overlooked majority of young people are at great risk of drifting into work and being trapped in employment at the bottom end of the labour market.” This must be addressed.

9.3 Many communities also face a number of smaller-scale barriers. For example, it might be that transport networks are poor and result in people feeling “left behind” or not being able to play an active part in their community. Furthermore, it could be that the digital infrastructure is not in place – again, a particular problem in rural areas.

9.4 Areas of low social mobility (SMI) and high deprivation (IMD) are particularly excluded when it comes to engaging in citizenship and civil society programmes. Increased resource needs to be allocated to those areas, as has been done through the DfE Opportunity Areas, but importantly there is a need to provide increased access to

community based services, supporting cross-sector collaboration and long-term systemic solutions.

Working in partnership

9.5 It is essential that schools are encouraged to be more open to working in partnership with a number of organisations including ourselves.

9.6 Greater emphasis is also required to help support prisons and those reintegrating into society; prisons should be seen as a part of a community. There is currently an untapped potential given the lack of effort to support immersion and integration back into the community.

9.7 Particular effort is needed on supporting young people in care and we all need to think seriously about how we help people from poor and deprived backgrounds – statistically life chances are significantly reduced for young people from such backgrounds. [Statistically](#) they are less likely to engage in youth social action than their more affluent peers. Society as a whole must do better at improving social mobility.

9.8 A collective impact approach should be encouraged and supported in order to develop genuine cross sector partnerships to resolve shared objectives. (<http://www.youthimpact.uk/more-our-collective-impact-work>)

Supporting girls to be active citizens

9.9 Girlguiding's Girls' Attitudes Survey 2015, found only 20% of girls aged 11 to 21 surveyed said they felt part of their local community – this was a decrease from 2010 when 30% felt this way. 38% said they felt the UK was a good place to grow up (a decrease from 48% in 2010); and in 2014 57% of girls aged 11 to 21 said they feel politicians don't listen to the voices of girls and young women.

9.10 There is a well-documented lack of women participating in politics, particularly at a local level, IPPR study (Aug 2017) shows that only 33% of councillors and 17% of council leaders in England are women causing a “democratic deficit”. Better support and engagement for girls and young women means they require opportunities to develop as active citizens and develop their leadership skills. It is also important they have role models to be able to do this – in 2014 61% of girls wanted political parties to make sure there were more female MPs.

9.11 Girlguiding believes that political education must be available to all young people and that it must include feminism and cover female as well as male political figures. The curriculum should be varied and engaging and include an explicit focus on girls and women and how politics is also ‘for them’. 55% of girls support political education in

schools; 54% support mandatory teaching around citizenship, democracy and human rights (Girls' Attitude Survey 2014).

Identifying positive role models and addressing media perceptions

9.12 We need to encourage more role models by supporting individuals and groups to promote role models from different communities. Currently an absence and lack of role models persists.

9.13 There needs to be investment into existing role-model and mentoring initiatives, including Brightside, Chance UK and Future First.

9.14 There are real problems with how the media portrays and reports on real-time events. The media drives unhelpful perceptions – for example, demonising Muslim communities in the wake of the various terrorist attacks in London and Manchester.

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?

Broadening the definition of civic engagement

10.1 As set out at the start of this submission, this matter shouldn't be confined by civic engagement (regularly defined or portrayed as being synonymous with taking positive action or working towards a greater good).

10.2 However, this is an issue that goes beyond such a definition and the primary focus should be on helping people to understand their communities. It is essential that we provide young people with opportunities to express themselves in order to then make a positive contribution independently.

The role of citizenship in helping address social integration and the rise of extremism and hate crimes

10.3 Citizenship and social cohesion do go hand-in-hand. Bringing together young people from a range of different backgrounds allows them to make friends and learn together, and leads them to focus on what they have in common rather than their differences (relating to gender, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic background, or otherwise). This in turn increases social trust, breaks down social barriers, and increases young peoples' sense of belonging to a wider community, rather than a specific niche. This is a key part of what we mean by citizenship, and this is what is needed to combat the rise in hate crime and extremism.

10.4 It is therefore essential that we work together to help young people understand and mix with people from different backgrounds. Social action programmes like those offered by NCS and City Year UK where young people work together in diverse teams have shown to improve attitudes and understanding of those from different backgrounds. For example, data from City Year UK shows that over 50 per cent said that participation in the programme in 2015/16 had positively affected their attitude toward those from different age groups and ethnic, religious and socio-economic backgrounds. NCS [research](#) shows similarly positive effects of the programme on attitudes towards others from different backgrounds.

10.5 We welcome Dame Louise Casey's review into opportunity and integration, which also concluded: *"The less integrated we are as a nation, the greater the social and economic costs we face as a whole. Mistrust, anxiety and prejudice grow where communities live separately. That allows people with extremist agendas to step in and spread fear, hatred and division."* Dame Louise also found that, *"Long-standing – and*

worsening – divisions in our society are being exploited by extremists, predators, and those seeking excuses to legitimise their hate.”

10.6 The Casey Review aimed to address integration and the life chances of some of the most disadvantaged and isolated communities, and by doing so inject some resilience against those who try to divide communities with extremism and hate. The Review found that successive Governments have focussed on, and at times achieved, progress with social and economic exclusion, worklessness, poverty and disadvantage. Historical attainment gaps for many of the most disadvantaged groups in society are narrowing; however there is still a long way to go.

10.7 For example, the Review concluded that in relation to social and economic integration in particular, there is a strong correlation of increased segregation among Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic households in more deprived areas. Combined by poorer English language and weak labour market outcomes, without a more concerted and targeted effort it is likely that such a cycle will only continue.

10.8 If we get our approach to citizenship right however, it is demonstrably clear that participation in the wider community leads to increased levels of trust and engagement. It is interesting to look at Germany as an example:

- a. In April 2016, the German Government announced new legal measures requiring migrants and refugees to integrate into society in return for being allowed to live and work in the country. The mandatory integration measures include language classes or lessons in German laws or cultural basics. According to the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, the aim of Germany’s first ever integration law is to make it easier for asylum seekers to gain access to the German labour market, with the government promising 100,000 new “working opportunities”, expected to include low-paid workfare jobs. Additionally, a law requiring employers to give preference to German or EU job applicants over asylum seekers will be suspended for three years.
- b. Germany uses its full-time volunteering programme to help integrate refugees into German society. In December 2015, the Bundesfreiwilligendienst (Federal Volunteer Service) started a special programme for 10,000 refugees. This programme allows refugees ages 17 and older to work for charity or state organisations for 6 to 18 months, for over 20 hours per week, while the state pays for their health insurance and a small stipend to cover their living expenses. The programme is used to help refugees receive German language support, assimilate with German culture and demonstrate work experience in a German context.
- c. However, 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.

- d. The Federal Office 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.

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?

12.1 It is important to start by recognising and acknowledging that young people are most influenced by people they know personally – it could be a parent, a teacher or a friend. Family and friends are key influencers and have an essential role to play in encouraging others to become better citizens.

12.2 However, without doubt there are good examples of celebrities and high-profile individuals that are making, or have made, a real impact and/or difference. For us, this includes:

- **The Royal Family** – in particular the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge and Prince Harry. They exemplify the model of 'duty' and 'service'. The 'I will' campaigns and similar initiatives strongly emphasise this.
- **Dame Kelly Holmes Trust** – the charity trains and develops world class athletes to mentor young people facing disadvantage. This empowers them to realise the attitudes and behaviours needed to lead a positive life. The programmes target those who are difficult to reach – for example, care leavers, homeless people, young offenders, women at risk of sexual exploitation and those living within isolated communities.
- **Sport England** – Works to increase the number of people getting active. Their own strategy was developed in response to the Government's *Sporting Future* strategy, which was published in December 2015.
- **FA Foundation** - Funded by the Premier League, The Football Association and the Government, the Foundation directs £30m every year into grassroots sport. The money is used to deliver a programme of new and improved community sports facilities in towns and cities across the country.
- **Team GB** - Post London 2012 but also following recent 2017 World Championships.
- **Vloggers and YouTubers**
- Youth led engagement and citizenship schemes create peer and near-peer role models, including **UK Youth Voice**, **UK Youth Parliament** and the **British Youth Council**.

Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, University of Birmingham – written evidence (CCE0078)

- **Points of Light scheme** - The Prime Minister's Points of Light award that recognises outstanding UK volunteers and those making a change in their community. The award was recently presented to Jack Abrey, Chair of The Scout Association's Community Impact Group.
- **Other ambassadors** (e.g. Ellie Simmonds, Bryony Gordon)

Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, University of Birmingham – written evidence (CCE0078)

Author: Joseph Ward, on behalf of the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, University of Birmingham

Future Correspondence: Professor James Arthur, Director, Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues

About the Organisation

The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues is a unique and leading centre for the examination of how character and virtues impact on individuals and society. The Centre was founded in 2012 by Professor James Arthur. Based at the University of Birmingham, it has a dedicated team of 30 academics from a range of disciplines, philosophy, psychology, education, theology and sociology.

1. Submission Summary

1.1 This submission focuses on the conceptual and empirical links between character education, citizenship and civic engagement. As well as including research evidence of the potential benefits character education can yield for developing civic engagement in schools, it also features research into social action and volunteering programmes and the potential they have for creating responsible and compassionate young citizens of the future.

2. Argument & Evidence

2.1 Whilst the early 2000s produced a wealth of fresh thought and research on citizenship and civic republicanism (see Arthur, 2003; Annette, 2005), over the last 10 years it seems the cultivation of citizenship and civic engagement in education has splintered across a number of seemingly disparate fields. This submission focuses on one of these – character education – and summarises research evidence highlighting the relevance and benefits of character for civic engagement.

2.2 A critical aspect of character education which is often overlooked in theoretical and empirical discussions of the concept is its potential benefits *beyond* the individual. Much

of the current discourse on character focuses on traits of performance, such as resilience and grit (Duckworth, 2016), which can be perceived as overly individualistic. This has led to criticism that character education neglects the place of the individual within the community (see Kristjánsson, 2015, Ch. 2), leaving the civic and social benefits of character development underrepresented in the discourse.

2.3 However, a recent survey commissioned by the Department for Education illustrated that 97% of schools in Britain seeking to develop good character in their pupils do so in order to help them become good citizens (Marshall *et al.* 2017). The survey also identified moral character traits, such as honesty and integrity, to be most important to schools in this pursuit (*ibid.* p.18). The conceptual and empirical intersections between character, citizenship and civic virtues have been consistently highlighted in the work of the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues. In its recently revised framework, the Centre posits that character education can help schools to develop ‘...confident and compassionate students, who are effective *contributors to society*, successful learners, and *responsible citizens*’ (Jubilee Centre, 2017).

2.4 The Centre’s empirical work has also highlighted that 60% of UK school teachers see citizenship or PSHE as lessons explicitly dedicated to the development of the ‘whole child’, but that many of feel they receive insufficient training or that time allocated is inadequate to pursue this effectively (see Arthur *et al.* 2015a). This suggests that more work on cohering and improving citizenship and character education initiatives through government could help to improve curricula provision for encouraging citizenship and civic engagement in schools. Evidence suggests that adopting a ‘whole-school’ approach is an effective way to develop character through the more subtle aspects of culture and environment – an approach the Centre terms ‘character caught’ (Arthur *et al.* 2017a).

2.5 Beyond formal education, the Centre’s work on service learning and volunteering has consistently shown a connection between civic engagement and character. A 2015 Jubilee Centre study into youth social action showed that 87% of providers interviewed saw character development as a central to their work (Arthur *et al.* 2015b). More recently, research into social action has revealed that the younger children become involved, the more likely they are to develop a ‘habit of service’ for the future, and those that develop a habit are more adept at identifying and understanding civic virtues (Arthur *et al.*, 2017b). The concept of the ‘double benefit’ is vital here in highlighting how social action can help young people in their future careers, as well as engaging and benefitting their local community (see Arthur *et al.* 2015b).

2.6 Character education is, therefore, a lens through which the deeper meaning of citizenship and civic responsibility can be articulated, and the normative underpinnings of these concepts made explicit (Peterson, 2011). A definition of citizenship which is engaged and socially responsible, and comprised of the civic virtues of service, volunteering, and caring for others, allows for a deeper exploration of what it means to

be a good citizen (see Jubilee Centre, 2017). Such a definition is perhaps a better way of understanding citizenship and civic engagement in contemporary society, as opposed to the rather narrow, legalistic definitions concerning rights and status which often dominate and can become mired in the exclusionary language of nationality.

3. Recommendations

- 3.1 The continuation, extension and investment in the nascent character education programme at the Department for Education would be an effective way of enhancing citizenship and civic engagement in UK schools. Making the multifaceted nature of character more explicit – with civic engagement as an integral part – could help to clarify the role of citizenship in contemporary society and highlight its moral foundations. This could include a focus on ‘virtue literacy’, enhancing pupils’ knowledge and understanding of civic virtues and how to develop them (Jubilee Centre, 2017).
- 3.2 In addition, the extension of a diverse range of localised voluntary citizenship and youth programmes (as well as the NCS) could help to increase awareness of ways in which young people can fruitfully engage with their community, as well as highlighting the double benefit to them of engaging in such activity.
- 3.3 Comprehending and articulating the multifaceted nature of character could also hold practical benefits for government in connecting up strands of policy work already in train. Research in this field could help to inform implementation not just in formal education through curricula, and its relationship to British values, but also as highlighted above, in social action provision.

References

Arthur, J. (2003), *Education with Character*, London: Routledge Falmer

Arthur, J., Kristjánsson, K., Walker, D., Sanderse, W., and Jones, C. (2015a) *Character Education in UK Schools: Research Report*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham, Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues [Online], Available at:
http://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/userfiles/jubileecentre/pdf/Research%20Reports/Character_Education_in_UK_Schools.pdf

Arthur, J., Harrison, T., Taylor, E. (2015b), *Building Character Through Youth Social Action: Research Report*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham, Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues [Online], Available at:
http://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/userfiles/jubileecentre/pdf/Research%20Reports/Building_Character_Through_Youth_Social_Action.pdf

Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, University of Birmingham – written evidence (CCE0078)

Arthur, J., Harrison, T., Burn, E. and Moller, F. (2017a), *Schools of Virtue: Character Education in Three Birmingham Schools*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham, Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues [forthcoming, scheduled 19th October 2017]

Arthur, J., Harrison, T. and Taylor-Collins, E. (2017b), *A Habit of Service: Research Report*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham, Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues [forthcoming, scheduled November 2017]

Annette, J. (2005), 'Character, Civic Renewal and Service Learning for Democratic Citizenship in Higher Education', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 53(3), 326-340

Duckworth, A. (2016), *Grit: The Power of Passion and Perseverance*, New York: Simon & Schuster

Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues (2017), *A Framework for Character Education in Schools*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham, Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, [Online], Available at: <http://jubileecentre.ac.uk/userfiles/jubileecentre/pdf/character-education/Framework%20for%20Character%20Education.pdf>

Kristjánsson, K. (2015), *Aristotelian Character Education*, Abingdon: Routledge

Marshall, L., Rooney, K., Dunatchik, A. and Smith, N. (2017), *Developing Character Skills in Schools: Quantitative Survey*, NatCen Social Research [Online], Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/634711/Developing_Character_skills-survey_report.pdf

Peterson, A. (2011), 'The common good and citizenship education in England: a moral enterprise?', *Journal of Moral Education*, 40(1), 19-35

6 September 2017

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 – written evidence (CCE0162)

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 – written evidence (CCE0162)

1. This submission is from a coalition of organisations that monitor and promote the full implementation of human rights treaties ratified by the UK: [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](#).
2. We welcome the House of Lords Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement inquiry into civic engagement, social cohesion, citizenship education, participation, rights and responsibilities. We are particularly pleased that, among other issues, the Select Committee seeks evidence about additional formal rights and responsibilities beyond the existing legal framework, whether they should have force of law, and how they should be monitored and/or enforced (question no. 3). This submission focuses on this question.

Bringing international human rights home

3. The UK has ratified a number of international [treaties](#) that proclaim human rights: International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (binding since 1969), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1976), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1976), Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (1986), Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment (1986), Convention on the Rights of the Child (1991) and Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2009). The UK has also ratified other human rights-related protocols and regional treaties at the European level.
4. Although the majority of these rights have not been incorporated into national law, the UK is still bound by the obligations set out in the treaties voluntarily ratified under international law (Articles 26 and 27 of the [1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties](#)).
5. Together, these treaties constitute what is known as the international bill of human rights. The significance of the international bill lies in setting out the rights that every individual is entitled to regardless of their place of birth or residence.
6. The UK is monitored on how well it is implementing these rights by periodic reporting to the various UN treaty monitoring bodies. The organisations signing this submission gathered and submitted evidence and engaged constructively with government and UN officials in reviews concluded in 2016 and 2017 by the

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 – written evidence (CCE0162)

Committee on the [Rights of the Child](#), the Committee on the Elimination of [Racial Discrimination](#), the Committee on [Economic, Social and Cultural Rights](#), the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of [Discrimination Against Women](#) and the Committee on the [Rights of Persons with Disabilities](#). The signatory organisations also gathered and submitted evidence in the Joint Shadow Report of the [Universal Periodic Review](#) in 2017.

7. It is crucial that **the UK Governments treats all international human rights obligations and recommendations from independent human rights bodies equally and, working constructively with civil society, take concrete steps to address the concerns raised by the UN treaty monitoring bodies following examination of the UK.**⁴⁷⁹
8. The **UK Government should also allow and empower individuals to submit [complaints](#) to independent international human rights committees after exhausting domestic remedies.** In particular, we encourage the UK Government to sign and ratify the 1966 Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the 2008 Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the 2011 Third Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The UK should also accept the jurisdiction of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the Committee Against Torture.
9. The 3rd UN Universal Periodic Review (UPR) of the UK took place in May 2017, when the UK government received [227 recommendations](#) from other countries in the UN Human Rights Council in relation to its human rights obligations.⁴⁸⁰ At the end of September the Government will be expected to inform the UN what recommendations will be voluntarily accepted by the UK. These recommendations will have to be implemented in the following years. **By accepting and implementing as many recommendations as possible, the UK would present itself before the international community as an open and advanced society, and the Government would contribute to strengthen the UN human rights system. The plan to implement these recommendations should include a mid-term report to assess process and ensure opportunities for engagement with civil society.**

⁴⁷⁹ Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (August 2017, UN doc. CRPD/C/GBR/CO/1); Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (2016, UN doc. CERD/C/GBR/CO/21-23); Committee on the Rights of the Child (2016, UN doc. CRC/C/GBR/CO/5); Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (2016, UN doc. E/C.12/GBR/CO/6); Human Rights Committee (2015, UN doc. CCPR/C/GBR/CO/7); Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (2013, UN doc. CEDAW/C/GBR/CO/7); Committee Against Torture (2013, UN doc. CAT/C/GBR/CO/5). Find the reports (concluding observations) [here](#).

⁴⁸⁰ [Report](#) of the Working Group on the UPR of the UK, 2017, UN doc. A/HRC/36/9.

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 – written evidence (CCE0162)

10. The [European Convention on Human Rights](#) is the only human rights treaty that has been built into the national legal framework through the [Human Rights Act 1998 \(HRA\)](#). The HRA is the primary law that safeguards everyone’s fundamental human rights in the UK and it places a duty on the public sector to comply with human rights set out in the Act. Its protection is essential for children and vulnerable adults, who depend heavily on public services. **The UK Government must put an end to the threat of scrapping the Human Rights Act and withdrawing from the European Convention or restricting its application in any way.**
11. The withdrawal from the European Union should not constitute a backdoor regression for human rights and equality in the UK. In particular, we hope that in the parliamentary process the **EU Withdrawal Bill will be amended to incorporate the rights contained in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights into UK law.**

Civic engagement and the human right to participate actively in society

12. Active participation is essential in an open and engaged society. The principle of active participation is a defining attribute of citizenship rights and cuts across the global human rights regime.⁴⁸¹
13. As summarised effectively by the UN Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, participation rights have a key role in promoting and protecting active citizenship: *“Through meaningful and effective participation, people can exercise their agency, autonomy and self-determination. Participation also limits the capacity of elites to impose their will on individuals and groups who may not have the means to defend their interests. Conceived as a right, participation is a means of challenging forms of domination that restrict people’s agency and self-determination. It gives people living in poverty power over decisions that affect their lives, transforming power structures in society and creating a greater and more widely shared enjoyment of human rights”*.⁴⁸²
14. Civic engagement requires the empowerment of people living in poverty and experiencing social exclusion. Ensuring an adequate standard of living for everyone is a necessary requirement to strengthen the social fabric and people’s identity as

⁴⁸¹ The [principle](#) is contained implicitly or explicitly in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Articles 21 and 27), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 25), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Articles 13(1) and 15(1)), the Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (Articles 7, 8, 13(c) and 14(2)), the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (Article 5(e)(vi)), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Articles 12 and 31) and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Articles 3(c), 4(3), 9, 29 and 30), among others.

⁴⁸² [Report](#) of the UN Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, Magdalena Sepúlveda, 2013, UN doc. A/HRC/23/36, #16.

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 – written evidence (CCE0162)

citizens. Children also have the right to adopt an active role in society and those in power must hear their voices.

15. Participation and active citizenship must be seen as a human right and an essential ingredient of human rights public discourse, laws and policies.

Recommendations

16. The House of Lords Select Committee asks what additional forms of rights, responsibilities and enforcement and monitoring mechanisms could contribute towards a more active and engaged citizenship. We believe the UK Government and society at large should embrace and bring home the human rights recognised in international law. In particular, we call on the UK government to:

- a. Abandon plans to repeal the Human Rights Act 1998.
- b. Treat all international human rights obligations and recommendations from independent human rights bodies equally and take concrete steps to address the concerns raised by the UN treaty monitoring bodies following examination of the UK.
- c. Accept and implement the recommendations made in the last Universal Periodic Review, including a mid-term report.
- d. Engage with civil society in the process of acceptance, monitoring and implementation of human rights recommendations made by international bodies and the UPR.
- e. Draw up a national human rights action plan setting out the priorities the Government will take to improve the promotion and protection of human rights drawing on its work with civil society to take forward treaty body recommendations, as agreed by world leaders in the 1993 Vienna World Conference on Human Rights.⁴⁸³
- f. Safeguard all the rights derived from UK’s membership of the European Union, and in particular amend the EU Withdrawal Bill to incorporate the rights contained in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights into UK law.
- g. Ensure participation and active citizenship are seen as essential ingredients of the human rights public discourse, laws and policies.

⁴⁸³ [Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action](#), adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna on 25 June 1993, #71.

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 – written evidence (CCE0162)

Signatories:

- Just Fair
- Children's Rights Alliance for England
- Alliance for Inclusive Education
- Inclusion London
- Women's Resource Centre
- British Institute of Human Rights

8 September 2017

Dr Nisha Kapoor, Lecturer in Sociology, University of York – written evidence (CCE0225)

1. I am an academic who has studied recent shifts in citizenship law and policy as it impacts on racially marginalized populations, with a particular focus on the impact of the securitization agenda as it has been enforced through immigration control and counter-terrorism initiatives. My academic research on this and related topics has appeared in peer-reviewed academic journals, books and public media platforms.
2. The research I have been carrying out, as part of an ESRC funded project, has involved investigating the growing insecurity of citizenship in the context of the War on Terror with a particular focus on different forms of citizenship denial, withdrawal and deprivation and their racial dimensions. The premise here is that much can be learned about the nature of citizenship from an examination of the experiences of those who are excluded from it.
3. In light of this, I centre my comments here on analysis of data capturing different dimensions of citizenship refusal and withdrawal. The policing of citizenship and reasons provided by the Home Office for its denial has implications for the way in which citizenship comes to be understood and experienced for members of resident minority ethnic communities who are disproportionately affected by these measures.
4. The research has thus far indicated a number of important findings that are deeply concerning. Ann Gross, Director of Special Needs, Disadvantage and Character Policy in the Department for Education, has indicated in earlier evidence to the Committee that Government policy on citizenship education expects schools to promote fundamental British values of ‘democracy, rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance for people of different faiths and beliefs’. My research, however, indicates that many of these principles and values are not adhered to in the decision-making processes for granting citizenship. This not only compromises the sentiment behind those principles per se, it also sends a message out to racially marginalised communities that there are hierarchies of citizenship, with the threshold being higher for some than others. This in turn has potential for increasing levels of alienation and negatively impacting on senses of belonging amongst minority communities.
5. To elaborate, I would like to raise with the Committee a number of issues arising from one of the current requirements for citizenship, namely the ‘good character’ requirement. The broad policy underpinning this criteria has allowed for an ever expansive scope for denying citizenship. While the quantitative data I have examined points to the disproportionate targeting of people with certain nationalities, the qualitative analysis indicates quite starkly how the criminalisation of immigration constrains future possibilities of citizenship.

Individuals can be denied naturalised citizenship on the basis of honest mistakes made when completing asylum application documentation, or for the political views or affiliations that caused them to seek asylum and refuge in the first place. Minor convictions, such as for driving misdemeanours, can also result in the refusal of naturalisation.

6. Analysis of interview data and legal judgements for cases where individuals have been refused citizenship on national security grounds (another dimension that constitutes 'not good character'), shows that in multiple cases individuals are designated to be of 'not good character' because of political beliefs they might hold, because of individuals they are suspected of associating with (which might include family members) and because they have refused to cooperate with and work for the intelligence and security services, acting as undercover agents within suspect communities (typically Muslim communities). While the policing and criminalisation of divergent political beliefs contravenes the very principles of democracy and liberty, 'respect for people of different faiths and beliefs', a value that the Government ostensibly seeks to encourage, is disregarded in this process.

Naturalised Citizenship and the Character Requirement

7. Within unsuccessful applications for British citizenship, being of 'not good character' has come to represent the principle reason for refusal over the last ten years. Since 2008 the number of people being refused naturalised citizenship on the grounds of 'bad character' 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 on this basis. It is consequently becoming the principle reason why citizenship is denied in Britain.
8. The good character requirement for citizenship was revised in 2009 as part of broader immigration-citizenship reforms brought in under Gordon Brown (Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009). The Brown Government's 'Path to Citizenship' strengthened a notion in development for some time that citizenship was something to be 'earned'. The 2009 enhancement centred around a staged process that would involve demonstration of contribution to social and economic life in a number of ways as well as proving a certain degree of assimilation. Sufficient knowledge of life in the UK and the English language would need to be demonstrated alongside exemplifying that one was of reputable 'character', a requirement that encompassed multiple considerations including previous criminal convictions and suspected criminality but also civil society contributions such as paying taxes and community engagement. Though the character requirements have long been part of legal provisions for citizenship, policy changes brought in at this time introduced a stricter test, adding a further dimension to a shift in the administration of citizenship that was already underway.

9. Though there is no official legal definition of what constitutes ‘bad character’, the 2013 Home Office policy guidance indicated that it incorporated ‘not abiding by or respecting the law’, being ‘associated with war crimes’, not having one’s ‘financial affairs in appropriate order’, being involved in ‘notorious activities’ that ‘cast serious doubt on standing in the local community’, being dishonest with the UK Government, or having previously been deprived of citizenship (see Home Office 2013 *Nationality Policy Guidance and Casework Instruction. Chapter 18, Annex D: The Good Character Requirement*). Illegal entry to the UK, ‘assisting in the evasion of immigration control’ and contravening immigration regulations were added to this list in 2014. Currently behaviours such as divorce, promiscuity, drinking or gambling, eccentricity (including beliefs), and unemployment or working habits should not *normally* constitute grounds for refusal, but scale and persistence of such activities are considered potential grounds, particularly if it is a case likely to attract public or media attention. Parenting, debt, bankruptcy factor too. The guidance further stipulates that a decision maker can still refuse citizenship if they have further doubts outside of this list (Home Office 2013, p.4).

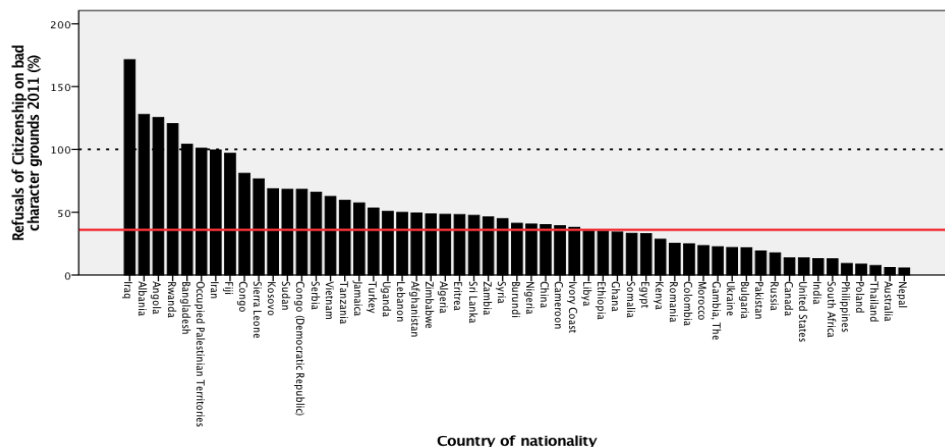
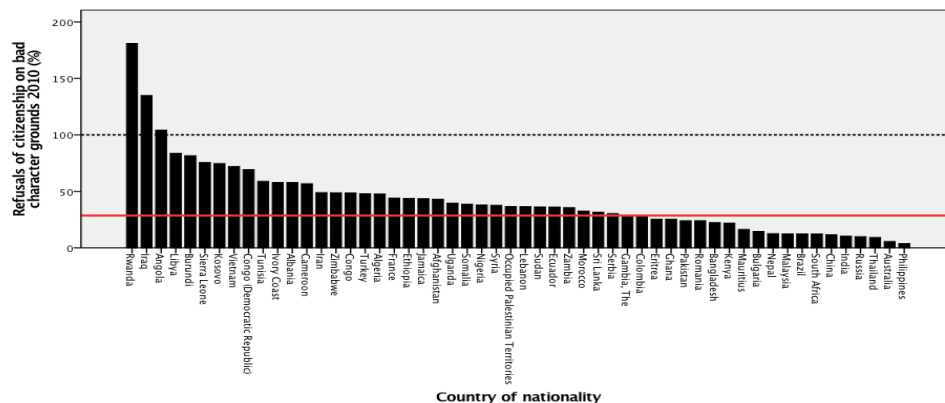
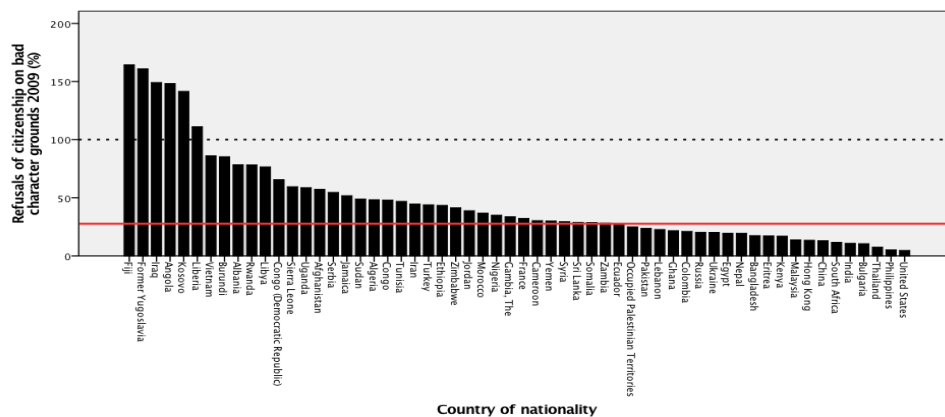
10. While the framework for demarcating citizens and granting citizenship has always been deeply racialized, the supplementation of ‘objective’ thresholds for citizenship such as residency requirements with such ‘subjective’ criteria significantly expands the scope for racial sorting. Analysis of Home Office Citizenship statistics supports this, indicating an uneven distribution of citizenship refusal by nationality.

11. The data indicates that refusals on character grounds are unevenly distributed and some nationalities are more likely to be refused for such reasons compared with others. The data shows this uneven distribution to be the case since 2002, but I focus on data from 2006 here (see Figure 1), two years before a significant jump in citizenship refusals on character grounds in 2008, and three years before the official policy shift in 2009. I have calculated percentage refusals on character grounds as proportions of *expected* rates of total refusal for each country. Consequently, some of the results show that more than 100% of applications are refused on character grounds. While this indicates that specific percentage rates I show are to be treated with some caution, the results do indicate that the overall refusals for applicants from these countries are higher than would be expected (the denominator estimates are too low) and still suggest that a high proportion of refusals from these countries are for reasons of ‘not good character’. Applicants who are nationals of Turkey, Vietnam, Kosovo, Angola, Jamaica, Rwanda, Congo, Tunisia, Algeria, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Iran, Palestine and Libya are consistently more likely to be refused citizenship on character grounds compared with the average rate. From 2008 when there was a jump in the use of this measure so there was a significant rise in refusing applicants from Iraq and Afghanistan and applications from nationals of these countries remain high over the subsequent period.

12. It is difficult from these data to confirm why nationals of the listed countries in particular feature amongst those most likely to be refused on character grounds but they do feature as states from where a high proportion of asylum applications have come from five years or so preceding citizenship applications, countries facing wars in which Britain has had a direct or indirect role and/or post/colonial relationship.
13. One of the justifications for refusing citizenship on character grounds, as noted above, refers to 'deception and dishonesty' in any liaison with a state department, a sufficiently broad criterion that can encompass a range of actions and behaviours. The caseworker guidance notes indicate it refers to attempts to enter the country using false or misleading documents and/or attempts to gain access to public and social services which one's immigration status prohibits against. Since the onslaught of legislative restrictions against asylum make it near possible to arrive as an asylum seeker 'legally', without incurring some kind of legal infraction, and the exclusion from or limited access to basic services such as healthcare and housing mean transgression becomes a necessity for most to survive, it is quite possible that the measure of 'deception and dishonesty' offers a way to exclude from British citizenship large numbers of individuals who have arrived via the asylum route. Though denial of citizenship by naturalisation does not mean the right of residency is retracted it does maintain a position of precariousness for those refused is maintained, restricting freedom of movement for those with no viable passport and preserving a sustained possibility for deportation at future dates.
14. An examination of legal judgements in the High Court where individuals have appealed against refusals of their applications for naturalisation shows that citizenship is often refused on the basis of the roles individuals played in the regimes they were fleeing from and on the same basis that they were granted asylum. Asylum applications from Sri Lanka, for example, have been at persistent levels over recent years as a result of the civil war there. In some cases, refusals of citizenship of applicants from Sri Lanka have been on the basis of their association with either the army or rebel groups, both of which have formed legitimate reasons for seeking political asylum.
15. In another case, citizenship was refused to a Botswanan national who had served in the British army (as part of the Commonwealth) on the basis of a driving conviction.
16. 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.
17. The power to refuse citizenship on character grounds was extended to children from aged 10 in 2010. 415 children aged 10-18 were refused citizenship on character

grounds between 2010 and 2014, [25 of whom were 10-13, 95 of whom were aged 14-15 and 300 aged 16-17](#). There is little detail on the reasons for these refusals but it is somewhat problematic to assume that the full 'character' of a person has been formed by such a young age.

18. Refusal of citizenship on character grounds is sometimes framed in terms of the applicant being suspected of engagement in terrorism-related activity. While there is a broad range of political groups that have been designated as problematic, refusal on this basis can also include those who are not necessarily part of any movement but, for example, engaged in preaching 'non-Western views' or who made public statements that were regarded to be 'of an extremist nature'. This seems to contradict some of the democratic principles being lobbied for, such as freedom of speech and expression.
19. The second, and more prominent, reason for citizenship refusals based on national security bad character concerns associations with others deemed to be suspicious. This affects those who know people who are considered to be of bad character, such that there is a pattern of guilt by association- knowing someone deemed to be of bad character means you can also be labelled in such terms. This reasons underpins most of the justifications for refusing citizenship on character grounds when the specific reason is related to national security or suspicion of terrorism-related activity.
20. The consequence of this wide definition of 'not good character', with its use and application in this way, is to further racialize the concept of citizenship, disproportionately excluding and marginalising some minority ethnic communities, particularly those who are likely to have arrived in the UK via asylum routes and Muslim communities, already alienated by experiences of exclusion and Islamophobia.



Source: Home Office Citizenship Table cz-01qa-Citizenship Applications by Country of Nationality 2016; Home Office FOI Response 26908, 25 April 2013.

The Committee has, in places, redacted the names of individuals to prevent them from being identified.

Dr Avril Keating – written evidence (CCE0134)

Dr Avril Keating is a Senior Lecturer in Comparative Social Science at the UCL Institute of Education, where she works in the Department of Education, Practice and Society. She is the Director of the Centre for Global Youth and a Contributing Academic to the ESRC Centre for Learning and Life Chances in Knowledge Economies and Societies (LLAKES).

Dr. Keating's research focuses on the evolution of civic attitudes and agency during youth, and over the past 10 years, she has been involved in a range of projects that explore this theme from a comparative and mixed-method perspective and that draw on theories from across the social sciences. As part of this research agenda, she has played a leading role in the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) since 2008. She was the lead author on the final two CELS reports for the government (Keating et al, 2009, 2010) and subsequent analyses (see, for example, Keating and Kerr, 2013; Keating and Janmaat, 2016).

Evidence Base for this submission

Much of the evidence presented here draws on the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) in England, a long-running study that follows a cohort of young people that were among the first to become entitled to Citizenship when it became a statutory subject in state-maintained secondary schools in 2002. The study began in 2001, after the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) was commissioned by the Department for Education (DfE) to conduct an independent and longitudinal evaluation of the implementation and impact of Citizenship on schools, teachers, and young people. The government evaluation was officially completed in 2010, but thanks to funding from the ESRC, we have been able to transfer the study to the Institute of Education and to collect further data from our young cohort as they have made their way through early adulthood. The latest data were collected in 2014. For this phase, we collected data from the original cohort of CELS participants (now age 23) but we also conducted a cross-sectional web survey of young people aged 22 – 29 in England, Scotland and Wales.

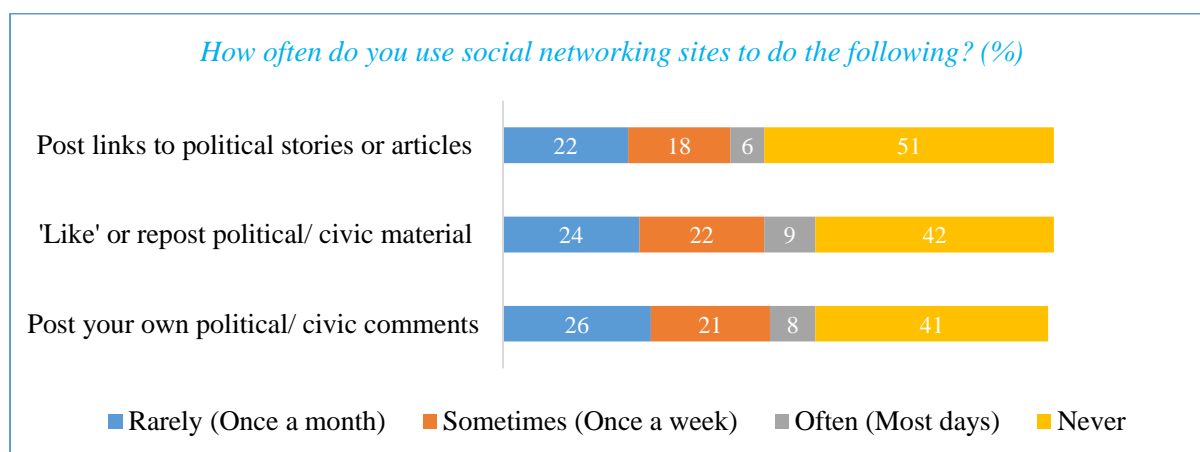
1. What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century?

There is much debate about what citizenship and civic engagement 'mean' in the 21st century. On the one hand, there is widespread consensus that the relationship between individuals, governments and political institutions is evolving. Yet there is little consensus about what the 'new' citizenship contract is (or should be) evolving into, and even more debate about how we conceptualise, categorise, and understand the significance of new forms of civic engagement. For some, these changes pose a risk to our democratic institutions, as they are bound up with a decline in 'traditional' forms of civic engagement such as voting and volunteering (see, for example, Putnam, 2000). Others, however, view these changes as a positive shift that is enabling democracy to be transformed (see Dalton, 2008; Norris, 2002). At the root of this is the fact that citizens are increasingly looking

beyond the established forms of political engagement (e.g. joining political parties) to find new and creative ways to express their political preferences and to achieve their civic and political goals. These ‘new’ forms of civic engagement typically do not take place within established institutions, and include protests, petitions, boycotts, and, and more recently, online modes of engagement (e.g. Twitter campaigns).

Young people are often at the heart of non-institutional forms of civic engagement, particularly if the action is taking place online. And as young people are often the earliest adopters and most prolific users, it has been suggested that social media is a key way to re-invigorating youth political engagement, which has fallen markedly in the UK since the early 1990s (although youth turnout rates now appear to be re-bounding).

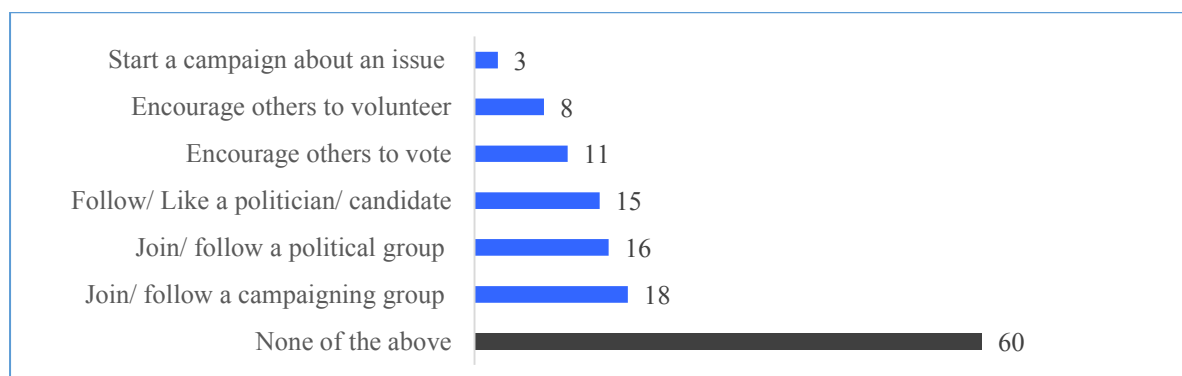
Figure 1: Proportions of young adults participating in political discussions online



Source: CELS cross-sectional survey 2014, age 22-29 (n = 2025)

The 2014 CELS web survey illustrates both the challenges and the limitations of viewing social media as a simple panacea to the perceived problem of youth political engagement. On the positive side, it is a powerful communication tool that can reach a large number of young people. Almost 90% of the 22-29 year olds we surveyed reported that they are members of a social networking site, and over half of this group told us that they use social media to engage with political or civic material (either by liking, re-posting, or commenting on political/ civic material) (see Figure 1). Yet while many are using social media for political discussion, far fewer appear to be using these fora for explicitly political actions, such as starting campaigns on social media (Figure 2). Indeed, a majority of young people (60%) indicated that they had never used social media for political action. By contrast, almost 50% reported having voted in an election; as such, it remains the most common way that young adults engage with the political system and a vital part of political engagement (see Keating et al, 2015).

Figure 2: Proportions of young adults that used social media for the political activities (% yes)



Source: CELS cross-sectional survey 2014, age 22-29 (n = 2025)

Advanced statistical analysis also showed us that the principal driver of online political engagement is political interest (even after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics). On this basis, we concluded that social media may be providing a new outlet for some young adults, it is not re-engaging the young adults that have already lost interest in politics (see Keating and Melis, 2017). Social media may thus be most useful for communicating with young citizens that are already interested in politics, and it should not be relied upon to solve the long-standing inter-generational and intra-generational gaps in civic engagement that have emerged in Britain.

Recommendations:

1. Citizenship and civic engagement should be seen as contested and constantly-evolving social contracts. Treating them as such will enable us to maintain healthy democratic institutions.
2. Social media can be a useful tool for communicating with citizens, but its reach is limited and campaigns that seek to reach out to disengaged citizens should not rely on social media.

5.1 What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship?

Schools and educational institutions are a key site of young citizens' socialisation, whether implicitly (through the hidden curriculum) or explicitly (through curricular or extra-curricular interventions). Indeed, the relationship between citizenship and education is inextricable, in part because of the long-standing involvement of the state in educational provision, but also because by its very nature, education provides young citizens with the fundamental tools (e.g. literacy) that they need to act as citizens. Research has repeatedly shown that there is a strong relationship between education and civic engagement, and that citizens with higher

levels of education are more likely to vote, to volunteer, and to support important civic values such as tolerance and respect for democracy. In this context, then, the role of education should be to provide equal opportunities to all children and young people to receive the high-quality education that they will need to become informed and enabled citizens.

How can educational institutions best achieve this goal?

In addition to providing lifelong civic resources through general education, schools can also play a more direct or explicit role when citizenship is taught as part of the curriculum. Our evidence to support this claim is drawn from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS), which evaluated the impact of school-based citizenship education during the first eight years after Citizenship became a statutory subject in maintained secondary schools in England (i.e. Key Stages 3 and 4). This wide-ranging and mixed method project examined the impact of this new curriculum subject on schools' and teachers' policies and practices, as well as the impact on student outcomes (e.g. behaviours and actions; attitudes and beliefs; knowledge and understanding; civic interest and engagement).

By tracking schools and students over time, and using qualitative and quantitative data, we found that citizenship education could have a positive impact on a range of student outcomes. In particular, students who reported receiving a lot of education about citizenship at school 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 (i.e. to have higher levels of political efficacy). These benefits could be seen even after they had left school and become young adults (see Keating et al, 2010; Whiteley, 2012).

The CELS data also enabled us to identify the schooling practices that were most conducive to achieving these positive civic outcomes. Based on these findings, the 8th and Final Report of CEL provided a series of recommendations, including:

1. Citizenship should be delivered in discrete timetable slots and not conflated with other subjects, such as Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE). These Citizenship classes should last for more than 45 minutes per week.
2. Schools should be encouraged to offer external examination or certification of Citizenship learning.
3. Policymakers should provide more support and training for the political literacy strand of CE (the subject area where teachers felt least confident), and
4. Both schools and teachers need more support to ensure that citizenship learning is embedded in school practices and cultures.

Subsequent analysis suggests that taking part in experiential, 'hands-on' learning activities can be particularly effective at promoting youth civic engagement. In Keating and Janmaat (2016), 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 that 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.

Recommendations:

1. Schools and educational institutions should provide equal opportunities to all children and young people to receive the high-quality education that they will need to become informed and enabled citizens.
2. The Committee should consider how the recommendations from the CELS Final Report could be taken forward.

5.2 At what stages, from primary school through to university, should it be (a) available, and (b) compulsory?

The CELS data show that as young people move towards adulthood, they become more interested in politics, more likely to say that they will vote in general elections, and more confident in their ability to influence political institutions (see Figure 3). This upward trend is particularly marked between the ages of 16 and 20. This suggests that it is especially worthwhile continuing and strengthening citizenship education in post-16 education and training settings. As it currently stands, there is no statutory entitlement to citizenship education in 16-19 education (i.e. upper secondary education).

Further support for the idea of continuing citizenship education at post-16 level is found in the final CELS report (see Keating et al, 2010: 58). The advanced statistical analysis in this report suggest that the potential benefits of citizenship education wane if citizenship education is not sustained throughout a young person's secondary school career. However, the importance of citizenship education at the post-16 stage should not mean that we shift resources away from citizenship education prior to this. For example, we found that experiential learning activities were particularly effective if undertaken in Year 11 (see Keating and Janmaat, 2016), and also that this Year 11 experiential learning was compounded by learning in previous school years. We therefore concluded that that such activities should be provided throughout the schooling experience, to maximise take-up and (ultimately) political engagement.

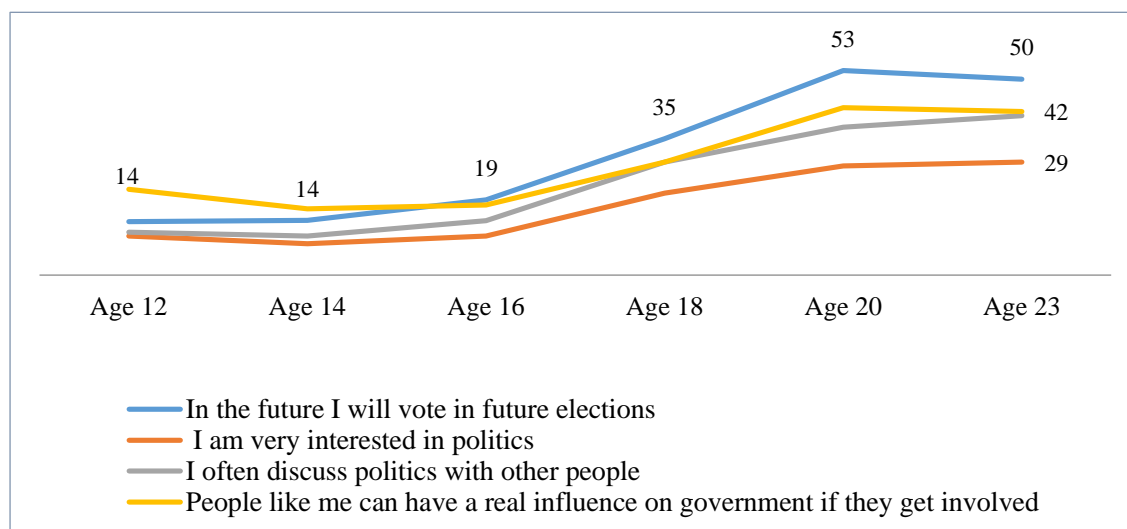
Recommendations:

1. Citizenship education should take place throughout the schooling experience, with additional citizenship education towards the end of secondary school. Introducing

some form of citizenship education at this stage seems particularly timely, as changes to the education system mean that 82% of young people now stay on in education or apprenticeship after age 16.

2. Provision should be compulsory at all levels, and in vocational and academic tracks, to ensure equity of access

Figure 3: Youth attitudes towards voting and politics from adolescence to early adulthood (% agree/ strongly agree)



Source: Keating et al, 2015; Based on data from CELS Waves 1-6 (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2014)

The Challenges and Limits of Citizenship Education

Further support for the efficacy of citizenship education can be found in research studies from other countries, which 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 (see, for example, Torney-Purta, 2002; Schmidt et al, 2007; Quintelier, 2008).

Yet we also know that any potential benefits of citizenship education are dependent on how it is implemented. As noted in my Background Paper from July of this year (see Keating, 2017), the implementation of Citizenship in England has often been uneven. Much of this is due to a combination of policy-design issues, a lack of consistent support for schools and teachers, and resource issues (see also Keating and Kerr, 2013). Currently, the dwindling

number of teachers that are trained in Citizenship is a particular concern. There is also concern that recent government priorities and reforms are also further undermining the already-fragile status of Citizenship in schools. For example, 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. This is something that should be monitored over the coming years. At this juncture, the situation is still somewhat unclear as there is a paucity of up-to-date evidence of what is going on in schools (although the recent ACT survey of Citizenship teachers will help to address this).

Even when citizenship education is implemented well, however, it too should not be viewed (or presented) as a panacea to the various challenges associated with engaging young people in civic and political life. For one, while adolescence is formative, we must remember that civic attitudes and values are not static after this point. Instead, they continue to be malleable after young people have left education and as they make the transition into and through early adulthood (up to age 25). As their attitudes are still being formed, this also means that attitudes are potentially more vulnerable to shocks (such as political scandals and economic crises) and life-stage changes that can undermine civic engagement (see, for example, Schoon and Mortimer, 2017; Smets, 2016). In short, learning about citizenship is a lifelong endeavour; responsibility for this learning cannot be shifted exclusively onto citizenship education or formal educational institutions.

This brings us to a second point that is regularly overlooked in these debates: while schools play an important role in citizens' education, it often a relatively small one. In England, for example, the final CELS report cautioned that 'impact of citizenship education is still relatively small' (Keating et al, 2010: 65). Likewise, multi-level modelling of pan-European data from the 2009 ICCS study shows that schooling and cross-national differences only explain a small amount of the differences that we find in youth attitudes (see Keating, 2014). Both studies highlight that the vast majority of the attitudinal differences emerge not from what young people learn at school, but what they learn from their parents and other social interactions. Thus while citizenship education can be an important part of this process, simply tinkering with the education system, or simply proposing more citizenship education, will not automatically bridge the gulf between the political actors and citizens, or provide an easy fix for the latest social 'problem' that has been identified.

Recommendations

1. The Committee should consider how the number of trained Citizenship teachers could be increased.
2. While CELS and other studies shows that citizenship education can be effective, citizenship education lessons alone are not sufficient to tackle intransigent problems that are rooted in wider social challenges and changes. We should acknowledge that schooling is only one part of what is a complex citizenship-formation process.

3. In addition to ensuring that all children and young people have access to citizenship education throughout schooling, we should also find ways to engage more effectively with other the social institutions that play an important role in citizenship-formation (i.e. families, the media, political parties and other civil society). For example, youth voter registration campaigns should target parents as well as young people and educational institutions. (Parents continue to play an important role in political socialisation when young people are in their 20s.)

Summary and Conclusions

There is evidence both from the UK and beyond that citizenship education has a lasting and positive impact on civic values, attitudes, and engagement among young people. However, while important, citizenship education at school is only one of the many factors that influence citizenship and civic engagement. It cannot be left to schools alone to address the current challenges we observe in civic engagement. Without working with other civic and social institutions, or tackling the underlying social inequalities, launching isolated school-based initiatives to resolve these issues is likely to have only limited success.

Moreover, to increase the efficacy of citizenship education in schools, policy announcements in this vein must be backed-up with sustained political commitment, practical support for schools, and trained teachers (see Keating and Kerr, 2013). Without these vital resources, it will be difficult to live up to the potential that different types of citizenship education can have, and give youth civic engagement the boost it still clearly needs.

References

Dalton, R. J. (2008). *The good citizen: How a younger generation is reshaping American politics*. SAGE.

Keating, A. (2014) *Education for citizenship in Europe: European policies, national adaptations, and young people's attitudes*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Keating, A. (2017) *Citizenship Education in England: Current state of play and key challenges*. Background paper for the House of Lords Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement, July 2017.

Keating, A. and Kerr, D. (2013) 'Putting participation into practice : re-evaluating the implementation of the Citizenship curriculum in England'. In: Hedtke, R. and Tatjana Zimenkova (eds.) *Education for Civic and Political Participation: A Critical Approach*. Routledge (Chap 6).

Keating, A. and Melis, G. (2017) Social media and youth political engagement: Preaching to the converted or providing a new voice for youth? In: *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. [Open access] DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148117718461>

Keating, A., Green, A. and Janmaat, J.G. (2015) *Young Adults and Politics Today: disengaged and disaffected or engaged and enraged? The latest findings from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS)*. LLAKES Research Brief. UCL Institute of Education. Download [here](#).

Keating, A., Kerr, D., Benton, T., Mundy, E., and Lopes, J. (2010) *Citizenship education in England 2001-2010: young people's practices and prospects for the future: the eighth and final report from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS)*. Department for Education [online]. <http://www.education.gov.uk/publications//eOrderingDownload/DFE-RR059.pdf>

Keating, A., Kerr, D., Lopes, J., Featherstone, G., Benton, T. (2009) *Embedding Citizenship Education (CE) in Secondary Schools in England (2002-08): Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS): Seventh Annual Report*. London: DCSF.

Norris, P. (2002). *Democratic phoenix: Reinventing political activism*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Quintelier, E. (2008). Who is politically active: the athlete, the scout member or the environmental activist? *Young people, voluntary engagement and political participation*. *Acta sociologica*, 51(4), 355-370.

Schmidt, J. A., Shumow, L., & Kackar, H. (2007). Adolescents' participation in service activities and its impact on academic, behavioral, and civic outcomes. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 36(2), 127-140.

Schoon, I., & Mortimer, J. (2017). Youth and the Great Recession: Are values, achievement orientation and outlook to the future affected? *International Journal of Psychology*, 52(1), 1-8.

Smets, K. (2016). Revisiting the political life-cycle model: later maturation and turnout decline among young adults. *European Political Science Review*, 8(2), 225-249.

Torney-Purta, J. (2002). The school's role in developing civic engagement: A study of adolescents in twenty-eight countries. *Applied developmental science*, 6(4), 203-212.

Whiteley, P. (2012). Does citizenship education work? Evidence from a decade of citizenship education in secondary schools in England. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 67(3), 513-535.

Dr Avril Keating – written evidence (CCE0134)

8 September 2017

KIDS – written evidence (CCE0238)

KIDS is a national charity working with children and young people with disabilities, and their families. We support over 13,500 disabled children, young people and their families every year by delivering over 120 services throughout England. Kids is unique; there is no other organisation dedicated to providing such an extensive range of services to disabled children and young people, aged 0 – 25 years, irrespective of their impairment or condition.

Part of our work involves engaging young people in consultation and coproduction for other organisations, such as Local Authorities. We have groups of young people who have developed their skills and insights to be able to reflect on their experiences and to consider the experiences of their peers. Two of these groups have been engaged in reviewing some of the questions posed by the select committee.

Several of the questions posed by the committee were adapted to be accessible to the young people taking part in the activity.

Main themes that emerged were that access to meaningful employment is key to being able to engage with society – providing independence and positive self-esteem. The ability to engage in community activities and make a difference to local communities was also a key component in active citizenship for young people.

What do you think Citizenship involves?

Young people described citizenship as involving

- Being part of a wider community and being an active part of that community
- Being able to access services
- Abiding by the rules of society
- Being able to find employment (a particular concern for people with disabilities)
- Caring for other people
- Being able to live independently and having positive self esteem

What does being a good citizen mean? How can people be good citizens?

This question brought to the fore many views about how accessible society is for disabled people.

The ability to gain information in order to be able to participate was raised – adaptations to information allow people with disabilities to make informed choices at, for example, election time. There is a shortage of such adapted information.

Ways in which people can be good citizens include:

- Tolerating and accepting difference
- Avoiding discrimination and prejudice
- Being kind to people
- Volunteering and getting involved in local communities

Is there anything about being a good citizen that you are stopped from doing, or that you find difficult to do? What things stop you, or make it difficult?

- A lack of employment opportunities for disabled young people creates a huge barrier to gaining independence
- Accessible transport is a significant barrier to being engaged in communities and society in general
- A lack of understanding, acceptance or even tolerance of people with disabilities. In particular relating to employment and career opportunities.
- A lack of appropriate volunteering opportunities for people with disabilities limits the ability to engage.
- Voting in elections: A lack of accessible information to help inform disabled people, along with issues regarding transportation to actually vote.
- A lack of good quality education for young people with disabilities has a significant impact. More support at school, along with education systems designed to enable young people with disabilities to more fully realise their potential, is needed.

What activities or examples could show that someone is a good citizen?

- Wider access to the National Citizenship Service for people with disabilities
- Volunteering in projects like the one creating these responses – engaging in public speaking, petitioning and being active in your community; having an influence on the world
- Caring for the environment
- Voting
- Being informed about the social and political world
- Being aware of rights and responsibilities
- Supporting and caring for others
- Gaining employment
- Joining Brownies / Scouts. Taking part in the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme.
- Paying taxes, abiding by the law, being polite

What could help you to become a more active citizen?

- Opportunity
- Employment
- Access to opportunities such as National Citizenship Service, Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme and the Prince's Trust. Many participants found they could not access the NCS as a result of their disabilities.
- Gaining a good education

Simon Kinder, Head of Learning and Teaching, Gresham's School – written evidence (CCE0009)

Simon Kinder, Head of Learning and Teaching, Gresham's School – written evidence (CCE0009)

The state of citizenship education and the role that it plays in creating active citizens:

In general in curriculum terms this is adequate but often gets side-lined in favour of other very important PSHE areas. Rarely is the curriculum time sufficient to allow citizenship education to be delivered fully or in a way that will inspire and animate young people. I am fortunate enough to work in a school in which there is curriculum time to explain the constitution, voting system, the different levels of democracies and to explore the rights and duties of British citizens. We have also arranged a mock election in conjunction with every UK general election since 2005, in which candidates address the whole school and are subjected to public Q and A hustings; turnout is now regularly 80% of the pupil body. We staged a Brexit debate, where staff and pupils debated together, and secured a 92% turnout in our referendum. We hosted a post-Brexit discussion forum by Cambridge University, in which pupils, staff, parents and local people shared their views as to the shape of post-Brexit Britain that they wanted. We even conducted a US presidential debate in 2016. During the 2017 UK general election the School had a visit from the CPA UK Election Assessment Mission which allowed pupils to discuss their views of the UK political system and the election process; the international delegations were impressed by the passion and level of engagement displayed by the pupils. There are typically twenty-plus school debates a year, which frequently explore issues directly related to citizenship. There is also a Politics Group, which invites local councillors and police and crime commissioners to speak and answer questions. More schools need to be encouraged to have this level of active engagement for pupils and there ought to be time and incentives to make it more central.

The actual process of voting looks like it is out of the 1920s. It is time to explore a secure digital system of voting which might encourage more young people to vote. Social media was certainly a significant factor in the increased student turnout in 2017.

In general, decent citizenship education is essential to social cohesion. It would be great to see more freedom to celebrate the values of freedom and political democracy, which are not solely British values, and to separate this from a Prevent strategy which serves quite a different purpose. Above all though the delivery of citizenship needs to be active and exciting. Only when young people get the chance for dialogue and debate amongst themselves and with different stakeholders and generations can citizenship education really succeed.

4 August 2017

Kingsteignton Youth Centre – written evidence (CCE0084)

“If they knew how much we knew, if they knew our vote could help them in their job, then maybe they’d listen to us.”

A. Executive Summary

- Current laws do not encourage political engagement from young people and we should be given our right to vote.
- We believe that being unable to vote signifies to political leaders that we are less deserving of attention, and that our opinions are less important.
- Schools can and should do more, by teaching life skills integrated with political engagement.
- Without change, it will continue to feel as if politics is about us but not for us.

B. Introduction: The Young People of Kingsteignton Youth Centre (KYC)

1. This evidence has been collected from young people, aged 8 to 18, who are members of a community youth group in Devon. Kingsteignton Youth Centre is a Charitable Incorporated Organisation (Reg. no. 1171416) which runs KYC, a youth club for young people aged from 8 to eighteen years. One of the principal objects of the charity is to provide support and activities for young people, in order to develop their skills, capacities, and capabilities and enable them to participate in society as mature and responsible adults.
2. The young people who make up KYC welcome this opportunity to share their experiences with the House of Lords and highlight their hopes for better engagement between young people and the state.
3. The following evidence focuses on three key issues taken from the Call for Evidence, relating to questions 4, 5 and 9. It was collected and reviewed in August 2017 by the young people with the help of staff and volunteers.

C. Enfranchise Young People (Question 4)

4. Current laws do not encourage political engagement from young people and we should be given our right to vote.
5. Our future is affected by votes from which we are excluded. The recent referendum on membership of the European Union is an excellent illustration of a political decision that

affects us all, and which will determine our future but which was made without us. We will deal with the consequences of Brexit, and we were not given a voice.

6. In 2017, YouGov reported that when it comes to voting, “age is the new class”.⁴⁸⁴ We believe we are deliberately disenfranchised from the vote in order to affect the result of national and local elections. The vote should be given to people aged 16 and above.
7. We believe that being unable to vote signifies to political leaders that we are less deserving of attention, and that our opinions are less important. More energy would be spent engaging with young people if the voting age is lowered, and young people in turn would feel more invested in civic engagement.
8. We reject the argument that 16 and 17 year olds do not possess the maturity to vote in an informed way.
9. We question whether age signifies maturity, and point to the many significant responsibilities held by people under 18. For instance, young people are allowed and encouraged to join the armed forces, where we train to defend the country. If we can be trusted to defend the country, we should be trusted to have a voice in our elections.

D. The Role of Schools and Education (Question 5)

10. Schools can and should do more, by teaching life skills integrated with political engagement.
11. We want to be taught more of the hard skills we need for adulthood, we want to be taught how to pay our taxes, and where those taxes are spent. We know that our taxes and our parent’s taxes fund politician’s salaries, but we want to learn about how these funds are spent on services that affect us, and how we can influence those spending decisions.
12. We believe that to be better engaged with society, young people need a better understanding of the legal and justice systems that affect us. We should be aware of our rights as well as our responsibilities.
13. We want to learn the know-how we need to be successful adults, including political engagement. Government should invest in educating parents, so they can benefit from these skills and pass them on to us too.
14. **“Politics should be part of life skills and all life skills should be compulsory in schools.”**
15. We want a better understanding of global politics at an earlier age. We hear a lot about war and conflict between and within countries. We want to know how our defence

⁴⁸⁴ “The demographics dividing Britain” 25 April 2017, [Available at: <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2017/04/25/demographics-dividing-britain>]

system works, and what the implications of political choices are on the international stage. We want to better understand the decisions that are being made by adults that will affect our future.

E. Young People are Not Included or Represented (Question 9)

16. It feels like politics is not for us. Although the diversity of Parliament seems to be getting better, it does not mirror society. We feel disconnected from our MP who works with her constituency but not with us, because we can't vote as young people.
17. **"If [MPs] knew how much we knew, if they knew our vote could help them in their job, then maybe they'd listen to us."**
18. There is still a lack of diversity in parliament and we don't feel represented. To us, being represented means having more women, more young people, and more BAME leaders in Government.

6 September 2017

Kingston Park Neighbourhood Forum – written evidence (CCE0107)

Submitted by Violet Rook, Chair

The meaning of citizenship and civic engagement in the 21st Century

The Kingston Park Neighbourhood Forum was established to formulate a Neighbourhood Plan under the Localism Act 2011.

This idea of a plan for a local area be it a Parish or an area with an established structure was to encourage local citizens to become actively involved in their community, to establish a local plan similar to a core strategy which would be of benefit to this and the next generation. This idea encourages civic engagement and should be encouraged in regard to local democracy.

Newcastle also contains many examples of local civic engagement which brings together many cultures and communities in civic endeavours. An example was the Community Voices an organisation which included representatives of the BME, women's groups, older peoples groups communities in the city who worked together in regard to commenting on council strategy. This established a tradition which the city encourages in schools and colleges.

The rights and responsibilities attached to citizenship

The rights of every citizen should be maintain without fear or favour and not for profit or fame but to endeavour to deliver all from the insecurity of bias and hatred. Showing no privilege or prejudice to anyone, but treating each citizen as unique to themselves and deserving to be considered so. The constitution shows and gives direction to enable trust in each decision and future proof the word of parliament and whose who try to establish a country where it is safe, caring and just. The individual needs to be aware of the rights of others to life, liberty and to pursue their own course in society. These rights have been establish in law, be it parliamentary legislation, case law, common law and precedents. These have been formulated by the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary over time and are the basis of our constitution. Many other countries have followed this example and it provides checks and balances which have brought stable government. This now needs to be adjusted to enable the positive use of technology to work for the citizens advantage in modern day society to have a voice in regard to parliamentary structure and process.

The impact of current electoral law on political engagement

Current law works in regard to democracy. Democracy indicates voting should be a personal choice and not compulsory. The use of technology in regard to voting will undoubtedly become the norm as it is in many countries in the world. But lessons need to be learnt in regard to hacking and false use of electronic voting. It would be useful if a research project was established to further the safeguarding of this procedure before it becomes established.

The state of citizenship education and the role that it plays in creating active citizens

The education of the citizen in regard to how the state works is vital to the health of democracy and the state both now and in the future. The media should play a more proactive role in this with information related to the structure and workings of Parliament. The broadcasting of the House of Commons is not compulsive viewing for the public. Therefore the national curriculum should be used to strength the knowledge of society in the very important topic, with economics being used to illustrate how local and national governments work.

Parliament and the Constitution should be taught to children and adults with refresher courses and visits to Parliament and Council events being made, especially at the commencement of a new government, this would make the electorate more aware and active in civic developments. Perhaps a formal part of voting would be to indicate an active activity in regard to the topic.

The connections of Councillors and Members of Parliament should be developed in regard to educating the generations and encouraging involvement via visits, and the us of technology in regard to comments on committee meetings. Social cohesion would be encouraged and unite communities in mutual community needs via having the knowledge of how things work, its members being well informed, supporting civic engagement and the role of Government and Parliament

7 September 2017

Dr Dina Kiwan, Reader in Comparative Education, Department of Education and Social Justice, School of Education University of Birmingham – written evidence (CCE0033)

This evidence is based on various pieces of published research and policy contributions that I have conducted over the last 15 years:

i) Research that I conducted (2001-2005), which examined conceptions of citizenship in the policy and curriculum development process of citizenship education with its statutory introduction in the English secondary school contemporary context, from the perspectives of the key players who were involved. My particular focus was on the extent to which these conceptions addressed ethnic and religious diversity, in terms of their theoretical and practical implications. My methodology entailed interviewing thirty participants involved at different stages of the policymaking process, including David Blunkett, Sir Bernard Crick, and others both actively involved in the policy process, subsequent curriculum development stages and also related initiatives – including the Home Office community cohesion initiatives. In addition, I analysed key policy and curriculum documentation. **(Kiwan, D. (2008). *Education for Inclusive Citizenship*. London and New York: Routledge.)**

ii) Policy consultation: Co-author of **DfES Diversity and Citizenship Review (Ajegbo Report, 2007)**.

iii) Large-scale research project conducted on the process of integration and acquisition of citizenship, interviewing adult third country nationals applying for UK citizenship in 2010, in collaboration with COMPAS, University of Oxford (2010-11), funded by European Integration Fund, administered through the Home Office. **(Gidley, B., Cangiano, A., Khor, Z. and Kiwan, D. (2012). *Citizenship and Integration in the UK*.)**

iv) Research and policy consultation on naturalization and education policy in the UK:

1. Kiwan, D. (2011) (ed). 'Education for national citizenship in the context of devolution and ethno-religious conflict' special issue, *Ethnicities*, 11 (3).

2. Kiwan, D. (2013). 'Learning to be "British"? education and naturalisation in the UK', in D. Kiwan (ed). (2013). *Naturalisation Policies, Education and Citizenship: Multicultural and Multi-nation Societies in International Perspective*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. (This book also provides a comparative perspective, comparing with countries in Europe, Asia and the Middle East.)

3. Kiwan, D. (2007). *Becoming a British citizen: A learning journey*. (Lord Goldsmith QC Citizenship Review).

v) Research and policy advice for UNESCO on global citizenship, leading to publication: **Kiwan, D. and Evans, M. (2015). *Global Citizenship Education. Topics and Learning***

Dr Dina Kiwan, Reader in Comparative Education, Department of Education and Social Justice, School of Education University of Birmingham – written evidence (CCE0033)

Objectives by Age. UNESCO: Paris, France. (Additionally, I have recently participated in a high-level interdisciplinary UNESCO consultation in Seoul, South Korea, June 2017 on nationalistic perspectives and their implications for global citizenship education).

vi) Research conducted on conceptions of citizenship in the Middle East context:

Kiwan, D. (2014). 'Emerging Forms of Citizenship in the Arab World' in E. Isin and P. Nyers (eds) *Routledge Global Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. London and New York: Routledge.

Kiwan, D. (2016). 'Syrian and Syrian Palestinian women in Lebanon: 'actors of citizenship'?'. In M. Shalaby, and V. Moghadam (eds). *Empowering Women after the Arab Spring*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kiwan, D. (2017). 'Middle East', in Ian Davies, Li-Ching Ho, **Dina Kiwan**, Carla Peck, Andrew Peterson, Edda Sant, Yusef Waghid. (2017 forthcoming) (ed). *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Citizenship and Education*. Basingstoke, UK and New York, US: Palgrave Macmillan.

1. There is a long intellectual history to citizenship and civic engagement, from philosophical conceptions of citizenship in ancient Greece, to framings of citizenship in Western Europe in the Enlightenment period and the rise of the modern nation-state, to contemporary conceptions of citizenship against a backdrop of globalisation, immigration and social pluralism. In the UK, the government has made efforts to reassert the relevance and significance of 'national' (or state-level) citizenship, in the context of internal division from increased devolution, community cohesion and security threats (Kiwan, 2011). In exploring the various and contested conceptions of citizenship in my research, what emerged from the analysis of interviews I conducted with UK policymakers between 2002-2005, as well as the analysis of key policy and curriculum documentation, was that there were three 'dominant' conceptions of citizenship – which I refer to as 'moral', 'legal' and 'participatory' conceptions of citizenship, with the 'participatory' conception being the most dominant of these conceptions (Kiwan, 2008). In contrast, interviewees also referred to 'underplayed' conceptions of citizenship, supported by my analysis of key policy and curriculum documentation: what I have referred to as 'identity-based conceptions', as they are inherently concerned with 'identity', or forms of identification at different levels. These include national, European, and global framings of citizenship, as well as citizenship presented as a framework for anti-racist education, and 'multicultural' citizenship.

The emphasis of these conceptions of citizenship have shifted over the last decade towards a heightened focus on identity and values, especially since the London bombings in July 2005, and more recently with concerns relating to global terrorism, Brexit, and trends towards populist and nationalist understandings of citizenship. There have been attempts to engage with issues of diversity in relation to citizenship (eg. the DfES Ajebo Report 2007, of which I was a co-author). In this report, we proposed an additional strand - 'Identity and Diversity', in addition to the original three strands of 'social and moral responsibility', 'community involvement' and 'political literacy' proposed in the initial Crick Report. This

Dr Dina Kiwan, Reader in Comparative Education, Department of Education and Social Justice, School of Education University of Birmingham – written evidence (CCE0033)

recommendation was accepted and incorporated in subsequent revised curriculum documentation. There has been a troubled engagement with ‘diversity’, where ‘*shared values*’ is often utilised to question and challenge the presumed cultural, economic and political threats of ‘diversity’, an important theme that emerged from my interviews over a decade ago, as well as continuing as a common theme in public debates today.

An increased focus on the conception of ‘global citizenship’ has been championed by UNESCO since the launch of the Global Education first initiative of the UN Secretary General in 2012. Global citizenship education is situated within this initiative, framed in terms of an emphasis on the importance of recognizing interdependency – socially, culturally, economically and politically, with local, national, regional and global connectedness. This initiative in its stressing of socio-emotional, as well as cognitive and behavioural dimensions illustrates an international trend recognising the importance of the so-called ‘soft skills’, as well as resonating with such initiatives as some forms of ‘character education’, sustainable development, human rights and peace education (Kiwan and Evans, 2015). In the developing world context in particular, however, there has been some resistance to such global conceptions, with the argument that where there are significant local and national regional challenges, such conceptions are not relevant or helpful (Kiwan, 2017).

2. Since 1997, citizenship has been a high policy priority across government. In addition to the introduction of citizenship education as a statutory subject in England in 2002, the Life in the UK Advisory Group – of which I was a member, was set up in 2002, with the remit to advise the Home Secretary on the ‘method, conduct and implementation’ of a ‘Life in the UK’ naturalisation test. Both these initiatives - in education policy and naturalisation policy were concerned fundamentally with promoting membership and belonging. There have been debates about what content best serves the purposes of strengthening people’s identification and active participation. One debate relates to whether this is better achieved through equipping people with critical skills of language and practical information, or whether it is through a more academic engagement with the country’s history. The recommendations of the Life in the UK advisory group reflected a support for the former position. There have also been debates as to the length of time before qualifying for naturalisation, as well as distinctions between such statuses as ‘permanent leave to remain’, and being a ‘citizen’. In addition, the role of symbolic markers of recognition of achieving citizenship status can be considered to have an important emotive value, as evidenced in research findings on the integration and naturalisation process that I conducted in collaboration with COMPAS, University of Oxford (2010-11). The naturalisation process was viewed in general positively, with more positive reviews for the course route as opposed to the test route, which allowed for increased social contact. Applicants noted both instrumental (eg. security of residence, freedom of movement) as well as non-instrumental benefits of citizenship - namely a sense of belonging to the UK. Half of the applicants in the sample had friendships outside of their ethnic group, with a greater level of inter-ethnic interaction than the UK-born population. Education, faith and sport were the main sites for

such socialisation. New citizens were also more active in terms of civic participation than the UK-born population. With regards to identity, the majority had a strong sense of local identity to their neighbourhoods, and to the UK, but less so to the separate four nations of the UK (Gidley, Cangiano, Khor and Kiwan, 2012).

5. In my research on citizenship and inclusion - studied both through education and naturalisation policy – both in the UK and in international context, I have proposed that the construct of ‘citizenship’ is not a static one – a badge of honour, but one that is continually in process through learning – both through formal education, but also very importantly through non-formal means – through the community, family and peers. As such, we are learning what it means to be members of our communities from an early age, and so it is appropriate that formal education supports this learning process from primary school onwards. However, citizenship education has been presented primarily in terms of knowledge and skills of participation, based on ‘cognitive engagement theory’, which hypothesizes that participation depends of access to information (Kiwan, 2011). There is a further implicit assumption that equipping pupils with ‘skills’ for participation will somehow translate into active participation of all students. Whilst this is necessary, it is not sufficient for a model of inclusive active citizenship. What is missing is an understanding that identification with the social context will necessarily influence an individual’s motivation to participate. There is an important role of ‘emotional’ learning that has been neglected in dominant models (Kiwan, 2007; Kiwan, 2011).

I have also written about how the naturalisation process can be conceived of as a learning process (Kiwan, 2007; Kiwan, 2011; Kiwan, 2013). The advantage of making such learning compulsory is a practical one – in that it both signals the importance of this learning, as well structurally requiring ‘space’ to be made in the curriculum for this learning. In order to answer the questions of relative emphasis of ‘political participation’ (and what this refers to) inside and outside classes, effectiveness of current teaching and assessing the current curriculum offering, I would propose that a national comprehensive review be commissioned. There is certainly evidence that there are examples of excellent teaching, although due to resource limitations, this is patchy on the national scale.

8. As noted in my response to 1, the issue of ‘shared values’ has often been raised as an antidote to the dangers of diversity. Of note, is that the policy preoccupation with promoting ‘Britishness’ – both in education and naturalisation policy – has been predominantly a focus in England, rather than in Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland. Indeed, research analysing conceptions of citizenship in citizenship education in England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales illustrate varying conceptions across the four nations, given the devolved nature of education policy in the UK: England presents a predominantly state-level, yet multicultural, framing; Scotland presents a relatively more national (although predominantly civic) framing, coupled with a relatively more global outlook; Wales presents a national framing (both in cultural but increasingly also in civic terms), coupled with a relatively more global outlook; Northern Ireland presents a ‘glocal’ framing with the focus

Dr Dina Kiwan, Reader in Comparative Education, Department of Education and Social Justice, School of Education University of Birmingham – written evidence (CCE0033)

on the local, explicit avoidance of the national and state-level, and an orientation to the global through the lens of human rights (Kiwan, 2013). Furthermore, even though naturalisation policy is a function of central government, my research has shown tensions between a top-down state discourses on 'Britishness' in contrast to regional discourses on 'Welshness', 'Scottishness', 'Northern Irishness' and 'Englishness' (Kiwan, 2013).

The concern with promoting shared values in the face of diversity typically reflects a concern with perceived divisiveness of 'multicultural' diversity arising from the UK's minorities, as opposed to concerns with 'multi-nation' diversity (the four nations – England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales). Yet, as remarked upon by the Canadian political philosopher, Will Kymlicka (2011) reflecting on the Canadian context as well as other multi-nation states, although many nation-states are concerned with potential threats from multicultural diversity, in fact the greatest 'threats' to the integrity of the nation-state come from its constituent nations.

There are also problems in the teaching and practical application of any kind of prescriptive approach to what values count as 'British'. Certainly, I would advocate learning about values and discussing controversial issues, where students are supported in learning to develop skills of logic, debate, clarity of informed expression, as well as listening to opposing perspectives. Since Brexit, and the rise in populism in the US context as well as in parts of Europe, members of minority groups have come under increased verbal and physical attack, by those who have been emboldened to express and act in ways previously deemed to be unacceptable in an egalitarian and democratic society. In some discourses, unfettered 'freedom of expression' has sometimes been used as way to legitimise the expression of hate speech, racism, sexism, other forms of discrimination, and acts of violence. There is much public misunderstanding regarding how freedom of expression relates to justice and inclusion, and a public initiative to address this would be an important step to towards addressing these issues.

9. In recent analyses of why there has been a rise in nationalist and populist movements worldwide – for example, the forces leading to the voting for Trump as President, the forces leading to the result of the Brexit referendum, it has been suggested that certain communities have felt 'left behind' or not heard by the political elite / establishment. It has also been suggested that these groups tend to be demographically poor, White and relatively uneducated. In the context of Brexit, statistical analysis has also show the importance of age in this demographic, where relatively more older voters supported Brexit, alluding to more ideological rather than economic drivers for these decisions, with a nostalgia for a 'stronger' UK as in the days of the British Empire. However, it is also important - that whilst recognising these factors, it is also recognised that such sentiments are predicated on a strong sense of entitlement, positioned in relation to those 'minorities' and 'newcomers' perceived to have less entitlement. This is not only the case in the UK and US, but also evident in other contexts worldwide. For example, in research on Syrian and Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, the same concerns are articulated by poor, marginalised

Dr Dina Kiwan, Reader in Comparative Education, Department of Education and Social Justice, School of Education University of Birmingham – written evidence (CCE0033)

local Lebanese communities. One strategy used by international humanitarian agencies, such as the UNHCR has been to support those local deprived communities and their local inhabitants where there have been large influxes of refugees (Kiwan, 2016).

11. Language proficiency has been shown to be strongly positively correlated with employment rates and with earnings, and so is important in promoting equality (Gidley, Cangiano, Khor and Kiwan, 2012). In addition, language is critically important in cultural integration. Some European countries have language programmes specifically for new migrants, but in the UK provision has been either within schools for the under-16s or at FE colleges for over-16s. There have been reductions in free provision since 2007, and women, the low-paid and part-time workers are particularly adversely affected by such reductions, with 26% in our interview sample stating that the courses were too expensive (ibid, 2012). In addition, from our interviews, it was noted that a significant minority (13%) had to travel more than 10 miles for an ESOL class, and 17% had to wait more than 6 months to access a place on a course (ibid, 2012). In the Lord Goldsmith QC Review of Citizenship, I also made a number of recommendations in relation to supporting the integration of first and second generation immigrants through adequate and free provision of English language at the earliest possible opportunity (Kiwan, 2007).

22 August 2017

Adam Peter Lang – written evidence (CCE0022)

I am a former London secondary teacher, head teacher and former Chair of the Association of School and College Leaders (ASCL) Public and Parliamentary Committee. I am now engaged in independent Doctoral research at UCL.

This short contribution to your very important and timely work on Citizenship and Civic Engagement is an independent one.

My contribution will relate to questions 5, 8, 9 and 10. I would be willing to speak to the committee if that would be helpful.

My research at UCL is on the impact of the Prevent strategy, especially the July 2015 duty, on schools and colleges with a close examination of the impact on Leadership and within communities.

The demographic changes relating to the British population and in particular schools (Cliffe 2017) is an important context. 67% of students in London Secondary schools are of BME background and in 2015 DFE figures showed that 30% of Primary school children in England and Wales are of BME background.

My research and that of others notably Busher et al (2017) shows that despite a recognition that there needs to be a counter - terrorism strategy there is also real concern about the Prevent strategy and the requirement to promote ‘ fundamental British Values ‘ (FBVs). There is within many communities and families a ‘fear of Prevent’.

Prevent and FBVs are seen as inextricably linked and have been the focus of extensive and often highly polarised public debate. There is a view that because Prevent is seen within some communities as unfair targeting and therefore stigmatising Muslim communities that it has had ‘a chilling effect ‘on free speech in schools and colleges. For example I have heard evidence from members of the Muslim community working with families and mothers that some mothers directly tell their children not to engage in any discussions about Citizenship/ Controversial Issues/Terrorism. I have also been told this by teaching staff and young people themselves.

There are good examples of some schools and colleges embracing this challenge and through assemblies, displays, PHSE tackling controversial issues but many are not. At a recent conference on FBVs that I attended a number of secondary teachers gave excellent examples of good practice but all were uncomfortable with the term Fundamental British Values , indeed saw it as profoundly un - British , when I asked them what they would re name FBVs with they said Citizenship .

There are a growing number of teachers in our schools of a young age and hence inexperienced for some the challenge of teaching/ discussing controversial issues is too daunting.

Some suggest that since the removal of Citizenship from the curriculum and overcrowded timetables, space needs to be created again. It may not be necessary to call it Citizenship, other names associated with Human Rights, Rights, Responsibilities and Respect could be used. There is a strong argument that this needs to be a compulsory part of the curriculum again with appropriate training provided for teachers. Why not re introduce qualifications that also give this area/ subject status? It does not need to be a GCSE but a formal qualification with appropriate assessment. Space needs to be created within schools and colleges for this.

Some excellent new resources for use in schools and colleges are being produced such as The Rule of Law for Citizenship in Education: A resource pack supported and produced by the Bingham Centre. It is also interesting to note that a number of countries including China are looking at what Citizenship education should be. They look to learn comparatively from the U.K. There are a number of international students studying Citizenship in our Universities including the Institute of Education at UCL.

The term FBVs is divisive. It is not a popular concept with communities of all kinds and with teachers and school and college leaders. A diverse, evolving culture exists in the U.K. We are not the U.S.A., with its different experiences of migration, education and symbols such as the American flag. Therefore a different term respecting the liberal values, but in changing times, of British education needs to be coined.

As a London Head teacher I insisted that the school and its students celebrated a range of festivals and events including St. George's day.

It would appear following this year's General Election that young people have found an appetite and interest in democracy and political engagement. There is evidence that it never went away but rather there was a reluctance to vote. This democratic engagement can further be stimulated in our schools and colleges. Brexit has opened up real discussions about Citizenship, migration and what it means to be British. The creative online think tank COVI (Common Vision) often captures well these views and concerns. Young people often seem more at ease with a diverse society than their elders.

My research has also highlighted the need to address 'far right extremism' as seen with the murder of Jo Cox and the attack on Finsbury Park Mosque. We live in an era of extremisms not just one extremism.

The Grenfell Tower tragedy has also demonstrated clearly how certain communities have a lack of trust and confidence in authorities.

My research looking at the perceived impact of Prevent on school and college leaders provides a wide range of views, pros and cons, with many seeing that this is an important moment to re visit this duty but also to re consider the holistic purpose of school and colleges in this new era. As West 2016) concludes in his study of Stoke on Trent ,an English post-industrial city in distress, “ a new politics of humanity” needs to work with and challenge “ the dynamics of hope and hopelessness”.

Ofsted has provided an understanding of the duty through its Common Inspection Framework which is strong on seeing that protecting children from the risk of radicalisation should be part of a wider safeguarding duty. School and college leaders and teachers identify this interpretation as positive. But there is a concern that as a legal duty, closely monitored by Ofsted inspections, Prevent has silenced opposition and democratic debate.

Recent events in this ‘age of anger’, an era of anti globalisation and populism, remind us all of the importance of education. Education alone cannot deal with all of these challenges but there burns a positive optimism amongst most young people and their families for the future. A broader more inclusive approach to Citizenship in our schools and colleges would be of enormous benefit. But to create this positive agenda the Prevent strategy needs refining and FBVs as a term scrapped, replaced with a concept of values acceptable to all. Time for an inclusive National debate on the notion of Citizenship and hence The House of Lords Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement is most welcome.

14 August 2017

Professor Cristina Leston-Bandeira, Professor of Politics, University of Leeds – written evidence (CCE0154)

Summary:

- Citizenship is shaped by multiple factors;
 - Citizenship education can contribute towards fostering political engagement, but it is only one factor;
 - It is useful to identify specific characteristics of a legislature as an institution likely to affect public engagement, in order to foster more effective engagement initiatives;
 - Parliamentary public engagement encompasses a wide range of types of activities from the provision of information to the actual integration of the public’s views into parliamentary business;
 - Effective political engagement should be issue based, relevant and integrative of feedback;
 - Civic and political engagement should be actively encouraged and promoted at central, devolved and local level.
1. I’m submitting this evidence as Professor of Politics, whose research has centred on the relationship between Parliaments and citizens. This has recently led me to focus in particular on parliamentary public engagement and petitions, particularly in the UK. My submission addresses mainly Questions 5 and 7 of your call.
 2. Citizenship is a complex phenomenon and no single cause is likely to foster it on its own. Likewise, its relationship with political engagement is not as straightforward as one might think in the first instance. Importantly though, citizenship should not be conceived merely from the political realm.
 3. Research shows that citizenship develops through a combination of individual interest (how will this benefit me), sense of shared experience with others (being part of a community) and mobilisation (being part of a collective action, with a clear lead).⁴⁸⁵ Whilst Citizenship can be encouraged, it is also important to bear in mind that not all “citizenship initiatives” do achieve the aim of developing a sense of civic engagement. The ones that do, tend to be embedded into individuals’ routines (such as through education), specific and relevant; as well as utilising well proven education practices such as the use of active learning. Abstract, generic and one-off events are unlikely to achieve much in terms of developing a sense of civic engagement.
 4. Research also shows that Citizenship education can affect key constitutive variables of political engagement, such as political literacy and interest⁴⁸⁶; and that political

⁴⁸⁵ See, for instance, C. Pattie, P. Seyd and P. Whiteley (2003), ‘Citizenship and Civic Engagement: Attitudes and Behavior in Britain’, *Political Studies*, vol.51, 443-468.

⁴⁸⁶ See, for instance, P. Whiteley (2012) ‘Does Citizenship Education Work? Evidence form a decade of citizenship education in secondary schools in England’, *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol.67(3), 513-535.

knowledge, political interest and political engagement are closely linked.⁴⁸⁷ This would suggest that citizenship education can help to foster political engagement. However, citizenship education can also be very badly delivered and so its potential impact on enhancing political engagement would depend on the quality of its delivery. More importantly, whilst citizenship can lead to more political engagement, it is not by itself the only factor in promoting it.

5. It is also important to consider what actions political institutions can develop to engage the public. In the next few bullet points I do a summary of what my research has found in relation to the development of public engagement by parliaments.
6. Before we consider these actions, it is useful to take stock of the characteristics of a legislature as an institution and reflect on how this affects public engagement. Parliaments have never been popular and never will; they are institutions destined to be unloved. Besides generic phenomena (such as how people view politics in itself), three key characteristics of the institution explain this⁴⁸⁸: the fact that parliaments are highly visible, collective institutions and accountable. In short, **visibility** breeds vulnerability; this is particularly so when this visibility enhances the sense of distance between the individual and the institution. As **collective** institutions, legislatures do not have a clear lead, unique identity, personified in a leading figure (as governments do with a Prime-Minister, for instance); legislatures are constituted by collectives of different groups and actors, who lead different, and often opposing, agendas. Besides this, parliaments' **accountable** nature means that each and every one of us thinks we have a stake in it and that it should be meeting our own needs and preferences; this means that for every single decision taken in parliament, someone somewhere will be unhappy with this decision.
7. Recognising that legislatures are destined to be unloved is no excuse to hinder the development of public engagement, on the contrary. It is simply about identifying key characteristics of the institution and bearing these in mind when developing specific initiatives to foster political engagement. For instance, breaching the distance of the institution by bringing individuals to the building, or taking parliamentarians to individuals, is a way of demystifying stereotypical assumptions forged in the public discourse through its visibility; it's a way of developing personal/individual imageries of the institution rather than letting the public discourse shape individuals' perceptions. Likewise, a focus on key leading figures such as the Lord Speaker, Speaker or Presiding Officers, helps to personalise the institution, giving it a more identifiable voice⁴⁸⁹.
8. Ever since they have existed, legislatures have played some form of public engagement/education role. But this has only become an actual major activity for legislatures since the turn of the 21st century. This is particularly clear in the UK (though also visible elsewhere). Its devolved legislatures have pioneered some of the most innovative forms of parliamentary public engagement and, particularly since 2005, the

⁴⁸⁷ See, for instance, the Audits of Political Engagement series of Hansard Society (all accessible from <https://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/research/audit-of-political-engagement>).

⁴⁸⁸ C. Leston-Bandeira (2014) 'The Pursuit of Legitimacy as a Key Driver for Public engagement: the European Parliament case', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 67(2), 2014, pp. 437-457;

⁴⁸⁹ C. Leston-Bandeira (2016), 'Why Symbolic Representation Frames Parliamentary Public Engagement', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol. 18, 2, 2016, pp. 498-516; D. Judge and C. Leston-Bandeira (2017) 'The Institutional Representation of Parliament', *Political Studies* – forthcoming.

Houses of Parliament has also developed impressive public engagement initiatives. As with everything, far more could still be done however. Effective parliamentary public engagement should enable some form of connection from the public to the institution, it should also, where possible, be integrated into parliamentary business rather than being seen solely as a parallel activity.

9. Parliamentary public engagement encompasses a number of different activities: information services (which would include from information on a website to visiting services), education services (both linked with the schools/education system, and for a wider public, separately to the education system), and involvement in parliamentary business. Whilst the first two areas have seen considerable development, the latter – integrating the public into parliamentary business – has seen the least development.
10. Three key factors help to promote effective engagement: it needs to be **issue based** (rather than procedural), **relevant** to those potentially engaging and include a form of **feedback** from the institution.
11. People engage mainly through issues, not because they've woken up in the morning with a burning desire to participate in politics. Focusing only on the value of politics and the duty of being involved in politics risks to miss out on a large proportion of the population who would never be interested in being involved in politics – even if they may vote. They expect others, those they voted for, to do the politics. However, if the political matter is presented as an issue of great importance to them, then they are likely to become involved simply because they have a very strong interest for that issue. This has been clear in the interviews I have developed with petitioners.⁴⁹⁰
12. Linked to this, citizens are more likely to get involved, and feel that their input is of value, if the initiative is somehow relevant to them. This was clear in the research I developed with Dr Thompson (University of Surrey) on the Public Reading of the Children and Families Act, where participants overwhelmingly participated because the bill would affect them very directly⁴⁹¹. Likewise with petitioners, they are more inclined to sign a petition or to become involved in its campaign, if it is of direct relevance to them. Demonstrating the relevance of parliament to the public is therefore an important part of parliamentary public engagement.
13. Finally, feedback from the institution is key, due to the abstract nature of the institution and the fact that the vast majority of the people have not been in contact with it. This feedback can be as simple a parliamentary official acknowledging the contributions of a group of 16 year olds in a general outreach session. It can also mean simply being listened to; it can also mean an explanation of how an individual's input has been received. For instance, my research with petitioners has shown that one of the main benefits of the new e-petitions system in the House of Commons has been the actual contact with the Committee's team. Likewise, those individuals who do become involved in a public engagement initiative, but then never hear back from the institution feel a double sense

⁴⁹⁰ Leston-Bandeira, C. with Spaiser, V. (2017) *An Evaluation of the UK Parliament's e-Petitions System - Final Report*, July 2017.

⁴⁹¹ C. Leston-Bandeira, L. Thompson and W. Mace (2016), *Letting the Public in on the Act*, report, project funded by British Academy/Leverhulme Trust (Ref: SG141934), Online at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318109261_Letting_the_Public_in_on_the_Act

of disappointment, that they have wasted their time. Developing public engagement with no outlets for feedback can often result in strengthened disaffection to the point that not doing anything may have been better. This explains why the integration of parliamentarians into public engagement is very important; individuals need to feel there is a real purpose in getting involved.

14. Political engagement can and should be promoted by formal institutions; this can be done at local level, devolved and/or central. One solution and one perspective are seldom sufficient. Political engagement needs to be flexible to fit a range of contexts and purposes. It should definitely be promoted through education, but it should also be part of routine parliamentary business. Examples of excellent practice in political engagement at local level can be found, for example, through the recent Kirklees Council Democracy Commission,⁴⁹² and at devolved level through the work the Welsh Assembly has been developing with Committees.
15. Overall, political engagement that works is: specific, issue-led, relevant, integrating contact and feedback with formal institutions, with a specific purpose, integrated with politics/politicians, flexible to suit different audiences, taking place in a range of places rather than at the main institution and integrating active learning techniques.

8 September 2017

⁴⁹² See <http://www.democracycommission.org.uk/>

Let Us Learn! Just for Kids Law – written evidence (CCE0141)

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. 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.

Let Us Learn was launched in 2014, in response to a policy change which meant many of us were no longer eligible for student loans, and so could not take up hard won university places. Since then, our 'Young, Gifted and Blocked' campaign has had considerable success in winning increased student funding for migrants. See video here:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BumdwKTbyZQ>

Summary:

This paper is based on the responses of 20 members of our campaign leadership team. We also interviewed a selection of the 850 young migrants who have contacted us since we were formed in 2014 to canvass their opinions and personal experiences. A summary of the main points are as follows:

- There are many children and young people like us who have grown up in the UK, but who are not recognised as British citizens. It would benefit us and our communities, and improve social cohesion generally, if the process by which we obtain citizenship were less onerous and uncertain;
- Citizenship ceremonies are an insult to people like us who have lived here virtually all our lives, are steeped in British culture, and know no other home;
- Those without full citizenship should not be disadvantaged. We are already treated differently than our friends and peers who we have grown up with;
- Schools should have responsibility for teaching students about citizenship and immigration, so that children like us are informed of how our lives may be affected by government policy and can take steps to resolve our situations as early as possible;

- Our community does not feel “left behind” it feels forcibly held back by government policies and a Home Office, which charges prohibitively high fees for our immigration applications and renewals (which have to be made every 30 months), and regularly inflicts long and explained delays of a year before making decisions.

Response:

Question 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?

To us, citizenship is made to be a complicated concept. In some ways, legal citizenship is our Holy Grail. It would mean an end to the uncertainty and fear with which we live constantly. It would mean that our families would no longer have to save all of our money to pay for the next Home Office application, every two and a half years. It would mean we would no longer have to take a year out of our lives every two and a half years, as we wait for the Home Office to process our case and reconfirm our temporary ‘lawful’ status.

“I had to send away to the Home Office all my stuff which proves who I am or what I’ve done. All my certificates. Everything that I’ve had my whole life, I don’t have it now. So, there’s not much I can do, other than sit at home.”

Young man age 20 who was brought to the UK age 3. He has been waiting over a year for a decision on his application to the Home Office.

It would mean we could live and travel freely, knowing we could always return to our home. Our friends and peers, who we have grown up with since primary school have citizenship and they have none of these fears. The physical possession of a British passport would be confirmation that we have been accepted and are a part of the UK. We would then also be able to engage in civic life, without any barriers.

Yet the process of acquiring legal citizenship, for most of us still many years away, is so long and painful that the ‘Holy Grail’, may in the end be tainted. Many of us doubt that we will ever even get there, because it feels as if we are being made to jump through an ever increasing number of hoops, such as rising fees and reduced timescales in which to make our applications. How will we feel about this country, our home, when the government finally bestows upon us legal citizenship? Will we be thankful? Will we be able to forget the damage that has been done to us?

“I don’t understand. Why doesn’t this country want me?”

Let Us Learn member who has brought to the UK when she was 2 years old but was repeatedly refused ‘lawful’ status before being granted temporary leave to remain when she was 20 years old.

Citizenship is a complicated concept for us. If it were easier for us to obtain, we would feel differently.

Question 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?

We are proud of who we are and of the contributions we make to society. Although this is our home, it is sometimes hard to feel pride in being British, and instead feel alienated from aspects of wider society because we are not allowed to be British. Our path to citizenship is so long and our characters apparently held in so much doubt by the Home Office that, should we ever even make it that far and become British citizens, the end goal will now have been tainted. Allow us to become citizens more readily, and this would be different.

“Am I supposed to be happy that they have given it to me now, after all these years? What was I before? I’ve lived here since I was a baby”

Let Us Learn campaigner, age 20

We do not feel that citizenship ceremonies would strengthen our connection with this country or make us better ‘citizens’. For most of us, if we are ever allowed to have legal citizenship, it would be an insult to make us attend a citizenship ceremony. We already feel that this is our home. Why would we want to celebrate when this is finally recognised by the state, after a long period when we have been made to feel unwanted and unwelcome?

Question 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?

Citizens should not have additional formal rights, because that would disadvantage those like us who are citizens in all but name. We are not legal citizens. Despite the fact that we have lived here most of our lives, we are already treated differently from our friends and peers who have British passports. For example, if one of us were to commit, say, a driving offence, this could mean losing our ‘lawful’ status and block our eventual path to citizenship. We could be deported to a country we have no memory of. This would not happen to our friends and peers, no matter what they do.

“Even now, even after all this time, I still think someone will come one day and take my visa away and I will have to leave”

Let Us Learn campaigner, age 21.

We have to pay very large sums of money to maintain our ‘lawful’ status every two and a half years. At present this costs £1500 before legal fees (legal aid was withdrawn in 2012). If our families cannot afford to maintain this ‘lawful’ status, we lose all of our rights and could be deported. This does not happen to our peers who hold legal citizenship. Some members

of Let Us Learn were abandoned as children and have grown up in unofficial fostering relationships. None of us come from wealthy backgrounds; some live in families with a number of children in the same situation, and where our parents cannot afford to maintain everyone's legal status every two and a half years. Some families have to choose which child will remain 'lawful'.

"My leave to remain is expiring but unfortunately I'm currently not working. I'm a single mum and don't really have support financially. The little I do have I've saved towards the £2300 for my renewal. I have £1500 but I don't know where else to turn. I'm so desperate at this point I've tried to get a loan but because I'm currently unemployed I don't qualify for a loan. Without my passport I cannot go to uni in September or even work"

Young woman, age 24.

Question 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?

In our experience, citizenship and political participation are not spoken about enough in secondary school. Some feel that citizenship should be compulsory at GCSE and even in primary school lessons. We also believe that schools should have a responsibility to inform students about the limits to legal citizenship and of the fact that there are many young people who do not have citizenship in the UK. Most of us were not told about our immigration status by parents or guardians, or by our corporate parents. We believed what we were told: that if we studied hard at school, we would have the opportunity to pursue our professional and other ambitions. Most of us realised this was not possible only when we applied for university.

"Nobody speaks about this. Nobody tells you. People in school didn't tell me"

Young woman, age 19.

Question 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?

We do not feel left behind, we feel forcibly kept behind. We have done everything we can to 'integrate'. We have forgotten our original languages and lost our accent, but we are still not allowed to be equal.

"If you want my full participation let me be a citizen"

Let Us Learn campaigner, age 24.

Let Us Learn! Just for Kids Law – written evidence (CCE0141)

It is government policy to create a ‘hostile environment’ for migrants, and we are on the receiving end of that in our daily lives. During the many months when our papers are with the Home Office, our lives are on hold. Some of us have been turned down for jobs because of delays in processing renewal applications. The rhetoric of migrants coming to ‘take’ from society negatively affects us and how we feel we can contribute to this country, our home.

“If I am being told that I should be lucky to be given the opportunity to stay, I won’t feel confident in constantly putting my head above the parapet and being opinionated about things, as there is fear that I am overstepping the boundaries of my stay”

Let Us Learn campaigner, age 20.

Let Us Learn Campaigners would be happy to expand upon any of the answers contained within this document or to arrange a meeting with members. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact us.

8 September 2017

Link Up (UK) – written evidence (CCE0167)

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?

1.1 Link Up (UK) has been working in the field of cohesion, combatting prejudice, citizenship and belonging for a number of years now. During this time, we have worked closely with community groups, academics, think tanks, campaigning and engagement organisations (amongst other). And the thread that runs through this work is that of belonging.

1.2 Belonging underpins the idea of who does and who doesn't belong; in terms of people perceiving that they have more or less rights to belong (and thus receive more or less) than others, and in terms of people feeling excluded from the most popular image of what it means to be British.

1.3 Belonging, citizenship and identity are so closely linked as to be inseparable elements of this question.

1.4 To truly belong to a society, people need to have the following:

- Equal access to training/ employment opportunities
- Equal access to facilities – housing/ education/ health
- An opportunity to feel that they have a voice in decision making
- An acceptance of their stake and belonging in society.

1.5 British society in the 21st century looks vastly different from British society in the past – or that is the common perception. However, diverse communities have always been a part of Britain, and their impact and influence can be seen in all aspects of British life – whether in terms of culture, society, economy, traditions or infrastructure. Much of what is deemed to be quintessentially British has been shaped by the contributions of diverse communities, but this is not the common perception.

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?

2.1 Pride in being and in becoming British is no bad thing as long as it is done alongside an understanding that citizenship and belonging is not just a one way process.

2.2 Most efforts look at how to encourage diverse communities to fit in, to help them feel a sense of belonging and Britishness. This is an important part of the process, but similar efforts also need to be put on the wider communities to not just accept, but to value and welcome these communities, and to see them as equal parts of society. It is not enough just to tolerate diversity.

2.3 In order for this to happen, the public need to buy into the idea of a vision for society that reflects Britain as it is today. To bring an understanding about what Britishness is today, that it includes people from very diverse faith, ethnicity, social and other backgrounds.

2.4 Our political system does not make this an easy idea, and in fact can be seen to directly obstruct this approach. Political parties are playing for the same audiences – the so called middle ground. They rely on votes from their core supporters and can be seen frequently creating policies and statements that will appeal to this audience. In many cases this means not standing up strongly for diversity – Gordon Brown famously called for British jobs for British workers, David Cameron said that multiculturalism had failed.

2.5 This allows for continued ‘othering’ which in turn leads to discrimination, marginalisation and acts as a barrier to belonging, engagement and integration.

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?

3.1 This question is beyond the remit of the charity – Link Up (UK).

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?

4.1 This question is beyond the remit of the charity – Link Up (UK).

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?

5.1 The role that education can and does play in teaching and encouraging good citizenship cannot be overestimated.

5.2 Without having seen any evaluation on the current levels of teaching, it is not possible to comment on its effectiveness. The following responses are made in light of having worked in schools trialling education resources.

5.3 When Link Up (UK) was working in schools, we were asked for more materials for them to use, and as a result Link Up (UK) has created a range of materials that were created primarily for use within the Citizenship and PSHE curriculum. These cover themes such as identity, diversity, belonging, values, rights, responsibilities, and critical thinking.

5.4 There seem to be limits on the time and resources given to citizenship education. It should not be leveraged in as an ‘add on’ programme, to be shoe horned in as and when there is time. Citizenship education should be made compulsory and should cover the areas outlined in the previous paragraph in addition to political and social participation.

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?

6.1 This question is beyond the remit of the charity – Link Up (UK). However, from personal engagement with the NCS and from anecdotal information received from parents and teachers, I would say that when it is done well, it has an incredibly positive impact on participants – particularly when young people from different backgrounds are brought together.

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?

7.1 All of the organisations listed in this question have an important role to play in encouraging civic engagement. But firstly there needs to be a clear understanding about the barriers that are preventing civic engagement.

7.2 There will be a number of reasons, and reasons that differ according to the age groups and backgrounds of those in question. But an initial list would include the following:

- Apathy – people cannot be bothered to participate, it's someone else's responsibility.
- Lack of knowledge – they don't feel they have enough information to make a decision.
- Lack of trust – politicians are not seen as honest and trustworthy, and they are seen as not having any consequences for their actions.
- Media bias/ fake stories – biased reporting and the growth of fake stories has led to a lack of trust in sources of information.
- Lack of impact – people feeling that their vote doesn't matter or count.
- Lack of representation – voters not seeing themselves or their views represented by decision makers.

7.3 Only once the barriers have been identified and accepted, can efforts truly be made to overcome them and encourage and increase civic engagement.

7.4 From this initial list, it is clear that whilst some of the barriers can be overcome through education and third sector organisations, many areas that need to be addressed are more endemic and can only be tackled by government, political parties and the media.

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?

8.1 Link Up (UK) have been looking at the question of values for a number of years, and have talked to many groups and individuals to hear what they think are British values. Unsurprisingly, you get very different answers depending on who you ask, although there are many threads and common strands that run through their responses.

8.2 Whilst it is interesting to try to define British values, there needs to be an understanding that values change over time and what we might agree on now may not be as appropriate in 10 or 20 years' time.

8.3 This is also an area that would benefit from a vision that the public can get behind. The current values that are promoted through schools are solid ideas, but they do not speak to people. They are not powerful and positive enough for people to engage with or have a sense of pride in. There is a clear statement of what France or America (for example) stand for – but this needs to be reflected in all aspects of public life.

8.4 At Link Up (UK) we are developing education materials that talk about British values, but also responsibilities and entitlements and rights.

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?

9.1 Many communities feel 'left behind' because they still encounter discrimination when it comes to accessing the same opportunities as those not from BAME communities.

9.2 Many communities feel 'left behind' because they feel that they do not have the same rights that their families used to have – and that these rights have been taken by 'newer' communities.

9.3 Many communities feel 'left behind' because they cannot see a way out of their current circumstances, that they do not have the same chances as others.

9.4 Many communities feel 'left behind' because they feel that they have no access to decision making and decision makers.

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?

10.1 Citizenship, civic engagement, social cohesion and integration are all parts of the same question – each element intrinsically linked with the other.

10.2 Diversity in schools is incredibly important – we fear what we do not know, and if we only learn with/ socialise with one group in society – we will continue to see people as the ‘other’ and to fear them.

10.3 There are a number of factors that limit diverse communities within schools, including:

- Faith Schools – increasing number of faith schools mean there are less opportunities for young people to interact with ‘others’ – therefore there is an increased impetus to find ways to foster interaction across different groups.
- Physical location - schools in more rural areas and in areas with a heavy concentration of one community will also have more limited diversity. Therefore programmes like the NCS – which offers opportunities to meet and engage with people from different backgrounds – are incredibly invaluable.

10.4 Diversity in the workplace is equally important. There are natural limitations – i.e. physical location which can impact on the makeup of the workforce, but also social and discriminatory limitations, which can and need to be addressed.

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?

11.1 Most people would accept that speaking the language is invaluable, without it access to social, employment and cultural engagement is severely limited. Therefore encouraging migrants to learn English can only be beneficial.

11.2 But it is important to **encourage**, as learning a language is not easy. The best way to learn a language is to meet people and have to speak that language. Therefore could an approach be considered whereby learning English is combined with social interaction, for example by pairing people with volunteers, who mentor them and support them in their learning and understanding of British culture and society?

11.3 There are going to be some people for whom learning English is not encouraged or even seen as necessary. They are happy or their families are happy for them to stay within their communities. This will necessitate a different approach.

11.4 With regard to the citizenship test, some of the questions seem to be a rather random selection of British knowledge. And I would question if they actually equip participants with what they need to become active citizens. Learning answers by rote does not give people a deep enough understanding of the stories behind the facts, which is just as important as knowing the right answer.

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?

12.1 Link Up (UK) are developing a number of initiatives that employ positive role models as a way of overcoming the idea that diversity is a recent and negative phenomenon. The use of role models and information employs two of the accepted approaches in how to change attitudes (societal, behavioural and cognitive).

12.2 One of Link Up (UK)s initiatives - The Family Tree - encourages participants to share stories of local role models from both the past and present. The use of local heroes allows us to engage with audiences that would not otherwise take part in programmes that promote the benefits of diversity.

12.3 This builds on the concept of the 'Mo Farah effect', in that we celebrate those people and products and behaviours that we feel benefit us. We then accept them as part of British culture and they are no longer seen as the other.

12.4 These programmes can have a positive impact on both diverse communities – who are given a sense of belonging – and those who are worried about the impact of diversity – who are shown the positive impact of diversity and how long it has been a part of British society.

12.5 This message needs to be promoted more widely and regularly in order to combat the wealth of negative stories about diversity that are prominently identified and displayed by certain elements of the media.

12.6 This approach is just one element in the mix of approaches that need to be taken to overcome divisions in society and to encourage and foster positive citizenship. There are many organisations, large and small, that are doing excellent work in the fields of cohesion, citizenship and integration. Working with different approaches, audiences and methodologies there is a wealth of work, research and learning that can be brought together and shared in order to work more effectively and to make more impact.

12.7 To harness this impact, Link Up (UK) - in conjunction with a number of organisations and academics – is working to create a Cohesion Network. The Cohesion Network would bring together community groups, charities, academics and practitioners with the following aims:

- To facilitate knowledge sharing.
- To identify and create research methodologies to enable effective evaluation.
- To recognise opportunities for resource/ programme sharing.
- To support new project development and trialling.
- To demonstrate to funders and decision makers a coherent approach.

8 September 2017

Ross Lloyd – written evidence (CCE0228)

My submission comes from the personal experience of disengagement from politics amongst many of the people I came into contact with as a resident in towns and cities across South Lancashire, Greater Manchester and North Wales. I know or have met people with as wide a range of political hues as is possible but everywhere, without exception, there are swathes of people who have opted out. I commonly hear expressions such as "I don't understand what they do and they don't act in my interests anyway" or "I'm voting for X because X will win anyway and I might as well vote for the winner" or "I'm not voting at all because it makes no difference".

Arguments for fptp, local representation, is given the lie in two ways obvious to me at least.

1. The claim that the winning party represents a majority is in almost every case incorrect. Those not choosing the winner may be divided but they are by far the majority and are thus unrepresented. This is becoming more evident as politics appears to be polarising away from the centre ground.

2. MPs are often parachuted into safe seats, selected by a small coterie of local party members and activists. They may have views miles away from the majority of the constituency but this is not material. The duly selected member is then safe in the sense that they can't be dismissed except on very narrow criteria, performance not being among them. Some 60% or more conservative members are neither from their constituency and not resident in any meaningful way there. The same is apparently true for the Labour party although on a smaller scale. This is not legitimate representation, although it clearly serves the status quo.

There is a disconnect between people's daily lives and the actions of those in Parliament, in either house. Far from working together, current and increasing levels of inequality divide communities, and this has been brought into sharp relief by brexit and by the wars in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. The recent attacks arose from alienation, dispossession and lack of representation. It's a bit difficult to feel part of a community when you depend on it to feed you via charitable giving, even though you may well have one or even more minimally paid jobs. This employment leads to a feeling of helplessness and worthlessness because so many jobs are unimaginative, lead to no betterment of their lives and provide no sense of contributing to something bigger than themselves. People in this context are ripe for further exploitation and recruitment by those who offer a false sense of belonging through corrupted interpretations of religious texts.

Ceremony may have its place for some people but citizenship is not innate, it has to be learned. How can a young person choose a local councillor or a national representative except on the basis of what is taught either at school, which is minimal to nothing or at home which as easily also be nothing?

The middle classes may well say we talk to our children; many do, and a substantial number don't. Even where political conversations take place, how many families are "staunch"

whatever and simply pass this down. That isn't education or preparation for responsibility but indoctrination and potentially the transmission of prejudice. What about the many millions of families where the parents simply don't have the ability or interest to discuss how they're governed? Awarding the right to vote does not confer the ability to choose what is in their best interests and simply makes them vulnerable to extremely biased press and political snake oil salesmen.

I have tried to find evidence of teaching civic responsibility in schools and have found precious little. I believe there is a new short course in Wales with elements of political education but none, as far as I know, in the rest of the UK. It would bear examination. It seems pointless, to me, to lower the age of enfranchisement without outlining at least the basics of what makes a Conservative, Labour or LibDem etc. party member and how local and national policy is formulated. There are lots of models all over the world for this.

Pupils ought to be able identify how laws are created, how scrutinisation and voting occurs, how amendments are tabled and how the parliamentary version of debate takes place and how and why it differs from other forms of debate. They ought to know what mps do when they are not in parliament and ought to be introduced to their local member as a matter of course.

Local politicians where I live are often re-elected unopposed because there's little confidence in local politicians to be able effect change and improve to their lives so no-one stands. The council appears to be supervising cuts imposed by parliament at present and the talk is of more to come. At the same time there are some pretty fancy claims for expenses that seem hard to justify given the current constraints

In my constituency, the local/parish/community councillors are almost never elected. There seems to be a system for co-opting friends, relatives or acquaintances. No one has any idea of what is done because meetings are carried out in Welsh, a language not everyone understands, and requests for minutes in English are met with blank refusals. So much then, for local democracy. Is it any wonder people disengage?

I believe our country is at a crossroads, as indeed, is much of the western world. Since 2007/8 western economies have dithered on the edge of catastrophe but, at the same time, personal fortunes have grown among the privileged.

David Cameron claimed that we were all in it together but I have difficulty in understanding what he meant by this. There appears to be a ruling elite directing the flow of money and resources ever upwards. That they pay no or little tax is a matter of record and this situation is apparently accepted by parliament, at least, little to nothing has been done to redress the situation. These people appear to be above parliamentary rule. They either ignore parliament or use it to further their ends, taking more and more of whatever productivity the country is able to manage and giving nothing back.

At the other end there are people who do not get by. The current government appears obsessed by the desire to end social care for their fellow citizens and fling vulnerable people into the laissez faire capitalist free market they themselves do very well from. The trouble is that not everyone has the advantages that the relatively well to do have. They didn't attend private schools or have crammers to get them into Oxbridge and the higher end of professional life.

Instead they are pushed into relying on zhc and gig work, contribute little in national insurance, although their precarious existence makes them more vulnerable to ill-health. The new exploitation of pretend self-employment simply means the employer doesn't pay the employers contribution to national insurance. This wheeze simply means the NHS and will grind more quickly to a halt and pensions will shrink, which is a political choice and not what very many voters expected to be done in their name. The false claim, that the NHS receives more than ever funding, hides the fact that much of the money is now trousered by very rich shareholders, something else that many voters are not aware is being done in their name.

None of what I write can be news but I write in the hope that something might start to move in what appears to be the moribund corridors of Parliament. If nothing is done to reset the system it risks imploding with civil unrest and suffering the likely outcome. Your committee might want to consider finding ways to act rather than remaining the Popular Front or the People's Front.

Lloyd Banks Foundation for England and Wales – written evidence (CCE0130)

1.0 Introduction

- 1.1 Lloyds Bank Foundation for England & Wales is one of the leading community grant makers. An independent registered charity funded by the profits of Lloyds Banking Group, the Foundation invests in charities supporting people to break out of disadvantage at critical points in their lives, and promotes approaches to lasting change. In 2016 the Foundation awarded **total funding of £12.7m, directly supporting 1,231 small and medium-sized charities**. This equates to supporting **99,967 individuals facing multiple disadvantage**.
- 1.2 Having supported small charities in every region of England and Wales for more than 30 years, the Foundation is built upon the knowledge and experience of locally based charities, with locally based Grant Managers visiting applicants and grantees and providing an avenue for identifying patterns and issues faced by the sector. The Foundation also conducts and commissions research specifically focused on the experiences and concerns of small and local charities, particularly those with an income between £25,000 and £1m. This submission to the call for evidence draws on information provided to the Foundation by its grant holders through monitoring reports and feedback as well as research undertaken and commissioned by the Foundation. In itself, this highlights the important role that Foundations can play in building relationships with small and local charities, understanding new challenges and solutions as they develop and as sources of learning for best practice.
- 1.3 This response is centred on charities which are embedded in their local communities and were developed in response to an unmet need. They typically have an unprecedented ability to reach and engage individuals and communities due to their trusted nature in the locality.⁴⁹³ The role of these charities is of growing significance in a society whose divisions have been accentuated by Brexit – their trusted nature has never been more important for reaching people that other agencies have failed to engage and in developing responses to local needs that grow from the bottom-up. This submission focuses on those questions which are significant for such small and local charities supporting individuals facing multiple disadvantage.

2.0 Engagement

Do current laws encourage active political engagement?

- 2.1 There has been much debate of late about the far-reaching ‘cooling’ effect of the Lobbying Act and the ‘anti-advocacy’ clause within government grant agreements. Actively discouraging charities from engaging in lobbying is very concerning. Small, local charities typically have a level of understanding about needs and how best to meet them which is

⁴⁹³ [Too Small to Fail: How small and medium-sized charities are adapting to change and challenges, 2016, IPPR North](#)

unparalleled. For Government at every level to be able to tackle some of society's most intractable problems, it is this knowledge and understanding from small charities about where systems are failing and where solutions can be found that will help Government achieve its aims.

- 2.2 Without doubt, charities should not be partisan but they should be encouraged to engage politically on issues that affect them as charities and which affect their clients. Regulation is necessary to ensure that no one individual or organisation can exert undue influence on an election but the Lobbying Act has had a disproportionate impact on civil society campaigning. As a recent letter to the Minister for Sport & Civil Society, signed by 124 civil society organisations highlighted, we are concerned that the current legal structure has caused many organisations not to engage in the run up to the general election which resulted in some important voices being lost from public debate.⁴⁹⁴ This is particularly concerning given that the small and local charities that the Foundation funds invariably support those individuals who are most at risk and whose voices are least likely to be heard.
- 2.3 Charities and non-partisan campaign groups have spent significant time attempting to understand the legislation and how to comply. However, many of the rules are vague and confusing, especially for smaller organisations. While some organisations have sought legal advice to help them interpret the legislation, this can be expensive and is simply not an option for many. The rules on joint campaigning are also a concern for smaller charities, and have made organisations more hesitant to collaborate.
- 2.4 A Government-commissioned review of Part II of the Lobbying Act, conducted by Lord Hodgson of Astley Abbotts, found that it fails to get the balance right and proposed several changes to the legislation. The House of Lords Select Committee on Charities described his recommendations as "eminently sensible" and called on the Government to implement them "in full". Thus far there has been no indication that the recommendations will be implemented despite them being desperately needed. Enabling these charities to take part in important debates is a key determinant in engaging more voices in politics.

3.0 Volunteering

Do voluntary citizenship programmes such as the National Citizenship Service do a good job in creating active citizens?

- 3.1 Volunteering is an important part of civic life and is the lifeblood of many small and local charities. Amongst the charities funded by the Foundation, there is an average of 13 volunteers for every member of staff. The benefits of this volunteering are two-fold: for the charity it means they can operate at a lower cost and for the individual it can bring a wealth of advantages from building confidence, work skills, social networks and engagement with

⁴⁹⁴ [Charities call on new minister to revise 'burdensome' Lobbying Act, 30 August 2017, Civil Society](#)

communities. Volunteering is an essential route for creating active citizens but to maximise its value, a number of barriers need to be overcome.

- 3.2 Evidence collected through the Foundation's grant monitoring reports indicates that charities are finding it increasingly difficult to recruit and retain volunteers. In large part this is attributed to changes in welfare reform, whereby benefits are dependent on spending all time actively searching for paid employment, no matter how far an individual may be from the job market. This approach threatens to further disengage people from active citizenship at a time when volunteering could nurture their abilities and engage them on the long path towards meaningful employment.
- 3.3 Volunteering offers many opportunities to engage active citizens, and this is particularly the case where volunteers are able to use their skills to support local charities. The Foundation facilitates such skill based volunteering through its Charity Mentoring scheme, matching members of staff from Lloyds Banking Group to mentor charities funded through the Foundation. Sharing their skills has shown to be of significant value to both mentor and mentee and is increasingly leading to enduring relationships between the bank employee and the charity such as through becoming a long term volunteer or joining the trustee board. Actively supporting more meaningful skills-based volunteering offers many opportunities for engaging active citizens but it must be remembered that such activity does not without a cost. Effective skills-based volunteering linking up corporates and charities needs effective brokerage for it to be successful, as has been demonstrated through the Foundation's mentoring brokerage system with Lloyds Banking Group.
- 3.4 Investment in volunteering is important but it is also important that it is proportionate and targeted. At a time when charities are overstretched, the role of volunteers is arguably more important than ever but this is set amid a context where support is needed across a range of areas. National Citizenship Service has seen significant investment at the expense of other support for charities aside from attempts to develop the social impact bond market. This has been particularly problematic because of the top-down, contracted nature of the scheme rather than investment routed through smaller, local charities that can respond to specific local needs.
- 3.5 We know that small charities in particular are struggling in a way that cannot be overcome by concentration purely on National Citizenship Service and social investment. In 2015 the Foundation published research which showed that 89% of charities are experiencing a change in demand which is largely in terms of rising and more complex needs.⁴⁹⁵ Since then, there has been growing evidence of the increase in demand experienced by small charities and the increasingly complex nature of this demand coupled by increasing difficulty in accessing funding. Given that these charities are central to engaging and developing active citizens, it is vital that investment is directed towards supporting the sustainability of small and local charities more widely. This is particularly the case given the rising complexity of

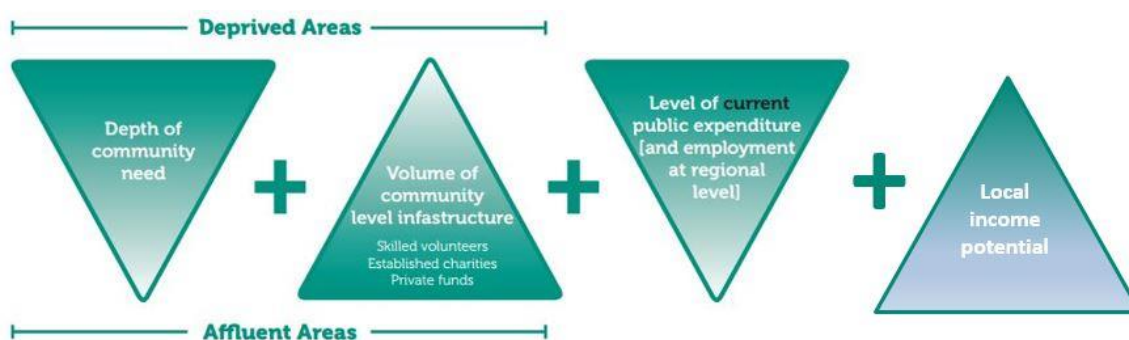
⁴⁹⁵ [Expert Yet Undervalued and on the Frontline, 2015, Lloyds Bank Foundation for England & Wales](#)

needs which typically require professional support. As our Facing Forward⁴⁹⁶ publication highlighted, investing in local infrastructure is an important way to support the sustainability of the sector more widely.

4.0 Engagement

Why do so many communities feel “left behind”?

- 4.1 Research shows that there are many disparities between areas across the country which can see individuals, communities, local areas and regions ‘left behind’. In these areas, individual challenges are compounded by structural problems. As the below illustrates, more deprived areas tend to have more community needs which require more statutory services, yet they have fewer charities to meet needs and less local income potential. Increased pressure on local authority spending and moves towards less redistribution of funds to encourage local authorities to generate more income for themselves is set to compound the differences between areas further still. With some areas subsequently trailing further behind, it will become increasingly difficult for individuals and communities in those areas to be ‘active citizens’.



- 4.2 One of the starkest examples of the impact of structural disadvantage on individual multiple disadvantage is visible through Lankelly Chase’s report, Hard Edges, which examines the nature, extent and distribution of people facing multiple disadvantage. The evidence shows that the highest incidences of multiple disadvantage occur in areas that have seen significant economic decline, such as former seaside towns and old industrial areas.⁴⁹⁷ Taken alongside the fact that the voices of the most disadvantaged are least likely to be heard, it is clear that some individuals and communities are driven further from engagement. The former Chief Executive of Birmingham City Council articulated this tendency in an article for the Guardian, describing how the services which are cut first tend to be those that affect the most vulnerable because they are the least likely to raise their voices and publicly oppose

⁴⁹⁶ [Facing Forward, 2017, Lloyds Bank Foundation for England & Wales](#)

⁴⁹⁷ [Hard Edges: Mapping Severe and Multiple Disadvantage in England, 2015, Lankelly Chase](#)

the cuts.⁴⁹⁸ These levels of disadvantage inevitably lead to some areas and communities being further left behind.

4.3 *How might these barriers be overcome?*

Small charities often work with the most at risk individuals and communities in society. As discussed above, they can do this because they are trusted in those communities, having grown out of a local need and being embedded in the community. If these individuals and communities are to be engaged as active citizens, it cannot be done without nurturing and supporting small charities. Funding is inevitably an important aspect of this. Research conducted for the Foundation by NCVO shows that statutory funding has been increasingly directed towards the largest organisations, to the detriment of small, local charities.⁴⁹⁹ Yet raising the voices of small and local charities so that they can be part of decision making is equally important. Engaging people who feel ‘left behind’ has to start with understanding the challenges they face and support they need, and small and local charities are the gateway for enabling this to happen. Foundations are well placed to support and facilitate this, given the strong relationships they hold with charities across the country and the information they gather about needs and interventions.

This evidence was prepared by Caroline Howe, Policy and National Programmes Manager on behalf of Lloyds Bank Foundation for England & Wales.

8 September 2017

⁴⁹⁸ [Birmingham Council Chief: Years of cuts could have catastrophic consequences, 12 December 2016, Guardian](#)

⁴⁹⁹ [Navigating Change: Analysis of Financial Trends for Small and Medium-Sized Charities, 2016, NCVO](#)

Local Trust – written evidence (CCE0139)

Summary

1. In response to the Committee's call for evidence, we present research and learning from the Big Local programme. Big Local is a 15 year Big Lottery endowment to support community development and civic engagement. It is administered by Local Trust. The programme is offered as an example of an alternative to many other programmes that look to encourage active citizenship and civic engagement. We feel it is especially pertinent to the Committee's questions 6, 7 and 9.
2. **In response to Q6:** Big Local's key features are that it is: place-based, resident-led, non-prescriptive, and over a significant period of time. Evidence of the impact of Big Local on active citizenship is starting to emerge: 150 partnerships have been formed, each with a minimum of eight members (although most have more); residents feel more in control, there are some health benefits, and the longer timescale is helpful. That is not to say that Big Local has been easy or straightforward. Challenges include: it can take time to establish new structures from scratch; the £1 million awarded can bring conflict as well as releasing potential; and it can be difficult to sustain engagement over time.
3. **In response to Q7:** Communities can be strengthened if the individuals within them are upskilled. This is particularly pertinent because Big Local areas have lower than the national average educational attainment. Third sector organisations have also been engaged. For example, Big Local areas often have a close relationship with at least one local third sector organisation who acts as a 'Locally Trusted Organisation'. Finally, there are many positive examples of councillors and local authority offices working closely with Big Local areas to help with projects.
4. **In response to Q9:** The 150 Big Local areas were selected – in part – because they were communities 'left behind' in the sense of not having benefited as much as other areas from Lottery and other grant funding. In some areas, a focus of Big Local partnerships has been around establishing or re-establishing links with the wider communities they live in, through bringing in services or addressing issues around transport and access to employment.

5. **Conclusion – An alternative model of engagement:** Big Local represents a distinctive and radical approach to tackling many of the issues being focused on by the committee. It shifts the centre of gravity away from grant makers and funders towards communities – they are best placed to identify local need. They will make mistakes as well as having successes, the point is there is a sense of ownership over the process, and time to build on learning. Big Local is still at an early stage in its development, with nearly a decade left to run. But Big Local is likely to represent an important source of evidence and learning over the next five to ten years.

Introduction

6. In response to the Committee's call for evidence, we present research and learning from the Big Local programme. Big Local is a 15-year Big Lottery endowment to support community development and civic engagement across 150 neighbourhoods in England. It is administered by Local Trust. Although Big Local is only a third of the way through its planned delivery programme, there are already important lessons about how to engage citizens and communities. The programme is offered as an example of an alternative to many other programmes that look to encourage active citizenship and civic engagement. We feel it is especially pertinent to the Committee's questions 6, 7 and 9. We have therefore structured the response around those questions, with examples (case studies of Big Local areas) in the appendix, which also relate to the Select Committee's question 12, as examples of citizenship.
7. In Big Local, 150 communities were each awarded £1 million to spend over a 10-15 year period. Big Local areas, typically neighbourhoods of 1500-4500 homes, were selected by the Big Lottery Fund in 2010-12 on the basis that they had historically 'missed out' on their fair share of Lottery and other funding. Often (but not always) this was because they were communities with relatively low levels of civic engagement and, as a consequence, may have lacked a critical mass of active and engaged citizens and community-based organisations competing for grant funding from Lottery and other sources.
8. Communities are expected to set their own priorities and output targets, and to organise themselves in ways that are appropriate to their area. The desired outcomes of the overall programme are therefore broad – that:
 - Communities will be better able to identify local needs and take action in response to them.

Local Trust – written evidence (CCE0139)

- People will have increased skills and confidence, so that they continue to identify and respond to needs in the future.
- The community will make a difference to the needs it prioritises.
- People will feel that their area is an even better place to live.

Response to committee question 6

The Big Local model of citizen engagement and how it differs

9. Big Local builds on learning from previous regeneration and community development programmes, providing an alternative model for creating active citizens. In contrast to short-term, prescriptive programmes, where relatively small numbers of citizens would have to complete a set range of activities in a short space of time, there is much greater scope for a wider range of citizens and communities to get involved over a longer period of time. Its key features are that it is:
- **Placed based:** Big Local invests in communities as opposed to projects or organisations. This provides a basis for community engagement across a range of activities and over a significant period of time – citizens have multiple opportunities to get involved and can engage on issues in their areas that are important to them;
 - **Resident-led and non-prescriptive:** Residents make decisions about how the money is spent. There are very few restrictions on what this might be and there is genuine choice, as opposed to choosing from a set of pre-devised options or themes set in advance by funders.
 - **Over a significant period of time:** With each area having at least ten years to spend the money, there is time for networks to develop, involved residents to grow in confidence and skills, mistakes to be made and learnt from, and as well as the opportunity to create lasting change. As the Third Sector Research Centre note: ‘...Big Local is in stark contrast with previous neighbourhood change and regeneration programmes in that areas are not driven by top down targets, annual spend and externally imposed goals and outcomes (see for example New Deal for Communities... and the Single Regeneration Budget)’⁵⁰⁰;

How citizens get involved in Big Local

⁵⁰⁰ McCabe, A., Wilson, M. and Macmillan, R. with Morgans, P. and Edwards, M. (2017) *Big Local: Beyond the Early Years – Our Bigger Story: The Longitudinal Multi Media Evaluation of Big Local 2015 – 2016*. Online at: <http://ourbiggerstory.com/OBS-2015-16-Final-Full-Report.pdf> . p. 86.

10. Although £1 million spread over 10-15 years does not amount to a huge amount of additional resource when compared to statutory and other funding going into many communities, it is a large enough sum to provide a strong focus for engagement, decision making and participation. So far, there have been different levels of involvement of citizens in Big Local both between and within Big Local areas. These range from more intensive participation to more light touch involvement, including:

- **Partnership members:** The most involved and active citizens who come together to plan Big Local activities, oversee expenditure, provide oversight of Big Local in the area and vote on major decisions. With support, and over time, we have seen Big Local grow and develop significant numbers of new, community based change makers, capable of making things happen in their area.
- **Additional volunteers:** These are volunteers who are not members of the partnership, but nevertheless invest a lot of time in Big Local, for example organising groups or events. The non-prescriptive nature of Big Local has often enabled local people to identify and self-fund activities that might never otherwise have gained visibility, releasing ‘below the radar’ talents and skills amongst local residents and encouraging local initiative.

Direct beneficiaries/participants: There are a broad range of people more lightly engaged with the programme, such as those who have engaged in a consultation about Big Local priorities. The non-prescriptive nature of the programme has meant that Big Local areas have been able to develop approaches to engagement and participation that are relevant to their local communities. Some have adapted large scale participatory activities, such as participatory budgeting. Other involvement can be engaging in the community either:

- Directly through a Big Local activity.
- Through a group or activity supported by Big Local.
- In an activity that had no direct link to Big Local, but they are helped by Big Local to do so.

One early focus of many Big Local has been on the importance of available space to facilitate community activity and engagement – which appears to be a key factor in enabling activity to take place within communities. This can be particularly important in communities where traditional places to meet and interact – whether the local pub, church or major local place of employment – no longer exist. Where areas have existing spaces, Big Local areas have typically been keen to work with rather than sideline them. A significant number of Big Local areas have invested in either establishing or improving local community hubs: ‘They tended

to be seen by residents as more accessible and as a way of getting more people involved from the local community.⁵⁰¹

What's different about Big Local? – Evidence so far

11. We are still at an early stage in both the delivery and evaluation of what was designed as a 10-15 year programme. There is therefore a need for some caution in drawing significant conclusions – either positive or negative – from what has happened to date. However, a great deal of evidence is collected on the programme, both internally and from other agencies and this feeds into a comprehensive evaluation programme.⁵⁰²

12. Evidence of the impact of Big Local on active citizenship is starting to emerge:
 - **150 partnerships have been formed** each with a minimum of eight members (although most have more), and all with a majority of local residents, developed a plan outlining what they propose to deliver over the next few years and leading the delivery of that vision. This is one of the few requirements of the programme, and represents some achievement in itself in some areas, especially where there may not have been a significant history of successful community engagement or involvement.
 - **Residents feel more in control:** Initial evaluation from the Third Sector Research Centre (TSRC) states: 'In Big Local, residents decide upon any changes that they feel need to happen, design how change will take place, and determine appropriate timeframes for affecting change.'⁵⁰³ In a survey of those involved in Big Local Partnerships; 80% of members strongly agreed or agreed that residents are leading Big Local in their area and 78% strongly agreed or agreed that Big Local is giving residents more control over what happens in their areas.⁵⁰⁴
 - **Health benefits:** The programme is the subject of a major independent public health study funded and conducted by the NIHR School for Public Health Research (SPHR), which suggests some evidence of measurable positive impacts of civic

⁵⁰¹ School for Public Health Research. (2016) *Communities in Control Study – What are we learning?* Online at: <http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/documents/Communities%20in%20control%20-%20What%20are%20we%20learning%20final.pdf> p. 2.

⁵⁰² Various evaluations and research on the programme can be found here: <http://localtrust.org.uk/library/research-and-evaluation/>

⁵⁰³ McCabe *et al.*, *Big Local: Beyond the Early Years*, p. 47.

⁵⁰⁴ Results from the partnership survey were published in a series of blogs: <http://localtrust.org.uk/library/blogs/are-residents-leading-big-local>

engagement and participation on health and well-being: ‘residents felt involvement was improving their own mental and, to some extent, physical, health by expanding their social support systems and increasing their sense of identity and self-worth, their personal power to manage their own wellbeing and their feelings of having something to look forward to.’⁵⁰⁵ However, the ongoing study also found that involvement can be challenging and stressful for those more intensely involved, such as partnership members. We look at some of the challenges facing partnership members shortly.

- **The longer timescale is helpful:** In surveys of partnership members 84% agreed that the Big Local programme has given them the freedom to do things to a timescale that works for them. 70% agreed that they are satisfied with the pace of their progress with Big Local. As one partnership member stated: ‘the 10-year funding gives time to achieve something lasting.’⁵⁰⁶ Our experience of the programme so far is that in areas with little previous history of community involvement or activity, or where there is not a clear pre-existing sense of collective and shared identity, it can take several years of patient support and engagement to establish the trust, skills, confidence and vision needed for local people to start to take on the responsibility for making decisions about their own neighbourhoods. The Institute for Voluntary Action Research (IVAR) outlines the importance of the timeframe in avoiding short-termism: ‘Most programmes emphasise the way in which capacity and community confidence in taking control builds over time. It also takes time to build trust – across communities and between communities and their partners. Conversely, short-term programmes, despite significant achievements, have been hampered by the need to demonstrate success over a limited period.’⁵⁰⁷

Challenges

13. That is not to say that Big Local has been easy or straightforward. Whilst some local communities have achieved amazing things in a very short time with the resources made available to them, as noted above, others have had to work hard to get themselves to the point where they are able to take on the challenge of delivering change in their areas.

⁵⁰⁵ School for Public Health Research. (2017) *Does community empowerment have the potential to improve health in disadvantaged areas?*. To be presented at Public health England conference (Warwick University) on 12th September 2017. For information about the study: <http://sphr.nihr.ac.uk/health-inequalities/home/>

⁵⁰⁶ Partnership survey results: <http://localtrust.org.uk/library/blogs/are-residents-leading-big-local>

⁵⁰⁷ Baker, L., Hennessy, C. and Taylor, M. (2013) *Big Local: What’s new and different?* Online at: <https://www.ivar.org.uk/research-report/big-local-whats-new-and-different/>. p. 3.

- **It can take time to establish new structures from scratch** particularly in communities that have not historically had significant local infrastructure to support engagement and local participation and decision making.
- **£1 million can bring conflict as well as releasing potential.** Some areas initially struggled to reach agreement on priorities, or to get their plans off the ground. In other areas, those ‘sticking their head above the parapet’ to try to organise and change their communities have found themselves the subject of challenging treatment. Where a Big Local area boundary failed to reflect ‘natural’ communities, or brought together multiple areas with distinct identities and interests, considerable time was sometimes needed to overcome initial suspicion and create a shared vision. Local Trust has invested heavily in providing support for areas to overcome their difficulties and resolve local conflicts.
- **Sustaining engagement is important** as some of our areas reach the mid-point of their programme, some are having to work hard to maintain impetus and involvement, and consider issues around how they renew core partnership members and avoid individuals being burnt out by the expectations and commitment that can come with leading and driving forward work at a community level. In some areas, those with the time to become involved have tended to be older than the general population, as younger people with jobs and families struggle to find time to sustain involvement. However, this in itself presents challenges to sustainability as local partnership members age.

Response to committee question 7

Big Local’s focus on civic engagement

14. A big focus of early work by many Big Local areas has been around civic engagement – perhaps reflecting the extent to which Big Local areas have a history of lack of engagement and participation before the programme. As of July 2017, 134 out of 150 Big Local areas were currently spending money on explicit community engagement projects.⁵⁰⁸ For example, see appendix 31.c for a case study on St Oswald and Netherton.

15. More widely, Big Local encourages civic engagement and facilitates co-operation in three main ways:

⁵⁰⁸ Unpublished analysis of Big Local plans.

Local Trust – written evidence (CCE0139)

- The core emphasis on working with and engaging the community and placing them in the lead in defining priorities in their area and then ensuring delivery.
 - The focus of many areas on using their £1 million as leverage to generate engagement with much broader networks of organisations and institutions, including local government and third sector organisations.
 - The ability to bring local authority and civil society organisations onto Big Local partnerships (whilst retaining a resident majority on decision making bodies).
16. Communities can be strengthened if the individuals within them are upskilled – as noted in the introduction one of the outcomes of Big Local is increase the skills and confidence of residents. This is particularly pertinent because Big Local areas have lower than the national average for educational attainment. Involvement provides opportunities for boosting cultural and social capital. For an individual’s journey in Big Local, see ‘Kathryn’s Story’ in the appendix, paragraph 32.

Providing citizens with the influence and leverage

17. In some Big Local areas, the £1 million has helped change the way in which local communities and those working with them relate to shared challenges. Whilst it is a relatively small sum of money when compared to other sources of investment and expenditure in many communities, it has nevertheless changed local dynamics, enabling communities to work on solving issues together on an equal footing, as opposed to focusing on problems – helping change local citizens from the position of passive applicants for or recipients of assistance to active negotiators of change. See 31.a in the appendix for a case study of Big Local improving green and open spaces in Grassland Hassmoor. In another Big Local area, the partnership has worked with multiple local agencies and established a key role for itself in the local planning and development process, enabling the development of 40 new community-owned homes, the development of major new local sporting facilities and the launch of a community energy company, releasing over £4 million of additional resources into the local community. See 31.b in the appendix for a case study of housing developments in Lawrence Weston.
18. Where it works best, Big Local money provides local people with a long term, resourced and relevant voice capable not just of representing views but also directly delivering change that they themselves control, providing a focus and a legitimacy to the civic engagement that underpins it. Research on how Big Local areas are attracting additional resources shows that no respondents felt that the area would

have received all the additional resources had there not been a Big Local partnership bringing the community together to lead change in their area. Three quarters of people felt that they would have attracted little or no resources without Big Local.⁵⁰⁹

Better engagement with local third sector organisations

19. Big Local areas often have a close relationship with at least one local third sector organisation who acts as a ‘Locally Trusted Organisation’, which takes responsibility for:

- Reducing the amount of bookkeeping and paperwork for residents
- Helping partnerships stay outward and outcome-focused, rather than focused on bureaucracy
- Employing community development and partnership support workers

20. However, more generally, Big Local has enabled local people to find ways to more effectively bring third sector organisations into their areas on their own terms – enabling them to commission the services and ideas they prioritise, rather than being delivered to in ways that limit their ability to engage with, influence and control outcomes. See appendix 31.e for a case study from Growing Together in Northampton.

The role of local councillors as support

21. Whilst early in the development of Big Local, some areas found relationships with local authorities problematic, particularly in relation to discussions around the prioritisation of funding allocation at a time when a lot of local funding was being cut, there are now many positive examples of councillors and local authority offices working closely with Big Local areas to help with projects. As one partnership member stated: ‘Having Big Local money and a structure has provided a chance to meet local councillors and bridged the gap between the council and residents.’⁵¹⁰

22. An example is in Chatham, where the Arches Big Local has worked closely to with local councillors and officials to change perceptions within the local council about the extent to which the local community can take responsibility for tackling local problems and they have now come around to the idea that residents should be

⁵⁰⁹ Resources for Change and Rocket Science. (2017) *Big Local – More than just the £1 million*. Online at <http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/documents/Additional%20resources%20in%20Big%20Local%20-%20Summary%202017.pdf>. p. 3.

⁵¹⁰ McCabe et al., *Big Local: Beyond the Early Years – Our Bigger Story*, p. 75.

leading the way. Councillors now are aware that they have a group of residents that are willing to try new ideas.⁵¹¹

Response to question 9

'Left behind' communities

23. The 150 Big Local areas were selected – in part – because they were communities 'left behind' in the sense of not having benefited as much as some other areas from lottery and other grant funding. Some of the areas would also fit the description of 'left behind' used to describe certain communities since the European Referendum – post-industrial, high unemployment, low political engagement etc. However, Big Local areas are very diverse communities, who face challenges across multiple deprivation issues. These include lacking significant civic infrastructure and social capital, which may have contributed to them failing to access funding in the past.⁵¹²
24. In some areas, a focus of Big Local partnerships has been around establishing or re-establishing links with the wider communities they live in, through bringing in services or addressing issues around transport and access to employment. An example is the Wargrave Big Local in Newton-Le-Willows who have invested significantly in bringing a range of new services, and agencies into a community that has suffered from the loss of their major local employer and has traditionally lacked embedded local activity and capacity.⁵¹³

Barriers to active citizenship

25. As noted, Big Local operates in areas that often have historically low levels of civic engagement, which may in itself have led to a lack of access to grant funding in the past – there was no-one locally making the case for investment in their area. As a consequence, there have been stark differences in the speed that partnerships have come together. The Big Local programme was designed from the outset to allow areas work at their own pace: where Big Local was able to build on and strengthen existing emergent civic activity and networks, areas were able to move more quickly

⁵¹¹ LGIU. (2017) *Community Collaboration – A Councillors guide*.

[http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/documents/Community%20collaboration%20a%20councillors%20guide%20\(003\).pdf](http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/documents/Community%20collaboration%20a%20councillors%20guide%20(003).pdf) p. 7.

⁵¹² Leach, M. (2017) 'Let's fund places not projects'. Online at: <http://localtrust.org.uk/library/blogs/lets-fund-places-not-projects>

⁵¹³ For information see: <http://www.wargravebiglocal.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Year-One-Review-Final-Report.pdf>

forward; in other areas time was needed to get started. Moreover, within some Big Local areas, partnerships initially found it challenging to engage all parts of the area and all demographic groups. These are the communities that, in terms of engagement, may require the most investment in building sustainable local relationships and shared ambition, and slow progress should not be judged negatively. But with a 10-15 year time horizon, rather than the much shorter duration of many other community engagement and regeneration programmes, it has been possible to allow areas to overcome those issues and move forward at their own pace.

26. We are aware that participation in the UK is skewed overall. Data from the *Community Life Survey* suggests participation rates are higher amongst certain demographic groups (White British, young people 16 to 25, and those over 65s).⁵¹⁴ Different roles also attract certain groups. Partnership roles in Big Local have some resemblance to Trustee roles and there is a similarity to the demographics of trustees, with very few young people on Big Local partnerships,⁵¹⁵ which reflects other surveys about the demographics of the trustees.⁵¹⁶ However, there are multiple other routes for young people to get involved in Big Local. For an example of this see the case study on Kirk Hallam in the appendix, 31.d.
27. As noted earlier in this submission, in the longer term this may in itself present issues around sustainability and the extent to which changes in community capacity and confidence are embedded in the longer term. Individuals tend to dip in and out of volunteering. The *Pathways through Participation* project suggested that people's participation fluctuates throughout their lifetimes. Key events can result in participation, such as having a child or retirement.⁵¹⁷ As many Big Local areas enter the mid-point of their existence, Local Trust has been helping them start to address issues of sustainability and legacy.

⁵¹⁴ Community Life Survey 2015 to 2016 data:

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/539106/2015_16_community_life_excel-table.xlsx Table 3

⁵¹⁵ See: <http://localtrust.org.uk/library/blogs/are-residents-leading-big-local-part-2>

⁵¹⁶ Saxton, J. (2016) 'Twenty things we learned from our National Trustee Survey'. Online at:

<https://nfpsynergy.net/blog/twenty-things-we-learned-our-national-trustee-survey>

⁵¹⁷ Brodie, E., Hughes, T., Jochum, V., Miller, S., Ockenden, N. and Warburton, D. (2011) *Pathways through participation: What creates and sustains active citizenship?* Online at:

http://pathwaysthroughparticipation.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2011/09/Pathways-Through-Participation-final-report_Final_20110913.pdf p. 36.

Overcoming barriers to help facilitate engagement

28. A key part of the Big Local ethos is to not focus on the deficits of communities, rather their strengths – an ‘asset based approach’. As IVAR state: ‘Local Trust’s approach is perceived as an empowerment rather than deficit model – focused on recognising and building on strengths and assets in an area, rather than the needs and negatives.’⁵¹⁸ Helping the residents overcome barriers has included:

- a. **Learning and networking:** A key component of the programme is to share learning about how barriers have been overcome and how they have succeeded in engaging their local communities. These include learning events,⁵¹⁹ alongside major regional and national networking events that have been run every spring since 2012. These have promoted networking, learning and peer support between areas, and workshops are often led or co-delivered with people from Big Local areas.⁵²⁰ There has also been networking facilitated at a local level, often by the Big Local ‘Rep’ – workers employed by Local Trust at a community level to provide light touch mentoring and support to local areas. Reps also have regular network meetings to share their experiences. In addition, evidence and learning has been presented online and shared through social media.⁵²¹
- b. **Support:** There are various support mechanisms in addition to the peer support through networking. Having a Rep on the ground (even if only for a few days every month) and broader support from Local Trust has been vital in helping Big Local areas facilitate community engagement. There is also other support projects, such as grants for innovative projects in Big Local areas. Many areas employ a support worker to help them. The roles range from administrative support to community development work.

Conclusion – An alternative model of engagement

29. Big Local represents a distinctive and radical approach to tackling many of the issues being focused on by the committee. It shifts the centre of gravity away from grant makers and funders towards communities – they are best placed to identify local

⁵¹⁸ IVAR. (2015) *Funding for resident control: The Local Trust experience so far*. Online at: <https://www.ivar.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Funding-for-Resident-Control-Local-Trust-2015.pdf> p. 4.

⁵¹⁹ Turner, J. (2016) *Effectiveness of Big Local learning support – Executive Summary*. Online at: <http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/documents/EXECUTIVE%20SUMMARY%2018%20May%202016%20Big%20Local%20effectiveness%20of%20learning.pdf>.

⁵²⁰ NCVO, IVR and OPM. (2014) *Big Local: The Early Years – Evaluation Report*. Online at: http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/documents/Final_report_reduced.pdf p. 26.

⁵²¹ See various case studies and resources: <http://localtrust.org.uk/library/>

need. They will make mistakes as well as having successes, the point is there is a sense of ownership over the process, and time to build on learning.

30. Big Local is still at an early stage in its development, with nearly a decade left to run. Therefore the information and evidence in this submission should be viewed as emergent and partial. But Big Local is likely to represent an important source of evidence and learning over the next five to ten years. Local Trust will continue to invest in sharing learning – both positive and negative – as an ongoing contribution to policy making and developing practice around civic engagement, community empowerment and neighbourhood renewal and regeneration.

APPENDIX – Case studies in response to question 12

Examples of initiatives in Big Local areas that promote citizenship

31. Taking an active role in decision making is an act of citizenship itself. There are numerous specific examples within Big Local areas around promoting citizenship. We have outlined these below:
- a) **Developing green and open spaces in Grassland Hasmoor:** In Grassland Hasmoor the presence of Big Local stimulated the Green and Open Spaces working group who were working closely with the relevant local authorities to improve pathways and make them more accessible, something which local rangers see as a great opportunity for facilitating change. They have also harnessed volunteers to deliver their summer holiday and food projects, leading to a reputation with councils and others that residents can make things happen.⁵²²
 - b) **Facilitating new housing in Lawrence Weston:** Lawrence Weston Big Local has worked closely with its Locally Trusted Organisation (Ambition Lawrence Weston) on various projects. This includes developing the large area of derelict land in the middle of the estate. There are plans for a new supermarket, new housing (including shared ownership and intermediate market rent) and local services, including a GP surgery, in a community hub. They have worked with a number of local authorities, including in Bristol, South Gloucestershire and North Somerset, which has attracted Coastal Communities Fund monies and brought other investment in the area including a supermarket. They have also

⁵²² For more detail see: McCabe *et al.*, *Big Local: Beyond the Early Years*, p. 76.

helped develop wind turbine and a solar farm which result in greener energy and a financial return on investment.⁵²³

- c) **Tackling anti-social behaviour in St Oswald and Netherton:** The area made Citizenship one of the priorities in their Big Local plan. They defined it specifically in terms of tackling anti-social behaviour. In order to achieve this, they worked with services offering provision to NEET's (Not in Education, Employment or Training) to encourage community awareness and respect. In order to reduce anti-social behaviour they wanted local people to be able to access positive, affordable, local activities and to become engaged, involved and take ownership of their projects. This included providing volunteering opportunities for young people and the long term unemployed.⁵²⁴
- d) **Engaging young people in Kirk Hallam:** It has introduced a 'passport project' in partnership with a local school where children do activities around the area and work through the passport, like a local Duke of Edinburgh award. It is based on the 'National Trust things to do before you are 11 3/4' and includes: skimming stones, climbing a tree, flying a kite etc. The idea would be to introduce something specific for local children that enabled them to capture moments and thoughts as they grow and do some of the activities. An example is the Big Camp Out was put on by the two primary schools, organised by a specialist company which erects the tents and organises activities at an event which included a bonfire and lessons for children on how to make safe drinking water.⁵²⁵
- e) **Working with third sector organisations in Growing Together:** Growing Together in Northampton East have been working closely with their Locally Trusted Organisation, Blackthorn Good Neighbours. This small third sector organisation moved from being a community-based organisation to taking over a nursery after it was about to be shut down. Working with Growing Together, Blackthorn Good Neighbours has been able to re-introduce this community-based aspect back into what they do. After Growing Together finish spending their £1 million, it is planned that they will merge with Blackthorn Good

⁵²³ For more detail see: McCabe et al., *Big Local: Beyond the Early Years*, pp. 43-44 and <https://www.bigissue.com/news/bristol-residents-plan-community-housing-project/>

⁵²⁴ For more detail see L30 million's Big Local plan:

[http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/plans/L30%20Plan%20Year%201%20\(1\).pdf](http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/plans/L30%20Plan%20Year%201%20(1).pdf)

⁵²⁵ For more detail see Big Kirk Hallam's Big Local Plan:

[http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/plans/Big%20Kirk%20Hallam%20-%20Big%20Local%20Plan%20\(2\).pdf](http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/plans/Big%20Kirk%20Hallam%20-%20Big%20Local%20Plan%20(2).pdf) p. 10. and the this case study:

[http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/documents/Kirk%20Hallam%20engagement%20case%20study%20\(Final%20Sept%202016\).pdf](http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/documents/Kirk%20Hallam%20engagement%20case%20study%20(Final%20Sept%202016).pdf)

[http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/documents/Kirk%20Hallam%20engagement%20case%20study%20\(Final%20Sept%202016\).pdf](http://localtrust.org.uk/assets/downloads/documents/Kirk%20Hallam%20engagement%20case%20study%20(Final%20Sept%202016).pdf)

Neighbours to create a new organisation that will continue to work within the area.

32. Here is a case study of someone who has been involved in the programme:

Kathryn's story⁵²⁶

'I started by making teas and coffee for drop ins, and from this people around me were able to identify my transferable skills such as my IT skills. So from making refreshments, I then started to work on the newsletter, which then led to me taking minutes, controlling social media and arranging meetings. Local Trust realise that in deprived communities people may not have all the tools that are needed to run projects like this so provide a lot of free training for residents in the 150 areas. It's this training that has helped me understand the third sector, governance and best practice, how to make meetings successful and present with confidence and clarity.'

8 September 2017

⁵²⁶ For full case study see: Andrews, K. (2016) 'Positive change for people and place: Kathryn's story from Big Local in Blackpool'. Online at: <http://localtrust.org.uk/library/blogs/positive-change-for-people-and-place>

Locality – written evidence (CCE0140)

About Locality and our members:

Locality is the national network of ambitious and enterprising community-led organisations, working together to help neighbourhoods thrive. We represent over 600 community-led organisations, who operate in neighbourhoods across England, undertaking a wide variety of different activities, reflecting the communities they serve. What unites our members is a sense of ambition for their local neighbourhood, an enterprising approach to finding local solutions to local problems, and a clear sense that this activity should be community-led and based on self-determination. They act as ‘anchors’ within their community, providing stability, flexibility and a responsiveness to local need.

Community anchor organisations are fundamental to the creation of successful and self-confident neighbourhoods, uniquely placed to provide solutions to many of the intractable economic, social and environmental problems we face as a society. They foster self-reliance rather than dependency, and provide communities with a degree of resilience to cope with changing circumstances. They are independent organisations, working interdependently with the public and private sector locally.

Community anchors build and harness a huge amount of social capital in their local communities, and are key institutions in supporting active citizenship and civic engagement. Through their strong relationships with vulnerable and excluded groups locally, they support people to have a voice in their local community and shape neighbourhood priorities. Community anchor organisations also often play an important role in reinvigorating common assets locally, which ensures that communities can directly control the important activity in their neighbourhoods

Summary:

Locality welcomes the opportunity to submit evidence to the House of Lords Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement. The remit of this Committee, to identify new ways of building bridges within and between communities and support civic engagement, is an extremely important one. The EU referendum exposed a number of deep divides in our society: an economic model which has generated deep patterns of inequality, as well as a sense of democratic deficit which has left people feeling they lack agency and a stake in their communities. It also exposed an unease about demographic change, with people living increasingly separate lives across age, class and ethnicity, made toxic by a strident immigration debate.

Community anchor organisations are an essential component of the fabric of our communities and their role is more important now than ever. They stimulate active citizenship and civic participation through volunteering and community organising, and act as a catalyst for community cohesion, bringing together diverse groups to work together for

the local neighbourhood. Through community development and community organising, they give local people a voice and strengthen community involvement in local decision-making. They are also powerful local economic agents, using assets and enterprise to drive regeneration, often in the most disadvantaged areas.

Throughout this response, we highlight the importance of neighbourhoods as a key site for building civic engagement and citizenship, and the fundamental role of community institutions and community infrastructure in supporting this capacity. We highlight the need for places and spaces within neighbourhoods for communities to come together, and make recommendations for protecting and developing vital community assets through community asset ownership. We also make recommendations for strengthening neighbourhood-level governance and decision-making, in order to build participatory democracy and develop community agency.

Throughout this response, we draw on emerging evidence from Locality's Commission on the Future of Localism, which we established earlier this year, in partnership with Power to Change, to investigate what is required to reinvigorate local democracy and community empowerment.⁵²⁷ The Commission is chaired by Lord Kerslake and brings together politicians, community leaders, and policy expertise. The Commission is due to report its findings and recommendations in January. We have been holding evidence hearings and consultation events across the country, and been receiving written evidence, in order to harness ideas and innovation about how we can ensure people have a greater stake in their local area and the decisions that affect them.

Locality have also established a new member-led network 'the Future Places Network' to bring Locality members together to discuss the role of community institutions in the context of Britain's exit from the European Union. We are holding our first session in September; we will be focusing on the role of community anchors in promoting community empowerment, building community cohesion and driving community economic development. We will also be considering how they can do this better and making recommendations on what we need to do to build a more supportive policy environment.

We would be very happy to feed in further evidence from this research project, as well as our Commission on the Future of Localism, to the House of Lords Committee on Civic Engagement and Citizenship.

Responses to questions:

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?*

- 1.1. The power of community is a core expression of what citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century. Neighbourhoods are a key source of the sense

⁵²⁷ For more information, please see: <http://locality.org.uk/our-work/policy/localism-commission/>

of belonging and connectedness that underpins people's identity as citizens and within wider society. The place where people live can affect their social capital, their support networks and opportunities to connect, as well as their health and wellbeing. Equally, neighbourhoods can also reinforce inequalities and isolation, which can undermine people's connectedness to wider society and their sense of belonging.

1.2. Civic engagement takes many forms; ultimately, it is about people getting involved to make a difference and impacting change in some way, through both political and non-political channels.⁵²⁸ The community is a key site of civic engagement, and local democratic institutions often provide a channel for that engagement. However, civic engagement is about more than turnout at local or national elections; participatory democracy requires neighbourhood governance and forums that can facilitate deliberation and local decision-making. Civic engagement through participatory democracy and involvement in local decision-making often requires resetting the relationship between citizen and state, which needs to be enabling and generous rather than controlling and obstructive. Throughout this response, we make recommendations for strengthening neighbourhood-level governance.

1.3. Civic engagement also finds expression in community action; participation in local action can demonstrate to people the power of getting things done in partnership with their neighbours. Evidence gathered through our Localism Commission (forthcoming) is demonstrating how this participation can reinforce community ties, and affect how people identify their own capacity and power, which can also foster greater participatory democracy. Active citizenship and civic participation at the neighbourhood level can also act as a catalyst for community cohesion, bringing together diverse groups to work together for the local neighbourhood.

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*

2.1. A key way to strengthen people's identity as citizens is to build and strengthen the community institutions that foster connectedness and belonging. We expand on our recommendations for strengthening these institutions - and how this facilitates civic engagement and citizenship - in later questions throughout this response.

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*

⁵²⁸ Definitions

have the force of law individually or be presented as reciprocal duties between citizen and state? How should they be monitored and/or enforced?

- 3.1. Civic engagement can be strengthened by re-thinking the relationship between citizen and state. Localism and community empowerment form a key part of this. The Localism Act (2011) built on the Coalition Government’s intention to “promote decentralisation and democratic engagement [and] end the era of top-down government”⁵²⁹ by introducing a set of Community Rights to empower communities to take action locally. Whilst these have offered an important route for communities seeking to save valued local assets or shape local planning, barriers remain to achieving a truly bottom-up model of civic engagement.
 - 3.2. The opportunities to reinvigorate the localism agenda and strengthen local democracy was a core motivation of Locality establishing our Commission on the Future of Localism. Evidence gathered so far has demonstrated the frustrations felt when considerable time and effort is dedicated to community action, which is then disregarded by local government and leads to greater disconnect. Fostering civic engagement requires the devolution of tangible powers to communities, including responsibilities over resources, to unlock community agency.
 - 3.3. Community organisations can be a key link between the formal rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and the *capacity* to translate these into civic engagement and community action. Through community development and community organising, they give local people a voice and strengthen community involvement in local decision-making. Considering citizenship in terms of ‘formal rights and responsibilities’ does not always fully capture the barriers which exist to civic engagement, and we expand on these further in our response to Question 9.
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?*
- 7.1. A key part of encouraging greater civic engagement is in supporting community infrastructure. Community organisations are a huge source of civic capacity and participatory potential – they often provide important spaces for community conversations and activism, and through community development and community organising techniques they give local people a voice. This fundamental role does not necessarily rely directly on external funding programmes – it is a core functioning of their community purpose. However, funding pressures elsewhere, including the

⁵²⁹ Coalition Agreement, May 2010

decline in grant funding and squeeze on income through contracts⁵³⁰, alongside rising demand, can have a significant impact on organisational sustainability and the diversion of time and resources from community development activities.

- 7.2. A core way in which government can support civil society initiatives to increase civic engagement, is through focusing on the sustainability of civil society organisations. Community organisations are fundamentally important to ensuring that neighbourhoods are places where feelings of belonging and connectedness can flourish, and where civic engagement is developed. However, the environment within which community organisations are operating is becoming increasingly challenging, with implications for the sustainability and viability of this vital sector. Whilst community organisations have faced a perpetual challenge in maintaining financial stability, these issues have become increasingly complex and pressing. Alongside this, local VCSE infrastructure – a common source of advice and support - is increasingly squeezed, and government interest and capacity for providing further centrally funded support programmes is waning.
- 7.3. One key route for financial sustainability is through asset ownership, which, when done well and properly supported, provides a sustainable foundation and robust financial basis for the growth of community and civil society organisations. The organisations which are best able to sustain their activities during turbulent financial pressures, are those which generate revenue, including renting buildings or hosting new services. In order to unlock the widespread benefits which community asset ownership can bring to local areas, a coordinated strategy of investment from funders, central government, and social investment is required and we have been calling for a £1 billion ‘Community Asset Investment Plan’⁵³¹.
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?*
- 9.1. An uneven economic model has been a key contributing factor in why many communities and groups feel “left behind” within an increasingly divided and unequal society. Whilst government’s economic strategy is increasingly regional, it is still far from local. Indeed, the economic benefits of the development of city regions may exacerbate inequalities within places even as some of the differences between them are levelled out. Britain’s exit from the EU is an important opportunity to strengthen the potential of community economic development; maximising and harnessing local

⁵³⁰ From 2010/11 – 2012/13 the value of income from grants and contracts to the voluntary and community sector has fallen by £1.7 billion, NCVO Civil Society Almanac
<http://data.ncvo.org.uk/a/almanac15/introduction-2/>

⁵³¹ For more information, please see: <http://locality.org.uk/our-work/campaigns/places-and-spaces/>

assets for the benefit of the local community, and delivering neighbourhood-level economic opportunity.

- 9.2. Efforts to encourage active citizenship need to account for the barriers many face to this kind of involvement and recognise that there is often a lot of work needed to reengage communities, and break down barriers. A core finding of the evidence received through our Localism Commission, is that for many people experiencing multiple-disadvantage, the opportunities to be involved in local community activities and initiatives can seem extremely alien and distant. This can be a result of a lack of confidence and personal sense of power and agency, perhaps connected to wider disadvantages of health, employment opportunities or housing. In this way people are actively excluded from citizenship through economic inequalities and disadvantage. Community anchor organisations can play a fundamental role in community development activities which re-engage these groups and tackle part of this citizenship deficit.
- 9.3. Democratic structures at both central and local government can deepen divides if they are not representative of the whole community; this can act as a further barrier to civic engagement and participation. This is not purely about representativeness through elected leaders, but through wider participatory democratic channels and forums. For example, local democratic structures can help support children and young people to express their views – for example through youth councils. BAME community organisations and community infrastructure are also essential in supporting black and ethnic minority leadership and participation. Research from Locality and Ubele, for example,⁵³² has demonstrated how the sustainability of BAME community owned assets poses a real threat to community representativeness and voice.

8 September 2017

⁵³² For more information, please see: <http://locality.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/A-Place-to-Call-Home-exec-summary.pdf>

London Youth – written evidence (CCE0205)

Question 4.

Do current laws encourage active political engagement?

- Politicians and other people in decision-making positions are generally too far away from young people, leaving young people with a feeling of disempowerment and unclear how to influence decision-makers. This can make them less likely to participate in ‘traditional’ methods of engagement although many would wish to engage.
- There are variations depending on whether the committee means local or national political engagement. For example, in London there are moves towards wider participation such as the Youth Council.
- Citizenship education is no longer a key part of the National Curriculum, which may put up further barriers to young people participating in politics.

What are your views on changes to the franchise for national or local elections, including lowering the voting age?

London Youth has previously supported initiatives encouraging young people to get out and vote such as Bite the Ballot.

Should changes be made to the voting process or the voting registration process?

- Voter registration needs to be made simpler and easier for young people.
- Other methods should be considered that are used in other countries such as remote or electronic voting. (Although the security of paper-based systems and recent problems with electronic systems are noted.)
- Political parties need to do more to appeal to the concerns of young people and to ensure their policies are understandable to an audience with less experience of policy-making.

Question 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?

London Youth believes that the National Citizen Service can have a very positive impact on participants - and contends that this is compounded when NCS is delivered by local youth organisations which have the flexibility to better respond to local community needs and challenges. We think it is a good step that NCS has been expanding its programmes to reach a wider range of young people from a wider range of backgrounds.

NCS provides a valuable ‘taster’ of active citizenship but should be recognised that NCS delivers to certain age groups at certain times of the year. A broader approach such as Step up to Serve would cover a wider age range and facilitate participation at other times of the year. Local authorities and youth groups could play a bigger convening role.

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?

London Youth is not sure how the current NCS could have a greater political element, though there could be more of an effort made to bring a political context generally to social action programmes through the engagement of local councillors and MPs.

Although the current NCS celebration events are key to reflecting on and celebrating the achievements of young people in terms of their contribution to their community, London Youth is not sure that a public citizenship ceremony would be particularly useful or cost effective

We contend that there are plenty of other routes to active citizenship, from uniformed groups to volunteering opportunities and other social action programmes. When these are developed and delivered locally they can be more beneficial as they meet the specific needs of young people in those communities

Question 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?

London Youth contends that the most fundamental cause of a “left behind” feeling is overall poverty and economic inequality. This is perhaps more important to address than ethnicity, age, gender or urban/rural issues. Young people in disadvantaged areas can feel this most acutely, being bombarded with materialistic ideas and concepts yet not being able to afford these ‘aspirations’.

It will always be more difficult to engage young people into concepts of active citizenship where there are high levels of economic and educational inequality. For example if a young person has to work at 16 to help meet their family’s basic needs then they will not have the time to take part in such schemes, and they shouldn’t be further penalised for this.

How might these barriers be overcome?

Social action and the ability for young people to create positive change in their communities can help to overcome such barriers. We fully believe in the double benefit of social action as laid out by Step Up To Serve. We ensure through our own social action programmes such as City Leaders, Future City Leaders and our own organisational Youth Advisory Board that

young people are able to find solutions to these barriers themselves, while enabling them to become the community leaders of the future. We seek participation in our programmes from a wide range of young people to ensure a diversity of representation and opportunity.

It should also be recognised that schools are not the only place where young people can be engaged. For a variety of reasons, some young people don't get on at school but do participate in youth organisations in their communities which they can attend for free, on a voluntary basis, interacting with trusted adults.

Earlier this year (March 2017) we published a series of recommendations in a report on life for young people in London called 'Young People's Capital of the World?'. This included:

- Recommendation 3: The Mayor of London and the Greater London Authority should put mechanisms in place to ensure that young people have a clear voice, brokered through community youth organisations, in the development of London strategies and in key local decisions around service provision, housing and regeneration, and skills and employability.
- Recommendation 4: The Mayor of London should make explicit the role of youth organisations in facilitating positive outcomes for young people in his plans for education, skills, culture and the arts, clean air and open space and community regeneration, as well as in crime prevention.

Dr Eric Royal Lybeck, University of Exeter – written evidence (CCE0209)

We Need a Civic Sociology for a Civic Society

1. I write to submit evidence to the Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement drawing on my expertise as an editor for a new journal founded by leading British, American and European sociologists called *Civic Sociology*. Indeed, our motivation in establishing the journal is similar to that which seems to prompt the committee's enquiry – namely, recognition that critical events in 2016, including Brexit and the election of Donald Trump, portend either dramatically new social and cultural conditions, or, reflect longer-term trends which have hitherto been ignored. In founding a new journal so named, we commit ourselves to not only understanding civic engagement and participation^v, civic action^{vi} and civic imaginations^{vii}; but, perhaps, more importantly, we recognize that we must have been doing something wrong to have not seen these recent crises coming. And, by 'we', I don't just refer to sociologists, but to all 'experts' – academics, journalists, civil servants, professionals – as a whole. For what 2016 reveals, perhaps, most strikingly is: the expert, like the emperor, appears to have no clothes.

2. This presents a challenge for any expert now seeking to advise the Lords on how to positively build bridges between communities. Collectively, our new network of scholars have consulted the committee's document and have much to contribute in terms of how to conceptualize civic action;^{viii} others have explored alternatives to prevailing strategies towards 'heritage' in UNESCO designated sites;^{ix} or the relationship between legal rights and urban development;^x and so on. In other words, we could help address the specific and most worthy questions asked within the document, and will do so in time within the pages of our journal.

3. However, a prior question needs to be asked regarding *who* needs to be more civically engaged? As presented, the call for evidence mentions British-born radical terrorists and those 'left behind'. This corresponds with recent research highlighting a civic 'participation gap', largely reflective of social inequalities.^{xi} Yet, the request implies we develop or identify positive British values which should appeal to those marginalized folks in order to re-engage them in the civic process. But, this suggests the 'problem' is the marginalized people – 'them' – some maybe in self-segregating urban neighbourhoods, and others abandoned in the rural hinterland. How can we make or inspire these folks to engage in new civic behaviours, which will, in turn, make them less marginalized? In other words, how do we help these folks be less of a problem?

4. I would propose a different framing of the problem: the issue of low civic participation is not the fault of marginalized populations, but that of 'us': the mainstream, middle-class centre, the experts, the professionals, the academics. We are the ones who have failed to

adequately participate in our local communities. We have for too long engaged in what civic sociologists have, following Dickens, called ‘telescopic philanthropy’.^{xii} Instead of understanding and engaging with nearby deprived neighbourhood just across the train tracks, or off the B-roads up-county, scholars and governments have too often patronizingly tried to solve “Africa’s” problems through ineffective target-driven projects;^{xiii} or, we have been incentivized to partner with academics in developing countries to address ‘Global Challenges’ scattered randomly across the entire planet.^{xiv} All well-intentioned ideas, of course, but, along with the REF and TEF and related pressures emanating from Whitehall, the result is an estrangement between the expert centre and local marginalized populations. What better evidence of this is there than the wildly off-base polling predictions ahead of the Brexit and Trump votes? Who knew? Certainly not political scientists. Precious few sociologists. And yet many of these same experts will now offers your committee their explanations and solutions anew.

5. As LSE sociologist Lisa McKenzie recently pointed out, ethnographers, actually on the ground, had observed a growing resentment between the political establishment and those whose voices have been ignored for decades.^{xv} If we engaged in a bit less pontificating, and a bit more listening – with intellectual humility as Ruth Braunstein, Andrew Abbott and others contributing to our civic sociology project recommend^{xvi} - we might hear just how little trust in our expert authority remains. And, far from being ‘dangerous’, ‘irrational’ and ‘intolerant’, many of those who have disengaged from politics recognize the truth we ignore at our peril: for it may be the middle-class experts in the cities and university towns who are, in fact, the source of the problems we wish to solve.

6. Elisabeth Clemens, for example, has reviewed a number of recent books in an essay titled ‘Distrust in Distant Powers’ in which she argues American’s declining faith in the federal government mirrors Europeans’ resentment of out-of-touch bureaucrats in Brussels.^{xvii} In Wisconsin, political ethnographer Kathy Cramer set out to understand variations in different classes’ opinions of government, and discovered instead overwhelming similarity across ‘out-state’ populations insofar as anyone not from the major cities of Milwaukee and Madison resented those urban elites.^{xviii} Similar findings come up in Arlie Hochschild’s study of rural Louisiana^{xix} and, within cities, complicated political jurisdictions contribute to a sense of absent political power and gang violence.^{xx} These studies can be tied to Clemens’ historical account of the growth of the ‘Rube Goldberg state’,^{xxi} referring to the manner in which federal interventions, for good and ill reasons, have gradually undermined the capacities of local governments to react to citizens’ needs; at the same time shrinking pots of federal money are used to ‘incentivize’ regional initiatives according to the interests of Washington insiders. Living and working in Southwest England, I observe similar outrage over large civic infrastructure investments in ecologically-friendly swimming pools no one locally ever asked for. The city council’s response to such complaints via facebook is to ask these critics: ‘why don’t you run for office yourselves?’

7. Recent works by civic sociologists Josh Pacewicz and Michael McQuarrie highlight similar patterns happening again and again across America. These changes are experienced at local and regional levels, but interact in complicated ways with national and global trends.^{xxii} Pacewicz, for example, explains the long-term dismantling of local political party allegiances in two Iowa towns.^{xxiii} Since the 1970s, new local patterns of ‘bipartisan consensus’ in pursuit of large waterfront renewal projects and the like emerged. In effect, these strategies leveraged municipal revenues in favour of external interests – as the saying goes: Wall Street over Main Street – all the while, these consensus- and consultant- driven strategies produced rumps of formerly substantial local party organizations, unions and chambers of commerce. This provided the seeds for polarization as national-level politics – culture wars over transgender bathrooms and the like – overtook bread-and-butter concerns. At the end of the day, no one seems to be happy and each side increasingly resents the other; and, to top it off, there’s no money left.

8. This returns us yet again to the issue of the crisis of expert legitimacy, and authority, in general. To oversimplify a complex recent history, while paraphrasing W.B. Yeats: things fall apart when the centre cannot hold. Three essential crises of public confidence have befallen the so-called ‘establishment’ since the end of the Cold War. First, in 2003, the public was led to believe there were weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. There were none. This was a wilful lie. Britain has admitted this. America has not. Second, in 2008, the financial markets collapsed leading to the Great Recession. The banks were bailed out while the rest of us underwent a program of austerity. Whereas the economists promised renewed growth, we have experienced unacknowledged inflation, particularly in terms of house prices. The average home in Chelsea now costs £2,100,000 in neighbourhoods a young professional couple could have bought a flat for £30,000 in the mid-1980s. But, of course, we must all tighten our belts. Third, in 2016, the media, academia and metropolitan cultural and political elites completely failed to predict elections in both Britain and the USA. This reflects a much broader series of cultural divides, which have been hitherto ignored by political establishments, largely focused on the goings-on of London or Washington. Any attempts to ‘bridge’ these divides must extend from these capitals and university towns toward those hinterlands and marginalized neighbourhoods which have been excluded or ignored for decades.

9. This is the programme civic sociology proposes to develop by re-orienting our scholarship and professional practices toward problem-solving within local and regional communities, all the while, reflecting more on our ethical commitments, particularly those tensions which exist between experts and the populations they study or collaborate with. We thus consider civic sociology to be reflective and encouraging of a new generation of social scientists, committed to addressing the polarizations of the contemporary world, whether these be divisions between old and young, rich and poor, town and country, and so on. We wish to reconsider these problems from the ground-up, establishing and reconstructing our legitimacy in an age sceptical of experts. We do not wish to smash the idols of previous

generations, but rather to carve out a space to develop new ways of pursuing sociology and solving social problems in the 21st century.

10. This involves recovery of a range of civic traditions which have been forgotten.^{xxiv} While much historical scholarship highlights the role of civic associations in the American Progressive Era, we argue that there was an equally vigorous civic tradition within British history, particularly during the late Victorian, Edwardian and early twentieth century.^{xxv} This recognition follows on from the ground-breaking historical scholarship of William Whyte who identified an underlying ‘civic’ tradition behind British higher education.^{xxvi} Within the social sciences, a civic tradition emerged in the late 19th century under circumstances remarkably similar to today.^{xxvii} Inspired by the cultural criticism of Matthew Arnold, George Eliot, John Ruskin and the entrepreneurialism of William Morris, the founders of Toynbee Hall and more besides, a civic sociology tradition developed centred in Edinburgh. Led by Sir Patrick Geddes, Victor Branford and others, this civic scholarship understood the integral relationships between town and country, young and old, university professors and the non-educated poor.^{xxviii} Central to the civic sociology project was integration, collaboration and engagement between universities and the public. The centuries’ long regeneration of Old Town Edinburgh is a testament to the viability of this approach and the wider civic and settlement movement. This connected historically with planners of Garden Cities; the Documentary Film Movement; the Kyrle societies, which became the National Trust; rural regeneration projects such as Dartington Hall in Devon, a fascinating institution which combined the ethical principles of Indian philosopher, Rabindranath Tagore, American Pragmatism and the best of English culture so conveniently summarized by T.S. Eliot at the time: ‘Derby Day, Henley Regatta, Cowes, the twelfth of August, a cup final, the dog races, the pin table, the dart board, Wensleydale cheese, boiled cabbage cut into sections, beetroot in vinegar, 19th-century Gothic churches and the music of Elgar’.^{xxix}

11. Perhaps here we might encounter some of the positive British values the committee has requested? And yet, we also confront a paradox: which is that, perhaps the quintessence of British, or English culture is to not disclose itself. After all, why did so many cosmopolitan elites in the capital ignore UKIP for so long? Is it not because there is something vulgar – something decidedly un-English about banging on about English values? There are unwritten rules, and one either knows them or you don’t. These must be learned to get on in life, but also, these values cannot be written down, because to speak of them publicly breaks the very rules and expectations. One cannot wrap oneself in the red, white and blue as Americans or Frenchmen do, declaring ‘freedom’ or ‘equality’ as being the ideals above all other which must be embodied by all citizens. And, in any event, as Tocqueville noted of these two ideals in particular: they contradict one another, for one cannot obtain equality without limiting liberty and vice-versa.^{xxx} Or, perhaps, as German sociologist Robert Münch suggests, the essence of British modernity is the tension between tradition and reform?^{xxxi}

12. This is why civic education is so important as the committee rightly notes. However, we mustn’t confine our conception simply to a narrow, mandated ‘citizenship’ curriculum as

currently exists. Rather, the entire school curriculum should be constructed in order to draw out the civic dimensions of one's life and the life of one's community. As Geddes, Jane Addams and others showed, one could highlight civics through biology lessons as much as language study – and my own research highlights the decline of such broad understandings since the nineteenth century precisely due to the replacement of Classical studies with modern foreign languages and specialized, disciplinary-oriented education. Not only does this narrow specialization limit students' understandings of other cultures, as well as the capacity to reflect upon their own; this prevents students from learning how to learn. Teachers teach to the test, all the while being observed by OFSTED, exam boards and suspicious parents. Meanwhile, the specialized content memorized for A-levels will become obsolete within a few years based on current rates of technological change. In a future full of artificial intelligence, advanced robotics and fake news, what is most important is that students learn how to learn, and a robust, broad civic education may be the only way to engender this.

13. One of the classic civic sociologists we draw upon, W.E.B. DuBois, noted that the goal of education should not be simply to make 'men' into carpenters, but, rather should be 'to make carpenters men' (excuse the dated gendered language here!). There are, thus, two sides of education – one, technical, providing the individual with skills; and a second, providing the broader community – especially families – with a sense of what life means. What are some of the ideals of the good life? And, how might one use those acquired technical skills to obtain them? It is ultimately a question of ends vs. means. Du Bois wrote:

If we make money the object of man-training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the object of education, we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of the schools—intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it—this is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life. On this foundation we may build bread winning, skill of hand and quickness of brain, with never a fear lest the child and man mistake the means of living for the object of life.^{xxxii}

14. Similar sentiments were expressed by Ruskin, Arnold, Eliot, Morris and others. Indeed, there is a long tradition in Britain of such an educational interest in 'making men', or perhaps, better expressed: making *adults*. Yet, how much entertainment on television or on film is truly oriented toward adults? Harry Potter, recall, is a children's book. What is 'Love Island'? Perhaps we avoid such questions for fear of appearing 'elitist' – which, incidentally, as noted above, is a strategy which has not worked! But, in avoiding such questions we ignore Arnold's observation:

The complaining millions of men
Darken in labour and pain –

what they want is something to *animate* and *ennoble* them – not merely to add zest to their melancholy or grace to their dreams.

15. Perhaps we have further neglected in recent decades, as sociologist Robert Bellah argued was the case in America in 1985, that contemporary societies have settled into a form of individualism which is essentially ‘adolescent.’ We mistake the virtues of this interim phase of life: the unrootedness of the student leaving home, their quest for identity, initiative and independence, ‘along with their less savory concomitants of adulation of success and contempt for weakness’ for what it means to be a fully, self-actualized human being.^{xxxiii}

16. But, is this not the fallacy of classical liberalism itself, as Philip Gorski recently argued in the case of America?^{xxxiv} Liberalism – or, what contemporary social critics call ‘neoliberalism’ – has been the heart of a broader consensus amongst the expert centre currently undergoing a comprehensive crisis of legitimacy.^{xxxv} Under their watch, public services have been converted into simulated markets organized around targets and, ostensibly, “choice”. Many of my critical colleagues argue this is an insidious attempt by the powers that be to turn us all into automatons – and, while that is, indeed, the effect – as a sociologists of professions, I interpret the cause as being largely due to an over-extension of economics and business professionals into problem-areas for which their knowledge was ill-suited. These include, healthcare, education, civil service – essentially, everything other than actual economic markets. Regardless, as noted above, these experts have failed to deliver the goods. Look at the economy, politics, culture and society. What a mess!

17. Gorski, however, provides an alternative to liberalism which is rooted in similar historical and intellectual traditions – early American ideals during and since the colonial and revolutionary eras – which, consequently, also connect to British traditions, including the civic tradition noted above. Indeed, following Bellah, Gorski calls this tradition ‘civic republicanism’. In contrast to the liberal ideal of freedom as being solely freedom from restraint – Isaiah Berlin’s ‘negative freedom’ – civic republicanism is rooted in classical and Biblical ideals of self-actualization through active citizenship. The language of markets and consumption can be replaced with the language of civic virtue and the good life. Rather than thinking of the government as being opposed to the individual, the community becomes the means through which the good and just are obtained.

18. In his discussion, Gorski notes different conceptions in the notion of ‘corruption’, which might helpfully draw out issues related to the crisis of neoliberal legitimacy: Since the late 19th century, ‘[corruption] has come to mean self-dealing and quid pro quos – bribery, nepotism, influence peddling, and so on. It suggests individual moral failing – the proverbial “bad apples”’.^{xxxvi} The civic republican understands corruption differently, in terms of a sociological imbalance: ‘corruption infects the whole tree, not just one apple. How so?’

Simply put, if one group can exercise power without being checked by another, it will elevate its corporate interests above the common good'.^{xxxvii} Soon enough, everyone realizes this and starts to behave selfishly, becoming a 'free rider' to avoid being a 'sucker'.

19. We are thus in a position to reconsider some of the questions the select committee asked regarding shared British values. From a liberal, or neoliberal point of view, the question is ultimately framed by thinking of individuals as problems which must be solved. What laws, mandates or responsibilities do we need to impose in order to obtain the behaviour we wish from British citizens or immigrants? For example, we do not want a terrorist attack, and those radical individuals were detached from communities, and therefore civic participation is a solution to prevent those individuals from exhibiting these forms of deviance. But, from a civic republican point of view, the question is not framed in terms of the outlier deviant, but in terms of the entire community's commitment to one another. How does the individual come to realize themselves within these communities? Rather than thinking about what barriers impede youth from being engaged civically, we should ask a different question, namely: what actual opportunities are we providing youth and disadvantaged populations – native born and immigrant, old, women, straight, gay – as they do their best to get on in life? For decades, neoliberal experts, politicians of both parties at both local and national levels, have provided what seem to be 'opportunities', but which are too often the mere absence of impediments; these are then cynically renamed as individuals' "choices". Everyone knows this is proverbial poppycock. And, every election henceforth will involve throwing the bums out until some minimum satisfaction is obtained by the public vis-à-vis the powers that be.

20. What is required is a redistribution of the civic functions across the national geography and across social groups – white British, immigrant, young, old, and so on. This will not happen automatically, and must be planned – reflexively, ethically and actively. Everyone should have a part to play in their local, national and the global communities. They should feel a part of their histories and know their histories – warts and all! But, in order for such participation to occur, those opportunities and a robust civic education must be available. In recovering the civic sociology tradition, in Britain, American and beyond, we intend to contribute to this integration process in a concerted, long-term and ethical way. We have only just begun this process of reconstruction, but we thank you for your time and consideration at this early stage of our project. Please do not hesitate to let us know if we can be of any further assistance.

Please direct any questions, comments or concerns to the contributing author:

Dr Eric Royal Lybeck

University of Exeter

Department of Sociology, Philosophy & Anthropology

John Malcomson – written evidence (CCE0017)

The problems raised in Question 4 represent the biggest barrier to political engagement. The “first-past-the-post” system means there is a very high number of “safe” seats, which means that those electors who do not support the party holding the seat are effectively disenfranchised; I have never lived in a constituency where my vote would have affected the outcome. This system also encourages a “winner takes all” approach by the party forming the government, which can ignore what may be the wishes of a majority of the electorate. A further problem is this gives the more extreme elements in a party disproportionately more power. Electors are forced to choose between two, often extreme, views, neither of which may represent their political views.

It has been claimed that the current system leads to a clear majority for one party, and this is represented as desirable. Neither is correct. As stated above, it allows one party to dictate policy which may well be against the wishes of the majority of the electorate, and this is fundamentally undemocratic. In addition the claim to provide a strong majority is not borne out by reality. Over the last 50 or so years there have been few occasions when there was a decent working majority for the party in power, notably only for Margaret Thatcher in the early 1980s and Tony Blair in 1997, but otherwise majorities have been small and often required careful management of backbench MPs and extremely fierce action by the government whips.

A further consequence of the current system is that, unless an elector’s views are supported by one of the main parties they are completely disenfranchised. This is illustrated by the current situation with regard to Brexit. 48% of the voters in the EU Referendum were opposed to leaving the EU, but neither of the main parties supports a remain position. When/if a final deal on leaving the EU is struck, unless a second referendum is offered, electors opposed to Brexit will have no say in the outcome.

Local Government has become almost pointless as more and more powers have been seized by Westminster. Any change in control in Local Authorities results in only very minor changes in policy. While we do have multi-member wards the electoral system again militates against a more diverse range of councillors, since the majority of voters choose candidates from the same party.

Another issue is that large, and multinational, businesses have now attained such power that they can have a major influence on government policy. This is clearly undemocratic.

In addition, Central Government has become synonymous with rule centred on benefiting London and the Southeast. The North seems to have no voice in central government, and Local Government has too little power to influence decisions that affect local areas.

A final point that creates a lack of respect for politicians is the fairly high number of recent successful legal challenges to decisions by ministers. This creates a feeling that politicians have no respect for the rule of law. A suspicion is that ministers are failing to consult with civil servants before they make decisions, and as a result they are not aware of the legal position. This just makes them look both arrogant and stupid.

All the above alienate electors, who feel disenfranchised and disempowered.

Proportional Representation is proposed as a panacea for the above problems. However it is important to recognise that PR can take many forms.

The system used in Israel, where there is just one constituency and parties put forward lists of candidates is not desirable. While the system makes it impossible to form a government without a coalition, which is not in itself undesirable, it usually requires the support of some very minor parties with extreme policies, and these parties makes exorbitant demands in exchange for support. This is no better than in Britain where the extremist wings of the governing party make demands for supporting their government. A further consequence of the Israeli system is that candidates who are considered undesirable by their party will be placed low on the party list and have little chance of being elected; this can result in a candidate leaving that party and forming one of their own. Israel's first Prime Minister David Ben Gurion did just that, twice, first leaving Mapai to form Rafi, and when Rafi merged with the Israel Labour Party he sat as an independent.

There is of course a variety of other ways of applying PR, one of which is the creation of multi-member seats.

The German system, while complex to administer, is relatively simple for voters, and clearly has the advantage of being much more representational of a wide range of views from the electorate.

The problem with changing the current system is that both the two largest parties have a vested interest in retaining the current system. It is difficult to see how any change can be effected. This is the problem that arose in Israel in 1965 when Ben Gurion was in favour of a change from the existing system, and which resulted in him forming Rafi.

On another issue, and despite being part of the geriatric generation, it seems quite clear to me that the voting age should be lowered to 16 at the very least; I would favour 14. This would introduce young people to the idea of voting in order to have an influence on their future. As a teenager I found it extremely frustrating to be unable to vote (at the time the voting age was 21).

To summarise

- The "first-past-the-post" system is undemocratic and should be changed to one which marginalises the extremists and allows for the wishes of the majority to take precedence of party dogma

- It should be recognised that the “first-past-the-post” system does not deliver the strong government with a clear majority claimed by its supporters, and that coalition government is more democratic and preferable
- A new form of electoral process should be introduced, one that makes all electors feel that their votes count, and that gives greater voice to smaller groups
- Powers seized by Westminster over the years should be returned to Local Authorities, and the powers of Local Authorities should be enhanced to allow for decision-making that is not subject to Westminster control
- Large companies, and especially multinational companies, should have power curbed to prevent them acting against the interests of electors
- The voting age to be lowered, at least down to 16

9 August 2017

Saskia Marsh – supplementary to oral evidence (CCE0260)

Further points around a suggested review of Prevent – drawing on research/evidence of ‘what works on countering violent extremism

A specific area of Prevent where there is room for review is the definition and application of the term ‘non-violent extremism’. The government has understandable anxieties concerning tackling non-violent extremism and this issue was acknowledged by most from whom the Commission heard from as being a legitimate concern.

But it is also clear that the issue of non-violent extremism will not be successfully dealt with unless there is greater trust and collaboration between Muslim communities and government agencies and a better appreciation of what exactly the government is trying to address.

As noted in my verbal evidence a review of Prevent could seek to more clearly define non-violent extremism; revisit the boundaries of who is included/excluded in this definition; and review the benefits/drawbacks of non-engagement with those labelled as non-violent extremists. This should draw on emerging evidence of ‘what works’ in countering violent extremism (CVE), to provide constructive suggestions on how Prevent could be refined and improved. *Below is an initial overview of some of the available evidence and/or lessons learnt which such a review could draw upon:*

- Groups classified as non-violent extremists have been shown, in some specific cases, to be effective in dissuading individuals from violent behaviour and moderating extreme views. This has been the case, for example, in Canadian approaches to tackling violent extremism where Salafist groups have been engaged to stop individuals progressing onto violent extremist behaviour.⁵³³
- Furthermore, the available research on countering violent extremism tends to show that top down approaches by governments, which have focused on a ‘battle of ideas’/ have sought to shape community values, have tended to be unsuccessful in preventing or

⁵³³ Note also that respected CVE experts have highlighted there is little evidence that ideological or religious ‘pull’ factors are the sole or key drivers of violent extremist behaviour See e.g. J.M. Berger, Making CVE Work: a focused approach based on process interruption, *International Centre for Counter-Terrorism*, May 2016; also James Khalil, Radical Beliefs and Violent Actions are not Synonymous: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1057610X.2014.862902>. Similarly Jamie Bartlett and Carl Miller have shown that radicalisation does not necessarily lead to violence – it is possible for individuals to hold, express and consume extreme views, without transgressing to violence. Jamie Bartlett, Carl Miller, “The Edge of Violence: Towards telling the difference between violent and non-violent radicalisation” in *Terrorism and Political violence*, Vol 24, Issue 1, 2012

reducing extremist behaviour, and occasionally counterproductive.⁵³⁴ This too points to a need to revisit definitions of ‘non-violent extremism’ and ‘British values’ and perhaps just as importantly the *process* by which definitions are arrived at.

- Instead, community-level partnerships in the CVE space - whereby community organisations are involved in identifying, and diverting individuals from violent extremism - have been relatively effective. This has occurred where community relations have been invested in as an end in themselves, rather than simply for CVE purposes.⁵³⁵ Danish and Dutch models using community mentors working alongside community police officers are now being piloted in locations in Africa and the Middle East.
- Note also that the current definition of extremism in CONTEST⁵³⁶ potentially leaves the British government vulnerable to accusations of ‘double standards’, also vis a vis overseas counterparts (for instance, Saudi Arabia, a key ally, could be characterised as opposed to the fundamental value of democracy). A more nuanced official definition could be adopted, and some initial language on this is provided in a footnote⁵³⁷.
- The need for an approach based on two-way communication and trust is further strengthened when one considers the examples of where Prevent is working successfully. One such example is in Leicester, where 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. This has enabled the community to take responsibility for tackling potential cases of extremism, in a manner that is in line with the legal framework but also understood and trusted by the local community itself.

⁵³⁴ See Peter Romaniuk, Does CVE Work? Lessons Learnt from the Global Effort to Counter Violent Extremism, *Global Centre on Cooperative Security*, September 2015 p24 -5. See also the review of Australia’s CVE programmes which found that initiatives to ‘build resilience’ in communities have not of themselves proven to be sufficient to stop all individuals heading down a pathway of radicalisation. Individuals within these communities were still being drawn towards extremist ideologies, the study found. Australian Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet ‘Review of Australia’s Counter-Terrorism Machinery’: https://www.dpmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/publications/190215_CT_Review_0.pdf

⁵³⁵ See e.g. Romaniuk, P, (2015), Does CVE Work? Lessons Learned from the Global Effort to Counter Violent Extremism, *Global Center on Cooperative Security*, pp24-25. Available at: http://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Does-CVE-Work_2015.pdf

⁵³⁶ CONTEST definition of extremism: ‘Extremism is the vocal or active opposition to our fundamental values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and the mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs. We also regard calls for the death of members of our armed forces as extremist.’

⁵³⁷ A more nuanced definition of extremism could be: ‘Extremism is the possession of black and white worldviews, the inability to acknowledge the potential validity of different viewpoints, and the desire to impose, often by force, intimidation or coercion, the views one holds on others.’

Christopher Mattley – written evidence (CCE0024)

1. The question of citizenship and civic engagement revolves around an issue of representation. A huge element of citizenship is a sense of belonging, and without this, there is unlikely to be any civic engagement. Whether it is feeling a sense of belonging to a street, an area or a country, if you lack that feeling then you are unlikely to engage with it, care for it and do anything other than just get by. This means that those who feel disenfranchised will struggle to feel that sense of belonging and this comes to a secondary issue of visibility. Whether its rural communities, young BAME children or those who identify as LGBT+, if these communities cannot see themselves in the books they read, the TV they watch, the systems that they interact with then they are likely to feel marginalised.

We especially see young people claiming that they don't feel represented by those systems which they have to work with, whether that be government or civic society – this only leads to disillusionment with the society in which they find themselves, shamed by those around them and unable to break through the various glass ceilings that they feel encased by. Once marginalised this leads to upset, discord and potentially apathy, and once apathy has set in, that is incredibly hard to break. Therefore, citizenship and civic engagement are inherently bound to the idea of identity.

2. Unfortunately, we seem bound up with the obsession of formalising membership and citizenship. The fear of the stranger and foreigner has fuelled the Brexit debacle and this came from a need to find a neat solution to appease the disgruntled public over the issue of immigration. So we continue to searching for a piece of paper or a strategy to make it all better and make everyone “feel” British, as if by telling the public that its ok, those people you were worried about, well they are British now will somehow solve the issues. It has only led the upset public to demand a whitewash “get them all out” mentality, which is so upsetting to see in a nation that in inherently built on diversity.

It is sad to reflect back over the years and months and see that currently in the United Kingdom the only thing that seems to unite us all regardless of faith, race and identity is tragedy. Tragedy seems to be the only thing that brings us together, whether the outpouring of grief after terrorist atrocities, the public reaction to the London Riots or a charity drive. If you look over the past years, despite financial crashes and crises, the amount given to charities continues to rise. We give when there is cause to give to. However, uniting us is the UK is difficult; the only time in recent memory that brought the nation together without tragedy was the London Olympics in 2012. The summer when people smiled at each other on the Tube. There is not one single thing that can be done to strengthen belonging, a piece of paper will not help, and a test or ceremony will not solve it either. Moments of unity need to be created, where people can come together and simply

be. These events need to be based around sharing, whether that is stories, food, or time, otherwise the only time we join together is to grieve or protest both of which are raw emotions that are not creative.

3. Huge leaps and bounds have been made through education; however, this is undermined by then telling children and young people that their views or voices are not worthy or important because they are too young. This means that we work hard through youth groups and schools to motivate and engage children in the political process, in citizenship and each other and then say but now you have to wait a few more years because you are not ready. Most schools foster a sense of community and togetherness, yet once we end this education process, we turn young people out into a world where the sole goal is to compete for jobs, wages and attention. Social media is instilling this sense of competition amongst young people, despite being framed as “groups” where people can share. They instead become platforms to shame.

It is only a handful of young people that leave schools, which act as centres of community that have belonging and choose to continue to give something back. This might be through a charity, campaigning or a sport but few have that sense of togetherness as they head into a world, which is designed to be insular. The result is that children feel disenfranchised, which again only leads to disengagement and therefore apathy. Lowering the voting age would go some way into capitalising on a sense of excitement at school about things political, perhaps this would in turn bring young voices into politics and let young people see themselves amongst those who purport to represent them.

4. The role of education is vital and it should be available at every stage of education. My personal view is that education has come a long way in this regard. Perhaps I am biased, but I feel that citizenship education in the school in which I work is excellent. I teach at a rural state comprehensive in Lincolnshire, William Farr School. Here citizenship, while being compulsory in our curriculum, is valued and curated by staff who are enthusiastic about its role in education. For example, the students at William Farr have, regardless of age, have been given the opportunity to vote in conjunction with the two most recent General Elections. Sixth Form students held Question Time debates, all students watched Party Political broadcasts and older students led hustings to present the three main political parties. This obviously pertains to the political element of citizenship, but students are encouraged to give back to their community through charitable works and events that promote cohesion. Subsequently I feel that citizenship should continue to be compulsory, however I would urge that schools are continually squeezed with regards to provision whether this be monetary or simply in terms of time. Elements like citizenship are the first to be marginalised or rushed as teachers clamber to change to new specifications as the government continually tinkers with the education system. It is only through dedicated members of staff at William Farr School that the citizenship element has become so strong, yet we have no dedicated time, staff, or department that is responsible for its teaching – we simply do not have the time.

8. I would like to think the British people are kind; I would like to think the British people are united by their differences, but there are too many recent examples that trouble this view. As a result, the only value that British people share, other than our love of the weather, is a stoic outlook on life. Whether born from our history or the constant battles with the atmosphere, British people carry on. It is interesting to have seen the rise and popularity of the “Carry On” poster campaigns from World War II. Entrenched on our little island we just get on and hence, when there have been recent threats to this nature from terrorist atrocities, the reaction has always been that we will carry on, we will show them, and we will do the exact opposite of what they want. This stubbornness is Britishness.

Yet, perhaps that is our deepest flaw, because when change is forced upon us – we resist. Look at the recently celebrations of the decriminalisation of homosexuality in 1967, where historically when first proposed there was outrage. Yet with a slow accretion of time, several tragedies and continued upset, shame and hatred placed upon the LGBT+ community (albeit diminishing) there has been a huge change in the views of the public. This took time and therefore anything forced upon the public as a change will be greeted with the same stoic nature. Strengthening the marginalised returns to the idea of visibility for if we do not see ourselves in society, we will continue to hide and lose our voices.

9. Again the answer to this question representation and visibility. I personally think that in a world of instant connections, social media and seeming availability we are the complete opposite, the vast majority of people are lonely. This is especially true of those communities who feel marginalised, not represented or forgotten. The rural feel left out and distant, as they are the last to receive adequate broadband connection, sexual health services and smart meters from their energy companies. The urban feel lost in the din of expansion and rising property prices, which forces them into difficult areas as gentrification, takes over the cities. BAME communities cluster and feel disenfranchised. Speaking myself as a gay man, despite being in a caring relationship, I feel lonely. I experienced an education and youth where I did not see anyone like myself. It was not talked about in schools thanks to Section 28, and it was only recently that I realised that this was only abolished a year after I completed my formal education. I grew up in a society where I was made to feel ashamed for who I was. The media reviled the LGBT community as perverted and as a result, I grew up with the feeling I was wrong. This left me behind and continues to leave many within the LGBT+ community behind, despite the progress that has occurred.

This lack of visibility and representation forces those who do not see themselves to go find themselves, often in places where the information is dark, extreme or what we have been told both others that we are. For instance, take a young gay child, who doesn't see themselves in the books they read, the lessons they are taught and then is told repeatedly that being LGBT is wrong and you'll die alone and ill. In the modern age, they will turn to the internet and if they search for support, they are likely to find extreme pornography and an image that being gay is about being promiscuous. The shame experienced and the lack of role models leads to a dangerous outlook. Take this exact example and change it to a

question of faith, a young Muslim child who does not see themselves on TV, in the books they read and constantly hears through the media that Muslims are bad and terrorists. Some of those disenfranchised children will go and search for an antidote to this message of shame that allows them to feel valued and wanted.

10. If I were to quote again an example from the school, at which I work. I helped to create a support group for students who identify as LGBT+. Formed with the help of students, named and run by them, the LGBT+ Space (@WFS_LGBTSpace – on Twitter) offers a space for them to just be. To converse, see one another and feel valued. The school in which I work is very accepting and tolerant of differences and when it was first proposed by a student the initial answer was that we didn't need a group, children were openly LGBT. Yet, with perseverance, the group has flourished. It is not an advocacy group, but simply somewhere for young children to have a voice and see themselves. Since its inception the group has run assemblies, offered support to other local schools in creating their own Spaces, we have worked with the local NHS Partnership Trust to improve their services for LGBT+ students and are heavily involved with the Stonewall Charity. The students offer email support to those students who do not feel ready to come to a public group and offer this email support to others across the county.

My role in facilitating this group has led to myself being able to be open about my sexual orientation at work after teaching in the School for 10 years and feeling that I could not because I would be risking my career. The realisation that my invisibility was causing young children to continue to have no representation in their formal education and so the greater good was the imperative. I was raised in an education system where my identity was missing. The society in which I grew told me at every turn that I was abhorrent and would be cast out and therefore it is my duty to make sure, that in my little corner, my school, that this group of identities is represented. I need to make them see that they are wanted and need, to catalyse them to help others, to be proud and get out there because ultimately they make society.

18 August 2017

The Mayor of London, Greater London Authority – written evidence (CCE0244)

Introduction to the GLA

The GLA delivers the work of the Mayor of London. The Mayor provides city-wide leadership on transport, policing and fire services through to the economy and the environment. The Mayor creates the plans and policies, scrutinised by the Assembly, that improve the lives of Londoners and changes the capital for the better. The Mayor also champions the interests of London and Londoners all around the world.

Background

London is one of the world's most diverse cities, but improving social integration is still one of our biggest challenges. London's population is rapidly growing and changing – around 50 per cent of people moving to London are from abroad, with the remaining 50 per cent from other UK regions. The Mayor has already made the case for the rights of EU citizens to be protected after Brexit, and an integral part of these plans is to support the take up of British citizenship by Londoners from the EU and abroad.

Whilst 640,000 Londoners became British citizens in the past 11 years, 54 per cent of Londoners born abroad do not hold a British passport. There are also thousands of young Londoners who have grown up in the capital but cannot access higher education or work because they have irregular migration status.

In April 2017, the Mayor launched a ground-breaking new citizenship programme, the first of its kind in the UK, to help Londoners become more engaged in the life of the capital. The programme is a partnership with Trust for London and Unbound Philanthropy. It will tackle the main barriers preventing all Londoners from getting fully involved in their communities. It will also help new migrants find a path to citizenship, increase civic engagement, and celebrate diversity and shared identities across the capital.

To support the programme, experts from Migrants Organise, Citizens UK, Coram Children's Legal Centre and Just for Kids Law have been seconded to help shape the Mayor's plans for a truly socially integrated city. The target audience is not limited to those who have migrated to London – it is part of a much broader drive to get all Londoners more involved in their city, become active citizens and live interconnected lives.

What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

Citizenship can be seen as a legal category, but also includes elements related to civic engagement and identity. Definitions of ‘citizenship’ include:

- a) **Access to citizenship rights** – an individual’s legal status as a citizen. This is a ‘thin’ definition as it focuses on legal status only. This definition is binary – you either are, or are not, a citizen. Legal citizenship in the 21st century still determines the life chances of people across the world. The power of inclusion and exclusion from citizenship is brought into ever greater focus by the movement of people globally in the 21st century.
- b) **Active participation in society** – an individual’s engagement in the civic spaces, places or organisations near them. This is often referred to as ‘active citizenship’. Participation in civic and civil society is not limited by legal status – as someone without legal status can participate to some extent. Some aspects may be limited by status (the right to vote in certain elections) whereas others are not (the right to protest). Active citizenship can be typologised as representative, challenging, charitable or associational.
- c) **Belonging** – an individual’s identity as a member of that society or group.

A ‘thick’ definition of citizenship includes all three elements. These definitions are linked and inter-related, but are not dependent on each other. In other words, an individual’s ability to access citizenship rights may affect their participation in society, but even if they are not legally a citizen they can still participate. Similarly, even if an individual has full rights as a citizen under the law, if they do not feel that they belong they may not participate actively in society.

National legal citizenship may be part of identity, alongside many other aspects. Global citizenship is a part of people’s lived experience through technology and access to travel, especially in cosmopolitan cities such as London, and this can inform their identity. National citizenship still has a monopoly in the determination of legal rights, but it is only one aspect of identity. Political change such as Brexit has an impact on how people understand their identity and national boundaries. The GLA’s social integration team is currently exploring the subject of a London identity, and how supporting this could bring different groups together.

Citizenship and civic engagement are important for social integration. Social integration is a priority for the Mayor that cuts across all policy areas. Social integration is about everybody playing a full part in the life of London. If we are to achieve it, we need to tackle inequality and overcome the barriers that stop some Londoners from benefitting and contributing to all that the city has to offer.

The GLA's framework for social integration encompasses participation, relationships and equalities. In our approach to social integration, access to citizenship rights is a core condition which enables social integration to take place. If people are not legally recognised as citizens, this can become a structural barrier and will impact on their participation and their relationships. Other core conditions might include proficiency in English and mental and physical health, as well as many others.

Involvement with civil society organisations helps citizens connect with local issues and gives them the chance to help solve them. This process creates a connection with local organisations and a sense of belonging. Developing roots in a local area helps to improve health and wellbeing and this is essential if an individual has challenging aspects in their life or is new to an area. As such, civil society organisations should be supported and recognised for the value they play in creating links between places and people and a sense of identity.

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?

Since 2004, there has been a steady decline of attendees at citizenship ceremonies following government changes to routes to citizenship. Citizenship ceremonies offer a rare moment for those who have journeyed – often for many years and at great financial expense – to becoming a citizen.

Citizenship ceremonies take place with varying quality and impact on those taking part. Many new citizens find the experience joyful, whilst others find it patronising. The feeling of being patronised can come from the lack of acknowledgement for those who already see Britain as their home and are active citizens. People's identity as citizens may also be weakened if their route to citizenship has been long and expensive. For example, long-term residents, including children and young people who wish to get to citizenship currently pay £993 (plus £500 immigration 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.

The 'Citizenship & Integration Initiative' at the GLA plans to develop best practice guidance to ensure that community/business-led citizenship ceremonies bring Londoners together to promote social integration. Ceremonies might be made more high-profile, addressing the lack of political engagement by inviting political representatives to meet new citizens, or encouraging greater civic engagement by including information about volunteering or registering to vote.

Most people in Britain would prefer migrants to stay, settle and become citizens, but few members of the public are aware that the citizenship ceremony is mandatory and that new citizens must swear an oath of allegiance to the Queen. 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.⁵³⁸
- Canada has handed some of the ownership of citizenship events to the community. Many community groups have a strong interest in Canadian citizenship. Groups assist newcomers in completing their applications and preparing them for their citizenship test. For many years Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) has worked with community groups to support their involvement in the hosting of citizenship ceremonies.⁵³⁹ They have a framework for community groups that they can use to host citizenship ceremonies which allows them to still deliver what is essential and important but also take ownership in a real and meaningful way.

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?

Civic engagement and taking part in the life of a city should be encouraged and made easy. For example, there could be incentives for volunteering as a ‘nudge’ towards active citizenship. However, enforcing civic engagement may not be the best approach. The role of authorities is to provide the conditions in which people are supported and encouraged to engage as active citizens. Civic engagement should be made easier, but not enforced. Team London, the Mayor’s volunteering team, is developing a programme to incentivise volunteering and social action by rewarding those who take part. The aim is to make volunteering and social action part of everyday life for all Londoners.

⁵³⁸ <https://www.australianaffirmation.com.au/australia-day/>

⁵³⁹ <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/celebrate/ceremony.asp>

There are concerns about making access to citizenship contingent on civic engagement. ‘Earned citizenship’ was considered in Lord Goldsmith’s citizenship review, in the Government’s ‘The Path to Citizenship’ consultation, during the passage of the Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009, and in the Government’s ‘Earning the right to stay: A new points test for citizenship’ consultation. At that time, concerns were raised about creating additional requirements for citizenship beyond those that are well established: obeying the law, paying taxes and speaking English (since 1914), and knowledge of ‘life in the UK’ (since 2002). Concerns about ‘earned citizenship’ included the bureaucracy needed to police the requirement, the possibility of exploitation, potential prejudice against those for whom ‘active citizenship’ and volunteering is harder, possible shortage of volunteering opportunities and the burden on the voluntary sector. The naturalisation provisions of the 2009 Act were not commenced.

There are also concerns about placing formal responsibilities or duties on citizens to engage. If someone is not able to engage it may well be due to lack of meaningful opportunities or barriers that are not within their control. For example, those on low incomes, with poor mental health, carers, disabled people, the elderly and others may face significant barriers. Other barriers associated with London include cost of travel, cost of accommodation and rapid turnover of neighbourhoods.

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?

Education plays a fundamental role in encouraging good citizenship. London has an enormous range of cultures and ethnicities. Governing such a diverse city is a real challenge, but finding ways for young Londoners to have a voice and work with decision makers is essential for London to continue to be a hive of democratic engagement and purpose.

The London Curriculum

The London Curriculum offers teaching resources supporting most subjects on the national curriculum, professional development for teachers and events for children. Resources are inspired by the city’s diverse culture, heritage, science and technology, built environment, green spaces and rivers. Since its launch in 2014, 80 percent of London’s secondary schools have registered. In 2016 the scheme was offered to younger pupils and nearly 350 primary schools now take part.

Currently, a ‘Citizenship’ module for secondary schools is being developed by the GLA in partnership with Association of Citizenship Teachers (ACT). This topic will help teachers inspire young people to consider their identity as Londoners, consider what is important to them, and to be ambitious about how they can reach those who govern the city.

Citizenship is a fluid subject and schools teach it in different ways. Citizenship education is the name of a subject in the national curriculum. It provides for legal, political literacy and some aspects of financial understanding. Some confuse the term Citizenship with gaining the legal status as a British citizen. Whilst the subject does indeed explore matters of identity, diversity and belonging, it is not related to the Home Office’s British Citizenship Test. Most schools will have pupils whose status in the UK may be unclear. Sensitivity is required as some pupils will feel vulnerable in discussions about notions of being a citizen.

The London Curriculum does not use the term citizen which reduces potential confusion about the meaning of this term and its legal connotations. The programme talks about young Londoners and a London identity. The notion of London’s identity is always evolving and the programme encourages discussion around this idea to encourage young people to consider how and why they should engage with those who govern the city.

Team London Young Ambassadors

Team London is the Mayor of London’s volunteering programme for schools. The young volunteers who participate in the programme develop social action projects through volunteering. These projects address issues they are passionate about including sexuality, discrimination, mental health, homelessness, the environment and social integration. All projects are designed and led by the young participants.

Since 2013, the programme has been offered for free to primary and secondary state schools and sixth forms in London. Participation is not compulsory; however, the programme has worked with 2,100 schools including special educational needs and disability schools (SEND) and pupil referral units (PRU) and reached over 400,000 young Londoners.

Below are some examples of how the programme has impacted young people as active citizens:

- 79% of Young Ambassadors are more capable of developing a plan of action to address social justice issues
- 87% of Young Ambassadors demonstrate more consideration of local and global issues in their everyday life choices

In 2016, the programme won the Department of Education’s Character Award for Greater London. The award recognised the programme’s aim of developing traits including confidence, perseverance and resilience in young people. These are traits that support academic attainment and enable young people to make a positive contribution to society.

HeadStart London

HeadStart London was created by Team London and youth charity The Challenge in 2014. It brings together industry leaders, charities and young people (aged 16-18 and still in full time education) to help bridge the gap between schools and work. The programme inspires young people to strengthen their communities through volunteering, whilst giving them the skills and experience to succeed at work. It involves:

- supporting young people to volunteer for a minimum of 16 hours
- offering employability skills and communications skills workshops
- a guaranteed interview for paid employment for all successful participants
- a job offer for work placements for successful candidates

Since 2014, HeadStart has worked with over 5,000 young people who have given 100,000 hours of volunteering to London. Young people have reported improved communication skills, confidence and preparation for the workplace, with almost 500 young people securing employment.

Initially, HeadStart London was developed as the next stage for those completing the National Citizen Service (NCS), however, due its huge success work is underway to make the programme available to all young people from 2018.

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?

Active citizenship is a central component to creating socially integrated cities. This includes political participation, where young people can influence decisions that affect their lives. We welcome a greater political literacy element to voluntary citizenship programmes, where young people learn about how national and local decisions are made, how they can be challenged and how they might participate in positively changing their communities.

The Mayor wants to make it easier for Londoners of all backgrounds to take action in their schools and local communities. In addition to running the Team London Young Ambassadors programme, he intends to influence the development of the NCS in London.

The NCS has shown to positively impact on the lives of young people and engage them in active citizenship. However, there is a lack of evidence to demonstrate the long-term impact of NCS given the short length of time it has been running. The impact of the programme is also dependent on participation levels. Strong encouragement from schools for pupils to take part is recommended; however, programmes like this are not suitable for all children and should not be compulsory.

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?

London is a super-diverse city with a rapidly growing and changing population and significant population turnover. In 2014, roughly 50% of the 400,000-people moving to London were from abroad with the remaining 50% moving from other regions within the UK. An estimated 500,000 young Londoners will turn 18 during this London mayoral term. This level of change presents both tremendous opportunities and unique challenges in terms of delivering active citizenship and integration in London.

Whilst 44,000 Londoners became British citizens in 2014, 54% of Londoners born abroad don't hold a British passport, and there are hundreds of thousands of Londoners with irregular migration status, including young Londoners who have spent most of their lives in London.

In response to this, the Mayor of London launched the new citizenship initiative referred to earlier in this response to help Londoners become more engaged in life in the capital. In partnership with [Trust for London](#) and [Unbound Philanthropy](#), the programme is working with boroughs, communities, civil society and employers to improve social integration in the capital. It is helping Londoners to:

- play an active role in the city and decisions that affect them
- access their citizenship and residency rights.

In addition, for everyone to be active in society there are specific barriers to integration that need to be tackled such as lack of spoken English, inaccessible transport and built environment, visible representation in the public sector, travel costs, time poverty (role of employers giving voluntary hours) and precarious employment. Also, if civil society organisations are to engage more citizens and encourage more civic engagement then they need the expertise, confidence and resources to do this.

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?

A major barrier to active citizenship is uncertain immigration status. For example, for the three million EU citizens in the UK, insecurity about their position may act as a barrier to active citizenship and engagement. Likewise, for long-term residents of the UK, including children and young people who have grown up in the UK, very long and costly routes to citizenship can act as a barrier to full participation during the period before they gain full citizenship rights.

In addition, many traditional civic engagement roles such as governorship and trusteeship are seen as exclusive and exclusionary. This causes some groups in society to feel these roles are not suitable for them. As society and technology changes, new methods of civil engagement such as social media campaigning have the potential to create new ways for citizens to get involved. This type of citizenship may be invisible from a public sector perspective and very difficult to track and analyse.

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?

Social integration is about active citizenship/participation, relationships and equality. Active citizenship/participation is about Londoners playing an active role in their communities and the decisions that affect them. This can be done through voting, political representation, volunteering, donating to charity, protesting and lobbying, being a member of associations or support groups and helping neighbours.

The GLA sees citizenship and civic engagement as critical to levels of social integration. The Mayor has made it clear that diversity of backgrounds does not naturally produce social integration even though London is a success story for diversity and integration.

“London is one of the world’s most diverse and vibrant cities, but improving social integration is still one of the biggest challenges we face. Building more cohesive communities across the capital is a top priority for me as Mayor because greater integration will lead to a safer, healthier and more prosperous London. I want every Londoner to be able to actively participate in the life of our great city.” **Sadiq Khan**

The Mayor has created a social integration team led by Matthew Ryder, Deputy Mayor for Social Integration, Social Mobility and Community Engagement. The team’s role is to help Londoners lead more inter-connected lives. The GLA is aware that age and stage of life has an impact on levels of integration and will be looking at inter-generational integration.

“Social integration is not just about bringing certain communities together. It is about every single Londoner feeling like they belong in this city, have a shared set of values with other Londoners, and a role to play in the everyday life of the capital.” **Matthew Ryder, Deputy Mayor for Social Integration, Social Mobility and Community Engagement**

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?

English proficiency is vitally important for all citizens. Understanding English is key to building relationships and playing an active part in the community. It also impacts on an individual’s ability to get a job and access key services. According to the Office for National Statistics, approximately 800,000 people living in the UK at the time of the 2011 census – or 2% of the population – could not speak English well or at all. According to that census, seven of the top ten local authority areas with the highest proportion of three- to 15-year-olds not proficient in English were London boroughs. English proficiency amongst speakers of other languages varies from 99% (Afrikaans) to 37.5% (Gypsy/Traveller languages).

English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) courses are essential as they help London benefit from the skills that refugees and migrants bring with them. Being able to speak English helps people to get jobs, encourages integration, develops family capital and improves health and wellbeing. Supporting those furthest from the workplace and with the poorest skills is of paramount importance. There is ongoing demand for ESOL courses, but the recent funding changes have left many unable to access language learning opportunities.

In 2017, the GLA commissioned research on the availability of formal and informal English language learning opportunities in London. The research found that demand for ESOL outstrips supply. There is also little information about local classes, and learning opportunities often do not meet the needs of learners. The research highlights the need to:

- identify new investment in ESOL
- support new approaches to planning and commissioning ESOL
- increase attendance of formal and informal learning opportunities
- address practical barriers to accessing ESOL learning

The general picture for ESOL provision at city level is summarised below:

- There is a diverse base of established providers and a range of ESOL provision delivered across London. There is a greater concentration of ESOL provision in inner London boroughs, where there is also greater involvement of third sector organisations in ESOL delivery.
- Over half of providers, rising to two thirds of colleges, report that they struggle to meet the demand for ESOL. Oversubscription of provision is evident in inner and outer London boroughs. This affects refugees' access to ESOL learning, and providers' ability to respond to their needs and those of other learners. ESOL provision that is free of charge to learners is more likely to be found in inner London boroughs.
- Generally, demand reported by providers is predominantly at pre-entry and entry Levels, and this provision was frequently identified as being oversubscribed. This demand is mirrored in refugees' needs as reported by Syrian resettlement coordinators and refugee organisations, which suggests a need for capacity-building at this level.
- ESOL provision offers different levels, times, start dates, and sometimes offers more specialist content such as links to vocational learning or specific programmes for 16 to 19-year-olds. However, it is more likely to be 'general' in nature, with few examples of provision specifically aimed at refugees in 'mainstream' education. This means that some refugees' language learning needs, such as higher level language skills for specific professional purposes, or basic language relating to the specific local context and orientation needs, can be challenging to meet. Home Office guidance recommends that access to ESOL learning for refugees resettled under the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme (SVPRS) should be provided within one month of arrival in the UK. This may present a challenge where access to provision is required at times outside of providers' planned start dates.
- 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 8 Resettlement coordinators and stakeholders to be insufficient to support refugees' urgent need to learn English upon resettlement. Home Office guidance recommends that refugees resettled under the SVPRS are offered a minimum of 8 hours per week.

- Whilst numerous partnership arrangements are in place to support ESOL delivery, there is a lack of information about the provision available in many local areas, which often makes signposting and referral to appropriate provision challenging. Furthermore, strategic planning to co-ordinate ESOL learning opportunities is largely absent. As well as affecting referrals to provision, this also results in missed opportunities, such as more joined-up working between formal and informal ESOL provision, and the development of new partnerships, for example by working with employers.

- https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/gla_esol_-_combined_report.pdf

A 2012 report into ESOL provision is available here:

- https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/english_language_for_all.pdf

In many other European countries (including in Denmark and Belgium), new arrivals are enrolled on integration programmes when they first arrive. These include intensive language learning.

- <http://citiesofmigration.ca/tag/Language-learning/>
- <http://citiesofmigration.ca/good-ideas-in-integration/learn/>

Could the naturalisation process, including the citizenship test, be improved and if so, how?

a) The naturalisation process in general

A key feature of this is the very high cost of naturalisation (for adults) and registration (for children). Concerns have been raised by lawyers and civil society, including Amnesty and the Project for the Registration of Children as British Citizens, about this aspect of the process which excludes would-be citizens from their rights, including children with rights to citizenship.

- <http://www.legalvoice.org.uk/children-priced-rights/>
- https://prcbc.files.wordpress.com/2015/10/fees_briefing_revised_8_april_2017.pdf
- <http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/naturalisation-as-a-british-citizen-concepts-and-trends/>.

Recent research from the University of Leicester into the UK citizenship process has explored some of the experiences of those going through the naturalisation process. The full report is due to be launched in September 2017. An interim report highlights the following observations:

- **Policy flux:** In November 2013, the citizenship test was made more difficult. Respondents have said that these policy changes generate feelings of insecurity and

that they do not always know where to get accurate information. The research interviews aim to capture the ways in which this flux shapes experiences and perceptions, and to compare experiences of participants who have gone through the ‘old’ system with those who have experienced the post-November 2013 system.

- **A never-ending process:** The citizenship test is perceived as a process which has the potential to become endless. Interviewees underline that the process is very long and costly. They also stress a more general feeling about how they have to engage with public authorities throughout the process. The process is presented as comprising many successive steps, each of them constituting a specific ‘test’ in which they must ‘prove, to demonstrate, something’ to public authorities.

Inequalities are also evident for migrant women’s experiences when preparing for the test. With respect to preparation in particular, the study finds that migrant women who try to become citizens and acquire knowledge of life in the UK and English proficiency face a situation where there is little state support of the ‘journey to citizenship’. The test process must take place at the same time as the withdrawal of state support for ESOL courses. The effects on migrant women have been documented by third sector organisations and denounced by ESOL activists and experts.

For some migrant women, of different religions and nationalities, a combination of barriers effectively prevents them from being able to study and prepare for the citizenship test (which some participants were quite skeptical of to begin with, viewing it as a form of border control rather than a measure for integration). This was because:

- they did not have time, given domestic responsibilities
- the test and preparation materials were difficult and daunting, especially for those with little English
- the process was too expensive and competed with the cost of childcare (costs reported were over £1000 per adult, including the test, naturalisation fee, plus any preparation courses, solicitor fees etc.)
- they faced difficulty or were unable to access language training that is no longer freely provided and/or where there is no crèche facility and they are not able to afford childcare
- they are socially isolated as a result of:
 - racism (e.g. in the job market, the hospital, on the street, from neighbours)
 - not speaking English and lacking information about where to learn and how to get to access classes
 - cuts to funding of crèches and childcare

The demands of the test process such as time, money, energy and social capital can make existing inequalities worse and create new challenges.

- <http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/sociology/research/uk-citizenship-process>
- <http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/sociology/research/uk-citizenship-process/interim-report>

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?

In April 2017, the Mayor launched London’s Citizenship and Integration Initiative to help Londoners become more engaged in life in the capital. The innovative programme, in partnership with Trust for London and Unbound Philanthropy, will work with boroughs, communities, civil society and employers to improve social integration in the capital. It will support all Londoners to:

- play an active role in the city and decisions that affect them
- access their citizenship and residency rights.

Other examples of initiatives are:

- The Olympics and legacy programme.
- [Project for the Registration of Children as British Citizens](#), which aims to raise awareness of registration and the [importance of citizenship](#), as well as to support and increase the number of children and young adults who register as British citizens.

Mayor’s Peer Outreach Workers

The Mayor’s Peer Outreach Workers (POW) is a group of young people who influence the Mayor's policies. These young Londoners are aged 15-25 years old and come from diverse backgrounds and life experiences. They are commissioned by the Mayor to engage, inspire and gather the opinions of other young people in the capital. Their work helps to shape the policies, strategies and services that directly affect young people. At any one time, the POWs can lead on up to 15 pan-London projects, which can include:

- piloting new approaches
- working with existing organisations to improve their engagement with young people
- evaluating programmes or services

The Mayor of London, Greater London Authority – written evidence (CCE0244)

They emphasise to decision-makers the importance of involving children and young people in policies and strategies. Their projects aim to tackle various issues that young Londoners face, which includes citizenship, and they have worked with refugee action groups to deliver sessions with young people.

The POWs have worked with refugee groups for several years now - promoting social action programmes and positive integration. They supported and helped facilitate a session with young people and CSP and discusses their status and integration.

Other examples of good initiatives can be found in faith groups. Churches, synagogues, mosques, temples and dioceses can be excellent examples of promoting community cohesion through activities such as cooking, gardening and music.

Matthew Ryder, Deputy Mayor for Social Integration, Social Mobility and Community Engagement – supplementary evidence (CCE0273)

Matthew Ryder, Deputy Mayor for Social Integration, Social Mobility and Community Engagement – supplementary evidence (CCE0273)

This briefing provides further information on the relationship between the number of application for citizenship in London versus elsewhere and the Greater London Authority's work on citizenship.

Applications for citizenship in London versus elsewhere

The number of annual citizenship applications has fallen since its peak in 2013, however the proportion of applications from EEA nationals has increased. While we do not yet have qualitative data as to why there has been a fall in applications, the fall has coincided an increase in fees

The evidence does not show any significant divergence between the proportion of applications to attend citizenship ceremonies in London compared to that in other regions of the country.

The Greater London Authority's (GLA) work on Citizenship

There are a number of strands to the GLA's work on Citizenship. Below is a summary of the most relevant projects to the Committee's inquiry:

- **London Identities:**

A qualitative research project, delivered in partnership with market research experts GfK and British Future, the independent thinktank that focusses on identity, integration and migration, to examine the concept of a shared London identity.

This research is due for completion by February 2018. We will be able to share interim findings with the Committee very shortly.

- **Children with insecure status:**

The latest data on the number of non-UK national children and young people in London, and specifically the number of children who are undocumented, are from GLA-commissioned research in 2009 based on data from 2007.

This research will seek to obtain an updated figure and will also cover uptake of different immigration routes by children and young people.

Due for completion by April 2018.

- **Active Citizenship in Ceremonies:**

This research will inform the design and delivery of six pilot citizenship ceremonies in collaboration with local authorities to test different interventions, including on volunteering and voter registration, and to establish best practice. Due for completion May 2018.

Ailbhe McNabola, Head of Research and Policy, Power to Change – written evidence (CCE0048)

About Power to Change

Power to Change is an independent trust, established in 2015. Our funding is used to strengthen community businesses across England. We help local people come together to solve problems for their community, reviving local assets, protecting the services they rely on, and addressing local needs. We provide practical and financial support to them as they run businesses which help their whole community and recycle money back into the local area. In our first two years of operation, we invested almost £20m in over 300 community-run businesses, across a wide variety of economic sectors such as pubs, shops, community centres, transport, energy generation, and sports facilities.⁵⁴⁰

About community business

Community businesses are established and run by local people who want to make a difference in their area – active citizens seeking to give something back and to create opportunities for others. Unlike charity, private business or even social enterprise, community business brings together a unique combination of entrepreneurialism, social purpose and local community ownership. Communities are running rural bus services or community shops, developing community-led housing schemes, and delivering health and wellbeing services to deprived populations. When a community centre is run as a community business, it generates its own income from trading and provides services for everyone in the surrounding area. Community businesses often collaborate with other local institutions like schools or GP practices – like [New Wortley Community Centre](#), where a community-run centre is working with the local GP surgery, which refers patients to the centre for counselling and other support. Community businesses are ideally placed to deliver support to local public services, be paid for their time and effort, and re-invest that income back into the local community. See Appendix A for a case study profile of a successful community pub.

⁵⁴⁰ Up to 31st December 2016, Power to Change awarded grants of £19.5 million. Our grants data is available online here <http://www.powertochange.org.uk/research/power-change-grants-2015-2016/>

Ailbhe McNabola, Head of Research and Policy, Power to Change – written evidence (CCE0048)

Our research estimates that there are over 7,000 community businesses across England, with their numbers growing each year.⁵⁴¹ Overall, the community business sector grew by 5% in 2016, comparing very favourably to growth rates in both the charity and small business sectors (1% and 2.3% respectively).⁵⁴² These businesses are estimated to employ over 36,000 staff and engage nearly 200,000 volunteers, generating more than £1 billion of income each year on £2.1 billion of assets.

Introduction to our submission

We have interpreted the Committee's questions as being intended to help to frame the work of the Committee over its lifetime, and to aid the Committee to set its detailed agenda for the year ahead. We have not sought to answer all questions but instead focused on three where we have a contribution to make. The questions we have addressed are (with our emphasis in bold):

*Q6. 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?***

*Q7. **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?***

*Q9. 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?***

Context

The Committee's call for evidence sets out a number of reasons why more needs to be done at this time to bring people together and promote engaged citizenship. In our view, the ongoing devolution policy agenda presents an opportunity to boost people's levels of belonging to and ownership of their local area and community. But there are hurdles to be overcome, before communities can really take advantage of these opportunities. In many places, slow economic growth, entrenched deprivation and inequality have conspired to leave communities feeling disempowered and unable to influence decisions that affect their

⁵⁴¹ Hull et al (2016), *The Community Business Market in 2016*. London: Power to Change. Available here <http://www.powertochange.org.uk/research/the-community-business-market-2016/> and summary here <http://www.powertochange.org.uk/research/the-community-business-market-2016-report-summary/>

⁵⁴² Most recent available statistics, sourced from: NCVO *Voluntary Sector Almanac* 2015 and 2016, and Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy: *Business Population Estimate 2014 and 2015*.

Ailbhe McNabola, Head of Research and Policy, Power to Change – written evidence (CCE0048)

lives. We discuss below how the devolution and localism policy agendas could go further to foster local democracy and local accountability.

The Committee is particularly interested in thinking about citizenship and civic engagement in a more vibrant, positive and integrated manner. The recent growth in community-run businesses is just such a positive force for engaging people in their local communities. Local people getting involved in the running of an enterprise offers, we believe, greater empowerment and better sustainability than the traditional model of charitable donations and grant-making. Community business sits between the private and charitable sectors, sharing values with social enterprise but having a stronger local civic engagement aspect. This new economic model is emerging in response to a number of trends and drivers: recent reductions in public spending, the opportunities presented by public service transformation initiatives, the growth in local authority asset transfers. People are responding to the need to do things differently, and, by doing so, they are becoming engaged.

Response to the Call for Evidence questions

Creating active citizens: Top-down initiatives to create more active citizens can be challenging, and a return on investment is not guaranteed, as the National Audit Office recently commented⁵⁴³. We believe that policy should focus on supporting and enabling where there are existing trends towards participation, boosting growing movements. As stated above, we see a growing movement of people establishing community businesses, that has links to the long-established cooperative movement but is also a novel response to modern social challenges. To date, our funding and support is attracting both newly-established groups and existing organisations (often traditional charities) that are considering converting their governance model and becoming more community-led and more entrepreneurial.

Growth potential: Our funding experience and research evidence to date indicate that there is strong potential for more active citizenship and engagement through involvement in local community businesses. We see considerable demand for investment into community businesses, both new and established. During 2015, our first year of operation, we received c1,500 applications, requesting in total c. £139m (£9 million was awarded). During 2016 and early 2017, 704 applications, requesting c. £104 million, have been made to our flagship Community Business Fund (and £10 million has been awarded).

Deeper engagement: Community ownership of businesses brings a large number of engaged local people into the sphere of the business, engaging them as citizens and users of the business. Many community businesses are raising capital through issuing community shares. At present, community-owned pubs have over 9,000 engaged shareholders, and for

⁵⁴³ National Audit Office (2017), *National Citizen Service: Report by the Comptroller and Auditor General*. London: National Audit Office. Available at <https://www.nao.org.uk/report/national-citizen-service/>

Ailbhe McNabola, Head of Research and Policy, Power to Change – written evidence (CCE0048)

community-run shops the figure is 62,000.⁵⁴⁴ We believe the long-term market potential for community shares is substantial. Since 2009, almost 120,000 people have invested over £100 million to support 350 community businesses across the United Kingdom.

Engaging a diverse population: Our own unpublished research shows that volunteering time towards the set-up or running of a local community business is attractive to a diverse range of people. People who said they wanted to get involved in a community business were more likely to be younger people, and people from minority ethnic communities.⁵⁴⁵

Sustaining engagement: Many community businesses are formed as a result of a burning local issue or need, often saving a cherished asset (such as [Hastings Pier](#)) or developing new services around an old asset (employment training for disabled adults at [Burton Street Foundation](#)). This brings people together in ‘campaign mode’ and energises them, forging a sense of community and getting new people engaged. The benefit of the community business model is that these campaigns are translated into going concerns, maintaining wide community engagement over the longer term. Community businesses are extremely resilient. Our research showed that in 2015 and 2016, alongside overall sector growth, there was no decline in any of the 15 sub-sectors we examined.⁵⁴⁶ During 2016, no co-operative pubs closed their doors, while CAMRA reported 29 privately-run pubs closing every week.⁵⁴⁷ Only 17 community shops have closed since 1992 – a 99% five-year survival rate, comparing favourably with the 45% five-year survival rate for UK small business.⁵⁴⁸

Drivers of growth. There are a number of drivers of growth in this sector that are supported by government policy and where there are policy levers available to drive up engagement. Changes to local government budgets and service provision are prompting local people to come together to replace and/or sustain valued services and amenities. Relatedly, local authorities are beginning to review their property portfolios and to identify surplus assets for disposal. Communities are sometimes energised to bid for these assets under powers bestowed by the 2011 Localism Act, often supported by heritage sector bodies where the asset is of historical importance.⁵⁴⁹ Our research shows there is a steady pipeline of asset transfers from local authorities to community groups across England, though more could be done to boost this trend and encourage authorities to work with communities to transfer

⁵⁴⁴ The Plunkett Foundation (2017) *Community Shops 2017* and *Co-operative Pubs 2017*. Available at <http://www.powertochange.org.uk/research/community-shops-2017/> and <http://www.powertochange.org.uk/research/co-operative-pubs-better-form-business-2017/>

⁵⁴⁵ Unpublished market research conducted in 2016 for Power to Change by Britain Thinks.

⁵⁴⁶ Hull et al (2016).

⁵⁴⁷ Plunkett Foundation (2017) above, and CAMRA (2017). Available here http://www.camra.org.uk/home/-/asset_publisher/UzG2SEmQMtPf/content/new-pub-closure-statistics-revealed

⁵⁴⁸ Royal and Sun Alliance and Centre for Economic & Business Research (2014) *Growing Pains*. Available at <https://www.rsabroker.com/system/files/SME%20Growing%20Pains%20White%20paper.pdf>

⁵⁴⁹ For an example of asset transfer to community business, see: Alt Valley Community Trust (case study) available at <http://www.powertochange.org.uk/research/alt-valley-community-trust-case-study/>

Ailbhe McNabola, Head of Research and Policy, Power to Change – written evidence (CCE0048)

assets, rather than sell to private sector bidders.⁵⁵⁰ The 2012 Public Services (Social Value) Act complements this legislation, requiring service commissioners to consider social value during the procurement process. The aim of this legislation was to level the playing field for organisations from the voluntary, community and social enterprise sector who are bidding for service contracts.

How Government and Parliament can support growth: Specifically, we call for central government to implement the recommendations of the Communities and Local Government Select Committee to boost the impact of the Localism Act.⁵⁵¹ Chief among these was the recommendation to extend the moratorium on the sale of a designated ‘asset of community value’ from six to nine months, alongside a number of other recommendations to improve take-up and impact. Central government can also take further steps to boost the impact of the Social Value Act. Our research has shown that this legislation has not, to date, been a strong driver for growth in the numbers of community businesses, but it is felt to have potential, if strengthened.⁵⁵² We have called for a lowering of the financial threshold above which the law applies, and a widening of the legislation beyond services to include other public procurement.⁵⁵³ There appears to be broad consensus that this legislation has been a positive force and should go even further – the House of Lords Select Committee on Charities being the most recent publication to reinforce this message.⁵⁵⁴

How local authorities can support growth: There is also a significant role for devolved and local government in supporting local people to become more engaged and do things for themselves. Legislative or guidance changes to support asset transfer are desirable, but much more important is local government’s appetite for change, for new relationships with local communities and for shared approaches to service delivery.⁵⁵⁵ Similarly, there is a role for local authorities in their approach to public procurement. The Social Value Act and other moves towards more socially-minded commissioning mean that local authorities or health services can actively engage local citizens in the delivery of services, by working with

⁵⁵⁰ Gilbert, A (2016) *A Common Interest: the role of asset transfer in developing the community business market*. London: Power to Change. Available at <http://www.powertochange.org.uk/research/common-interest-role-asset-transfer-developing-community-business-market-report-summary/>

⁵⁵¹ House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee (2015), *Community Rights*. London: House of Commons. Available at <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmselect/cmcomloc/262/262.pdf>

⁵⁵² Jones, N. and Yeo, A. (2017) *Community Business and the Social Value Act*. Available at <http://www.powertochange.org.uk/research/community-business-social-value-act/>

⁵⁵³ Power to Change (2017), *Community Business and the Public Services (Social Value) Act*. Available at <http://www.powertochange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/SVA-policy-recommendations.pdf>

⁵⁵⁴ House of Lords Select Committee on Charities (2017), *Stronger charities for a stronger society*. London: House of Lords. Available at <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201617/ldselect/ldchar/133/133.pdf>

⁵⁵⁵ See, for example, Quirk, Barry (2007) *Making assets work: The Quirk Review of community management and ownership of public assets*. Available at <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120920020552/http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/makingassetswork>

Ailbhe McNabola, Head of Research and Policy, Power to Change – written evidence (CCE0048)

organisations that involve local volunteers, or that are run by local communities. Where direct commissioning is not feasible, authorities can encourage the inclusion of such organisations in their supply chains. More can be done to encourage all councils to use their procurement power to engage their citizens and improve their localities, following in the footsteps of some of the leading authorities – such as Kent County Council, Oxfordshire County Council, Manchester City Council, to name but a few.⁵⁵⁶

Conclusion

In this submission, we have set out our experience of funding and supporting community-owned and community-managed enterprises across a wide range of economic sectors. We have shown that this is a growing movement with high growth potential and promising longevity. We believe that this offers a different route for people to become engaged citizens, volunteering locally in support of an enterprise that delivers economic and social benefit to its local community. Policymakers should widen their concept of volunteering and citizen engagement to consider this form alongside more traditional charity and cultural volunteering, for the sustained engagement and the positive social impacts it delivers. We would be delighted to share further evidence with the Committee if requested, or to discuss any of the points made in this submission.

1 September 2017

⁵⁵⁶ These and further examples of ‘embracer’ councils can be found in Social Enterprise UK’s 2017 research: *Procuring for Good*. Available at <https://www.socialenterprise.org.uk/procuring-for-good>

MEND – written evidence (CCE0185)

Muslim Engagement and Development

1.0 Introduction and Methodology

1.1 MEND is a not-for-profit company that seeks to empower and encourage British Muslims within local communities to be more actively involved in British media and politics. For too long, British Muslims have remained on the margins of public and political debate about their religion and place in modern Britain and the level of Muslim participation in media and politics remains woefully low. As such, MEND seeks to enable British Muslims to engage more effectively with political and media institutions and play a greater role in British politics and society by instilling confidence, competence and awareness within them. Enhancing mainstream participation of communities that are under-represented and vulnerable is an important step towards deepening and strengthening our democracy.

1.2 This submission was composed through the use of focus groups conducted with Muslim women and men in London, as well as through observations made through previous MEND research projects and engagements with Muslim communities across the country.

1.3 Having explored the questions posed by the committee, this submission concludes that the greatest challenge to engendering a sense of citizenship and belonging for minority communities is the current atmosphere of hatred and mistrust that has escalated over recent years. In a climate lacking in respect, stigmatised communities do not feel valued by society and thus individuals may become vulnerable to exclusion from wider society and potentially insecure in their civic identities.

1.4 In addressing the existing toxic atmosphere, it is imperative that there is immediate action taken to tackle the impacts of both unfair media coverage and the impacts of the far-right, through strengthening existing hate crime legislation and through better media regulation on a Leveson compliant basis. This atmosphere should also be challenged through the development of teaching materials to educate young people on Islamophobia, racism, and antisemitism; and through greater emphasis on PSRE/PSHE in schools in order to prepare young people for life in a diverse society.

1.5 Secondly, in successfully fostering a shared national identity, we need to focus on creating a shared national narrative. This can be achieved through greater teaching regarding a shared history, contributions of minority communities and shared values of respect, as well as through greater visibility of positive representations of BME individuals in broadcasting.

1.6 Meanwhile, greater civic and political engagement can be achieved through better teaching of politics at a younger age through the education system, and through lowering the voting age. Such engagement will naturally lead to a greater sense of inclusion and belonging, thus furthering the solidarity of citizenship.

1.7 Finally, the government's stance towards dealing only with certain representative bodies is being interpreted within Muslim communities as patronising and insincere. In engaging with organisations which have no grassroots presence and which are often viewed with deep suspicion by British Muslims, the government is failing to involve communities in decisions regarding their own futures – thus effectively excluding them from the political process.

2.0 What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

2.1 Within the focus groups, the core of citizenship was described to be identity and belonging. However, there is a sense of frustration throughout Muslim communities, due to the way in which terms such as “Britishness” and “British values” have been used almost obsessively through our political and media discourses as a mechanism for branding minority groups generally, and Muslims specifically, as disloyal and outside of what it means to be British.

2.2 Concerning Muslim communities specifically, political attempts to increase patriotism by emphasising “British values” have been used to construct ideas of Britishness as something directly oppositional to what it means to be Muslim. Such statements falsely advertise to wider society that Muslims are making a conscious decision to reject British values and incorrectly implies that they are unwilling to engage in dialogue. This myth continues to be perpetuated, despite evidence showing that British Muslims are as patriotic, if not more patriotic, than other social and religious groups. Furthermore, considering the divisive ways in which “Britishness” may be used, this usage has created a perception that Muslims – having been branded as disloyal by certain segments of society – are thus undeserving of the entitlements embodied within citizenship. As such, despite remaining ill-defined at best, these terms and other similarly stigmatising discourses have been used divisively to create barriers between Muslim communities and wider society, and serve to make some British Muslims feel excluded and insecure in their own identities.

2.3 Stemming from this, participants within the focus groups highlighted a need to promote an understanding of “Britishness” that is inclusive of a multitude of identities. As many respondents articulated, there is no conflict between citizenship and identity. Rather, for all people (regardless of religion, ethnic background, gender or socio-economic status), citizenship is an innate part of identity – identities which are naturally multifaceted and not necessarily in conflict.

2.4 However, from a logistical standpoint, citizenship is a guarantee of certain rights and entitlements. In this light, many observed a generational difference in perspectives to citizenship. It was noted that immigrants or asylum seekers may understandably be interested in citizenship for practical reasons, such as employment, human rights, or educational opportunities. Consequently, first generation individuals may feel a more explicit sense of citizenship, whereas for individuals born and raised in Britain, this sense is more implicit and internalised – a taken for granted aspect of their identities.

2.5 Civic engagement, as understood within the focus groups, was deemed to be engagement with society outside of paid employment, such as through social organisations, political parties, charity work, and community projects. Ultimately, it is about being a social actor within the local community and within wider society.

3.0 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?

3.1 Membership and belonging is built upon inclusiveness. As such strengthening individual affiliations to a common British identity is dependent upon the acceptance of and respect for

differences. Indeed, the history of Britain is characterised by the British Empire, and is thus a history of difference. Through colonialism and migration from former colonies, British identity is not homogenous – nor should it be expected to be.

3.2 An atmosphere of mutual respect is an expectation of a liberal society. Indeed, an atmosphere wherein individuals feel valued and respected is the only one in which a sense of belonging may be fostered and maintained. Consequently, preserving minority rights as enshrined within the Human Rights Act should be at the forefront of any government strategy aimed at respecting diversity.

3.3 The general feeling emerging from the focus groups is that citizenship ceremonies or events throughout the educational process would not have a great deal of impact. This is due to the sense that they create an in-organic and forced identity construction. Instead, what is needed is a better teaching and understanding of a joint history. For example, greater focus should be given to teaching about the contributions made by minority communities in building Britain today. During the Second World War, over 2.5 million men and women from the Indian sub-continent formed the largest volunteer force ever seen in history and fought on behalf of Britain. Yet, the general public's knowledge of such contributions and shared history remains minimal at best.

3.4 In terms of pride in being or becoming British, this is definitely something that participants within the focus groups believe should be encouraged. However, particular emphasis was placed upon certain aspects of being British; in particular, tolerance, respect, good manners, understanding and empathy – in other words, encouraging attributes of a good social actor.

4.0 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?

4.1 A right is given to the individual citizen through laws that protect individuals for the common good. A responsibility is the individual's interpretation of those rights. As such, focus group participants were very clear that rights should have the force of law, while responsibilities are reciprocal duties. Beyond compliance with the laws of the land, there should not be any enforcement of responsibilities for several reasons. Firstly, this would involve defining what the exact responsibilities are. Amongst Muslim communities there is considerable unease at this prospect, due to the potentially dangerous precedent set for promoting narratives resulting in non-inclusiveness. Secondly, there is a problem of monitoring and enforcing such responsibilities. Considering already existing community tensions, advertising the enforcement of thus far ill-defined responsibilities carries the potential for exacerbating these tensions and resulting in vigilantism and violence against already vulnerable and stigmatised communities.

5.0 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?

5.1 Within the focus groups, there was a general consensus that the current laws do facilitate active participation through the rights to association and membership and the right to lobby and interact with the political sphere.

5.2 However, although the current laws facilitate active political participation, it must be recognised that discriminatory aspects of some counter-terrorism legislation in particular have fostered a sense of distrust in the political establishment amongst parts of the Muslim community, and has thus acted as a barrier to fuller active political engagement.

5.3 Within the focus groups, there was also a call for greater transparency over funding in order to facilitate trust of this country's political representation. Furthermore, while the voting registration process is felt to be effective, there is a need to recalibrate the election process through the implementation of proportional representation, in order to promote trust within the political system.

5.4 Lowering the voting age would also be instrumental in encouraging active civic engagement from a young age. In turn, a greater level of civic engagement fosters a sense of inclusion and personal social value, thereby promoting a heightened feeling of national belonging.

6.0 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?

6.1 As discussed previously (see 3.3), specific citizenship classes are unnecessary within education. However, other methods of encouraging good citizenship need to be implemented throughout the education system. For example, through developing teaching materials to educate young people on Islamophobia, racism, and antisemitism, and through prioritising PSRE and PSHE within the national curriculum, we are able to better prepare young people for life in a pluralist and diverse society. A second area for potentially engendering greater citizenship, is through better political education in order to teach young people the importance and mechanisms of civic and political engagement, their place in society, and how to access their rights as engaged citizens (also see 5.4).

7.0 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?

7.1 At present, there are barriers to civic engagement created through a lack of trust between individuals (of all religious, ethnic, and socio-economic backgrounds) and their political representatives. This situation needs to be challenged through transparency and through engaging with all communities and community representatives honestly. Indeed, a recent Citizens UK report highlighted the need for the government to interact with a wider representative range of Muslim organisations. Thus far, the effects of the government's stance towards dealing only with certain representative bodies has been interpreted within communities as patronising and insincere.

7.2 Since 2010, successive governments have effectively boycotted mainstream Muslim organisations. Whilst the government has refused to engage with the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), the Federation of Student Islamic Societies (FOSIS) or MEND (Muslim Engagement and Development), it has chosen to associate with organisations created by government agencies such as the Research, Information and Communications Unit (RICU) which have no grassroots presence and are often viewed with deep suspicion by British Muslims. This is particularly surprising considering that MCB have more affiliates than any other Muslim organisation in the UK and therefore the largest mandate to represent British Muslims; over 90 percent of Islamic societies are affiliated with FOSIS; and that MEND has the largest national grassroots Muslim presence in the UK.

8.0 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?

8.1 The basic values that all British citizens should support are the principle of universal humanity; respect, understanding, empathy, and good manners to name but a few. However, as discussed throughout this report (see 1.1, 2.1, 2.2), the toxic atmosphere created by hatred and division is threatening these values which all British citizens should be fighting to uphold. This threat is specifically coming from far-right politicians, journalists and commentators; and sensationalist, misleading and exploitative media reporting.

8.2 Once again, some of the impacts of these threats can be mitigated through strengthening existing hate crime legislation; through working with social media companies to protect free speech while developing an efficient strategy to tackle hate speech online; through considering primary legislation to deal with social media offences and hate speech online; through better PSRE and PSHE education; and through the development of teaching materials to educate young people on Islamophobia, racism, and antisemitism (see 1.4 and 6.1).

8.3 A further mechanism to prevent the erosion of these common values is to initiate media reform and the full implementation of the Royal Charter on a Leveson compliant regulator. The overwhelmingly negative portrayal of Muslims within the media is detrimental to any integration strategy based on creating and maintaining common-ground and a sense of collective British identity. Furthermore, such negative misrepresentations are incredibly harmful to social cohesion strategies, as irresponsible and sensationalist reporting works to propagate stereotypes and further fuel an atmosphere of hatred. This is particularly so considering the tendency within some parts of the media to promote an “us vs them” dichotomy in reporting stories about Muslims. This is clearly a mechanism for stoking tensions and division, and excludes Muslims from the perceived national identity of “us”. In tackling this alarming trend, the current system of press regulation by IPSO is seen as weak and ineffective by many minority groups, including Muslims. As such Leveson compliant media reform serves to protect vulnerable communities from the scapegoating and stigmatisation that has characterised media over recent times - scapegoating and stigmatisation which can only damage individuals’ sense of belonging to a national community.

8.4 This media reform should also be further supported by industry initiatives to promote positive, diverse representations of Muslims and minorities within the mainstream media and broadcasting. It is imperative that minority communities are included within the national narrative in order to facilitate and maintain a sense of belonging and national membership.

As Riz Ahmed, warned during Channel 4's annual diversity lecture at the House of Commons in March 2017, the lack of diverse voices and stories displayed in broadcasting led those from minority backgrounds to "switch off and retreat to fringe narratives, to bubbles online and sometimes even off to Syria... If we fail to represent, we are in danger of losing people to extremism... In the mind of the Isis recruit, he's the next James Bond, right? Have you seen some of those Isis propaganda videos? They are cut like action movies. Where is the counter-narrative? Where are we telling these kids they can be heroes in our stories, that they are valued?"⁵⁵⁷

9.0 Recommendations

9.1 Having surveyed the questions posed by the House of Lords' Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement, this MEND report offers a series of recommendations to further strengthen citizenship and civic engagement within Muslim communities. However, while these recommendations are specifically relevant to British Muslims, many of these conclusions are also relevant for minority communities and the wider British public generally.

9.2 In terms of promoting and fostering a greater sense of national belonging and citizenship amongst Muslim communities, perhaps the greatest challenge is posed by the atmosphere of hatred that is fuelled by far-right politicians, journalists and commentators, as well as sensationalist, misleading and exploitative media reporting. Consequently, the immediate need is to tackle the impacts of both unfair media coverage and the impacts of the far-right through strengthened legislation, and through greater encouragement of universal human values of respect and understanding.

9.3 Furthermore, we need to focus on creating a shared national narrative. This can be achieved through greater teaching regarding a shared history, contributions of minority communities and shared values of respect, as well as through greater visibility of positive representations of BME individuals in broadcasting.

9.4 Greater civic and political engagement can be achieved through better teaching of politics at a younger age through the education system, and through lowering the voting age. Such engagement will naturally lead to a greater sense of inclusion and belonging, thus furthering the solidarity of citizenship.

9.5 MEND maintains that, in light of present challenges, the government also needs to:

- Commit to proactively engage with a broad and representative spectrum of the British Muslim community (See 1.7, 7.1 and 7.2)
- Commit to a review of the 2006 Racial and Religious Hatred Act as advised by the Law Commission's "Hate crime: the case for extending the existing offences" report and introduce legislation to extend legal protection to cover religion, homophobia and disability hate crime (See 1.4 and 8.2).
- Commit to (a) working with social media companies to protect free speech while developing an efficient strategy to tackle hate speech online (b) consider primary legislation to deal with social media offences and hate speech online (See 1.4 and 8.2).

⁵⁵⁷ Hannah Ellis-Petersen, "Riz Ahmed warns lack of diversity on TV will drive young to Isis," The Guardian, March 02, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2017/mar/02/riz-ahmed-warns-lack-of-diversity-on-tv-will-drive-young-to-isis>.

MEND – written evidence (CCE0185)

- Commit to developing teaching materials to educate young people on Islamophobia, racism, and antisemitism; to prioritise religious education in the national curriculum to prepare young people for life in a religiously plural society (see 1.4, 6.1 and 8.2).
- Commit to media reform and the full implementation of the Royal Charter on a Leveson compliant regulator; support industry initiatives to promote positive, diverse representations of Muslims and minorities in the mainstream media (see 1.4 and 8.3).
- Commit to improving ethnic diversity in all sectors of business, politics and media through schemes encouraging BME recruitment, mentoring and promotion, as well as through greater diversity within broadcasting (see 1.5 and 8.4).
- Commit to preserving the Human Rights Act and the protection of minority rights including rights to religious slaughter, circumcision and wearing of religious dress or symbols (see 3.2).
- Commit to fostering social cohesion and community resilience to all forms of extremism; support de-radicalisation programmes that work with Muslim communities not against them (see 5.2).
- Commit to repealing the current statutory Prevent duty, and replacing this with a more effective, evidence based and non-discriminatory counter-terrorism strategy by engaging with Muslim communities (see 5.2).
- Commit to curbing the encroachment of counter-terrorism policies on civil liberties by reviewing all counter-terrorism legislation enacted since 2000 (see 5.2)

8 September 2017

**Zoraida Mendiwolso-Bendek, Senior Research Fellow in Citizenship,
University of Lincoln– written evidence (CCE0176)**

1. It is important to emphasise a **citizenship** in which the construction of identity is directed towards constructing meanings. Citizenship, as a synthesis of justice and membership, is a *property* that emerges from the way we relate to each other. It is about a citizen who creates his/her self through everyday communication, and it is a process of identity formation and recognition of community membership beyond normative conditions. This does not imply minimising the relevance of normative conditions; on the contrary they form an essential part of social agreements. However norms and citizenship are understood as a thing that we build in the process of constructing our identity. Citizenship is understood as a stable construction-property in the process of building a meaningful identity that emerges from daily citizens interactions (Mendiwolso-Bendek, 2002), (Mendiwolso Bendek Z. 2015).⁵⁵⁸
2. **Citizenship** is observed as a stable construction that emerges from the way in which people relate to each other and which we build in our *moment-to-moment communications*. *Through the relationship of ownership and inclusion* local citizens can influence the identity of the democratic system as they elect representatives or engage in reflecting upon their values, perceptions, concerns, expectations. For a more direct, participative and deliberative influence, citizens can directly leverage their power through their moment-to-moment communications with local decision makers. For a more indirect leverage they can exercise their influence through collective pressure groups, as these get involved in dialogues and other forms of engagement with global policymakers and experts. In this way there is an opportunity for them to exercise local and global influence. Through these two channels they can improve interactions with the political system; creating continued need for critical reflection that questions and refines the relationship of citizens with politicians and experts as an ongoing process. (Espejo, R. and Mendiwolso-Bendek, Z. 2011)⁵⁵⁹
- **Community Based Research**, community education and experiential learning have influenced a wide range of **active citizenship learning initiatives** in recent times, enabling individual and collective critical understanding of the realities, issues, perceptions and expectations of communities in order to develop strategies for social transformations. Take Part is one of the UK Programs that over the past decades has

⁵⁵⁸ Zoraida Mendiwolso-bendek, (2002) Citizens of the Future: Beyond Normative Conditions through the Emergence of Desirable Collective Properties *journal of Business Ethics* 39: 189-195, 2002.

Zoraida Mendiwolso-bendek, (2015) "Community-based research: enabling civil society's self-organisation", *Kybernetes*, Vol. 44 Issue: 6/7, pp.903-912.

⁵⁵⁹ Espejo, R. and Mendiwolso-Bendek, Z. (2011) An argument for active citizenship and organisational transparency. *Kybemetes* Vol 40 No.3/4. 2011pp.477-493

support learning to take part in Civil Society as an active citizen. Take Part programme (2002-2013) designed to improve citizens' knowledge, skills and confidence, as well as structures and processes for community engagement and empowerment, involved several local authorities as well as third sector organisations and universities. The Take Part programme contributed to the development of "research mindedness", which led to an ESRC capacity building cluster. Through this programme third-sector organisations began to develop an enhanced awareness of the value of research more generally. It helped third-sector organisations understand how to undertake research for themselves, commission research most effectively and identify relevant research methodologies and tools, as well as ways of identifying, evaluating and then applying research findings. Overall, this research helped to develop innovative approaches to community engagement and empowerment, issues of central importance to the self-organisation of the third sector, as well as the public and private sectors. This programme on the organisation and practice of citizenship learning showed the impact of conceptual robustness in direct applicability to local efforts. It included a sustained strategy of maintaining a link within the programme from research to practice. (Mayo, M., Mendiwolso-Bendek, Z. and Packham, C. (Eds) (2013)⁵⁶⁰,

8 September 2017

⁵⁶⁰ Mayo, M., Mendiwolso-Bendek, Z. and Packham, C. (Eds) (2013), *Community Research as Community Development*, ISBN-13: 978-1137034731, Palgrave, London, pp. 41-60.

Migrants' Rights Network – written evidence (CCE0224)

Introduction

This submission sets out the response of the Migrants' Rights Network (MRN) to the call for evidence from the Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement.

MRN is an innovative national NGO working and campaigning for the rights of all migrants. Our overall mission is to promote a rights-based approach to migration, which reflects international human rights standards, and involves migrants as full partners in the development and implementation of policies that affect them⁵⁶¹.

Q1. What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

- In this day age, there is much focus on citizenship, identity and civic engagement in the UK, a possible outcome of the diversity of our society, and unwarranted fears of certain communities, and how they are perceived. But, there is little clarity on what it means to be civically engaged, or what identity newcomers to the UK, or those that settle here, or are born here are meant to adopt.
- With the recent reviews and reports on social cohesion and integration by Dame Louise Casey⁵⁶² and the APPG on Social Integration⁵⁶³, both reports have highlighted either 'discrimination and disadvantage isolating communities from modern British society', or in the manner in which migrants have been described as the 'other'. The Casey review, although first admitting that 89% of people thought their community was cohesive and a similar proportion felt a sense of belonging to Britain, goes on to suggest a different position with negative views about the cultural and economic impact of migration and of migrants themselves.
- And, both reports have tended to concentrate their views on what expectations we should have of new and settled communities in their behaviours and interactions with other communities. There is usually scant requirements for Governments, local or national, to review whether there are any structural or systemic reasons for why certain communities may not feel able or willing to 'fit' into wider society.
- Identity is a complex issue to approach, especially when individuals will have multiple identities based on where they live, were born, their religious and ethnic

⁵⁶¹ Migrants' Rights Network, www.migrantsrights.org.uk

⁵⁶² The Casey Review: A Review into Opportunity and Integration, December 2016

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-casey-review-a-review-into-opportunity-and-integration>

⁵⁶³ Integration Not Demonisation, August 2017, All-Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration

background, sexuality and gender. Identity is not necessarily one based on which nation state they belong to, or to which State they have citizenship of. What is clear is that when a State does afford someone their rights and entitlements, and they are free from discrimination, they are more likely to be able to identify with the positive values of the country. Offering them the same rights will offer more harmony in UK society, and offer a sense of positive identity because they are treated equitably

- Where those rights are not afforded, and individuals are pushed to deal with a system that does not seem them as equals, there is little value for them to civically engage, and 'integrate' into a society that is regularly pushing them to the fringes.
- There needs to be recognition that certain individuals are not afforded an ability to be civically engaged due to their immigration status in society. The UK's immigration system because of its complexity, and lengthy decision-making processes offers little reassurance to some migrants who end up stuck in a waiting game to secure their status in the UK. Many undocumented migrants, will try and remain invisible within society, and to the Government because of their precarious situations.

Q2. 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?

- In a globalised society, there is little reason to encourage there to be pride in any one nation, and especially one where 'Britishness' or 'being British' is ill-defined. Currently, the rhetoric of 'Britishness' suggests assimilation, and taking the majority population's views and culture, whilst eroding their own. Yet, history will probably show that Britain has thrived on having a diverse society: economically and socially
- We favour the approach used by MIPEX⁵⁶⁴, which involves outcomes measured in terms of a range of independent variables which, taken together, give a better indication of the direction and dynamic of belonging.
- For communities and individuals to 'belong', there also needs to be consideration made to national immigration policies where the provisions of the immigration Acts – in particular those of the 2014 and 2016 Acts – need to be recovered to consider the extent to which they have contributed to the emergence of a 'hostile

⁵⁶⁴ Migrant Integration Policy Index, 2015, www.mipex.eu

environment' directed against migrants and the communities they live in.

- There is little evidence that citizenship ceremonies, and events play a role in encouraging further civic engagement. Before there was any expansion or focus on this, we would highly recommend a review of how they are currently perceived by those who participate in them.
- In the Casey Review, oaths were mentioned as a recommended action for government, but these would only have been requested of migrants and newcomers. There are no requirements for the rest of society to take such 'oaths' and does nothing to show that integration is, and should be a two-way process.
- To increase the demands on migrants already living and working here – ignores the vital ongoing contributions made by migrants to the UK. Migrants shape at every level the dynamic development of British economy, society and culture, in both visible and invisible, but no less essential, ways. There is no evidence to suggest that they do not value the opportunity to live and work in the UK, or that they lack a sense of belonging and appreciation of the UK, despite the costs and barriers they already face

Q3. 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?

- During MRN's Listening Campaign in 2017, many migrants commented on the lack of political engagement because of their inability to vote in national elections and referendum campaigns. In Boston, one EU National said a key issue they felt their migrant community faced is an 'inability to vote (except in local elections).'
- Some migrants without voting rights become disinterested in political engagement because the current system does not give them access to the political process. In our Listening Campaign in 2017, when talking about Brexit, an asylum seeker from Oldham, said 'I don't know much about it because I can't vote.'
- Some local Members of Parliament are also reluctant to represent and support non-British constituents, as they have no voting rights in General Elections, and therefore, are deemed to be of little value. This leaves some individuals without any recourse to challenge national government policies, and are unable to receive support from their political representative.

Q4. 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?

- The government's integration policy is set out in a paper entitled "Creating the Conditions for Integration"⁵⁶⁵ which states the government will act only exceptionally and see integration as a purely local issue. Yet many local authorities, subject to large budget reductions by central government, do nothing. As integration policy is split between different central government departments, devolved administrations of Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and local authorities, with no coordination between them, the result is often that nothing is done. In many cases, regional and local authorities may not have the data (apart from the census), guidance, resources, migrant forums or willingness to respond effectively to newcomers and reverse inequalities for long-settled communities
- For examples, there continues to be local hostility among the voting population against migrants, and Gypsy, Roma and Travellers, and this means that elected councillors are reluctant to address issues, and engage with these communities.
- There must be more national activity to describe the positives of migration, and its importance for the UK's history and future endeavours. This would then trickle down into local communities, and increase engagement.

Q5. 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?

Values should be mutually defined with settled and new communities. It is still unclear what constitute as 'British values'. Values can be deemed to be abstract, subjective, and do not reflect new and emerging communities, or identities. Any values someone does hold would be formed by many different factors.

⁵⁶⁵ Creating the Conditions for Integration", February 2012,
<http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/integration>

Rather than values as a commonly shared idea, it would be preferable to focus on rights, which are concrete, defined in law, and against which a society could be benchmarked more easily. All those who live in Britain should be encouraged to share and support these rights.

Increasing hurdles to citizenship is not likely to foster any 'shared values'. Rather it would have the opposite effect - instead generating mistrust, insecurity and resentment among non-citizens. There are already significant costs attached to achieving citizenship which can amount to over £1300 per application.

Q6. 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?

- In Boston, an EU National responding to MRN's Listening Campaign said that the community there felt left behind due to a lack of investment in the town's services and infrastructure: 'In Boston people do not travel a lot, they live in small communities and everyone for them is a stranger and a potential enemy (including British people coming from other counties). Disseminating fear and paranoia among them is a very easy and effective strategy. The nature of the most work available here is low paid and does not require any qualifications, therefore the majority of migrant workers are from a low background and do not speak any languages. The government was too busy investing in big cities and big projects so this little town had no money to improve its old and ineffective infrastructure and in this time of austerity, cuts hit really hard the weakest points i.e health, education, roads, housing. [This] all combined created the monster of xenophobia.'
- While there are some steps to address the disparities between some communities through initiatives like the Race Disparity Audit, this in itself is not sufficient because it does not provide any context for those disparities existing, and will not provide any solutions for addressing these. Much of this will need to be taken up by local governments, who are already stretched and usually lack the resources, to fully comprehend, and resolve these barriers.
- We would recommend, any reviews of barriers to engagement, should include the following factors as have been well-set out in the Migrant Policy Integration Index (MIPEX) and can be summarised as:
 - i) Anti-discrimination
 - ii) Labour market mobility
 - iii) Family reunion
 - iv) Education
 - v) Political Participation

- vi) Conditions for residence
- vii) Access to nationality

- Within this list access to nationality would remain the prerogative of UK government (though in a wider settlement of the national question there may be scope for determining access citizenship of England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales in accordance separate constitutional arrangements for each country).

Q7. 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?

- Diversity in schools and workplaces does not necessarily ensure integration or social cohesion will happen naturally, and will be taken forward outside of those settings. Comments on the matter from EU Nationals in Boston, responding to the Migrants' Rights Network's Listening Campaign were quoted as saying: 'I go to high school where students are dividing themselves into different nationality groups and stick together most of the time' and 'most of racism is going on in schools.' In response to this, an EU National from Boston suggested that there should be 'greater integration for children. Schools need to understand cultural differences.'

Q8. 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?

- English proficiency is a useful tool for individuals to be able to participate in all fabrics of society⁵⁶⁶. However, it should not be viewed as the only means by which migrants can be seen to be a part of society. Communities, and
- Where ESOL has been available, the barriers to accessing ESOL include:
 - The cost of ESOL classes
 - No funding for asylum seekers to access ESOL classes during their first six months in the UK. An asylum seeker from Wolverhampton, responding to MRN's Listening Campaign, said: 'I am an asylum seeker and I should be allowed to learn English; I should not have to wait for 6 months because it is not fair.'
 - ESOL classes being taught by native English speakers; for people arriving in the UK

⁵⁶⁶ ESOL Literature Review, May 2016, <https://www.goodthingsfoundation.org/sites/default/files/research-publications/emwliteraturereview.pdf>

with little to no knowledge of the English language. Classes when taught by someone who also speaks the non-English language of the students can be helpful during the initial classes. An EU National living in Boston, responding to MRN's Listening Campaign said: 'There should be free ESOL courses with bilingual professional teachers who could teach English, translate phrases, words, teach English grammar in migrant's native language. I could not understand the English teachers, therefore I do not go to Boston College or other places with native teachers who cannot explain me basic grammar and translate words in my native language.' Another respondent seconded this, saying that ESOL classes should be 'held by the teacher speaking the learners' first language.'

- In some locations, the distance of travel to and from the nearest ESOL classes mean needing to take transport, which is an expense that some students cannot afford
- ESOL classes are not always held during times of day that are accessible to students; there is not always enough choice of day / evening classes available

- All these comments suggest the quality of ESOL classes, and their availability need to be reviewed with the individuals that participate in those classes.

We would encourage the committee to consider the following additional information, which offers views from migrant communities perspectives from across four areas in the UK:

Migrants' Perspectives on Brexit & UK Immigration Policies, August 2017,

<https://migrantsrights.org.uk/blog/2017/08/07/migrants-perspectives-brexit-uk-immigration-policies-2/>

Mr Richard Miles – written evidence (CCE0219)

What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

1. This is a significant question for the United Kingdom in the 21st Century, especially at a time of major political upheaval over membership of the European Union. UK citizens have also, wittingly or unwittingly, been citizens of the European Union for many years, but on the basis of a particular application and interpretation of one form of civic engagement, the 2016 referendum, this second citizenship is likely to be removed from those of us who have it, and denied to future generations.
2. At the same time, the UK has not been, and hopefully will not become exclusive about dual citizenship or nationality,⁵⁶⁷ so whilst for particular political and ideological reasons dual UK/EU citizenship may no longer be the norm post “Brexit”, many UK citizens will still have dual citizenship with other nations, and thus be able to move freely to and from other countries, live in the UK and elsewhere, and enjoy the rights and responsibilities that accompany their different citizenships.
3. The question is also important because citizenship is not something that is particularly taught or acknowledged as a part of growing up or engagement for anyone who is born in the UK. There is an assumption for many that you are a British citizen⁵⁶⁸, and possibly the most obvious “formal” reference to citizenship appears for those who apply for and receive a passport, because of the language in which it is couched and its purpose of permitting return to the UK.
4. In my recent experience of helping a member of my family from another country to prepare for UK citizenship, I have been struck by the information he has been required to learn⁵⁶⁹, and the processes he has to go through, including a ceremony, which are not applied to those of us born as UK citizens. It therefore seems to me that migrants to the UK may have a better appreciation of citizenship and what it means than those of us who acquired it at birth.
5. Unfortunately, those who pursue citizenship in 2017 Britain not only have to learn facts about the UK (which may or may not be useful), but also frequently experience a darker side of life in this country, including a culture of hostility and inefficiency from the Home Office and the related approach that everything has a price that is more important than its value.⁵⁷⁰
6. In this respect we seem to be on a par with the Roman empire, as evidenced from the experience of the apostle Paul described in Acts chapter 23 (New International

⁵⁶⁷ Unlike, for example, Japan, which does not accept dual nationality for adults.

⁵⁶⁸ Although arguably this assumption is still most consistently applied to people of white European appearance.

⁵⁶⁹ E.g. *Life in the United Kingdom: A Guide for New Residents*; Home Office; Stationery Office; 3rd Edition; 2017

⁵⁷⁰ <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/jun/28/immigration-detainees-legal-challenge-slave-wages>
<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/sep/01/home-office-makes-800-profit-on-some-visa-applications>

Version): *The commander went to Paul and asked, "Tell me, are you a Roman citizen?" "Yes I am," he answered. Then the commander said, "I had to pay a big price for my citizenship." "But I was born a citizen," Paul replied.* On this occasion Paul's citizenship spared him from being flogged, but he was probably threatened with that because he didn't behave as, or appear to be a Roman citizen. I suppose that the current UK equivalent of the brutality of flogging for those who are not accepted as UK citizens is detention in Immigration Detention and Removal Centres, such as Morton Hall⁵⁷¹ or Brook House⁵⁷².

7. Key factors in the consideration of citizenship and identity are family and residency. Many people who are part of an established family in the UK, or the immediate family of a UK citizen, and others who have lived and perhaps worked in the UK for many years, identify themselves by their relationships, residency and/or actions as de facto UK citizens. Nevertheless they are denied citizenship because they do not meet arbitrary criteria set for political reasons by a Government that gives these a higher value than familial relationships, love, compassion, community or even civic engagement.

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?

8. To be a member and to belong there has to be something that attracts you and that is of greater intrinsic value or value to yourself than the alternatives. I think that those who have sought naturalisation have some sense of identity as citizens here, either because they see it as providing the freedoms to maintain their family relationships; they respect what they have seen and heard of our constitution and values; or because (in some cases) there is no alternative citizenship available to them because of war, persecution or other catastrophe.
9. One of the strengths of the UK is that it does not have a single homogenous identity, so the very notion of citizenship to which all (or at least a significant majority) can subscribe should be pursued to identify its essential elements – its purpose, values, and structures.
10. A friend who is a church leader notes: *I think the desire [for identity as a citizen] comes from that 'echo' of God's design that 'there is something within all of us that desires to be connected to something bigger than our individual selves'.⁵⁷³ People's past cultural experiences, principles, ideas and expectations hugely shape a person's identity and allegiances. My experience of other cultures is it enables you to ask the questions of 'what can I readily let go of from my own cultural background?' and*

⁵⁷¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/jan/13/investigation-after-third-death-in-uk-immigration-detention-centre>

⁵⁷² <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-41121692> *Detainees 'mocked and abused' at immigration centre*

⁵⁷³ *Citizen: Your role in the alternative kingdom*; Rob Peabody; 2014

‘what am I inspired to pick up from the new cultural experience?’, and identifying how much of the current is holding us back or propelling us forward.

11. *Mechanisms that help people to reflect on these would help, through story perhaps etc., telling your own, hearing others, identifying changes on the journey.*
12. However, change requires a process and takes time, and some UK citizens would be surprised and even puzzled to hear the rationale for seeking UK citizenship that might be expressed in these stories.
13. In the short term, this could be helpful for citizens by birth as well as for those who are naturalised, as I wonder how much appreciation and hence response to the essence of a uniting UK citizenship there currently is in the UK.
14. This is where the education system could perhaps help, as it appears that the notion of citizenship and civic engagement has not been taught in any depth to several generations of children.
15. There is also surely a parenting responsibility, and behind that support and guidance for parents who as they grew up perhaps never learned what would help them to be responsible and engaged citizens.
16. However, before burdening schools and other front-line establishments with more pressures, a change in culture throughout Government and the public sector is required, to reflect a value system that follows good governance; respects citizens and people who aren't but might like to be; understands a public service ethos; and observes the rule of law at all times. From my perspective as a former public servant, all these appear to have been in decline in recent years, but if citizenship and civic engagement are to flourish they must be exemplified and nurtured from the top.
17. The idea of citizenship ceremonies, perhaps as coming of age events – could be worth considering. (They could be of more value and less expense than the imported Prom Parties!)
18. It is strange that as part of the naturalisation process people have to attend a citizenship ceremony, but that is not the norm for citizens born here; we are allowed to drift and at no time in our lives are we guided or inducted. Is this because we do not take it seriously until we want to keep people out?
19. It is perhaps ironic that there is an option for people to book a private citizenship ceremony (at double the fee), which surely works against integration and civic engagement⁵⁷⁴ and reinforces individualism, which is the antithesis of citizenship.
20. My friend adds another comment that could be helpful here: *I also think **sport** has a very influential role on people's local and national allegiances and cannot be underestimated or alternatively used to leverage changes where possible – e.g. the way people get behind things like UK athletics/ Olympics / Football/Rugby etc. When people from other nations have a strong sporting allegiance (e.g. cricket) that's unlikely to change – but even a hardened Scot like myself can support the British Lions, but the passion for the sport comes from the original allegiance.*

⁵⁷⁴ It could perhaps be argued that paying a larger fee is a practical form of civic engagement, in that it helps to fund local authorities that are short of cash.

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?

21. It is helpful to start with some sort of definition of civic engagement, and this seems reasonable: Civic engagement means working to make a difference in the life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and non-political processes.
22. There is a balance to be struck between an understanding of responsibilities and legal coercion. The ideal is that citizens so identify with their communities that they contribute to the wellbeing and development of those communities, without the need for the force of law. Unfortunately, what we are seeing at times is people being unwilling to contribute to wellbeing, and others destructively undermining wellbeing by their behaviour.
23. In my community I attended a meeting with my MP, at which, inter alia, there was discussion about the amount of rubbish in the streets and open spaces. As we have become accustomed to a transactional basis for service, whereby we pay the local authority and they clear up the rubbish, the solution was seen to be more work by the council, even though everyone knew that their funding had been cut by central government. I suggested that my MP organised something like Umuganda, to bring people together to clear up the neighbourhood. (I came across Umuganda in Rwanda. It can be translated as 'coming together in common purpose to achieve an outcome'. Umuganda is a communal act of assistance and a sign of integration in a country still recovering from a Government-inspired genocide. It is undertaken on the last Saturday of each month, when everyone aged 18- to 65-yrs-old is expected to do yard work or help the community in some other way.) My MP, knowing his constituency, was horrified at the prospect of suggesting a requirement for people to be involved, and told me he did not want to be re-elected!
24. On the other hand there are a large number of voluntary groups that bring people together to improve the quality of life in their communities – including the constituency where I live.
25. However, in or close to my community, there appear to be enough people without a sense of identity or civic engagement to discard their rubbish in the streets, to fly tip, and to steal cars, break into houses, and to ride unlicensed motorcycles in large noisy groups without regard to law or safety. These appear predominantly to be “born-in-the-UK” citizens who have lost touch with the responsibilities of citizenship, if they were ever aware of them. Their younger siblings, or the next generation, are also in evidence, preparing for their adulthood of counter-engagement.
26. Before even suggesting extensions to the force of law, it is clear that the existing legal framework is not effective in upholding responsibilities and maintaining the

rule of law. This is in part because the police force is under-staffed and also ill-equipped or prevented from carrying out all the functions that the law provides for – and so the well-being of communities tumbles.

27. In terms of additional rights, my inclination has been to consider that we have enough rights. However, at the present time it is evident that rights that we take for granted could be undermined in the proposed transition to a post Brexit UK.⁵⁷⁵ There have been disturbing signs of a tendency by the Executive to seek more power, and thus to bypass Parliament in making or amending legislation.⁵⁷⁶ One of the most disturbing suggestions is that citizens may lose some of their ability to challenge the Government. We have already seen reductions to legal aid, considerable obfuscation in dealing with Freedom of Information requests, frequent referrals to “Remainers” as disloyal (when surely we still have “Her Majesty’s Most Loyal Opposition” in the House of Commons), and so on.
28. We have a parliamentary democracy which means that Parliament should have more say over legislation than advisory referenda or an Executive that seeks to be unaccountable. It is ironic that the unelected House of Lords and Supreme Court have at times recently led the way in looking after the rights and responsibilities of citizens by securing the rule of law and the ongoing effectiveness of Parliament. May this continue until we have an Executive (and a press) that understands the nature of our constitution in protecting citizens.

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?

29. I think that consideration should be given to lowering the voting age to 16 for national and local elections. So many decisions affect the lives of your people who will soon be adults. Strong governance should be maintained in the voting registration and voting processes. Consideration could be given to electronic voting systems, as long as the secrecy of the ballot is preserved; there are cast-iron assurances that the systems will not fail or be compromised; and implementation only proceeded following a rigorous procurement process with fixed costs to public funds.
30. On the other hand, it is worth noting that visiting a polling station is itself a tangible expression of civic engagement and integration, and this should not be lost.

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

⁵⁷⁵ See, e.g. European Union Withdrawal Bill 2017 Section 5(4)

⁵⁷⁶ See e.g. European Union Withdrawal Bill 2017 Sections 7-9;17

participation, both inside and outside classes? How effective is current teaching? Do the curriculum and the qualifications that are currently offered need amending?

31. I have noted above the desirability of encouraging good citizenship through the education system, but do not have enough knowledge to comment on when it should be compulsory, or on the content of the curriculum.
32. I also think that ways should be explored to encourage a parental role in the encouragement and development of good citizenship, so there could be a role for employers, parent groups and other organisations. Guidance could be more valuable than coercion, e.g. in a similar way that charities help people with financial or relationship difficulties.
33. Interestingly there appears to be a rise (certainly amongst younger people) to get involved in volunteering in some way, which is a move towards civic engagement. Some of the motivation for this will come from schools, or youth groups, churches and other networks.

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?

34. I have sought to discover a comprehensive list of “British values” from different Government departments, but there does not appear to be a consistent set of values applied across government.
35. I would comment on **Freedom of Speech** as a value that is under threat, for example: as I have noted above, in the current Brexit political climate, those who challenge the Government’s approach are not just disagreed with, but branded as disloyal, undermining the will of the people and the like. It feels as though those who voted to Remain have lost their voice as a more than significant part of the British people. This challenge to freedom of speech is being modelled by government ministers and MPs, amongst others, who, in a Parliamentary democracy should know better. Their behaviour appears to be thoroughly unparliamentarily. For example: it has become increasingly difficult to express any opinion other than the current “received wisdom” on anything to do with gender politics, such as abortion, same-sex marriage, or gender identity, without being labelled as a bigot. Some aspects of liberalism are extremely illiberal. For example: there appears to be an unwillingness to allow freedom of speech in some areas of university life, for fear of offending the sensitivities of some students. Universities should be the very places to speak freely and explore ideas. I grew a lot through the challenges to my ideas and world-view that I experienced at university, and it is there that my civic engagement developed.
36. I would also comment on a **right to family life**, because I think that this is one value area in which the current and previous government have been the most perniciously hypocritical, notably in their dealings with migrants. When David Cameron was

promoting same sex marriage, he argues that “when people’s love is divided by law, it is the law that needs to change”.⁵⁷⁷ But the Government’s family migration rules and other hard-line approaches to immigration policy have done precisely the opposite, and divided thousands of UK citizens from the partners they love, and their children. Furthermore, marriage, and remaining together for a UK citizen and a non-EU spouse (and before long potentially an EU spouse too) is made subject to means testing, excessive and repeated profit-making fees⁵⁷⁸, and a form of marriage probation, all of which show an amazing contempt for British citizens who love someone from another country and yet want to live here.

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?

37. My observation on this relates to the Home Office’s oft-repeated claims that its family migration rules are designed to assist integration, and that people who are not allowed into the UK because of a low sponsor income, or inadequate language skills would not be able to integrate. I would say that one of the best ways to integrate into UK society is by being with a UK based family, and also by engaging with community-based organisations such as churches and schools. Furthermore, the best place to become competent in spoken English is an English-speaking country, as I believe is acknowledged by the Australian government.

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?

38. Levels of English proficiency are very important, without decrying the use of other languages in the home and elsewhere, where appropriate. ESOL classes are helpful, but so is immersion in a community that speaks English – see my observation on integration in paragraph 36.

39. The citizenship test is a mystery to those who have never taken it – and even to those who have come across it. There is much in it that we have not been taught, and that has very little bearing on life in the UK today. I have encountered many UK born people who have tried test papers and failed. It takes no account of the

⁵⁷⁷ David Cameron; 29 March 2014

⁵⁷⁸ <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/sep/01/home-office-makes-800-profit-on-some-visa-applications>

differing ways that people learn, and for the most part is redundant the moment a pass has been granted.

Dr Sarah Mills and Dr Catherine Waite – written evidence (CCE0030)

1. About The Researchers

Dr Sarah Mills is a Senior Lecturer in Human Geography at Loughborough University. Her research focuses on youth citizenship, informal education and volunteering and she has published widely on these themes. She is an expert on the geographies of youth citizenship and youth organisations in the UK. She is Chair of the Royal Geographical Society's Research Group on 'Children, Youth and Families'.

Dr Catherine Waite is a Lecturer in Human Geography at University of Northampton. Her research explores geographies of migration, young people and sport.

2. Executive Project Summary

Dr Mills' ESRC-funded research project on National Citizen Service [ES/L009315/1: 2014-7] explored the state's motivations behind, the voluntary sector's engagement with, and young people's experiences of NCS. Dr Mills & Dr Catherine Waite (Research Associate) collected data using several research methods including qualitative interviews with NCS graduates (30), regional delivery providers (22) and key 'architects' of the NCS programme (8). The researchers also conducted policy analysis, an online survey with NCS graduates (407), an 'on-the-ground' ethnography of one team's NCS journey, and a participatory animated whiteboard video of their NCS experience (more details via [project website](#)). The project submitted written evidence to the Public Bill Committee (NCS Bill) in January 2017 and has fed key findings to NCS Trust, Cabinet Office and other stakeholders.

3. Relevant Project Publications

Peer-Reviewed Journal Article

Mills, S. and Waite, C. (2017) "Brands of Youth Citizenship and the Politics of Scale: National Citizen Service in the United Kingdom", *Political Geography* 56: 66-76.

Open Access PDF Free to download [here](#)

Full web-link: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629816300944>

Hard Copies Available on Request

End of Project Report

Mills, S. and Waite, C. (2017) *National Citizen Service: A Geographical Approach*
Loughborough University ISBN: 978-1-5272-1279-4

Open Access PDF Free to download [here](#)

Full web-link: <http://www.geographiesofyouthcitizenship.com/project-outputs.php>

Hard Copies Available on Request

4. Written Evidence with respect to Select Committee Question 6 on National Citizen Service

4.0 Case-Study Context: What is National Citizen Service?

Launched in 2011, National Citizen Service (NCS) is a short-term voluntary scheme for 15-17 year olds in England and Northern Ireland. Over 300,000 young people have completed the NCS programme, comprised of three distinctive phases over 3-4 weeks during Summer, with shorter versions available in Spring and Autumn.

Phase One is a residential experience usually held at an outdoor activity centre to create bonds between young people. Phase Two is a second residential, usually hosted in University Halls of Residence. Activities here are focused on skills development for the future through a series of workshops and group tasks. For both residential experiences, young people are in large 'waves' (circa 100 people) from the same region, but activities are completed within smaller teams of young people from the same village or town. For the final phase of the programme, young people return to their home communities to design and complete a social action project, for example fundraising, campaigning or renovation projects. The programme ends with a graduation ceremony to celebrate their NCS journey.

NCS is a unique voluntary youth programme because it was created, driven and funded by the UK Government. It employs a top-down regional delivery model overseen by the NCS Trust, with provider contracts awarded through a tendering process. A wide range of providers have been involved in NCS delivery including private sector partnerships, businesses, social enterprises and voluntary sector charities. Participants pay £50 to join an NCS programme, with bursaries available for low-income groups.

NCS is subject to programme evaluation, initially by NatCen and currently by Ipsos MORI [\[link\]](#). The NCS Trust also reports to the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (previously the Cabinet Office and Department for Education). In April 2017, National Citizen Service received a Royal Charter following the NCS Bill (House of Lords).

4.1 “Do voluntary citizenship programmes such as the National Citizen Service do a good job of creating active citizens?”

4.1.1 Social Action and NCS’ Brand of Youth Citizenship

Young people in our research project were overwhelmingly positive about their NCS experience, based on narratives of fun, friendship and futures. The survey data revealed clear benefits to their participation: 96% of respondents would recommend NCS to other

teenagers, 91% were proud of their achievements on NCS, and 90% of respondents felt more confident as a result of NCS.

Active citizenship centred on ‘social action’ is the ‘brand’ of youth citizenship embodied by NCS (Mills & Waite 2017). Our research uncovered that citizenship within NCS infrastructure, its curriculum and ‘on-the-ground’ is often equated with volunteering. Survey data from graduates revealed that 86% of respondents felt they learnt what it means to be a citizen on NCS. However, within our qualitative research, 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’. Other parts of our data-set support this finding that citizenship within NCS is ambiguous and, at times, weakly linked to forms of political participation and the wider relationship between rights and responsibilities.

We are not critiquing youth volunteering or social action per se, with the benefits of this activity widely reported. However, we are highlighting that the model of NCS and its promotion of a particular ‘brand’ of youth citizenship centred on social action as the number one tenant of being a ‘good’ citizen (rather than say, voting or democratic participation) tells a story about the state’s vision and priorities, encouraging a type of citizen that performs ‘safe’ and compliant acts of (youth) citizenship.

Recommendation: Citizenship education and political literacy should be embedded within Phase Two of the NCS curriculum (see also 4.1.2).

4.1.2 Regional Geographies of NCS

Our research project also found that the regional geographies of NCS shape young people’s experiences with respect to citizenship education.

Regional delivery providers (RDPs) either directly deliver NCS programmes or work with a range of local delivery providers (LDPs) to sub-contract and deliver NCS on the ground. Our research revealed that this mixed geography of service provision is creating some regional disparities in the NCS experience, with a ‘postcode lottery’ for young people. Overall, geography matters in relation to the exact programme young people receive and there are two core areas where this has the biggest impact on the NCS experience:

i) Phase Two’s Activities

The second residential with workshops and group tasks designed to improve skills for the future varies based on each RDP. Although one would expect some variations in programme specifics due to local dynamics, our research did identify a lack of consistency in activities and core messages. For example, some participants expressed frustrations at missing out on ‘Big P’ political education content i.e. debates, or meeting MPs that other RDPs delivered.

Recommendation: A review of Phase Two to ensure consistency across Regional Delivery Providers, including scope for citizenship education and political literacy

ii) Youth-Led Social Action

The extent to which social action projects are youth-led is also shaped by the regional geographies of NCS. Whilst some 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. We recognise challenges in terms of preparation, insurance and risk assessments for social action projects with short lead times, however the extent to which some providers arrange social action projects limits the 'buy in' young people have as participants.

Recommendation: NCS Trust should prioritise youth-led social action in future commissioning rounds and support Regional Delivery Providers with these logistics.

4.2 "Are they the right length?"

NCS is a short-term programme compared to the regular activities of voluntary youth organisations or local authority youth work. Although 89% of survey respondents felt they had made a difference through social action, there is no doubt NCS is a short-term experience and time-limited. There was a sense of frustration for some participants at not being able to continue their projects, and 80% of our survey respondents would like to do more social action.

However, NCS is full-time for 3-4 weeks of a young person's (on average) 6 week summer holiday and any longer for an NCS programme would – based on our overall analysis – impact on young people's opportunities for paid/unpaid work, educational or other extra-curricular activities, or family commitments and caring responsibilities.

Recommendation: Retain the current programme length of NCS, but ensure greater opportunities for NCS alumni to continue social action projects through signposting to other relevant opportunities.

4.3 "Should they be compulsory, and if so, when?"

NCS is not compulsory and participants currently 'opt-in' through dedicated and widespread marketing campaigns. To make NCS compulsory would dramatically change the rationale and 'place' of NCS in society. Compulsion would change the character of NCS and create further obstacles for NCS Trust to integrate with the existing youth sector landscape.

Recommendation: NCS should remain voluntary without compulsion

4.4 "Should they include a greater political element?"

Yes. See Section 4.1 for a detailed discussion. Furthermore, our project revealed some interesting dynamics on the scales of youth citizenship within NCS.

The climax of the NCS programme is the social action project. Our research found that this model locates the real arena for active citizenship in young people's own *local* towns, cities and villages – as part of a wider national collective. This framework – coupled with the varied content of Phase Two (See Section 4.1) – has resulted in little awareness by NCS providers or amongst participants about how their activities at the local scale are connected to global issues, politics or challenges. Our data indicates that NCS graduates are aware that they are part of a bigger, national movement, beyond their local team. However, our data-set revealed that other 'scales' of youth citizenship – such as European and global citizenship formations – have been relegated.

We found a weak relationship between NCS and the International Citizen Service (ICS), a scheme with a shared genealogy but a separate organisation. Indeed, there was only one reference to ICS in the whole of our data-set from either providers or young people. This dual approach with two organisations has created a scenario whereby a global outlook is a 'bolted-on' additional extra or alternative to NCS, rather than part and parcel of what it means to be a citizen. Overall, ideas of multi-scaled identities are marginalised within the NCS framework.

We believe that NCS is – like many institutions in civil society during the past year – struggling to grapple with ideas about national identity, belonging, and citizenship. In light of Brexit and subsequent political debates, there is a pressing need for NCS to reconsider its scales of youth citizenship.

Recommendation: UK Government and NCS Trust should revisit the aims and objectives of NCS in relation to citizenship, identity and belonging in post-Brexit Britain

4.5 "Should they lead to a more public citizenship ceremony?"

The current NCS graduation rightly celebrates the achievements of young people and is a chance to reconnect as alumni. It already has elements of being part of a wider national (political) project i.e. receiving a certificate with the Prime Minister's signature. Any changes towards a more 'public citizenship ceremony' would further entrench NCS as a national political project and not address the wider scalar dilemma discussed in Section 4.4. Furthermore, any shifts towards this form of ceremony would have to carefully consider devolution as NCS exists in England and Northern Ireland, but not in Scotland or Wales.

Recommendation: Retain existing format of graduation ceremonies

4.6 "Are they good value for money?"

This research project did not investigate value for money or a cost benefit analysis as part of its objectives. This topic was recently discussed by the Public Audit Committee [[link](#)] and £1.26 billion has recently been committed to NCS delivery for 2016-21, with a target of

360,000 young people completing NCS annually by 2020-21 (60% of the target population of 16 year olds).⁵⁷⁹

However, our research did reveal the ‘hidden costs of social action’. Our research found that a key component of the NCS experience is fundraising. This is either through social action projects that aim to fundraise for local charities, or fundraising activities required to support and deliver different social action projects themselves. The money raised for charity by NCS participants is noteworthy, with inspirational achievements by young people. However, our interview and ethnographic data highlights there should be more sensitivity as to who shoulders the burden of donations, sponsorship and resources. 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. From our survey findings, most of our respondents (40%) 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.

Recommendation: To investigate the provision of free or reduced cost local bus travel for NCS participants during their social action project.

Recommendation: To offer small social action project bursaries for participants who already receive the £50 waiver for the participation fee.

4.7 What other routes exist for creating active citizens?

Please see the submissions from other Political Literacy Oversight Group (PLOG) members (Chaired by Dr James Weinberg) for evidence-based discussion on these themes.

5 Conclusion

NCS has become a key part of the youth policy landscape and is set to further expand. It is driving forward new partnerships (e.g. recent announcement of a three year pilot with the Scout Association) yet remains controversial within parts of the voluntary and youth work sector. There is potential for it to identify new ways of building bridges within and between communities, and to support civic engagement, as per the Lords Committee’s interests. The

⁵⁷⁹ National Audit Office Report, January 2017

Dr Sarah Mills and Dr Catherine Waite – written evidence (CCE0030)

recommendations in this submitted evidence could help to improve the NCS experience for young people and embed citizenship and political literacy within its programme.

Further project findings – beyond the scope of these questions in the call for evidence – can be shared upon request, or consulted in the end-of-project report (see Section 3 for links).

22 August 2017

Paul Milton – written evidence (CCE0156)

Please find attached my contribution to the enquiry into Citizenship and Civic engagement. I firstly think the terminology is wrong there's being a citizen, becoming a citizen and gaining citizenship and being and becoming a well rounded individual the lines are a bit blurred with this subject.

I've covered the first topic before previously, the main aspect and crux of citizenship was the control in terms of immigration and border control. Citizenship the key is getting the balance right in terms of benefits to the (UK) economy and diversity and culture through the process of citizenship becoming a (UK) Citizen.

Citizenship Early Summary:-

The process isn't perfect it has its flaws and imperfections similar to the GIG economy American terminology for (GIG's), but can be beneficial for example the Erasmus program highly connected to Citizenship as well, Citizenship is also highly connected to the aspect of the labour market and also Brexit as well "The final terms and conditions".

"Citizenship as I say is very closely related to immigration and border control the access in and out of country. The key is getting the balance right weighing up the pro's and con's. The cases in the news recently with ISIS and Islamic extremists being extradited out of the UK sent back to their original countries is a good justification and example we need to be vigilant of our border's and immigration."

Citizenship Education Program: -

The program again at its heart is the flow or people educating and integrating new citizens into our society. It's a double edged sword similar to teacher retention or army militia in other countries. We could teach and integrate these new citizens into our society but need to make sure once trained or integrated those people we've put time and effort into are retained in the (UK) and don't just take that knowledge and experience to another country, "A previous problem they had with teacher training in the (UK)".

Civic/Community Engagement: -

Civic engagement or community engagement means different things to many people depending on class ethnicity and background. We are still failing quite a few minorities in terms of integration into communities; the integration relies on several things even down to the most basic things such as kindness and respect.

Historical Divide: -

In addressing these issues and questions we need to take into account history and the divisions made by history and events in time you're also looking at genetic traits and dispositions as well past on habits "Habitual or none intentional" in terms of people being able to change their opinion or view.

Hypothetical:-

Another hypothetical is do we wish to heal and close the divides in society? Would that community fair better if it was its own state or governance in being a separate body you could then treat it more easily similar to the grey pound, pink pound, and purple pound, their own economy.

Cultural Engagement:-

Engagement the key to this is a working and fully functional system. Psychology also comes into it as well. It's playing with the person's perception depending on perspectives and from group or community influence from that input has anything changed a bit like a pressure group.

What It Means to be Part Of Britain:-

At the heart of all these questions is integration, bonding, and unity, these questions really shouldn't be for the public to answer but for the government to answer and heal. A good example was Brexit but at the heart of Brexit was issues not addressed and looked at or people's voices not being heard or recognised.

Realistic Goals and Agendas/Inclusion: -

It's also a case of setting boundaries and reasonable bracketing on what is possible and not possible as you can't help and save everyone.

Summary:-

This subject and topic of citizenship and civic engagement is really quite complicated when it really shouldn't be, the idea of the citizenship education program from what I've seen its aims are integration and more engagement in certain areas such as politics and engraining the basics such as morals and principles through the citizenship education program. It really shouldn't be for the education system to have to engrain these morals and principles it should be a joint effort of good parenting and education system.

Citizenship Education Flaws:-

The program is also flawed you can have these values instilled in these youngsters or try and open these routes more or engage them at a younger level but it's no point if the subjects are controlled and contrived later on or further up the ladder in terms of career's also taking into account disabilities and (SEN). Other factors for example electoral role problems in terms of political engagement of young people if these problems were fixed the engagement would be better. One main area of the electoral role system, which was failing, was it was unable to keep track of young people in college or moving.

8 September 2017

Ms Lorna Hughes – written evidence (CCE0132)

This submission is made by Lorna Hughes as an individual expressing personal views held. It does not represent the views of others – though probably does! I have chosen to answer some of the questions posed.

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?

Citizenship and civic engagement must mean mutual respect for difference. The respect of ‘difference’ is critical – as we live in a much divided society, where our connections are built on the differences we share – race; class; economic status; housing tenure etc. These differences have been allowed to become entrenched lines of conflict and form the key points of identity we recognise.

Sadly, there is little evidence of mutual respect and citizens have withdrawn from civic engagement – leading to a governance structure that does not understand and cannot relate to the people that it serves. Citizens engage within and amongst themselves – the governance struggles because it is no longer integral or relevant to everyday lives. For example, it is now acceptable to mock poverty and deprivation in TV programmes such as ‘Can’t pay we’ll take it away’, ‘Benefit Britain’ and many others. While the TV is not controlled by the state, – such offensive programmes reflect the lack of moral compass throughout the nation.

It matters because we now have a situation where public services are disconnected from the people they are paid to serve – and unable to determine how, or support the way communities function. The recent Brexit vote demonstrates the state is unclear of its role (having whipped the nation into a frenzy) and has unleashed violent responses by people who believe they have no channels to express their views; and the governance structures cannot deal with it.

The state does not identify with its people and is unable to dictate an identity to people who it does not understand. The state created deep divisions in which people’s views and beliefs have been formed. It is the belief system that directs behaviours – in my view, the only thing to change beliefs is through action – the state must act to update its services, its officers and its systems so that we live in a fairer society that enables communities to share more platforms rather than share what has been divided by the state,

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?

As said above – the state cannot dictate identity through a 2 hour event or session! Pride comes through having a decent standard of living, equal access to education and employment, a home that meets your needs – the question in itself proves the complete lack of understanding of how people grow and develop.

I do not believe that further pressures on the school curriculum is the answer – the answer is much more about addressing the systemic failure to treat people equally and the creation of an underclass made strong through state policy that has bonded people through negative facets of their life – race, place and economic ability. No one off ceremony is going to cure what people believe – people believe in their experience and reality. To change peoples sense of belonging requires a change in peoples experience – which will take time and a radical change in how people are treated.

This inquiry needs to be based on honesty – these questions do not relate to everyone – they relate to ‘some’ people – people of colour, people of working classes, people of poverty and deprivation. These people largely reject the state for years of failure to address their problem – change needs to address root causes, not be over layed with more bureaucracy that people do not want to hear. The inquiry should focus on where the real problems are – outlined above, and not attempt to pretend this is a matter for everyone. It needs to be focussed on changing the experience of life before attempting to muster false pride that will not be consumed by the people you need to target.

If the desired outcome is pride then people need to be treated with pride every step of the way.

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?

I believe there needs to be better opportunities to hold public services to account. There needs to be a better understanding that public services are supposed to meet the needs of the public, and the public will. I believe there is a need to refresh public services to deliver from a stronger civic perspective rather than an enforcement perspective i.e Policing. If anything, we the public should be given a stronger role in monitoring public services including monitoring the police.

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?

My view is this is not limited to law – it is about the behaviours of those voted to serve. One example is I have left messages for my local MP – who has never returned my phone call! They need to serve the people not themselves.

Creating a space for more people to vote and more people to be let down is not the answer in my view!

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?

If we are taking an approach of honesty here, why should working class state school pupils of colour be made to spend their time studying how to conform to the perceived 'british way' – whilst private school children are allowed to focus on achieving good exam grades to support their lives long term.

Its is ironic that there is a suggestion in the question of 'optional' civic education – further proof of the lines drawn by the state to inflict on some – diverting valuable educational time to try and change beliefs of experience, which will result in the continued poorer outcomes for certain groups, and continued acceleration of others.

Schools are struggling already – despite not being fit for purpose. Why does it take 11 years to get 5 low grade GCSEs? The whole curriculum needs radical improvement – but I do not think that this inquiry should burden schools with this topic – this inquiry should focus on the structural problems rather than utilise schools as the solution – they are not the only tool the state has to encourage greater citizenship.

Good citizenship is based on experience not taught by rote like the Victorians taught in the early days of free schools.

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?

I have only seen NCS advertise job vacancies in the Guardian!. I have raised 3 children – youngest 21, and they have never been offered anything from this organisation. I do not believe that citizenship should be externalised from public services and therefore it is not possible for these programmes to be effective at all. How can so much money be invested in one organisation that is clearly scared of black young people – they do not enter black or deprived communities. NCS is white middle class and operates from the fear perspective – not tackling difficult issues.

This inquiry must be bold, brave and honest – who are you really talking about, and how can a distant group like NCS, with no connection or understanding of the lived experience of the inequality of the true target cohort, make any difference at all.

The millions of pounds wasted on externalising civic activity should be reinvested to change peoples lived experience – i.e housing and education. It is only when people experience better that they feel better and they can be engaged. I believe that civic ceremonies are a waste of time that does not really impact on the way people feel. It may well be a process for some people to obtain papers to stay in the UK – but it does not change the experience or living her – and certainly does not make people engage positively with the state. A six week course and a piece of paper does not stop you being arrested because you are black, not given a job because you did not achieve, or housed on a ‘sink estate’ because the state drew those lines previously.

Creating active citizens requires creating equality – it requires support of deprived communities, it requires access to better housing, it requires meaningful education, it requires access to better employment. Its not enough to tick the box with a 6 week programme followed by an awards ceremony; then a return to inequality albeit with papers to stay. Fundamental changes are needed and that could start with diverting the money wasted on these programmes to changing peoples experiences long term.

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?

Respect differences – fully and wholly. Provide and support people to change their lives. Stop criminalising young black boys – and lead them to a path of long term criminal lives – stop excluding young black boys at school. Stop the racist Police practices; stop the racist jailing and sentencing. Stop the bad housing, b & b, overcrowding. It is only when communities basic needs are met can they begin to engage honestly with you.

The Government should admit and reverse the racist foundations that services are delivered from; and then an honest conversation can be held.

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?

See above. The biggest threat is the services that are delivered from state lines drawn on race, class, and economic ability – people are not being supported to meet their needs, which has resulted in a range of violent reactions. Strengthening citizenship means strengthening peoples ability to access resources to live an equitable life. The gap between citizen and state is worsened by the gap in wealth creation.

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?

Throughout my response I have referred to race, class and economic ability. These factors are seen in the way that services are delivered – racist policing that seeks to criminalise young black boys, racist education that excludes black children, bad housing given to deprived communities. There needs to be an introduction of civic responsibility to the very people providing services – it is not something to be ‘done to’ communities as a programme of education – that they lack the ability to be active citizens; rather the public sector lacks the ability to approach the true cohort you are discussing.

The Government – national and local needs to deliver citizenship itself, not seek to teach it. Overcoming barriers, requires the state to understand the lived experience of its citizens and act to improve that. Opportunities to do this are missed through engagement initiatives that are woefully delivered in fear of the communities they seek to reach. One example is the practice that by listening to well behaved middle class young people is representative of all young people – really not the case. I believe that people practising ‘engagement’ should be fully trained, and have a clear understanding and practice of equalities. Too many times we see engagement initiatives delivered by people with no idea of the lived experience of the people they say they want to engage with – and no idea how to access them. Active citizenship must be embedded in the way services are delivered – in which case, services would reflect the people they serve – such as education, policing and housing. A review of staff demographic will tell you a lot about who is delivering what to who; and then you can begin to understand why civic engagement is disabled by the public sector.

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?

Newcomers to Britain face racism – look at this question from a different lens and you will see how someone who speaks a different language is immediately positioned as ‘other’ and different. This inquiry needs to be honest in what it seeks to find out about who. Of course, speaking English makes a difference to the lived experience – but this should be positioned positively, rather than enforced functional learning of a language. ESOL classes can teach people to say the right answer – but it does not teach a positive experience of the place.

The citizenship test should include a test of the ‘system’ – people should be asked are you treated with respect; has your housing enquiry been dealt with; are the children settling well in school – real tests that matter to people's lives are needed. The test should be of our society to embrace new people, not just the test to conform in situ.

Ms Lorna Hughes – written evidence (CCE0132)

8 September 2017

David Minall – written evidence (CCE0041)

Just some thoughts.

This exercise could end in formally recognising the need for a written UK constitution as the driver for significant, if not radical, changes in law and policy. It is interesting to note that the first two questions are concerned with, identity, retrospectively, and present within the problems at issue in a disenfranchised society, generally.

How can society support civic engagement? The rise of Identity Politics internalising groups within society, against the increasingly cynical view of the established Political Class is pretty much where the problems of 21st century UK lie – along with a fair chunk of the Western World. Devolution is seen as the method by which a population can better perceive their influence on the political system. The structure of devolution is advanced in the UK, the inter-nation identity of Scotland being most prominent. If taxation rights were further devolved, enabling the full responsibility for an area to sink or swim, this could become the framework for a truly decentralised government, leaving the now, National Government, as an assembly with key roles in foreign policy, borders, law, central bank, etc.

Hard to see how any established Political Class would ever agree to let the money train go – this is an old pipedream.

Political education seen as a route to good citizenship and a more engaged electorate. While a good idea in principle, stopping the inevitable and natural corruption of a governing policy that would feedback selected ideas to reinforce a favourable position would be the challenge. Not impossible, but eyes wide open to the danger of political education becoming indoctrination. This has happened so many times in recorded history in the creation of large, authoritarian, governments – CCCP, National Socialists, Khmer Rouge, the list goes on.

If you are asked, ‘How important are levels of English proficiency...’, an alternative to the population effectively speaking the same language is made available by the sly ideology of political correctness. It is essential, so essential that all energy should be toward how to achieve it.

The question, ‘what effect does the level of diversity in schools and workplaces have on integration in society as a whole’, is super loaded. Diversity is a current mantra of our Political Class, it is almost impossible to be effective in politics without singing the diversity song. Integration as a process to bring communities together has in our recent history demonstrated failure – it is where we are now, trying to fix it. Assimilation, the only understandable alternative to integration, would indeed be a challenge to the Political Class under the laws of the EU. But as you can see, they are not talking about that.

29 August 2017

Professor David Morris, Director, Centre for Citizenship and Community,

Muslim Women's Network – written evidence (CCE0220)

Introduction

1. Muslim Women's Network UK (MWNUK) is a national Muslim women's organisation in Britain (www.mwnuk.co.uk). We are a small national charity (no. 1155092) that works to improve the social justice and equality for Muslim women and girls. Our membership also includes women of other faiths or of no faith and men who support our work. We find out about the experiences of Muslim women and girls through research and helpline enquiries. We identify policy and practice gaps and use this information to inform decision makers in government as well as informing our community campaigns at a grassroots level.
2. We also develop resources and train women so they are better aware of their rights. We have a separate website for our national helpline (www.mwnhelpline.co.uk) that provides advice and support on a range of issues some of which include: domestic abuse, forced marriage, honour based violence, sexual abuse, divorce, discrimination and mental health etc.
3. The impact of our work is particularly felt in reducing the vulnerability of Muslim women and girls, reducing the prejudice they face, and giving them greater access to rights and services – all of which allow them to contribute to society like any other citizen. We are also creating a critical mass of voices to influence change with more women being confident to challenge discriminatory practices within their communities and in society and to influence policy makers.
4. Our knowledge and experiences are therefore directly relevant to the House of Lords Select Committee. Although we work predominantly with Muslim women and will therefore focus on the experiences of Muslim women within our Evidence, the points we raise can also be relevant to Muslim men and the British Muslim community as a whole. However, we feel it is vital that Muslim women are provided with an adequate voice in such matters and hope the Select Committee also gives due consideration to the experiences of Muslim women.
5. Although we have chosen certain questions to respond to directly, we have endeavoured to provide responses to the remainder of your queries within this Evidence.

Summary

1. Rather than attempting to define “British values”, it would be more productive to focus on the values universally shared across the globe and across different faiths and cultures, and promote these as part of our civic rights and responsibilities. These values are at risk of being undermined by both Far Right and Islamic extremists and it is vital that all such groups are challenged.
2. A key barrier to the civic engagement of British Muslims, particularly Muslim women, is the issue of discrimination and Islamophobia directed towards Muslims in the work place, in education, in the political arena as well as when trying to access housing and other public services.
3. There are also barriers arising from within sections of the British Muslim community due to patriarchal and misogynist views which need to be robustly challenged. Ensuring representation of Muslim women across all organisations and sectors, including within faith institutions such as mosques will promote diversity and inclusion of Muslim women in wider society, which will in turn promote a better integrated Britain.
4. Economic issues such as high tuition fees, the cost of childcare and the lack of flexible working hours can also act as barriers which need to be addressed.
5. Children and young adults should be encouraged to think critically about universal values and initiatives should be set up in school which reward civic engagement.
6. Role-modelling campaigns, such as our #AndMuslim campaign, can be utilised effectively in promoting social cohesion, integration and citizenship.
7. English proficiency is a key step towards empowerment and integration and should be encouraged. However it is noteworthy whilst some immigrants may have limited English language skills, it has not necessarily stopped their children from speaking English fluently nor impeded their children's successes, achievements and contributions to society. Moreover, it is important to also provide education and raise awareness of rights and responsibilities available to everyone as citizens so as to be able to truly empower and enable others.

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 citizenship of, for instance, women or various minority groups? If so, how can their citizenship be strengthened?

8. We have heard the term “British values” being used a number of times in recent years without, we submit, any true agreement on what these values entail. Ultimately all discussions in this regard point towards what we deem to be universal values, rather than strictly British, and which can be found in the majority of faiths and cultures.

These include but are not limited to: Rule of law, democracy, equality, social justice, respect, tolerance, community, compassion and individual liberty including freedom of choice.

9. In fact we would suggest that rather than trying to finalise a set of values that are labelled “British”, it would be more productive to focus on the values universally shared and promote these as part of our civic rights and responsibilities. This would have the effect of developing a sense of membership and belonging across all communities, and will also show that Britain is not an isolated country but one that is very much a part of a wider global community that promotes peace, harmony and social justice.
10. It is important to stress that promoting British citizenship should not mean imposing restrictions on individual liberties and human rights, unless they of course undermine human rights of others and the said universal values central to British society. A woman wearing the Niqab for example may be just as compassionate and respectful of universal values as a woman who does not. Instead of making some people feel that they cannot be “British” because of their outward appearances, we should praise them for the intrinsic, positive values they do hold.
11. From the perspective of British Muslims, the universal principles mentioned at para.6 above are also key to the Islamic faith. Islam teaches principles and values that are not dis-similar to what may be regarded as universal values, and which are held of importance in Britain. Islam promotes the principles of sovereignty of the rule of law of the state in which you reside, equality, justice, respect, tolerance and compassion, as well as citizenship and community spirit. All Muslims (including Muslim women) are encouraged to gain knowledge through education, empower themselves through employment and enterprise and make positive contributions to their communities, including taking care of the environment, being a good neighbour, carrying out charitable work or exercising their right to vote. As such, there is no conflict between Islamic values and those values which we believe are the cornerstones of British society.
12. Unfortunately, some Muslims in the UK have forgotten the true essence of Islam which is why we hear of gender inequalities, of intolerance and of barriers being placed which hinder engagement with civic society. A lot of misinformation can be found in some cross-sections of the British Muslim community. For example, some may believe that women do not have the right to vote whilst others are told that Muslims cannot participate in the democratic process of a non-Muslim majority society. Another example would be the misogynist notion that Muslim women should not enter the workplace, and do not even have a place at a mosque. These attitudes are a serious threat to the universal values which we believe are of importance to British society and need to be challenged.

13. However, we can utilise the messages of Islam to our advantage and remind British Muslims of the principles of their faith which will empower others to take steps to promote their participation in public life and strengthen their feelings of belonging and citizenship.
14. The other threat to these universal values come from Far Right extremists who promote hate and intolerance towards women and minority groups, and particularly towards British Muslims. Where there are some Muslims who feel they do not belong and therefore cannot engage in civic society, we have those on the Far Right telling them precisely that – that they are not citizens, that they should not be part of British society and that they do not belong. The intolerance shown by such groups makes some British Muslims, and indeed various other minority communities, feel that they can never truly belong even if they were born in UK, shared the pride and values of being British and made contributions to society both socially and economically. Many a times we have heard the phrase “back home” being used by for example, second and third generation British Asians to describe their parent or grandparents country of birth. Whilst we do not intend to police or dictate language or feelings and appreciate that the dynamics of every household can be different (and a person can in fact have dual citizenship), the point we make is that some individuals from minority groups are feeling disconnected from British society due to being made to feel unwelcome, and some are even feeling “state-less” in their minds because they feel they do not belong anywhere – they are not British enough in Britain and too British for the rest of the world.
15. It is ironic that Far Right extremists and Islamic extremists tend to share the same views and values on a number of matters; both these extremists agree FGM is an Islamic practice for example, which undermines all the hard work carried out by Anti-FGM activists who have endeavoured to stop FGM in some communities by highlighting that FGM is in fact against Islam. Or perhaps it is not ironic that those who threaten social cohesion and harmony agree with one another.
16. We can see from media reports that British Muslims, and particularly Muslim women who can be more visibly Muslim due to their attire, have been regularly subjected to violence and abuse at the hands of Far Right extremists and these are only the cases that have been reported. MWNUK are aware of many instances of anti-Muslim hate which are going unreported for various reasons, including a fear of reprisals and feeling that they will not be heard or given justice. Online abuse has also escalated. We are aware that some Muslim women are having to make compromises in a bid to ensure their safety; for example, some Muslim women have chosen to give up jobs where they were making great achievements and giving up chances of quick progression so that they may take up employment that is nearer to home and therefore will reduce their commute time, or will allow them to avoid certain routes where they feel they could be a target. That someone in Britain must choose between

their career and safety is abysmal and it goes without saying that such instances are clearly undermining civic engagement of Muslim women.

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?

17. A key barrier to active citizenship of British Muslims in public life is the discrimination and Islamophobia being experienced by them, and this is especially the case for British Muslim women.
18. We are aware that direct and indirect discrimination towards Muslim women in the workplace is very prevalent, as shown by the number of calls received by the MWN Helpline on such issues. However such discrimination is generally under-documented and under-reported, particularly in respect of Muslim women. This makes it difficult to reference research and statistics to highlight the extent of the issue involved. The Women & Equalities Committee did however find and report that Muslim women face triple discrimination in the workplace, as well as when trying to obtain employment, when they held an Inquiry early 2016 into the discrimination and barriers in employment for Muslim women⁵⁸⁰.
19. Muslim women have reported that there seem to be various stereotypes at play both in the interview process and during employment. There appears to be a presumption that they will get married and leave, or go on maternity leave and not be able to work as many hours or work as hard. These concerns are of course not limited to Muslim women only and can be shared by women of other faiths and ethnicities and on a general basis. However, it appears that the media representation of Muslim women as submissive and weak is a contributing factor for how Muslim women are treated. Like all individuals, Muslim women, and Muslims generally, also want to advance their careers and work in a healthy and safe environment; unfortunately this is seriously lacking in a number of sectors which needs to be addressed if we are truly committed to promoting civic engagement of all British Muslims.
20. It is important to remember that the burden of proof is on the employee to prove direct discrimination and it is not always easy to do so, and proving indirect discrimination is even more difficult. Even where employees have been able to cite clear examples of discrimination, they have reported how they are still disbelieved by co-workers which makes it even more difficult for them. Many feel unable to even discuss the issues they are facing in the workplace because of fear of further alienation and finding themselves penalised as a result.
21. Discrimination and Islamophobia is not only prevalent in the workplace but also in other areas, such as when trying to access housing and other public services. The rising

⁵⁸⁰ Please see following: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmwomeq/89/89.pdf>

hostility against Muslims has been fuelled by political rhetoric, media misrepresentation and a rise in right wing movements demonising the Muslim community. Such anti Muslim discourse has had an impact on the way Muslims in Britain are treated including in education, when accessing housing and other public services.

22. Muslim women may also have to contend with issues of misogyny and patriarchal attitudes from within the Muslim community and its institutions which impacts on their ability to participate fully in public life. It is deeply concerning for us to hear for example, of British Muslim women and girls being stopped from pursuing further education or employment, or stopped from even leaving their homes without a male chaperone, due to misogynist and patriarchal attitudes which have no place in Islam nor in British Society.
23. It is even more concerning when we hear such misogyny being advocated (or alternatively dismissed as a non-issue, or even silently condoned), by key institutions and individuals within the community.
24. We wish to highlight that in January 2016 we wrote a public letter of complaint to Birmingham Central Mosque due to the misogynistic attitudes displayed by their Chair and Trustee, which included being dismissive on the issues of forced marriage and domestic violence.⁵⁸¹ The following month we wrote to the Leader of the Labour party Jeremy Corbyn MP to complain of the systematic misogyny displayed by some Muslim male Labour Councillors, who have been marginalising and silencing the voices of Muslim women⁵⁸². It worries us that these are merely examples known to us which we have publicly challenged and that there may be many more such instances within the Muslim community which are going unchallenged, and Muslim women are being adversely affected as a result. It is imperative that such misogyny is robustly challenged so as to empower Muslim women to participate fully in British society. One such means of tackling such barriers is by ensuring that there is a representation of Muslim women across all organisations and sectors, including faith institutions.
25. We are also concerned by reports of girls as young as 5 years old wearing the headscarf to school. Whilst there is some debate as to whether wearing a headscarf is compulsory generally, there is absolute consensus over the point that young children are not required to wear a headscarf. Why then are parents allowing this to happen? How can we say that a 5 year old has understood the principles behind the hijab, understands the concept of modesty and is making an informed decision? Are we not sexualising young girls in this manner? We are aware of the case of a 22 year old woman for example, who began wearing the hijab at the age of 16, incidentally at the insistence of her then boyfriend and in a bid to prove to him that she would be “suitable” as a wife in the future. The relationship ended a long time ago and she no

⁵⁸¹ Our public letter can be found here: <http://www.mwnuk.co.uk/mediaStatmentDetail.php?id=155>

⁵⁸² Our public letter can be found here: <http://www.mwnuk.co.uk/mediaStatmentDetail.php?id=157>

longer wishes to wear a hijab but feels she will be judged for taking it off having put it on. Whilst of course many do wear the hijab out of choice, given that we know social stigma does exist, is it fair that a woman may feel compelled to continue wearing the hijab because of a decision made as a 5 year old?

26. Whilst we believe respect and tolerance are important universal values, we must not be wary of questioning practices which may act as a means of undermining equality and choice. In this regard we feel education in schools and colleges where open discussions can be had in respect of our universal values and civic engagement, including how different faiths practice these values, are imperative in developing critical thinking amongst children and young adults which will in turn empower them to challenge negative attitudes and become active citizens. However, we believe such education should go beyond the basic comparative exercises and look deeper. For example, when looking at Islam, discussions should be had on the different sects and differing practices and allow an evaluation of these practices with regard to the overarching Islamic principles and universal values.
27. We would also like to stress the importance of asking questions and promoting critical thinking amongst all citizens. Some individuals belonging to minority communities have made the point that their questioning of a policy or practice can lead to their commitment to UK and their level of "British-ness" being called into question, but this treatment is not meted out to their White British counterparts.
28. A further barrier can come in the form of the economic circumstances of the individual. Although this can be the case for all cross-sections of society and not just British Muslims, it still needs to be given due consideration as it can impact on the ability of Muslim women, and British Muslims generally, to participate fully in the social and economic life of British society. One issue for example, is the high tuition fees which can act as a deterrent to accessing further education. The cost of childcare can also act as a barrier for Muslim women who wish to pursue employment, especially if they are not on particularly high salaries. Whilst the government has put forward some proposals which will go towards addressing the issue for childcare costs for some, such as increasing the number of free childcare hours for children aged three and above from fifteen to thirty hours, there will still be a number of individuals for whom employment will not be cost-effective due to the costs of childcare.
29. An additional issue for Muslim women can be the lack of flexible working opportunities available, which can hinder Muslim women who may have caring or other responsibilities. In some cases, this may be as a result of unaccommodating family members, such as parents or in-laws, who expect the women to carry out certain responsibilities in the home without any compromise (such as cooking for the family) as a condition of being allowed to work. In other cases, the needs can be unavoidable such as caring for elderly parents, family members with disabilities or young children. Irrespective of the scenario however, it is apparent that flexible

working would assist Muslim women to be able to perform their other responsibilities whilst also being able to work, thus engaging fully with British society.

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?

30. We believe that citizenship and civic engagement go hand in hand with social cohesion and integration and it is pointless to look at one aspect whilst ignoring the other. We believe diversity in schools and workplaces is key to promoting integration and social cohesion and in turn citizenship and civic engagement. Citizenship ceremonies will achieve nothing if the citizens going through these ceremonies are not able to enter the workplace or get a bus without racist comments being made. It is for this reason that we feel it is essential that the barriers placed in front of Muslims and other minority communities, and particularly Muslim women, needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency. A sense of citizenship and civic responsibility can only be felt when individuals feel they are able to fully participate in British society, without fear of discrimination or abuse.
31. This can only be achieved when equality and diversity is met at all levels and across all sectors. This includes public bodies and faith institutions. In respect of mosques, 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. Perhaps more worrying is the fact that this mosque is also a registered charity and yet is being able to discriminate against women. Misogynist attitudes which believe Muslim women cannot be involved in such matters are precisely the issues that need to be strongly challenged and eradicated, as these beliefs are hindering integration, social cohesion and civic engagement.
32. Economic barriers mentioned above at para 28, such as high tuition fees, the cost of childcare or lack of flexible working opportunities should be considered and addressed so that they do not continue to hinder Muslim women from taking up opportunities that would help them participate fully in the social and economic life of British society.
33. We also submit that integration and social cohesion are not the responsibility of British Muslims and minority communities alone, but rather the responsibility of all citizens. Much has been said about British Muslims making up the majority of the population in some areas of the UK, with these areas being used as examples of a failure to integrate. However, choice of area can be due to a number of reasons including the financial circumstances of the individual, convenience in terms of access to a place of worship or having family in the same area. That does not mean that these individuals

are not integrating in their day to day lives, nor that living in an area not as populated by Muslims will aid integration. We need to address the real issues at hand and not be misdirected by perceptions.

34. Respect, tolerance, compassion and a community spirit needs to be shown by all and we clarify this point further in the following section.

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 in Britain? Could the naturalisation process, including the citizenship test, be improved and if so, how?

35. We agree that English proficiency is very important for enabling not only integration but also allowing individuals to access services and understand their legal rights and responsibilities. Language is a strong empowerment tool and all first and second generation immigrants should be encouraged to develop their English language skills. In this regard, we feel that individuals should be provided with the necessary support, not only in terms of funding, but also in terms of accessibility and encouragement. One Muslim woman told us that she had been learning English for a long time and whilst she was confident in her classes, she was scared of speaking English in public in case she was mocked or abused due to her accent or pronunciation. Just as immigrants should be encouraged to learn English, the rest of British society should show respect and encouragement when the same immigrants put their learning into practice.
36. It must also be noted that whilst some immigrants may have limited English language skills, it has not necessarily stopped their children from speaking English fluently nor impeded their children's successes and achievements and contributions to society.
37. We would also like to make the point that learning English alone is not sufficient to establish integration, social cohesion, citizenship or civic engagement. There are a number of Muslim women in UK who are fluent speakers of English, who were born, raised and educated in UK but who do not know of their legal rights. One example is in respect of registered and unregistered marriages; a number of Muslim women in UK have only entered into an Islamic marriage and it was only on breakdown of the relationship that they realised that their marriage is not legally recognised and that they do not have the same rights as a legally married spouse. It is important therefore to invest in education and awareness raising campaigns and strategies that enable citizenship and engagement by allowing individuals to better understand their rights and responsibilities.
38. We would also like to highlight that in some instances newcomers to Britain can in fact hold and practice universal values better than British citizens themselves. We are aware of cases where Muslim women have come to the UK on a spousal visa and wanted to obtain an education and employment and fully integrate into British society

and found that their British spouse refused to allow them to do so, and they have been forced to remain caged at home for fear of abuse or divorce and being sent back to their country of origin where they are likely to face stigma or even honour based violence.

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?

39. Despite the various barriers, there are many Muslims, and particularly many Muslim women who have achieved great successes and participated fully with public life in Britain. We can highlight examples of British Muslim women who are doctors, lawyers, teachers, accountants, academics and politicians to name a few. British Muslim women are a part of and contributing to all public and private sectors and this is a substantial asset which needs to be highlighted so as to promote integration and participation in public life. By emphasising the achievements and contributions of British Muslims, especially British Muslim women, we will be encouraging others to also have such aspirations and take steps to empower themselves which will in turn assist them to participate fully in the social and economic life of British society.
40. It is for this reason that we at Muslim Women's Network UK launched the #AndMuslim campaign in October 2016, with the aim of challenging the negative stereotypes of Muslim women who are often portrayed as victims, oppressed or linked to extremism⁵⁸³. Our campaign instead promotes the diversity of the female Muslim community in Britain and celebrates their successes, achievements and contributions. By doing so, we highlight how Muslim women are active contributors to Britain and how for many, their faith has been an important and enabling part of their identity, which has helped them to succeed. Such role-modelling campaigns not only encourage other Muslim women and girls to take a step towards fulfilling their dreams and ambitions, but also shows other communities within the UK that the British Muslim population is not segregated or the "other", but rather is a part and parcel of British society. By challenging the stereotypes and promoting the wide-ranging positive examples, we will be educating the wider community. This can then break down the barriers between communities and promote integration, understanding and harmony across British society. After all, integration is a two way street and does require participation from all individuals in society, not just British Muslims.
41. Role modelling and mentoring schemes are useful ways of tackling barriers to participation in public life and encourages Muslims, especially Muslim women and girls, to take the necessary steps towards furthering their education and careers.
42. In this regard we wish to focus on the impact of female and BME politicians on citizenship and civic engagement. We were very pleased to see a record number of

⁵⁸³ Please see our media statement for further details regarding our #AndMuslim campaign:
<http://www.mwnuk.co.uk/mediaStatmentDetail.php?id=171>

women MPs elected in the last general election, with not only included many female Muslim MPs but also Britain's first female Sikh MP. A natural consequence of diversity in the political arena is that women and individuals from minority groups feel better represented and therefore more able to engage with civic society. However, we are disappointed that despite making a formal complaint to Jeremy Corbyn MP and highlighting the systematic misogyny displayed by some Muslim male Labour Councillors who have been marginalising and silencing the voices of Muslim women (as mentioned at para. 24 of this Evidence) we are still receiving accounts from Muslim women who are facing the same hurdles we complained of. It is very disappointing that our complaints raised last year have not been addressed and would like to make the point that it is important to allow active engagement with civic society at all levels. Whilst the number of female and minority MPs elected is a positive achievement, this does not excuse the hurdles being placed at Councillor level. On this note we would like to clarify that we only mention the Labour party as the complaints made to us related to them, but we fully expect all political parties to carry out investigations in this respect and address any issues which are uncovered within their own party and its procedures.

43. A further point we wish to make in respect of female and BME politicians relates to the online abuse and 'smear' campaigns that many have been and continue to be subjected to. Whilst the MPs in question have bravely carried, seeing such harassment and online abuse can be discouraging for the wider public. If we want to promote civic engagement, we must make individuals feel it is safe to engage.
44. Whilst we do not consider citizenship ceremonies themselves necessary, we do believe there is merit in rewarding those making positive contributions to civic society and such initiatives should begin at an early age from school to highlight the importance of making positive contributions to society – including respecting diversity, helping the community and showing compassion to those in need.
45. We would also like to make the point that initiatives proposed to promote integration or civic engagement can intentionally or unintentionally ignore those with disabilities, particular with the focus on making "active" contributions. Those with disabilities should not be made to feel that they are lesser citizens in any way.

Final Comments

46. As a point of clarification, we must explain that our comments and examples have been limited to Muslim women due to the nature of our organisation and its work. As a national Muslim women's charity our work predominantly deals with Muslim and BME women albeit we also work with individuals of other faiths and are therefore also aware of issues of relevance to other faith and non-faith communities. We are also aware that some of the issues experienced by Muslim women can also be experienced by Muslim men. In turn we wish to clarify that although we may make

recommendations in respect of Muslim women, we do not intend for such recommendations to apply only to Muslim women but rather to all those within wider society who may be affected and who may benefit from such recommendations.

47. We are open and inclusive and seek to promote equality and diversity for all individuals irrespective of their gender, race, ethnicity, faith, sexuality, age, disability etc., and hope that all sectors can develop an environment that is healthy, safe and harmonious for all.
48. Our case studies are anonymised for the safety and protection of those involved. Some cases however may have come to us anonymously and remained as such throughout our involvement.
49. MWNUK would like to express its willingness to assist through research, training, support, information or advice or any other means which would assist in removing barriers to integration and which will allow Muslim women to exercise their rights and choices, and participate socially and economically into British society.
50. We would like to thank the House of Lords Select Committee for holding an inquiry into citizenship and civic engagement. We also thank you for providing us with the opportunity to give Evidence and hope that it proves to be helpful in your considerations.

**On behalf of Muslim Women's Network UK,
Nazmin Akthar-Sheikh
Vice-Chair**

MutualGain – written evidence (CCE0146)

Q1.1. What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st Century?

1. MutualGain thinks about citizenship as *relationships* and *behaviours*: how we connect diverse and disparate or conflicting values and behaviours in communities is fundamental to citizenship in a modern democracy.
2. The MutualGain social purpose is to: *“empower organisations and communities to reconnect in the social space that lies between the state and the individual. Ultimately, we aim to promote greater participation and active citizenship within our democracy and increase social capital, for the mutual benefit of all.*
3. Citizenship for us is about creating spaces for meaningful dialogue and collaborative responsibilities - it goes beyond a managerial or corporate model of engagement (where a token representative or two sits on advisory boards or service user groups) to a model which culminates in increased social capital.
4. Our work has an evidence base that proves social capital can reduce crime (31% reduction in Victim Crime), ASB (22% reduction) and the fear of crime: <https://www.mutualgain.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/EIP-Handout.pdf>. The indicators used to measure social capital here were trust, information sharing, and vision: all important characteristics of an open and strong society that has strong deliberative participation in place to mitigate perceptions of ‘the other’.
5. We like the following definition of deliberative civic engagement:
 - a. Deliberative: when people *“carefully examine a problem and arrive at a well—reasoned solution after a period of inclusive, respectful consideration of diverse points of view.”*
 - b. *Civic Engagement: to make a difference in the civic life of our communities... In short, civic engagement involves forging connections “among citizens, issues, institutions, and the political system. It implies voice and agency, a feeling of power and effectiveness, with real opportunities to have a say. It implies active participation, with real opportunities to make a difference.”*
6. The capacity to think, listen and learn together is encouraged in those spaces enabling individuals to learn about 'the other' and connect the similarities of their lived experiences: Citizenship builds cumulative knowledge and practice within a seemingly fragmented public sphere.
7. For this to happen effectively the statutory agencies must see the moral imperative to enable this and go beyond surveys, initiatives and projects to a genuinely co-laborative

social space (Ritchie, 2015 - https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007%2F978-3-319-16568-4_5)

Q1.2. Why Does it Matter?

8. **It is essential for excellent public services, and social responsibility:** The myth that some elements of the public are “hard to reach” or ‘seldom heard’ must cease. In practice, it is our public sector that has become increasingly hard to reach resulting in citizens rarely able to meaningfully engage with local and national decision makers.
9. The public care just as much about public services as public servants do, and want to keep them strong for the most vulnerable in society at the very least, and strong for a wider social well-being. But the public are so often not afforded meaningful engagement to enable a different way of thinking and doing together.
10. Public sector agencies regularly seem to still deny the value in debating controversial issues: they seem scared they'll come under attack in the debates. Instead, they offer reassurance that the ‘lessons will be learned’ from each error of judgement that they make, with a few selected individuals or groups. This has proved to be unsatisfactory to the public.
11. Large scale transformation requires those who serve us to initiate and listen to the unpopular points of view even when it feels uncomfortable. The public don’t want reassurance, they want service. To serve you must listen. In the absence of meaningful dialogue and a commitment to build on the strengths and assets in communities, public services risk missing the very ideas that will lead to transformation.
12. **Democracy is naturally difficult: let’s not shy away from democratic debate.**
MutualGain is working to create a centre ground; a democratic space to share thoughts and ideas in an open and honest way. The centre ground that enables the extremes of left and right and everything in between to be discussed within a liberal framework that we used to hold dear. We must not shy away from democratic debate.

13. Declining Trust in Public Institutions and Politicians.

Putnam’s work emphasises the need for a high degree of trust, mutual respect, and an expectation that individuals will gain from putting their labour into citizenship (NHS Citizen Report on Citizenship). The founding father of social capital theory (Pierre Bourdieu) argued that a sense of obligation was essential in building that capital.

14. Obligation from the public sector to act on what they hear, and obligation on the citizens to engage with genuine offers of dialogue facilitated by the state has almost diminished – both need refreshing with strong incentives and accompanying tools for practice enhanced qualitative debate and deliberation.

15. Ritchie (2015) lists a plethora of ways in which the public could currently engage with public services, and how the government has attempted to strengthen the connection between state and individual, but she highlights the shortcomings of what are essentially communication tools or more of the same (representatives), rather than tools that encourage mutual respect and/or greater trust in each other.
16. Activism and campaigning, whether on a local or national level, are essentially oppositionist ways of engaging in citizenship. Campaigning can be a sign of citizens demonstrating their lack of trust in existing engagement structures such as their elected officials, and taking direct action in lieu of action by those who are employed to represent them. It must come as some concern that between 2014/15 and 2015/16 there was a reduction in the percentage of persons being involved in at least one social action project in their community (Community Life Survey, Cabinet Office).
17. We would suggest that this is not an indicator of increased trust in elected officials, but a decrease in the perception of impact people feel campaigning will have upon decisions made in their local community, and therefore the ability they have to influence decision making at a local level.

How does it relate to questions of identity?

18. There is a legal duty on our public sector to ensure that they do not discriminate across a range of protected characteristics. To enable them to do this well they need to better understand the impact of their policies and practice on those communities. Deliberative Civic Engagement is a core characteristic of a modern democracy.
19. "The emergence of publics depends upon objects (issues), subjects (actors) and mediums (means) of publicness." The issues, actors and ways to engage in democracy will vary according to the identities that we align ourselves to. Building the knowledge, skills and behaviours to empower different identities to be valued is an essential role of government and their associated agencies.
20. Nabachi argues that "developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values, and motivation to make that difference...means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and nonpolitical processes."
21. Gehring lists some of the benefits of increased knowledge gained through strong civic engagement:
 - a. citizens learn more about civic affairs
 - b. more likely to support the core values of democratic self-government, starting with tolerance
 - c. more likely to participate in civic and political affairs.

- d. more readily and accurately connect with and defend our interests in the political process.
22. The new knowledge we gain can be used effectively *only* if we are able to integrate it into an existing framework. (Gehring), strengthening the argument that all public services must democratise their decision-making processes.
23. The important role of government today is to create the spaces for diverse identities to come together and explore their differences and similarities and to realise their capacity to generate change together. Deliberative civic engagement can alter and change opinion on specific issues: the more civic knowledge people have, the less likely they are to fear other points of view or practices.
24. Active Citizenship strengthened through deliberative participation can help shift stereotypes and fear, and enable differences to be valued and similarities shared across the citizenry and publics within a democracy. The process of active citizenship involves the strengthening of a range of skills and competencies which can change social norms of engagement within democracies (RSA, 2012).

Q2: Citizenship is partly about membership and belonging.

25. Are there ways we could strengthen people's identity as citizens, whether they are citizens by birth or naturalisation?

There is evidence that when there are higher levels of social capital, people feel an increased sense of identity and belonging (ONS, 2001, p.8 and 20). As a result, people's identity as citizens might be strengthened by building social capital and promoting social interaction within communities (Koole, 2010, p.242).

26. According to Colls (2012, p.6), people need a reason to identify as a citizen of a nation. By promoting the benefits of social interaction and social capital to citizens – where they experience lower crime rates, better health and better educational attainment (ONS, 2001, p.7) – people might be more likely to identify as a citizen. While national identity cannot be invented by governments (Colls, 2012, p.6), it might be nurtured indirectly through this method of building social capital.

27. Could citizenship ceremonies or events throughout the educational process play a role?

As mentioned above, if people feel the benefits of increased social capital they might feel a stronger sense of identity. Citizenship ceremonies and the educational process could potentially be used to inform people of the advantages of social capital and active citizenship. However, given that identities are complex (Gilchrist et al., 2010, p.8) they may require time to develop naturally, rather than through top-down education.

28. Should pride in being or becoming British be encouraged?

Identities are multi-faceted and operate on different levels of community, from neighbourhood level to cities, nations and even transnationally (Gilchrist et al., 2010, p.8). Given that most people operate in multiple communities, most people maintain multiple identities (Timms, 2002, p.2). Subsequently, it must be recognised that ‘British’ might not be people’s primary identity and rather that citizens might mediate between multiple identities.

29. Openly encouraging people to be proud of being or becoming British is potentially imprudent. Some people may not welcome such attempts and some may choose not to identify themselves as being ‘British’ especially in the context of people’s places of origin, where there might be conflicting senses of identity.

30. It might be better to encourage people to be proud of being a ‘good’ citizen or a ‘good’ neighbour, regardless of being British. Is it really an issue if people feel more pride in living as a citizen of a particular city neighbourhood than being a British citizen?

Q3. 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?

31. Question three seeks to address how rights and responsibilities of citizens and organisations should be presented, as reciprocal duties or as statute? It is arguable however that this is the wrong question to be asking, rather the question should centre around how to clarify and make clear rights and responsibilities to both citizens and organisations, as there is little point in creating more rights and responsibilities, if people are unaware of their own rights and responsibilities in the first place.

32. We should look to create legislation like Scotland’s Community Empowerment Act 2015⁵⁸⁴: to have an overhaul of the current principles and legislation surrounding civic engagement and compile it into a concise piece of legislation. This is especially important in a time of austerity where communities’ trust in government organisations to act on their behalf and to make a difference is particularly low. This feeling of disappointment influences citizen behaviour and results in apathy and a feeling of “what’s the point?”. An Empowerment Act and the associated practice could help bring rights and responsibilities to life if it goes beyond a communication tool.

Q7. How can society support civic engagement?

33. From the point of view of **Central Government**, they could follow the example of the Scottish Government by requiring Local Authorities to commit 1% of their budgets to Participatory Budgeting. This encourages active citizenship, democracy, budget literacy

⁵⁸⁴ <http://www.lexisnexis-com.sheffield.idm.oclc.org/uk/legal/results/enhdisplayunit.do?level=2&linkValue=0&docViewState=default>

and dialogue at a local level. Some thoughts here: <https://www.mutualgain.org/2nd-generation-participatory-budgeting-reflections-mainstreaming-public-participation/>

34. **Local Agencies (police, CCGs, Councils, Housing Associations) etc.** could commit to small Grant funded Participatory Budgeting (PB) processes to initiate interest in the way places develop, for instance, by focusing on a geographical area (see our work in London, Midlands, North East and North West, and the work of the PB Network across the UK - <https://pbnetwork.org.uk>)
35. PB can also be undertaken on a thematic basis such as public health - <https://www.mutualgain.org/huge-success-cheshire-east-participatory-budgeting-process/>, or Serious and Organised Crime (<https://www.mutualgain.org/pccs-innovation-innovating-better-community-engagement/>), and hate - <https://www.mutualgain.org/blog-workshop-potential-pb-support-community-safety/>
36. On each of the above occasions active citizenship was promoted, communities connected, and hundreds of positive community projects supported.
37. This demonstrates society becoming involved in civic engagement. Not only do communities bid and vote for their preferred ideas, they are involved in subsequent evaluation, thereby ensuring that their civic engagement becomes a golden thread from start to finish.

Delivered in accordance with the principles of PB, the results can include can include increased social efficacy, better health and wellbeing, reduced fear of crime and anti-social behaviour, and subsequently reduce dependency on services as communities create powerful networks through increased social capital.

38. The responsibility lies with central government and local government to be enablers of civic engagement. While we have some evidence of this happening, we also have evidence of elected officials, public servants, and Voluntary and Community organisations acting as gate keepers, preventing support for organisations to access communities, and disrupting a democratic process to meet their own needs
39. Poor training and guidance available to public sector engagement practitioners does not aid the resolution of these barriers. Many individuals we work with whose role is to engage with citizens tell us they have received no formal training in engagement theory of methods, and are expected to copy practice from other areas without the ability to maximise the effectiveness of the engagement by understanding the theory behind it. Better training, including formal accredited learning opportunities, would undoubtedly increase the quality of engagement. Our new level 4 qualification, *Building Social Capital through Community Engagement* seeks to develop engagement skills in practitioners whose organisations understand that the skills required to deliver high quality engagement are not innate and are worthy of proper development (Fisher and Ritchie,

2015 - <https://academic.oup.com/policing/article-abstract/9/1/101/1529727/A-Functional-Shift-Building-a-New-Model-of>

40. Community assets are in abundance in all communities but often go untapped. Statutory agencies are missing opportunities to connect and build stronger democracies using different tools. We have a plethora of examples of how this can be done with some of the most disengaged communities in our society.

Q9. 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?

41. Our experience continues to demonstrate that it is not true that apathy is a barrier to communities engaging effectively and participating as active citizens. Research such as that from Ipsos MORI and Consumer Focus, 2012 (cited in INVOLVE/RSA, 2013) demonstrate that this is a myth, and that greater opportunities for citizens to engage would be welcomed if offered at a level which allows them to engage at a convenient time and place.

42. Learning more about all communities is an excellent starting point for our public services and wider public: it helps to reduce fear and strengthens cohesion. We have legislation in place to ensure people think about protected characteristics, and when consultation is disingenuous, we have an increasingly used judicial review process. More processes of challenge are not the issue in our experience; the challenge lies in ensuring local bodies conduct equalities assessments beyond a desk based review and a few focus groups, and instead embark on continual deliberative engagement.

43. One of the biggest barriers to active citizenship in the form of engagement is the ineffectiveness of engagement and consultation currently run by statutory organisations, such as local councils, NHS or police services: Citizens question why they should participate as it ‘makes no difference’ and that the organisation involved ‘never listen anyway’.

44. There is a consistent observable problem that organisations who engage with citizens fail to share (beyond a website) the results of their engagement in a way that allows citizens to understand how their input was used and how it effected the decision ultimately made.

45. At a local level we use a simple formula for our engagement:

- a. Establish your purpose for engagement
- b. Be aspirational with your target audience (beyond the already civic minded in some cases)
- c. Understand what might incentivise those who you want to mobilise

- d. Create a process which is a positive listening experience
 - e. Use strengths based techniques to engage whenever possible
 - f. Decide and Act together
 - g. Continue the relationship beyond an 'event' to create sustainable positive outcomes
46. Many groups - BME communities and young people in particular - experience feeling 'left behind' or marginalised due to shortcomings of engagement processes outlined above (and can be better understood in this paper – https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007%2F978-3-319-16568-4_5)
47. Our communities want to discuss issues that are important to them, and current engagement doesn't address those issues (BREXIT, Radicalisation, Poverty, Housing etc). Many communities are strong and cohesive but their strength can be treated with fear by public services which leads to an inability to connect and debate with them.
48. Some communities might bond by poverty, race, lack of hope, housing tenure or social class and when this is not addressed by agencies/government departments it emphasises the gap between them and the State, and mistrust of the state.
49. BME young people that we work with are most conscious of the negative engagement they have with the police. We know that young black boys are more likely to be stopped and searched, arrested, charged with criminal offences, and imprisoned. The narrative around this can often lead to a lack of legitimacy of the police service and their feeling of exclusion can often be exaggerated in their wider exclusion from society.
50. The Home Office conducted 33 reviews of Gangs and Youth Violence across England. Three of our team were heavily involved in those, with one associate leading the national team. We learned that the weakest pillar of that work in local areas was 'Mobilising the Community'. At its best we found authorities working productively with a select few young people to help them exit gangs, but at worst local activity was focused just on establishing some written documentation, and few resources/willingness to do anything. We didn't find large scale deliberation amongst communities being used to help develop strategies and interventions in collaboration with the wider community (beyond the young people or specific parents) which limits the realms of possibilities at a local and national level.
51. Parents of young people cry out for help but are ignored: the circumstances that they find themselves in often require agencies and support beyond policing but instead they find themselves alone. Mobilising communities must include the mobilisation of public services as well as wider (non gang or violence related) communities. Helping each other rather than the hatred that is sometimes seen on the streets must be our aim as we experience greater levels of violent crime. This requires the police to facilitate a

different dialogue with their partners and the community if communities are not to be 'left behind'

52. Greater deliberation (and associated action) can help address claims of disproportionate and racist Policing approaches and erase lines that are often drawn between citizen and state. But it has to be genuine passion and curiosity that drives the deliberation and a willingness to hear unpopular points of view.
53. Improved engagement with citizens more broadly, requires a change in the relationships held with communities across every sector. Earlier, this inquiry asks if schools should be made to deliver citizenship education. The 2005 EPPI systematic review of citizenship and student learning could be easily lifted and applied twelve years later https://eppi.ioe.ac.uk/cms/Portals/0/PDF%20reviews%20and%20summaries/cit_rv2.pdf?ver=2006-03-02-124744-420
54. Public services should demonstrate citizenship through their actions and change the way they engage with marginalised communities specifically young people. Active Citizenship is something that is practised not preached.
55. Improving and delivering civic engagement requires the reframing of community engagement so that activity leads to increased social capital by using more meaningful listening techniques, and collaborative action planning with shared power and responsibility. Only by understanding what incentivises specific communities to engage, and facilitating debate and dialogue on tricky topics are we likely to see greater levels of citizenship and reduced levels of marginalisation.
56. We know this can make a difference in society and we know there are many public servants who want to do this - they must be enabled to take this to scale and mainstream their learning beyond projects and in a way that is community led.

8 September 2017

Dr Andrew Mycock – written evidence (CCE0247)

1.1) Citizenship in the UK has undergone significant change due to a complex range of factors which relate to the overwhelming scale and pace of change during early years of the 21st century. From the local to the global, we have witnessed a rapid transformation of many social, economic, and political norms which defined post-war 20th century citizenship in the UK. British society has been demographically transformed through (internal and external) migration, enhancing social and cultural diversity and plurality but also stimulating intense and sometimes febrile debate about established forms of national and other cultural, ethnic, and civic identities. Moreover, the effects of the financial crises of the early 21st century have stimulated widespread concerns related to economic and social exclusion and inequality. Governmental programmes of austerity imposed as a response the financial crash of 2008 has seen a significant scaling back in the functions and resources of the state, thus diminishing its role and resonance in underpinning a uniform sense of British citizenship and identity.

1.2) As part of its governmental brief, the Youth Citizenship Commission also sought to address the question of what citizenship means in its final report. It concluded that people of all ages do not identify with the concept of citizenship. The report went to note ‘When we say citizenship we mean both a person’s membership in a political community and the rights, privileges and responsibilities associated with that. For the YCC, citizenship includes the activities that individuals undertake for the benefit of their community. This includes activities like political engagement, public service, volunteering and participation’. The YCC concluded that being a citizen is not a passive role. As such, it is vitally important that young people in particular are involved in politics, so they can share ideas, contribute to change and build skills and attitudes that are important in future life.

2.1) The Youth Citizenship Commission recommended that all schools should host a statutory ‘Citizenship Ceremony’ for Year 11 students in secondary schools across the UK at the end of the school year as this is the age when most young people reach the age of 16 and thus are able to sign on the electoral register. It was proposed which is attended by local and national politicians and other members of the community and could be hosted at the school or town hall. This ceremony would involve registering on the electoral roll and link to National Citizen Service and other youth social activism programmes. It was recommended that a nationally-recognised citizenship award should be established to acknowledge youth participation and social activism of young people in their schools and local communities. It was also recommended that this ‘Citizenship Ceremony’ should celebrate and welcome new British citizens and also incorporate other events linked to Local Democracy week. This would require the Local Government Association consenting to move Local Democracy Week from its current date in the autumn.

3.1) Successive UK governments over the past two decades or so have drawn communitarian thinking as they have endeavoured to (re-)establish a balance both between rights and responsibilities and between individuality and community. Concerns about the extent to which the prioritisation of individualism has encouraged social atomisation and declining levels of social capital have encouraged greater policy focus on enhancing connections between individuals and their communities. A communitarian perspective recognises that the preservation of individual liberty depends on the active maintenance of the institutions of civil society where citizens acquire understanding of their personal and civic responsibilities, along with an appreciation of their rights and the rights of others.

3.2) There has however been a shift towards neo-liberal manifestations of citizenship whereby responsibilities of citizens have been prioritised before their accordant rights. Young people in particular have experience the implications of this recalibration of citizenship, with a significant number of social, educational, and welfare rights enjoyed by previous generations now conditional, scaled back, or withdrawn completely. The realignment of citizenship highlights the extent to which younger citizens are expected to embrace differentiated and diminished rights while having to fulfil more responsibilities. Beyond important questions about inter-generational fairness – which are outside the scope of this submission – this shift has encouraged more pessimistic attitudes amongst young people about citizenship and the state.

3.3) There is need for the commission to undertake a thorough review of the rights and responsibilities of youth citizenship which should form the basis of a universal Bill of Rights. Young people should be consulted about the terms of citizenship as part of this review. Moreover such review should consider the relationship between established age thresholds for different legal responsibilities, many of which represent important transition points in life, for coherence, justification, relevance and public acceptability and associated age of accrument of the rights of citizenship for young people (see also response to Question 4 with regards to lowering the voting age).

4.1) The potential to lowering the voting age to 16 has proven an increasingly prominent feature of British politics, reflecting anxieties amongst politicians, academics and other commentators about rising levels of political disengagement amongst young people. Most political parties in the UK now support 'votes-at-16', as do an increasing number of youth-focused and democratic reform non-governmental organisations. The case for a universal lowering of the voting age was further strengthened by the extension of the franchise to 16 and 17 year-olds in the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, when 75 per cent exercised their new democratic right. The UK government subsequently empowered the Scottish Parliament to lower the voting age for its elections and those to local councils. The Wales Act 2017 devolves authority to the Welsh Assembly for lowering the voting age to 16 for local and sub-state national elections. Non-unionist elected representatives in the Northern Ireland Assembly support voting age reform. Some metro-mayors and local councils have also called for powers to be devolved to lower the voting age for combined

and local authority elections within England. The commission should this review the impact of asymmetries in voting age across the UK.

4.2) There is widespread acceptance that voting appears to be habit-forming. However the extent exercising this democratic right earlier in life might increase election turnout and deepen civic commitment to voting in subsequent elections is uncertain. Evidence from Scotland and Austria would suggest the lowering the voting does increase the interest and engagement of 16 and 17 year-olds in politics. However turnout of enfranchised under-18s has proven consistently lower than the median turnout. Moreover, the argument that lowering voting age encourages a life-long voting habit is challenged by the significant decline in the turnout of Scottish 16 and 17 year-olds in subsequent national and local elections in 2016 and 2017, where less than 50% voted.

4.3) Proponents of 'votes at 16' regularly cite issues of the accrual of significant rights at that age as support for the right to vote. Such claims are open to contention in terms of universality across the UK and overlook a wider age inconsistencies with regards to citizenship rights. The Youth Citizenship Commission undertook an audit of the ages of responsibility and noted successive governments had encouraged an upward trajectory. For example, young people between the ages of 16 and 18 are now they compelled to continue in education or training, a state-imposed restriction not applicable to older citizens. It appears rather at odds to deny potential young voters unfettered access to the rights and freedoms of full citizenship but argue they are politically mature enough to vote. Voting age reform enfranchising 16 and 17 year-olds would mean they are granted a significant political right, but may still be unable to realize the full array of rights available to older citizens. This draws attention to the possibility that a 'two-tier' citizenship might have implications for inter- and intra- generational cohesion of the electorate, particularly if voters disagree on the necessity or desirability of the stratified terms of full citizenship.

4.4) The points raised above do not preclude the possibility of lowering the voting age at some point in the future. There is though a need to consider issues of voting age reform within a wider lens that consider its implications for the framing of youth and adult citizenship. Moreover, the enhancement of youth political engagement to encourage life-long modes of participation requires a more sophisticated review of the quality as well as the quantity of participation. Supporters of 'votes at 16' rightly seek to enhance our democracy but fail to acknowledge that focus on the reform of the franchise places the responsibility for decline in democratic participation squarely on the shoulders of the electorate. The detrimental impact of an under-reformed political system and culture that has become increasingly insular, self-selecting, and unrepresentative is clearly a significant contribution to political disengagement.

4.5) Compulsory voting has been suggested as one way to arrest the decline in voter turnout, particularly amongst young people. Again, it is argued that voting (and by implication, non-voting) is habit-forming. As such, compulsory voting would encourage life-

long participation while also addressing inter-generational inequalities in electoral participation by enhancing the political resonance of groups who typically vote in fewer numbers (particularly young and poorer voters). Politicians, political parties and future governments would thus engage with and develop policies on a par with those of groups who vote more frequently. However the introduction of compulsory voting would once again indicate that it is the attitudes and behaviours of citizens that requires modification rather than a reform of the political system and its democratic institutions to make them more accessible and significant. Moreover, compelling citizens to vote who have little or no interest in mainstream electoral politics or affinity with the parties on offer may well serious detrimental implications for the health of our democratic system. Forcing citizens to vote could encourage resentment of the established parties or a propensity to vote for extremists or antidemocratic parties. Suggestions that young people should be compelled to vote in their first eligible elections, similarly seek to address the symptoms not the causes of youth political disengagement.

4.6) Other initiatives should however be consider such as greater use of technology such as online voting which would allow people to vote more easily. There are legitimate concerns about data safety and propriety which would need to be addressed. It is however remarkable that in an era where we use online resources to undertake financial transactions and participate in elections for political party leadership and trade union votes on industrial action, we are not exploring with greater urgency the potential of online voting. Consideration should also be given to allowing citizens to vote early in polling stations located in public areas such as shopping centres, post offices, further and higher education campuses, and transport exchanges. Such a system exists in New Zealand and allows citizens to vote up to two weeks prior to the election date. The potential that citizens should be allowed outside of their own constituencies should also be considered (again as in New Zealand). Finally, consideration should be given to the timing of election dates. It was noteworthy the youth turnout in the 2017 general election rose significantly. It is possible that this was partially attributed to the election day being in June rather than May. This meant that young students were not burdened with end of year assessment commitments or in transition from university to home.

4.7) One of the most important recommendations of the YCC was that compulsory electoral registration of young people ought to be undertaken by schools or colleges. The switch from household to individual registration has proven successful in terms of changing practice to changing social values and cases of electoral fraud. But 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 current government initiatives has placed electoral registration responsibilities on overstretched and underfunded local authorities. With regards to young people, youth-

focused social enterprises have been funded to work with schools, colleges and universities to expand the electoral register. Registration opportunities are not however universally available, being inconsistent in schools, colleges, and universities and often engaging with young people not in formal or higher education. The issue is not with individual registration per se. Australia has used individual voter registration for some time and its works on the straight-forward principle that once registered, voters stay on the register. This achieved by cross-referencing multiple databases if they move address. Electoral registration ought to be compulsory, in the same manner in which the registration of births, marriages or deaths, or the completion of a census form, is required. Information is available via National Insurance data and would provide a comprehensive and universal solution to the issue. Government could then invest funding currently allocated to registration to maintaining the register via monitoring databases as in Australia. Voluntarism in the electoral process should be confined to the decision whether or not to vote, but should not underpin the composition of the electoral register.

5.1) Citizenship education should be understood as a central of a programme of civic engagement across the UK (though it is questionable as to whether this should support 'good citizenship' as this introduces value and judgements that might limit the terms and appeal of citizenship to young people. Citizenship education should seek to encourage progressive and critical forms of citizenship amongst young people not merely replicate the norms of current and previous generations of citizens. This does not however discount the idea that the civic and the civil should be linked to connections between rights, duties and obligations that encourages socially acceptable behaviour, volunteering and active citizenship via political participation. Citizenship education should be a compulsory element of primary and secondary education across the UK. Citizenship education opportunities to learn, engage, and participate in democratic politics and social activism should also be available to all further and higher education students. Thought should also be given to how such opportunities could be made available to young people in the workplace who enter the workplace after their statutory period of education.

5.2) The original aims and outcomes of citizenship education as outlined in the 'Crick Report' of 1998 insisted one of its key roles must be to challenge the 'inexcusably and damagingly bad' levels of political literacy and participation. As such, citizenship education was introduced in England as a statutory subject to make young people 'feel that they have a stake in our society and the community in which they live by teaching them the nature of democracy'. There is a need, as the Youth Citizenship Commission noted in 2009, to restate of the importance of political literacy by placing knowledge of our political system at the heart of the citizenship curriculum. This should complement development of positives attitudes to and experience of social activism amongst young people both in schools and locals communities.

5.3) There is considerable evidence of efficacy of citizenship education in promoting democratic participation and civil engagement amongst young people. However a narrative

has emerged recently that suggests that politics is not taught in schools and that ‘political education’ thus needs to be introduced. This is not helpful as it both diminishes the extensive evidence of good practice in many schools and the overlooks the expertise and contribution of the many talented citizenship and politics educators. There is no need to introduce a programme ‘political education’ in schools in England – it already exists via citizenship education. There is however need to fund its development through the provision of appropriate resources to train in-service teachers and bring through the next generation of civic educators. Furthermore, the UK and devolved governments need to support the development of their respective school curricula to ensure that sufficient emphasis and space is provided for citizenship education which embodies a significant political education element. Recent reforms of the curriculum appear however to prioritise social and economic citizenship.

5.4) There is a more pressing and fundamental question which the committee should address with regards purpose of citizenship education. The introduction of citizenship education within the English national curriculum was undertaken on the basis of 'light touch' framework which encouraged discrete and cross-curriculum approaches to develop. This has proven somewhat confusing and there is need to provide more certainty as to the form in which schools should deliver citizenship education. Critical to this issue is the extent to which citizenship education is seen as an academic subject, with appropriate assessment and qualifications, or a programme of youth socialisation. The suitability of citizenship to be tested and assessed should be considered, as its relationship with the AS and A-Level Government and Politics. In the absence of a Politics GCSE, much rests upon the efficient delivery of citizenship classes infused with a mission to deliver political education.

6.1) The final report of the Youth Citizenship Commission considered the potential to introduce a national civic service programme. It was noted that although the concept of the ‘Big Society’ had had some difficulties gaining traction, its outworking in terms of youth engagement in the form of National Citizen Service (NCS) was significant and should be supported. It did however draw attention to the limitations of civic service programmes, encouraging some recognition of international comparisons. The Cabinet Office established National Citizen Service (NCS) programme in 2011 without acknowledging these concerns. The programme is now delivered at three points during year in varying formats and in the past six years, 300,000 young people have participated (93,000 in 2016). The intended aim is to expand the programme to 360,000 participants by 2020-1 (55% increase from 2016).

6.2) But although the government targets for the expansion of NCS are admirably optimistic, recruitment has failed to meet targets set during each year the programme has run so far. Moreover high drop-out rates during programme persist. NCS has expanded considerably but lacks universality in opportunities for young people to participate both in England and Northern Ireland, where the programme runs, and in Scotland and Wales, where it does not. Moreover, concerns regarding cost (£1,863 per participant in 2016) and value for money of programme, raised by a number of government reviews, persist without any apparent

action to address them. Weaknesses in governance and cost control are compounded by the programme's heavily reliance on small number of providers. National Citizen Service Act passed by Westminster in 2017 has introduced a duty for local authorities and schools to promote NCS without any apparent consideration for the potential impact on existing – and proven – local and national programmes.

6.3) Moreover, the claims regarding its long-term impacts on youth citizenship are simply not sustainable on current evidence. External evaluations indicate positive (short-term) effect on participants in terms of self-esteem, pro-social attitudes and behaviours, and transitions to adulthood. However there are strong concerns that the programme appeals largely to those young people who are all-ready engaged, thus limiting its wider impact. Moreover the expansion of NCS appears to be largely politically-driven and is not fully evidence-based. Evaluation of the programme has focused on the self-reported impacts of yearly cohorts without any longitudinal analysis of its impacts or effects over a period of time. It is concerning that the programme has been expanded without any surety of its long-term success and such an approach has been adopted at a time when many other proven national and local youth citizenship programmes have had their funding reduced or removed entirely.

6.4) There is an urgent need to address concerns regarding expansion of programme and its remit and purpose. Before the programme is further expanded, there is need to develop a longitudinal evaluation of programme to assess its efficacy and encourage strategic approach to civic service learning. There is need to also encourage innovation in programme model and delivery which empowers providers and encourages localism. The commission should consider the potential of devolving delivery of the programme within England to city-regions and local authorities, thus allowing them to blend NCS with other youth social activism and democratic participation programmes. There is also a need to improve links and connectivities with citizenship education provision in schools and colleges and enhance post-NCS alumni programmes in further and higher education and workplaces. Finally, the commission should consider the introduction of NCS as part of Life in the UK citizenship programme for new young citizens.

7.1) There exists in the UK a mature networks of youth representation across the UK (in schools, colleges, high education institutions and also at local, regional, sub-state national, and UK levels). Criticism that such bodies attract a 'particular type' of young people and do not attract significant numbers from disadvantaged and ethnic minority communities in particular. Civil society, faith, and community groups offer alternative opportunities for engagement and representation that often promote non-traditional approaches to participation. This mixture of formal and non-formal approaches offers broad but inconsistent range of opportunities for young people to engage and participate in diverse forms of representation. Impact of austerity on funding of local youth councils and civil society groups means young people across England and rest of the UK experiencing diminution of youth engagement opportunities.

7.2) There is need to address this ‘postcode lottery’ of youth engagement opportunities defined by location and community background by encouraging the networking of formal and non-formal youth representation groups (and schools) to encourage interactions of different groups of young people and build civic cohesion and agency. This requires the development of integrated networks with democratic institutions, elected representatives and other decision-makers to enhance youth engagement, agency, or efficacy. This will require sustainable funding for local, regional, and national youth representation structures to ensure a comprehensive and stable network from locality to UK-level.

12.1) ‘My Country My Vote’ is a project designed and coordinated by Kirklees Council and the University of Huddersfield. The My Country, My Vote project has had two iterations so far – the first in 2013-4 and the second in 2015-6. The programme highlights the importance of the democratic process by fostering democratic networking, peer-to-peer debate and encouraging young people to understand how they can effect change in their schools and local communities. The focus on local youth citizenship reflects the centrality of locality in framing young peoples’ civic viewfinder and personal and collective identities.

My Society – written evidence (CCE0069)

1. About mySociety

1.1 mySociety is an international not-for-profit social enterprise based in the UK, where we run a number of projects designed to give people the power to get things changed. We invent and popularise digital tools that enable citizens to exert power over institutions and decision makers, and work internationally to support partners who deploy our technology in countries around the world. As one of the first Civic Technology organisations in the world, we are committed to building the Civic Technology community and undertaking rigorous research that tests our actions, assumptions and impacts. Our global research work into digital development, civic technology and user-centred design has positioned mySociety as a leading authority in digital civic engagement and participation.

2. Introduction

2.1 Whilst themes of citizenship and civic engagement cover a very broad spectrum of activity, this submission will focus on elements of digital citizenship, participation and engagement. The use of digital technologies in civic life is common in the UK in the current age; however, the strategies employed, the technology implemented, and the impacts of such activities shape the entire participation experience, and have significant consequences for the ability and enthusiasm of individuals seeking to participate. This evidence therefore raises issues and considerations that cut across the questions and potential solutions discussed in the HoL published call for evidence. As a world leader in civic technology, mySociety has conducted extensive research and experimentation in order to understand how digital technologies can be best utilised to engage citizens in civic life, and it is upon this expertise that this evidence is based.

3. Existing points of digital engagement

3.1 There are currently a number of digital routes by which citizens may engage with civic life online. These can primarily be grouped into five categories: **Social Media** (Twitter, Facebook etc); **Reporting Mechanisms** (online forms or apps feeding one-way information digitally from citizen to public authority); **Consultative Mechanisms** (notices requiring citizen response to public bodies on specific issues); **Informative Mechanisms** (information provision to citizens without a transacting activity); and **Conversational Mechanisms** (email, or other two-way transactional information flows). These various mechanisms enable higher volumes of interactions and reduce barriers such as distance and time, but are imperfect in their execution, especially when used by official, bureaucratically structured organisations to engage with the public. This section provides a brief overview of these categories, their strengths and their weaknesses.

3.2 Social media provides a low level and high volume means of civic engagement. It has been shown to enable and instigate engagement by a wider audience than traditionally

engaged groups; however, conversation is unstructured and vulnerable to a range of problematic issues such as co-option, bullying and harassment, echo-chamber effects, and fake news. Civic participation through social media is effective for collective and campaigning activities as an organising and/or broadcasting method, but provides limited benefit in more meaningful participation with the state itself. The quality of interaction between state and citizen through social media is also highly variable due to the differing communications strategies, personalities and digital competencies held within different authorities, and public and political offices. Negative engagement experiences with one form of authority have been shown to reduce the probability of citizens attempting to engage digitally a second time, and as such, there is a real risk that poor digital engagement strategies may in fact have a disengaging effect.

3.3 Reporting mechanisms online provide citizens with the opportunity to notify officials about certain issues. Traditionally such mechanisms allow information to flow only one way, for example, where a citizen reports an incident or issue to a local authority (such as on FixMyStreet.com), with the expectation that the authority in question will remedy the issue. Such tools can provide a valuable and user-friendly conduit for information, and can improve the maintenance and management of communities through what is essentially the crowdsourcing of information that is vital for officials to deliver their services. Such mechanisms are, however, often executed poorly online as a result of ineffective digital architecture, lack of research in the design of the service and lack of human and financial resources to build and maintain a user-friendly digital interface. mySociety research has shown that even the cosmetic appearance of a reporting mechanism will have an effect on the type of person that will consider using it, potentially to the detriment of large groups within society. Another issue with these tools is that they rarely provide the citizen with follow-up information. If a citizen reports an issue that is not clearly followed up, they have been shown to be less likely to report other issues in the future (Peixoto, 2016).

3.4 Consultative mechanisms online generally comprise an invitation from official sources to citizens to provide feedback or opinion concerning very specific themes or issues. These mechanisms operate very narrowly, and generally allow information to flow in only one direction. Engaging digitally through consultative mechanisms can allow interested citizens to provide expert and valuable evidence on specific issues; however, they require citizens to have existing levels of motivation, skills and engagement. Online surveys are easier for citizens to engage with than requests for written evidence, and require a lower time commitment; however, often survey methodologies employed by official channels are not sufficiently accommodating to collect relevant related information, and can often appear tailored to acquiring support for pre-existing policy ideas. Consultations online requesting written information provide much greater flexibility, but require that the respondent has sufficient reading, policy understanding and digital skills/resources to understand the purpose of the consultation, and the composition skills to present their thoughts. Both surveys and written calls online generally require respondents to move

between several web pages, with PDF files containing further details often a feature of responding to written calls, and external non-mobile-responsive websites used for surveys. These are not trivial issues, as individuals with low levels of digital, reading or writing skills, and individuals using mobile devices or devices that do not run PDF software may be easily deterred from engaging with these exercises.

3.5 Informative online mechanisms tend to be the most common information interaction between citizen and state, in which citizens are simply able to access websites and other digital information outlets to collect the information they require without having to ask for it. Gov.uk, TheyWorkForYou.com and local authority websites fall into this category. While it could be argued that this is not a ‘participative’ activity, it is in fact such information provision that will often catalyse further action, whether that is a digital action on the same website, an action that engages with a different section of government, social media or NGO, or an offline action. Easy access to relevant information is one of the most empowering factors in citizen-government interaction, as it enables the citizen to understand the rules and structures within which any participation will take place, and who the relevant stakeholders are. This is particularly important in multi-level governance or devolved contexts, and when individuals are dealing with extremely large and complex organisations. Information provision online by government is, however, variable in quality and user-friendliness. Whilst Gov.uk represents significant strides forward in improving the quality and usability of information concerning central government, it is mySociety’s experience that most people get involved in democracy and participation online closer to home where local issues directly concern them. Official information provision mechanisms tend to be of a lower quality at the local level and less conducive to use by citizens lacking confidence and skills, and again, negative experiences online at a local level may inhibit the willingness of citizens to wish to engage further, either in an online or offline capacity.

3.6 Online conversational mechanisms represent a higher quality of interaction for citizens engaging through official channels because of the two-way information flow. Citizens are able to interact with a ‘real’ person, rather than a form or official email address, and are often provided with the opportunity to use their own words and experiences during the interaction, with officials able to respond, clarify and provide the relevant service. Examples of conversational mechanisms are FOI request procedures and the website WhatDoTheyKnow, or the ability to email political representatives or message them through sites such as WriteToThem. While the cost for providing two-way interaction online is higher for authorities, it provides an overwhelmingly better experience for users, and in many ways compensates for flaws in digital design that may deter individuals from engaging through forms or reporting mechanisms. Users of mySociety services often comment that although their specific issue may not have been solved or their request for information fulfilled, they appreciated the ability to interact with a person and to receive an explanation for why their issue could not be resolved. While many online engagement mechanisms are becoming

more intelligent and more automated, such automation should not be built without providing citizens with clear alternative mechanisms to interact digitally with public officials.

3.7 This section has briefly reviewed the most common participation and engagement mechanisms employed by official bodies, and has demonstrated that many such tools are vulnerable to poor design and implementation that can significantly affect the volume of people able to engage and can alienate certain demographics. Any future engagement or participation digital solutions must be mindful of the merits of each method.

4. Individual barriers to digital engagement

4.1 A significant number of individuals in the UK remain on the wrong side of the digital divide, and currently, there are 15.2 million adults in the UK that are either non-users or very limited users of the internet. While digital education in schools is improving, it is a myth that all young people are digital natives. It is perhaps unsurprising that many older people lack digital skills; however, people on low incomes, those with low levels of education, people with social, physical or learning needs, people from certain ethnic minority groups and people not participating in economic activity are also amongst the most likely to lack digital skills. Approximately 90% of non-internet users are disadvantaged in some way. Unfortunately, these are likely to be the people using public services the most, and therefore the migration of services, participation and information online represents a huge hurdle to engagement for these service users.

4.2 Digital civic participation requires skills, resources and in many cases an incentive or specific motivation. The Good Things Foundation has demonstrated the benefits of upskilling those that find themselves on the wrong side of the digital divide, however individuals often require additional support to engage with civic or democratic issues that require a different body of knowledge. mySociety has identified that individuals with lower levels of education, individuals with lower incomes and individuals not in work are more likely to engage with civic issues at a local level in the first instance, and therefore digital design of civic engagement mechanisms should accommodate local aspects in order to engage individuals that are not well represented in state-level civic engagement activities.

5. Institutional barriers to digital engagement

5.1 While the digital divide represents external factors in reducing civic engagement online, the opaqueness, structure and bureaucracy of the public sector has also been shown to limit the effectiveness of digital government-citizen interaction. Many public sector organisations use ageing digital infrastructure, incompatible with new software that is able to streamline workflows and citizen interactions. A number of innovative online tools are available for citizens to interact with officials efficiently, however in many cases these are unable to be integrated with official systems to create a seamless experience for both user and service provider. The Open311 standard is a good example of how such barriers can be surmounted, but often are not, due to the commitments many public bodies have to

outdated IT structures. Additionally, many civil servants outside of teams with a dedicated digital remit lack the confidence to use new technologies, and as such may frustrate implementation through bureaucratic means.

5.2 Many public-facing government websites and digital tools reflect the structures of their internal bureaucracy, rather than being designed with the needs of the user in mind. This manifests in information or tools being placed on file-paths that are grouped under the responsibilities of departments or specific initiatives. This reduces the likelihood of individuals engaging through the most appropriate channel, because the logic of the user is very different to the logic of the bureaucracy. User-design research in the build phase of engagement tools is vital in understanding how to cultivate higher volume and more efficient engagement.

5.3 Should the HoL Committee recommend further participation and engagement activities be explored in a digital format, consideration of how bureaucratic structures may frustrate those activities should be key in the design process. Where new digital tools are implemented, they may fail not because of citizen enthusiasm, but because of institutional reticence to embrace new technology.

6. The benefit of designing digital participation architecture alongside policy-making

6.1 As noted in the previous sections, the design of tools for engagement is one of the most important activities in the development process. mySociety's research has demonstrated how icon placement, colour-schemes, imagery and language have a significant effect upon whether, and how, an individual chooses to engage. These design considerations have been shown by mySociety research in the USA to be best addressed alongside policy-making, rather than as a digital afterthought to a fully finalised policy. This research examined a number of case studies of tech implemented by official bodies in the USA and demonstrates that including developers and designers in the development of the policy, and through using user-design research methods, the quality of the policies made was improved for citizens and for the officials providing services. This was because bureaucratic logic, inefficiency in potential processing or accidental inconsistency within the policy was identified as a potential barrier prior to a policy being completed, and joint-working enabled more streamlined policies to emerge that would be deliverable through citizen-centred online mechanisms.

6.1 While not every policy can benefit from full user design exercises, consultation of developers and designers at the point of participation policy development would likely positively influence not only the digital engagement mechanism, but the policy outcomes as well.

7. The role of civil society in facilitating engagement

7.1 As noted in several sections in this paper, citizens often struggle to participate in civic activity for a wide variety of reasons. Civil society can, however, provide a valuable

bridge between citizen and state, and can demystify methods of participation that may seem irrelevant or intimidating to individuals unused to interacting with government. mySociety research has demonstrated that the cost of facilitating meaningful interaction rises when targeting the most disengaged and digitally disadvantaged groups; however, high cost, high support and low volume targeting is effective at achieving positive outcomes. On the technology side, individuals and NGOs outside of government have demonstrated significant innovation and expertise in designing services for citizens to interact with government that are more effective and user-friendly than official channels. This external innovation is a good driver for improving official channels, and enables NGOs like mySociety to experiment and demonstrate how good outcomes can be achieved at a low cost. Code for All programmes provide another example of how it is possible to leverage external expertise into official digital activities which can be improved for the benefit of the public.

8. Recommendations

8.1 When developing new methods of civic participation, mySociety recommends that the following points be taken into consideration:

8.2 Employ digital mechanisms suited to the specific type of interaction required, mindful that the motivations and benefits to officials and citizens of the participatory exercise may be very different

8.3 Enable two-way information flows wherever possible: citizens are more positive about interactions when they feel their own voice has been heard.

8.4 Consider using more targeted digital mechanisms for individuals with low levels of digital literacy and confidence: a one-size fits all approach will generally deter the most disadvantaged.

8.5 Design participative policies collaboratively with the digital and user community: such collaboration reduces the likelihood of policy failure further down the line

8.6 Involve NGOs to engage the hard to reach and to leverage innovation and ideas into the design and implementation of participatory activities.

6 September 2017

NALC – written evidence (CCE0190)

I am writing in response to the recent Lords Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement's call for evidence.

The National Association of Local Councils (NALC) is the nationally recognised membership and support organisation representing the interests of around 10,000 parish and town councils and many parish meetings in England. Local (parish and town) councils are the backbone of our democracy and closest to local people, providing our neighbourhoods, villages, towns and small cities with a democratic voice and structure for taking action, contributing in excess of £2 billion of community investment to supporting and improving local communities and delivering neighbourhood level services.

We welcome the opportunity to respond to this call for evidence. The key points we would make in response to the consultation are set out below:

- Local councils are ideally placed to encourage citizenship, civic engagement and social cohesion in their community and currently host a number of initiatives to encourage this through hosting events, fund raising initiatives, and keeping public services running amid the cuts coming from higher tiers of government.
- Young people are currently disengaged with politics. Getting them involved in local and national elections is key in engaging them with issues that affects them and their community. Local councils who have responded to our consultation have suggested that the voting age should be lowered to 16 to encourage younger people to do so.
- More must be done by all tiers of government to encourage citizens to volunteer and participate in their community. Citizens must engage if they are to be active in their community.

As the first tier of local government in England, local councils are positioned at the very heart of the community and ensuring that citizenship and civic engagement is promoted positively is a high priority for them. We welcome the opportunity to respond to this call for evidence.

We were however disappointed that the Select Committee decided to host the call for evidence during August; a month when local councils do not ordinarily meet. We gained a number of responses from local councils but think that number would have been much higher if the call for evidence was held outside either side of summer recess. Further to this, we would like to request for an extension of the deadline for written responses to be submitted to 8th October, to give all local councils the chance to respond to this call for evidence.

In response to our consultation, local councils from a host of different counties agreed that one of their top priorities must be to provide a reasonable level of civic support and community engagement to the area they serve. These local councils did however make the point that it is a two-way street, and citizens must also play an active role in society in order to feel a sense of belonging to their community.

Local councils have been engaging with their communities in a number of ways. They have launched public realm schemes to make their areas attractive places to live in, invested money into local community groups to provide spaces for their community to come together, and carry out work on a daily basis to ensure public services and public facilities remain available for their community to use.

Local councils who responded, agreed that hosting events and ceremonies was an important factor in engaging with their community. For example, in Berkshire, [Woodburn and Bourne End Parish Council](#) hosted a community show in the hope of bringing the community together to celebrate their area. Over 200 members of the community attended and the event (gaining a very positive response), with a demand for the show to be hosted annually.

This event relied heavily on the work of volunteers, but some of the local councils who responded highlighted that the lack of volunteers in society is an issue that is affecting citizenship. Communities are all about volunteering and if no one volunteers their time to their community, social cohesion will break down. The Government should be looking at how it can invest and support more voluntary citizenship schemes to boost volunteer numbers.

NALC has begun work to engage with national voluntary sector bodies, to explore how we can strengthen local councils and voluntary sector relations. NALC has worked with voluntary sector bodies such as NCVO and Locality and hosted a number of roundtable discussions with them to discuss volunteer engagement. NALC has also worked in partnership with these bodies on projects such as 'Our Place' and '#VolunteersWeek' to name a few.

Local councils have also reported during this consultation that there is a notable lack of interest from young people when it comes to getting involved with their community. We also think this needs to change if we are to create the civic heroes of tomorrow. NALC has been carrying out work to encourage local councils to engage with younger volunteers including hosting the Star Councils Awards and dedicating a category to Young Councillors of the Year. NALC has also launched a Diversity Commission to look at how local councils can engage with different audiences and be more representative of the community they serve.

NALC – written evidence (CCE0190)

Some local councils suggested that the Government could introduce citizenship to the school curriculum to help younger generations understand the importance of community cohesion and get them involved at an early age.

Lancing Parish Council is one local council who have been engaging with local schools. They have set up a youth council, which allows anyone from local schools, aged 13 – 19, to get involved. The youth council meets once a month to discuss issues that are facing the community and allows younger people to feed in their ideas on how the local council can go about solving them.

Local councils told us that this is not the only difficulty they are having when it comes to engaging with the younger generation. They have had huge difficulties in encouraging younger generations to vote in local and national elections.

Some local councils argued to bring down the voting age to 16, with the hope of encouraging the younger generation to get their voice heard in local and national elections. With a boost in younger voters, policies may be formed to appeal to the younger generation, hopefully leading them to engage once again with democracy.

Local councils can play a vital role in encouraging social cohesion and civic engagement in their areas but more support is needed from higher tiers of government in order for this to happen. NALC are looking to work with the national bodies for district councils, county councils and other forms of local government to discuss some of these issues.

With more spending cuts coming from central government, more restrictions are being put on local councils, and more responsibilities being transferred to local councils from other tiers of government, local councils are finding it increasingly difficult to serve their community effectively. We are calling for more freedom and support to be given to local councils to allow them to support their communities in any way they can.

Please note we are happy to provide further evidence should you need it.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Sue Baxter". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

COUNCILLOR SUE BAXTER

CHAIRMAN

8 September 2017

1071

The Committee has, in places, redacted the names of individuals to prevent them from being identified.

NATECLA – written evidence (CE0216)

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?

NATECLA^{xxxviii} believes that there is ample evidence to support the argument that language is the key to integration and that ESOL provision (more than just ‘classes’) is vital for promoting citizenship and civic integration. The recent APPG report on social integration [Integration not Demonisation](#) echoes our call for a comprehensive strategy for England, as already exists in Scotland and Wales. NATECLA’s report ‘Towards a draft strategy for England’ can be accessed at <http://www.natecla.org.uk/content/631/ESOL-Strategy-for-England>

Regarding the naturalisation process, many ESOL professionals believe that the former option available to lower level ESOL learners – the ‘ESOL course with [Citizenship materials](#)’ 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.

Australia and Norway provide examples of comprehensive language and integration programmes for immigrants:

- Australia: Adult Migrant English Program <https://www.education.gov.au/adult-migrant-english-program-0> and <http://www.tesol.org.au/Why-do-immigrants-require-quality-ESL-classes>
- Norway: Immigrant integration <https://www.kompetansenorge.no/English/Immigrant-integration/#ob=9658,9649,12844,9700,9659>

The following reports/websites provide evidence of barriers faced by newcomers, case studies and examples of good practice:

- House of Commons report *Adult ESOL in England*, 22.02.2017 <http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7905>
- ESOL Policy for Wales 2014 <http://gov.wales/docs/dcells/publications/140619-esol-policy-en.pdf>

NATECLA – written evidence (CE0216)

- Welcoming our Learners: Scotland’s ESOL strategy 2015-2020
http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/ESOLStrategy2015to2020_tcm4-855848.pdf
- Demos (2014) On Speaking Terms <http://www.demos.co.uk/project/on-speaking-terms/>
- Sue Pember (2015) ‘Why England is crying out for a national ESOL policy’.
- Refugee Action (2016) Let Refugees Learn. Challenges and Opportunities to Improve Language Provision to Refugees in England
- Nick Saville (2015) Making a strong case for ESOL investment
- Wonder Foundation Empowerment Through Education: Women Breaking the English Barrier (2016) <http://wonderfoundation.org.uk/RefugeeESOLReport>

There have been many initiatives and projects such as those funded by the European Integration Fund which have focused on language and integration, e.g. *Active Citizenship and English* <http://www.learningunlimited.co/projects/ace> A project which trains local volunteers to support ESOL learners is *Talk English* <https://www.talk-english.co.uk/>

Another example is a recent Scottish project which built on a peer education model. [Sharing Lives, Sharing Languages: A Pilot Peer Education Project for New Scots’ Social and Language Integration](#) enabled peer groups to bring together non-native English speakers and local community members under the coordination of peer educators. The project aimed to complement the existing ESOL provision by providing group-based activities which aided language acquisition.

NATECLA would be happy to provide oral evidence to the Committee on request.

Supplementary written evidence from National Citizen Service Trust – CCE0269

1. FSM data

Relevant extract from transcript

Response

Relevant extract from transcript

Response

Relevant extract from transcript

Response

Michael Lynas

National Council for Voluntary Organisations – written evidence (CCE0239)

The National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) is the largest membership organisation for the voluntary sector in England. With nearly 13,000 members, NCVO represents all types of organisations, from large ‘household name’ charities to small voluntary and community groups involved at the local level. NCVO is the national champion and voice for volunteering in England and we are committed to supporting, enabling and celebrating volunteering in all its diversity.

Executive Summary

Charities play an important role in providing opportunities for civic engagement, particularly through volunteering and social action.

For charities and voluntary organisations to fully play their role in supporting citizenship and civic engagement we believe that the committee should focus on how to:

- support and enable volunteering to thrive in all its forms, but maintain the principle of voluntary participation
- support and enable charities working within communities to develop social cohesion and integration
- support and enable charities to play their part in civic engagement and developing a new generation of volunteers, by recognising and encouraging their campaigning role

Volunteering is in itself a powerful expression of citizenship and civic engagement, but also acts as a route to a range of other civic activities, and can develop a long-term commitment to civic engagement.

NCS has made an important difference for many young people, but there are a number of steps that should be taken to enable NCS to be more effective at encouraging young people to become active citizens and to ensure it can play a role as an entry point or staging post on a longer journey of social action and volunteering.

Young people must be able to complete high quality social action opportunities as part of the programme, and the NCS Trust must ensure there are pathways for NCS graduates into other volunteering and social action opportunities and that NCS provides practical support to young people to get involved after the programme.

Further and better collaboration between NCS and the voluntary sector is needed, and in particular NCS must support smaller, local organisations so that they are able to effectively deliver the programme and ensure that commissioning processes are accessible to these organisations.

The Government's full time social action review provides a chance for more detailed exploration of the opportunities and challenges presented by longer citizen service schemes, but as with all volunteering it is vital that these schemes provide high quality experiences.

It will be important for the committee to engage with the full time social action review so it can seek assurances that any growth in full-time social action will be driven by a commitment to high quality and accessible opportunities for a diverse range of young people.

NCVO is opposed to making programmes like NCS, which include an element of volunteering, compulsory: this would be contradictory to the principle of volunteering and counter-productive to the spirit of altruism that is at the heart of volunteering.

Rather than look at compulsion, we recommend that the committee explores ways to remove barriers to volunteering, including:

- Making it easier for unemployed people looking for work to volunteer, by getting rid of red tape and confusion about the rules.
- Providing a support fund to address barriers to volunteering for people with disabilities
- Encouraging more employers to allow time off work for volunteering, including time off for trustees
- Strengthening volunteer development and management

Voluntary organisations, especially those working within a local community, make a major contribution to building social cohesion and integration, using a wide variety of different models.

We urge both national and local government to look closely at the many projects being run at the community level, identify good practice, and ensure stable funding for groups who are effectively delivering more cohesive communities.

To ensure long-term funding for these projects, we believe that the government's forthcoming Dormant Assets Fund should be used to build on the success of local community foundations by creating income-generating endowment funds. Money from dormant assets could be used to incentivise donations from philanthropists, further growing these funds.

Charities are also an important route for political engagement, and provide a route for individuals to become more politically active. This role that charities play should be enabled and celebrated, however there remain concerns about the regulatory environment of charity campaigning, which could have a knock-on restrictive impact for individuals' ability to engage politically.

The government should both continue to publicly back the role that charity campaigning plays in developing public policy and involving individuals in the political process, and not undermine this role through its policy choices. In particular we urge government to implement the recommendations made by Lord Hodgson, following the review of third party election campaigning.

The role of charities and voluntary organisations in civic engagement

1. NCVO welcomes the opportunity to take part in this inquiry, the remit of which includes a number of issues which charities have to consider on a daily basis.
2. While many individuals engage with and participate in civic life independently, for many others charities and voluntary groups can serve as both an introduction to civic engagement and as a long-term vehicle for activity including volunteering, fundraising, and campaigning.
3. In particular, we believe that volunteering and social action are an important part of the experience of citizenship and civic engagement. It can also set people on a journey through which they may engage or participate in many other forms of activity as an active citizen.

Volunteering and social action

4. Giving time to help others and make a difference through volunteering and social action is already embedded in the culture of our country. The latest figures show that 21.9 million people across the UK volunteer at least once a year and an estimated 14.2 million people formally volunteer once a month.⁵⁸⁷ Volunteering is therefore already a powerful expression of citizenship and civic engagement. It is a route for individuals to do something about a cause they care about: be it preserving their local green spaces; helping get homeless people off the streets; supporting victims of domestic abuse; providing company and care to older people; giving advice and support to cancer sufferers and their families.
5. Volunteers are also at the heart of many other forms of civic engagement and help mobilise others to get involved as active citizens. Volunteers are crucial for the political process⁵⁸⁸ through organising, campaigning and registering voters. Volunteers allow groups to express identity, like the two-week London Pride celebrations. Volunteers are at the heart of the trade union movement and as campaigners and protestors, volunteers also help speak truth to power and ensure that the voices of communities are heard.
6. We would like to make it easier and more rewarding for anyone who wants to volunteer. We want to seed people's interest in and ability to volunteer, setting them on a path of participating and contributing much more in their communities. Evidence, like that from the Pathways through Participation Project⁵⁸⁹, shows that participation is best understood as a journey over someone's life. For many young people structured school-based citizenship, community service programmes and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award were points of entry to participation. Programmes like NCS can clearly provide a starting point or staging post on this journey for young people. If the experience that young people have at this early stage is positive then it can also help to create a habit for life.
7. By taking a pathways approach to volunteering and participation we believe we can help build on the huge amount of activity already taking place in communities and help develop a culture of volunteering where people are able to contribute to communities at different stages of their lives. We also support the objective of the review to help open up opportunities to people who may be left behind. We want to make volunteering accessible to more people and open up the opportunity for people across communities to experience the benefits of volunteering and social action.

The role of NCS in creating active citizens

⁵⁸⁷ <https://data.ncvo.org.uk/a/almanac17/volunteering-overview/>

⁵⁸⁸ [Volunteering and the General Election, Will Downs. July 2017.](#)

⁵⁸⁹ <http://pathwaysthroughparticipation.org.uk/>

- *How to enhance the role that NCS can play in creating active citizens*
8. NCVO is supportive of NCS and we recognise it has made a big difference for lots of young people, improving their confidence, developing team-building and life skills, and increasing their awareness of their local community⁵⁹⁰. Giving young people an experience of volunteering or social action early in life can help encourage them to continue to participate in future. According to one report, 80% of teenagers who have volunteered said it improved their future employment chances and made them want to volunteer more⁵⁹¹. It also fits with evidence from Pathways through Participation where younger interviewees identified structured school-based citizenship, community service programmes and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award as common points of entry to participation. Other entry points or staging posts outside of NCS should therefore also be considered as valuable routes for creating active citizens⁵⁹².
 9. Despite many positives, more can be done to improve the social action element of the programme, which involves young people planning and delivering a social action project to benefit their local community across two weeks. The social action element of the project is ranked lower than other parts in evaluations. Tellingly, only 28% of participants rated the help they were given to plan social action projects as 'very good' (compared to 64% saying staff overall were 'very good')⁵⁹³.
 10. We believe there are a number of steps that could be taken to enable NCS to be more effective at encouraging young people to become active citizens and to ensure it can play a role as an entry point or staging post on a longer journey of social action and volunteering.
 11. **Young people must be able to complete high quality social action opportunities as part of the programme which encourage them to get involved as active citizens in future.** We know from research conducted by NCVO, Institute for Voluntary Research and Involve, that the "quality of the participation experience is pivotal in determining whether people continue"⁵⁹⁴.
 12. **The NCS Trust must ensure there are pathways for NCS graduates into other volunteering and social action opportunities and that NCS provides practical support to young people to get involved after the programme.** The most recent evaluation suggests that this is a key area for improvement with only 17% of participants rated

⁵⁹⁰ [House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts: National Citizen Service.](#)

⁵⁹¹ [Demos: Introducing Generation Citizen. 2014](#)

⁵⁹² <http://pathwaysthroughparticipation.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2011/10/Informing-and-influencing-policy.pdf> p2.

⁵⁹³ [National Citizen Service 2015, Evaluation. March 2017. Ipsos Mori. p.16](#)

⁵⁹⁴ [Pathways through participation: What creates and sustains active citizenship? September 2011. NCVO, IVR and Involve.](#) p.7.

‘very good’ the support they received to find other volunteering opportunities after the programme ended.⁵⁹⁵

- *Further and better collaboration with the voluntary sector is needed*

13. We welcome the Government’s amend to the preamble of the royal charter to state that other organisations supporting young people should benefit from the actions of the Trust. In order to maximise the impact of NCS it is important that the requirements in the Royal Charter for NCS to collaborate are met at all levels of delivery by NCS providers. This includes close collaboration with voluntary sector partners at the local level.
14. NCVO has also welcomed the recent new partnership announced with the Scouts as a step in the right direction for NCS to work more closely with other charities with expertise to support the programme and its objectives⁵⁹⁶. This partnership also aims to help set young people on a lifetime of volunteering and involvement in their communities. More opportunities like this should be explored. To not embed this more collaborative approach in future delivery would be a missed opportunity for young people.
15. **NCS must also support smaller, local organisations so that they are able to effectively deliver the programme and ensure that commissioning processes are accessible to these organisations.** Local voluntary organisations and volunteering infrastructure have a great deal of skills and expertise to offer the programme but to date NCS has failed to nurture and capitalise on this expertise to support the effective delivery of the programme and the quality of the offer for young people. For example, organisations such as volunteer centres form a crucial part of participants’ experiences and future participation in social action. We understand that the Trust intends to consult with volunteer centres about introducing a place-based approach to NCS, which would be beneficial if taken forward.
16. Working in partnership in this way and further collaboration with the sector could also help to maximise the benefits of NCS for the wider sector. Ensuring NCS has a positive impact on the wider sector, as the Royal Charter now requires, may also be an important way of demonstrating better value for money. The NCS programme cost an estimated £1,863 per participant in 2016, in comparison to the estimated £550 cost of creating a place in the Scouts for four years.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹⁵ [National Citizen Service 2015, Evaluation. March 2017. Ipsos Mori. p.16](#)

⁵⁹⁶ [Stuart Etherington, National citizen service partnership with scouts is a step in the right direction. NCVO blog, July 2017](#)

⁵⁹⁷ [House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts: National Citizen Service. March 2017](#)

Full time social action

17. The government's decision to set up a review into opportunities and barriers to increasing participation in full time social action by young people will provide a chance for more detailed exploration of the opportunities and challenges presented by longer-term citizen service schemes. Comparisons have been made with other countries (in Europe and the United States) operating full time, year-long citizen service programmes with high-levels of participation and question why the UK doesn't have similar such schemes. Although we should draw on the learning from programmes outside the UK, these schemes may not be directly transferrable and must be considered in the context of the existing landscape of opportunities for young people and be adapted to ensure they complement and enhance other programmes and opportunities.
18. NCVO recognises that the expansion of full-time social action programmes has the potential to benefits to young people and society but with any growth in volunteering and social action, assurances should be sought that opportunities will be high-quality. To ensure this, the sector and young people should be consulted as part of the review on what expansion and recognition of full-time social action should look like and how it will fit within the wider landscape of other youth social action opportunities.
19. NCVO recommends that the review should carefully consider barriers for people accessing full time opportunities and how to address them to make full time social action more inclusive. For people without financial support or accommodation, or who are living in rural area, or have caring responsibilities - full time social action may be inaccessible. If such people are excluded from participation, they will also be excluded from the perks. Disadvantaged young people are already underrepresented in social action figures⁵⁹⁸- this must not create an additional barrier. The review must consider accessibility, barriers and the scope for flexible alternatives to 'year of service' programmes.
20. **The committee should engage with the full time social action review and should seek assurances that any growth in full-time social action must be driven by a commitment to high quality and accessible opportunities.**
 - *Should voluntary citizenship programmes be compulsory?*
21. **NCVO is opposed to making programmes like NCS, which include an element of volunteering, compulsory.** The introduction of any element of compulsion would be contradictory to the very definition of volunteering, which involves people choosing to give their time freely to make a difference to others, the community and the environment. If compulsion is involved it simply is no longer volunteering.

⁵⁹⁸ [#Iwill and Ipsos Mori. Youth Social Action in the UK- 2016](#)

22. Evidence suggests that this would also be counterproductive if the aim is to create more active and engaged citizens. Insight into how and why people participate shows that if people feel that action is being driven by an external agenda, it is likely to negatively affect their feelings about participation as it runs counter to the heart of voluntary action - that it is about free choice rather than coercion or a sense of obligation.⁵⁹⁹
23. Comparable programmes elsewhere in Europe, such as programmes run in the United States, France and Germany are voluntary. Compulsory involvement in citizenship schemes appears to only be used in countries with military conscription, as an alternative form of service for conscientious objectors or those unable to serve in the armed forces.
24. Compulsion would also mean that the unique and distinctive contribution that volunteering makes would be lost. Volunteers, active outside the state or the market, give their time freely in the service of others. This is civic engagement in its most powerful and articulate form. People who receive support from volunteers value the distinct nature of this activity and its intrinsic value. For example, the King's Fund have suggested patients see an intrinsic value in knowing the support they are receiving from a volunteer is truly voluntary and the volunteer wants to be there⁶⁰⁰.
25. **NCVO strongly argues against compulsion and urges the committee to focus its efforts elsewhere, to explore how more high-quality opportunities for people to engage in volunteering and social action can be developed and to address the barriers that exist to people getting involved in these activities.**
- *Supporting civic engagement through volunteering*
26. Millions of people give their time and talents as volunteers every day⁶⁰¹ and make an astounding contribution as active citizens to improving lives and communities across the country. However, overall levels of volunteering while remaining stable are difficult to increase⁶⁰². We also know that some groups, who can have the potential to gain most from becoming active citizens through volunteering, find it more difficult to get involved and experience the benefits. For example, 15% of people from the most deprived areas of England volunteer formally, compared with 36% in the least deprived⁶⁰³. Those who are educated to a degree-level are almost three times more

⁵⁹⁹ <http://pathwaysthroughparticipation.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2011/10/Informing-and-influencing-policy.pdf> p.3

⁶⁰⁰ [Kings Fund. Volunteering in Health and Care: Securing a sustainable future. P.9](#)

⁶⁰¹ [NCVO Civil Society Almanac 2017](#)

⁶⁰² [NCVO Civil Society Almanac 2017](#)

⁶⁰³ [NCVO Civil Society Almanac 2017](#)

likely to volunteer than those with no formal education⁶⁰⁴. Only 40% of the least affluent 10-20 year olds volunteer, compared to 49% of the most affluent⁶⁰⁵ and women, young people and people from BAME groups are underrepresented on trustee boards⁶⁰⁶.

27. Whilst recognising the huge contribution volunteers already make, there is clearly more that can be done to help reduce barriers to volunteering and help more people to become active citizens and make a difference.
28. **We need to make it easier for unemployed people looking for work to volunteer, by getting rid of red tape and confusion about the rules.** 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 benefits⁶⁰⁷ but 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.
29. **The government should provide a support fund to address barriers to volunteering for people with disabilities.** Too often, disabled people miss out from the potential benefits from participation in volunteering and social action and can get left behind. Government currently provides [Access to Work](#) grants, 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.
30. **We need to encourage more employers to allow time off work for volunteering, including time off for trustees.** We know that lack of time is the number one barrier preventing people from volunteering⁶⁰⁸. We urge the government to get employers to allow time off work for volunteering, particularly for trustees. Allowing time of work for trustees would simply require an amendment to existing legislation (section 50 of the employment rights act) that currently gives employees the right to request time off work for public duties such as performing duties as a magistrate or school governor⁶⁰⁹. Such a proposal was supported in the House of Lords committee report earlier this

⁶⁰⁴ [Community Life Survey 2015-2016](#)

⁶⁰⁵ [#Iwill and Ipsos Mori. Youth Social Action in the UK- 2016.](#)

⁶⁰⁶ [NFP synergy \(2016\) National Trustee Survey](#) and [Grant Thornton – Charity Governance Review 2016](#)

⁶⁰⁷ [NCVO- Volunteering and benefits](#)

⁶⁰⁸ [NCVO Civil Society Almanac 2017](#)

⁶⁰⁹ <https://www.gov.uk/time-off-work-public-duties>

<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1996/18/section/50>

year⁶¹⁰. Reducing such a barrier could enable a more diverse range of people to get involved in trusteeship as data shows that there is a lack of diversity in trustees- who tend to be older, male and white⁶¹¹.

31. **We want to strengthen volunteer development and management.** To ensure volunteers have the right skills and support to make a bigger difference and a rewarding experience, there should be targeted investment in high level and sophisticated volunteer management. Investment could also be targeted to areas of deprivation to build a more diverse community of volunteers, giving access to volunteering opportunities and the necessary support to people of all ages and backgrounds.
32. Funding can be better allocated towards ensuring better quality volunteering rather creating demand. An example that demonstrates this is the Youth United Foundation. An investment of £20m awarded to the Scouts Association has ensured over 40,000 places were opened for young people to participate in uniformed organisations in areas of deprivation. Together with Girl Guiding, over 120,000 young people have been signed up, but they are now on waiting lists and close to 30,000 volunteers are going to be needed to address this.
33. High quality volunteering opportunities need investment and the right support. NCVO welcomed the House of Lords select committee on charities' recommendation for greater investment in volunteer management, support and training and that funders needed to be more prepared to fund invest towards such aims⁶¹².

The relationship between citizenship and civic engagement and social cohesion and integration

34. Voluntary organisations play a role at the heart of many communities, and are often able to bring together diverse groups of people from different backgrounds. Local charities in particular, have both a major stake in their community and a knowledge of those who live in their community, and are well placed to support attempts to build social cohesion.
35. Projects run by charities large and small are contributing to social cohesion and integration. For example Action for Refugees in Lewisham runs a supplementary Saturday school, serving 44 different nationalities with teaching designed to improve the self-confidence of children and their ability to integrate⁶¹³.

⁶¹⁰ [House of Lords Select Committee on Charities: stronger charities for a stronger society, March 2017](#)

⁶¹¹ [NFP synergy \(2016\) National Trustee Survey](#) and [Grant Thornton – Charity Governance Review 2016](#)

⁶¹² [House of Lords Select Committee on Charities: stronger charities for a stronger society, March 2017](#)

⁶¹³ <http://www.afril.org.uk/en/services/rainbow-club/>

36. Playing Out, a Bristol-based Community Interest Company, has developed a model where the community ensures children can play on the street, allowing them to build connections in their communities, with 15,000 children and 7,500 adults having been directly involved⁶¹⁴.
37. **We urge both national and local government to look closely at the many projects being run at the community level, identify good practice, and ensure stable funding for groups who are effectively delivering more cohesive communities.**
38. These locally-based groups have continued to play a crucial role in local communities, despite the challenging funding environment of recent years. This was particularly important in the aftermath of last year's EU referendum, when a number of charities were required to respond to an increase in the incidence of hate crimes⁶¹⁵.
39. Local authorities have been under particular pressure with regards to funding in recent years, but the role of community organisations in bringing people together must be supported for the long-term. **We believe that the government's forthcoming Dormant Assets Fund should be used to build on the success of local community foundations by creating income-generating endowment funds. Money from dormant assets could be used to incentivise donations from philanthropists, further growing these funds.**

Do current laws encourage active political engagement?

40. Charities are often a route for individuals to engage politically. Sometimes this will be done through charities specialising in democratic engagement, but often this will be in a range of activities related to advocacy, whether through signing a petition, using charity materials to write to their MP or taking a more active role in campaigning for or against particular policies.
41. The campaigning environment for charities is thus also crucial in allowing more individuals to take part in the political process, both between elections and during the campaign.
42. A number of charities have expressed concern at the impact of the Transparency of Lobbying, Non-party Campaigning, and Trade Union Administration Act 2014 and the restrictive effect it had on their campaigning activity in the general elections in both 2015 and 2017⁶¹⁶.

⁶¹⁴ <http://playingout.net/about/the-impact-of-playing-out/>

⁶¹⁵ <https://blogs.ncvo.org.uk/2016/06/30/easing-community-tensions-practical-advice-for-charities/>

⁶¹⁶ https://www.bond.org.uk/sites/default/files/29_08_2017letter_to_tracey_crouch.pdf

43. It is also concerning that several other interventions by government and the Charity Commission have seemed to undermine the valuable role of charity campaigning even where changes were made after the concerns of civil society were acknowledged, as was the case with the anti-advocacy clause⁶¹⁷ and the Charity Commission's guidance on campaigning during the EU referendum in 2016⁶¹⁸.
44. It should be remembered when considering the role of charity campaigning that the role of volunteer campaigners, working together with like-minded people, is often at the heart of those campaigns, and that restrictions on charity campaigning have a knock-on impact on the ability of individuals to volunteer and engage on the issues that matter to them.
45. **The government should both continue to publicly back the role that charity campaigning plays in developing public policy and involving individuals in the political process, and not undermine this role through its policy choices. In particular it should implement the recommendations made by Lord Hodgson, following the review of third party election campaigning⁶¹⁹.**

⁶¹⁷ <https://blogs.ncvo.org.uk/2016/12/02/a-resolution-to-the-anti-lobbying-clause/>

⁶¹⁸ <https://www.civilsociety.co.uk/news/charity-commission-in-climbdown-on-eu-referendum-guidance.html>

⁶¹⁹ [Third Party Election Campaigning: getting the balance right, March 2016](#)

National Education Union: National Union of Teachers Section – written evidence (CCE0240)

1. The National Education Union - NUT Section welcomes the opportunity to respond to the call for evidence from the House of Lords Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement's.
2. The following response focuses on the place of global learning for global citizenship and engagement as a cornerstone of citizenship and civic engagement.

Question 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?

3. Citizenship and civic engagement begin in the classroom. Education is a fundamental building block for creating communities of young people who feel and demonstrate that they are part of the wider community; locally, nationally and internationally.
4. In the 21st Century, citizenship and civic engagement cannot and must not be interpreted in the exclusively national sense. To do so is to fundamentally misunderstand the society in which British people, and perhaps especially young British people, live. The internet and the complete saturation of social media throughout young people's daily lives have meant that they are increasingly aware that they act within a global sphere, as global citizens.
5. Global citizenship and civic engagement matters therefore to ensure a sense of belonging in a diverse and constantly communicating world. Global citizenship and civic education teach children to better understand and interpret messages as positive or harmful and empowers them to make a choice between the two. This choice can be the difference between respect and hatred.

Question 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. Schools have an important role to play in teaching children about global citizenship and civic engagement.
7. There is a range of ways schools currently teach global citizenship: in some schools it is taught as a discrete subject or through subjects such as PSHE; in others, global citizenship education is mapped and planned through a whole school curriculum approach. We are concerned, however, that changes to the Key Stage 4 curriculum, assessment and accountability reforms – in particular, the EBacc, and Progress 8, are undermining the ability of many schools to deliver effective global citizenship education.
8. The House of Commons Select Committee on Education concluded in April 2017 that a high stakes assessment system ‘can negatively impact teaching and learning, leading to narrowing of the curriculum and ‘teaching to the test’, as well as affecting teacher and pupil wellbeing’.^{xxxix} These comments are relevant to the place of global citizenship education, which is finding itself marginalised by a system which prioritises success in a few test-focused subjects.
9. It has long been established (EPPI Centre 2004) that the quality of dialogue and discourse is central to learning in global citizenship education. Dialogue and discourse are connected with learning about shared values, human rights, and issues of justice and equality. These are complex skills. It is questionable whether their development is adequately covered in the curricula.
10. A modern, broad, balanced and engaging curriculum should include global citizenship within it. Where curriculum design does not include this, it must be revised. Where the drivers of practice – such as high-stakes testing and examinations – serve to steer schools away from them, these drivers must also be changed.
11. Teaching global citizenship and the responsibilities of being part of the international community are now fundamental for citizenship education. Engagement at this level matters immensely, not only for building respect and community cohesion, but for building globally aware citizens who are able to identify in their peers, locally and internationally, that which they have in common. This in turn supports a more peaceful society and world at every level.
12. Evidence from Think Global / Ipsos MORI suggests that ‘[t]hose who learnt about different religions and/or cultures at school have a greater tendency to be comfortable with the mix of people of different religions and races in Britain.’^{xi} The same research suggests that learning about global issues increases levels of desired social engagement.^{xii} These are both key elements to developing strong and active international citizens.

13. Research has also proven that global learning positively impacts schools, leading to improved community cohesion, better school ethos and a stronger pupil voice.^{xlii} This in turn creates a more positive environment for education outside of citizenship and civic engagement.
14. Teachers must have the space, time and resources to teach global education, and to ask and explore difficult questions with their students in a free and safe environment. The positive impact of a good relationship with teachers is already well-established, with better teacher-student relationships leading to reduced instances of antisocial behaviour even years later.^{xliii} A positive relationship between teachers and students in relationship to global citizenship and civic engagement dialogue should be encouraged.
15. Given the aforementioned pervasiveness of social media and the internet, global education should be compulsory from an early age in order to best equip students with the tools required to operate positively in the 21st Century environment. This should include dialogue about belonging, respect, political engagement and global values, including fundamental human rights. Historical lessons and the consequences of unchallenged hatred should come at a later stage in a child's school career, after the foundations of respect have been built.

Question 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?

16. The values that are set forth as so-called 'British values' in the government's Prevent strategy (i.e. democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs) are in fact international values, featured in both the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Commonwealth Charter, among other international covenants and treaties.
17. Framing these values as exclusively 'British' is in itself threatening, as it suggests that those who are not by nationality, or do not identify as, 'British' are excluded from these values. British people should share and support values without interpreting these as part of a national agenda. Doing so inherently protects those who are otherwise marginalised, as universal applicability of values means no one is excluded.
18. Global values such as respect for diversity, freedom of thought, and equality of opportunity underpin not only local societies, but international communities. These values also protect marginalised groups, as they are in themselves inclusive of such

groups. Supporting all citizens, through education, to feel included in the applicability of values and encouraging open, free and positive discussion about these values strengthens global citizenship and in turn creates more active and cohesive communities, both nationally and internationally.

Question 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?

19. To suggest that there is one, or even a few, reasons why communities feel ‘left behind’ is a serious oversimplification of a complex issue. Individuals should be treated and consulted only in relation to their situation, without being expected to, or interpreted as, speaking for others. Although we recognise the importance of group identity, in how individuals see themselves and are seen by others, individuality and uniqueness should be treated as the formative factor in any questions about feeling ‘left behind’.
20. With this in mind, there are some underlying factors that may contribute to communities feeling ‘left behind’. For example, discrimination faced at school by other children can have a detrimental impact on a young learner. Children can also learn attitudes such as racism from home, but bring this to school.^{xliv} Global education, teaching a sense of belonging within a diverse and international community, is therefore vital in combatting these attitudes. To do so furthermore encourages a shift in parental attitudes, once the education is brought back to the home.
21. The same is true of media representations of marginalised communities, including minority ethnic groups, certain faith groups, LGBTI and people with disabilities. Again, having strong global education from an early age would teach students how to challenge stereotyping in the media. Having learning resources in schools that include diverse representations of individuals and communities is also important in combatting biases that may arise from other areas of life.

Question 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?

22. Education for global citizenship and civic engagement is vital to create more cohesive communities. Education gives children the tools to work together for social cohesion

and identify those factors that limit integration. It empowers young people to take an active part in their own community and starts them early on a path of understanding and celebration of diversity. A positive and respectful relationship with teachers, ideally of diverse backgrounds, who open dialogue about the importance of respect and the consequences of unchallenged hatred, is one of the most important ways of creating strong and engaged global citizens.

23. Teachers must be given the space to have these conversations, free from the burden of programmes such as Prevent. This allows more diverse groups of students to be welcomed into a positive community of children inspired to challenge hatred, concurrently increasing diversity and social cohesion.
24. Diversity in schools is very important. Evidence shows that positive relationships with individuals of different ethnic groups and social backgrounds encourages children ‘to decrease prejudice’ and have ‘more cross-group friendships’.^{xlv} This inherently creates a more cohesive and integrated community, but it also encourages a ripple effect out to the wider community. If children are learning positive lessons of inclusivity in school, this is likely to be brought home with them after they leave the classroom.

Question 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?

25. *Remembering Srebrenica*: The lessons of the genocide in Srebrenica are as important today as they ever have been. In a heterogeneous yet integrated community, living side-by-side was not enough to ensure peace. Physical proximity did not prevent societal divides that ended in devastating violence.
26. The charity *Remembering Srebrenica* creates toolkits and activities to teach children about the genocide. These activities help children learn about the consequences of intolerance and hatred that go unchallenged. Through simple activities, such as a football match, children are made aware of this historical tragedy but given space and time to properly understand the lessons to be learned.
27. Understanding history is an important part of global citizenship education, as it encourages and inspires young people to not let similar events happen in their time.

Authors

Samidha Garg

Anja Nielsen

National Federation of Parks and Green Spaces – written evidence (CCE0151)

Background

1. The National Federation of Parks and Green Spaces (NFPGS) is the umbrella organisation amplifying the voices of the 6,000-strong local Friends Groups' movement throughout the UK.
2. This short submission is intended to highlight the important role of parks and green spaces in providing a focus for inclusive community development and aims to stress the need for additional support to nurture and assist this contribution which, in the current and future economic and social climate, is becoming even more significant and crucial to both local communities and indeed, green spaces themselves.
3. With this in mind, although NFPGS comment is submitted to be of general relevance to the inquiry topic, the submission is of most specific relevance in relation to the following inquiry questions, viz.:
 4. **Q.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?**
 - 4.1. There are estimated to be more than 27,000 parks and green spaces across the UK. These spaces are diverse, ranging from large city parks with many facilities and amenities, to small local neighbourhood or pocket parks.
 - 4.2. The recent Heritage Lottery Fund's State of UK Public Parks 2016 report found that three quarters of local authority park managers had reported increases in visitor numbers over the past three years. Usage was particularly high among:
 - people between the ages of 25 and 34 (70 per cent use their park at least once a month);
 - households with children under the age of five (90 per cent use their park at least once a month);
 - people identifying as Black and Minority Ethnic (of whom 71 per cent use their park at least once a month compared to 56 per cent of people identifying as White).
 - 4.3. Park usage is also higher among those living in urban areas than those living in rural areas (61 per cent compared to 51 per cent use their parks at least once a month). Different parks play different roles in their communities, and people use different parks in different ways.

- 4.4. On a regular basis these inclusive environments are an integral component of the lifestyle of all, irrespective of age, income, ability or ethnicity. Moreover, the nation's parks and green spaces have become an established focus for community activity and integration, common ground where individuals, families and user groups can meet, socialize, relax, play and recreate.
- 4.5. In this manner, parks have become an important driver for community cohesion, providing an accessible, free resource supporting activities vital to health and wellbeing, helping develop a sense of place and local pride and removing neighbourhood barriers.
- 4.6. To support this activity large numbers of community and 'Friends' groups have developed across the UK – an estimated 5,900 according to the HLF State of the UK Parks 2016 report. These committed and enthusiastic local champions work to sustain their local green assets through projects and events and the 2016 report estimated park friends groups raise £50m each year, with a further 'in kind' contribution of £70m from volunteering hours each year. In many cases this has been achieved through partnership working and building relationships between individuals and groups, often including public and private sector - from schools to supermarkets.

5. Q.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?

- 5.1. There is a growing crisis for the management of the UK's 27,000 urban green spaces, as central Government continues to cut local authority funding. With similar challenges to public services in the late 1970s and 1980s many parks gradually but inexorably slid into decline over the next two decades. In response, the Friends movement mushroomed from a few hundred local groups to now several thousands nationwide.
- 5.2. Owing to current austerity measures, public sector funding for discretionary and 'non-statutory' services like parks is projected to continue to fall by 60 per cent or more over the next decade hence the significance of the contributions of park communities to local neighbourhoods is becoming increasingly important. However, austerity is now also jeopardizing the viability and activity of these groups with the loss of resources, both in terms of capital and revenue funding affecting not only the fabric of green spaces but also the vital community development and support work essential to sustain the groups themselves.
- 5.3. The combination of reductions in park management and maintenance, coupled with threats to the mitigating effect of community engagement is creating a downward spiral of deterioration, often exacerbated by increased anti-social behaviour - the antithesis of the positive impact resulting from cohesive parks communities engaged

in successful place-making and place-keeping activities.

- 5.4. With these issues to the fore, last year the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG) Committee undertook a Public Parks Inquiry, and the subsequent report (11 February 2017) duly noted:

The level of response has clearly demonstrated the strength of the feeling people have for their local parks and green spaces, and how much parks are valued by individuals, families and communities.

Parks and green spaces are treasured assets and are often central to the lives of their communities. They provide opportunities for leisure, relaxation and exercise, but are also fundamental to community cohesion, physical and mental health and wellbeing, biodiversity, climate change mitigation, and local economic growth. These benefits have long been recognised, but within a context of budget reductions and tightening financial circumstances it is increasingly important that we find ways to quantify the wider value of parks in order to access new sources of funding and target investment in areas of greatest impact.

Parks face considerable challenges. As shared community assets, they must serve many different purposes, and be able to respond to the different and sometimes clashing needs of local communities. They must compete with other services for investment to secure their short and long term sustainability. Distribution of parks is unequal across the country, with many deprived communities struggling to access the benefits which green spaces can provide.

- 5.5. Chair of the DCLG Public Parks Inquiry, Clive Betts MP stated:

Parks are treasured public assets, as the overwhelming response to our inquiry demonstrates, but they are at a tipping point, and if we are to prevent a period of decline with potentially severe consequences then action must be taken. The Government have a leadership and co-ordination role to play and volunteers do fantastic work in the sector, but the primary responsibility lies with local authorities.

- 5.6. Moreover, the Inquiry reported noted the importance of Park friends and community groups:

We welcome the contribution made to parks by friends, volunteer and other community groups and individuals across the country. The time and efforts which people freely give to their parks should not be underestimated, and nor should the benefits for parks, communities and for the individuals themselves.

- 5.7. Many of these groups meet up together locally through more than 50 local area Forums and NFPGS is actively working to support and develop the local, regional and national network to improve sharing of good practice and provide a collective voice to support, protect and improve this legacy.

5.8. Indeed, in 2016 the HLF ‘State of UK Public Parks’ report recommended greater collaboration and co-ordination between partners to maximize the efficient use of limited resources and local networks to support groups. This report also recommended new opportunities for capacity building skills and training to help groups and the parks sector.

5.9. These recommendations were endorsed by the CLG Public Parks Inquiry report:

We welcome the steps taken by the parks sector in England to fill the gap left by CABE Space and Greenspace, such as the establishment of the Parks Alliance and the National Federation of Parks and Green Spaces, the Future Parks project led by the National Trust, and the work undertaken as part of Nesta’s Rethinking Parks programme to bring together a database of people and groups with an interest in parks. However, these initiatives, although important and commendable, will not necessarily be enough to provide the coordination and facilitate the sharing of best practice which we believe is necessary to secure and support a sustainable future for England’s parks. We believe that the importance of parks to national strategic objectives such as climate change mitigation and public health mean that there needs to be leadership and vision at the level of national government. We look to the Minister to provide this.

5.10. It is the firm belief of NFPGS that in recognition of the important contribution which parks and their communities make to citizenship and community engagement, the CLG inquiry recommendations are equally applicable to this House of Lords Inquiry.

5.11. Moreover, in recognition of the multiple benefits to both environment and people associated with parks and their communities, the NFPGS reiterates the call to make the provision and management of parks a statutory obligation, protecting and sustaining this special community legacy.

8 September 2017

National Secular Society – written evidence (CCE0133)

About the National Secular Society

1. The National Secular Society works for the separation of religion and state and equal respect for everyone's human rights so that no one is either advantaged or disadvantaged on account of their beliefs.
2. We regard secularism as an essential feature of a fair and open society, in which people of all faiths and none can engage with society on the basis of equal citizenship. We therefore welcome the opportunity to make a submission to the Select Committee On Citizenship and Civic Engagement.

Strengthening people's identity as citizens

3. The UK today has incredible religious diversity. Immigration and secularisation have driven significant changes in the UK's religious makeup. It is regrettable that in recent decades, successive governments have encouraged a multicultural approach to deal with the changing demographics of society. This has tended to manage diversity at the cost of undermining common citizenship and eroding some common human rights and values.
4. We regard it as highly problematic that state-managed multiculturalism (as opposed to 'lived multiculturalism') and multifaithism, has led to civil society being actively encouraged to organise around exclusive religious identities.
5. More recently, multiculturalism has evolved into 'multifaithism', with identity described around religion. This has resulted in an approach which emphasises communal or group rights, and treats minority religions as homogenous. Such an approach, like multiculturalism, gives unjustified power to group leaders, sometimes at the expense of individual human rights.
6. A focus on 'communal rights' under the multicultural framework has led to horrendous abuses, from female genital mutilation (FGM) to forced marriage, as people (particularly women) have been left isolated from mainstream society and trapped in cultural and religious blocs, within which group pressure and 'shame' culture denies them their legal rights.
7. Likewise, under the emerging 'multi-faith' approach where minority groups are seen exclusively through the prism of religion, the rights of women and 'minorities within minorities' are abandoned and ignored, and secular space has diminished. These groups include, for example, gay Muslims, ex- Muslims, and (though not a minority) women. By shutting off, or starving support from, secular avenues for engagement, the state limits the options for such groups.

8. The increasing use of sharia as a system for alternative dispute resolution in the UK strikes at the heart of shared citizenship and therefore should be a particular area of concern. Sharia is a system which leaves children vulnerable and discriminates openly against women, undermining their legal and political equality.
9. We regard it as imperative that the state treats all citizens equally as individuals rather than as members of communities that are only deemed to be accessible through invariably patriarchal and often unrepresentative community leaders.
10. The media, too, sometimes still resorts to ‘community leaders’ to access hard-to-reach groups. This strengthens traditionalist voices, who are often unrepresentative and/or opposed to the interests of the minority groups within minorities. Both the media and the state should interact with minority religious groups through shared civic engagement, elected representatives, councillors and MPs, as they would with the rest of the population.
11. Increasing secularity and the fragmentation of religious belief means the need to treat people as individual citizens rather than as members of a religion has become even more apparent. No faith-based approach from the state will ever encompass every strand of belief that exists in the UK today, and a human rights, individual-centred approach – rather than the failed multicultural or multi-faithist model – is vital for every citizen to be treated and valued equally.
12. Secularisation has resulted not only in the decline of both religious beliefs and identities, but also for many the disentanglement of religious and political/social engagement. The assumption that citizens (particularly of minority faiths) will hold particular views or want to engage with civil society/state interventions on the basis of faith, is highly problematic. Britons of all faiths and none share many complicated overlapping identities, many of which may be more relevant than their faith identity in different contexts.
13. The UK must develop notions of universal rights and responsibilities that transcend all faith and belief systems. Multi-faith societies must also ensure that no citizen is favoured or discriminated against on the basis of their religious identity and should promote shared rather than sectarian values. Principles of equality and human rights are the foundation of equal citizenship; these values should be central to young people's education.

The role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship

14. We regard citizenship education as a key element in preparing young people to exercise their rights as active, autonomous and equal citizens. The concept of equal citizenship regardless of one's religious or philosophical beliefs is central to secularism and something schools rightly have a duty to promote.

15. We welcome initiatives which bring together school communities in order to participate as citizens, as well as mechanisms such as National Citizen Service which bring young people together in a community based on a concept of shared citizenship. While many young people grow up as members of cultural or religious communities, it is important that they gain the skills and opportunities to participate in the multiple overlapping communities that make up modern Britain.
16. We would like to see citizenship education strengthened. The subject should enable all young people to critically and practically explore the values and ideas which underpin the concept of equal citizenship. The subject's content should enable students to recognise the protections granted to all people, regardless of belief, by human rights instruments such as the Human Rights Act 1998 - based on the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) - and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), to which the UK is a signatory.
17. We further suggest that it would be helpful to emphasise that human rights apply to individuals and not organisations or ideologies – and for students to explore the difficulties with models of citizenship where human rights do apply to identity groups rather than individuals. Young people should be able to understand the rights and responsibilities which underpin the different communities within the schools, workplaces, civil-society and nation which they will grow up navigating.
18. In line with the duty on schools to promote 'British values', we believe the consideration of the impact of equality law and human rights on the nature of citizenship should be a key component of the subject. We would encourage an emphasis on the role of the individual citizen here, where every citizen has a vote, and that it is through the bestowal of the status of equal individual citizenship that the UK ultimately views and treats its citizens.
19. Part of the solution to the problem of the development of parallel legal systems in minority communities may be to ensure that all schools, both in the state and independent sector, are under a duty to promote understanding of citizenship and legal rights under UK law so that people – particularly Muslim women and girls – are aware of and able to access their legal rights and do not regard religious 'courts' as sources of genuine legal authority.
20. Similar to the way that a 'Secular Charter' is displayed in a prominent position in French schools to remind pupils and teachers of the country's secular, Republican principles, consideration might be given to displaying the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in schools.
21. Given the transformative demographic and social change which is taking place in Britain, the concept of secularism, with its commitment to *everyone's* religious liberty, stands to benefit us all. Religious conflict and sectarian grievances have the potential to tear

societies apart. Secularism, properly understood, offers the chance for citizens to live in peace with other citizens whose creed is different from their own. We would therefore like to see explicit reference to secularism in the citizenship curriculum.

22. There is a pressing need to ensure that young people develop into citizens who are capable of living together well in 21st century Britain. By empowering the next generation of active citizens, and educating them together regardless of their religious or belief backgrounds, we can hopefully to move closer to the ideal of equal citizenship.

Faith schools and the relationship between citizenship and social cohesion and integration

23. It is impossible to ignore the impact that a lack of diversity in schools has on integration in society as a whole – and the implications this has for the concept of shared British citizenship.
24. Education is probably the best chance we have to promote shared citizenship and stimulate future social harmony and cohesion. That chance is being wasted by pursuing policies that promote faith-based, sectarian and fragmented schooling.
25. Even as we prepare this submission, the Government is contemplating abandoning the only meaningful effort to promote diversity and address the problems caused by faith-based schooling. Plans to abolish the 50% admission cap on faith schools, which currently limits religious discrimination in the admissions policies of oversubscribed new faith schools, would be a highly retrograde step that can only exacerbate the problems caused by religiously segregated schooling.
26. The UK's long-standing commitment to religious schooling has encouraged the idea that it is acceptable and even desirable for children's education to be organised around religious identities. This has more recently encouraged religious minorities to establish their own schools: some within the state sector, some in the independent sector, and some in the burgeoning 'homeschool' and illegal sectors. We believe this will have profound implications for future social cohesion and shared citizenship, and run the risk of leaving some children vulnerable to extremism.
27. The school environment, where young people participate on a basis of equal pupilship, is a training ground to the adult environment where they will be expected to participate on the basis of equal citizenship. If young people are raised in an environment where pupilship is based on religion or belief rather than equality, it sends the message that citizenship too can be based on religion and belief rather than equality.
28. One of the most concerning aspects of faith schools is their potential to divide and segregate children along religious and ethnic lines. The Social Integration Commission has warned that "increased numbers of children [are] being educated in peer groups dominated by a single faith group or community".

29. Demos has warned that British schools are “highly segregated” and that “religious identities often overlap with ethnic identities and therefore some faith schools effectively exclude other ethnic groups.” This mirrors the self-segregation of some religious minorities from wider society. This is deeply troubling and an inevitable result of a divisive faith-based approach to education.
30. Studies have shown that the younger children from all backgrounds start to be educated together, the more successfully they integrate⁶²⁰. If they are very young, this draws in the parents too. The more they integrate, the better their chances of employment and consequently the less the chance of social exclusion.
31. We therefore recommend a move away from faith-based education in favour of inclusive secular schooling which promotes commonly shared societal, rather than religion-specific, values. The most effective mechanism to boost integration would be to ensure that all publicly funded schools are fully inclusive and open to all children, without regard to religion.
32. Promoting shared universal values would better enable schools to develop a strong common social identity amongst young British citizens, a key component in building social cohesion. Allowing schools to promote the superiority of one particular religion or set of religious values, even implicitly, is inimical to this aim.

What are the values that all of us who live in Britain should share and support?

33. We would welcome the development of national identity based around a firm commitment to equality and universal human rights, encompassing the values of democracy, separation of religion and state, the rule of law, individual liberty, and tolerance.
34. We were broadly supportive of the introduction of the duty on schools to promote “British values” as we regard it as important that throughout all aspects of education, and indeed civil society, there is an emphasis on the basic values that underpin a free, equal and progressive society.
35. We strongly warn against rhetoric repeatedly used by Government that seeks to identify Britain as a “Christian nation”. Christianity is but one influence among many that shape our current way of life. We are a nation of many denominations and religions and large sectors of the population do not hold, or practice, religious beliefs, while many who are religious do not define their primary identity in religious terms. As citizens we share many things, but one thing we do not share is religious faith. Any approach which seeks to label the values widely shared by UK citizens as uniquely “Christian” is not only erroneous, but also doomed to be out-of-touch with the views and lifestyles of the

⁶²⁰ <http://www.secularism.org.uk/uploads/social-cohesion-sharing-crisps-with-someone-different.pdf>

population and counterproductive in promoting the concept of shared values and citizenship.

36. If there is to be a serious consideration of the values, principles and processes that might play a role in bringing people together and promoting engaged citizenship, the presence of a state religion cannot be ignored. A rethink is required about the merits of an Established Church and the way in which the link between Church and State manifests itself in our national institutions and ceremonies.
37. The existence of a legally-enshrined, national religion and an established church privileges one part of the population, one institution and one set of beliefs. A national religion which retains archaic and unjust privileges risks disenfranchising the rest of the population – the vast majority of which do not belong to or attend services of the Church of England.
38. The presence of an ex officio Bishops' Bench in the House of Lords is also representative of institutional favouritism for one religion. It is a privilege which sits uneasily in a modern democracy and is contrary to aspirations for a more representative and equitable Parliament.
39. Christianity in general, and the Church of England in particular, can no longer be fully inclusive of the whole nation. It is therefore also legitimate to question the appropriateness of the Church being so closely associated with national ceremonies such as the National Service of Remembrance, which should be equally inclusive of all citizens regardless of religion and belief. For similar reasons it also appropriate to question the relevance of the British National Anthem. *God Save The Queen* is unlikely to inspire citizens in modern, secular and religiously-diverse Britain.

Summary

40. Living together successfully requires a celebration of diversity to be matched with a celebration of equality and respect for democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. Accommodating the vast plethora of identities within Britain requires engagement to be based on equal citizenship, rather than any particular identity frame.
41. The basis of the secular state which protects the rights of all citizens and shared civic spaces, from schools to high streets, should be protected. Britain should not be a 'Christian club' that tolerates 'outsiders'. A more secular outlook would enable all citizens, whatever their religious affiliations, cultural background, sex, or sexuality, to be — and to be made to feel like — equal citizens.

8 September 2017

National Union of Students (NUS) – written evidence (CCE0106)

The National Union of Students (NUS) is a confederation of more than 600 students' unions, representing more than 95 per cent of all higher education and further education unions in the UK. We also established the National Society of Apprentices in 2014, which now represents over 150,000 apprentices from all sectors and industries in the UK.

Through our member students' unions, NUS represents the interests of more than seven million students. NUS represents students and students' unions to ensure that education is transformative, skills and learning are accessible and every student in the UK is empowered to achieve their potential.

NUS is grateful for the opportunity to submit evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement. This inquiry is of particular interest of NUS, who have been long term advocates of political education and votes at 16. We have chosen to focus on questions which bear the most direct relevance to live areas of our organizational policy and areas which are of most interest to NUS' student members. We would welcome the opportunity to contribute further to this inquiry in any way as needed.

What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

1. NUS believes that citizenship and civic engagement in the 21st century means fully participating in and positively contributing to community life. This includes volunteering locally and having involvement with community organisations such as libraries, hospitals, sports clubs, mutual interest groups and faith groups. Engagement in civic life not only includes registering and turning up to vote, but goes beyond this and involves having political literacy and seeing students campaigning on issues that they care about. Civic engagement is fundamentally about students engaging with politics on a local and national level and being effective in making positive change happen.
2. Citizenship and civic life is also about global awareness. This is about students being tolerant, having intercultural awareness and respecting diversity. It is important within any one society to understand that some issues are too big for any one country to deal with and know that actions at home can have wider consequences around the world.
3. It matters that students are aware of their rights and responsibilities as citizens so that they can engage with and influence the issues they care about. NUS has particular interest in, and concern for, this as the rights of students – and citizens more broadly – come under threat through the Great Repeal Bill and loss of the

Charter of Fundamental Rights or as Brexit threatens to close down opportunities to study and work internationally.

4. For students, issues of citizenship, civic engagement and identity are inextricably linked. Students are often labelled as ‘apathetic’ when it comes to engaging in formal politics, but this simply is not true. Students have told us time and time again that they have felt disillusioned with a political class that has failed to recognise them. This disillusion has led to a lack of action at the ballot box, with turnout amongst 18-24s as low as 44 per cent 2015. In this year’s election, it rose as high as 60 per cent with shock results coming through from student heavy cities such as Lincoln, Plymouth South, Derby North and Canterbury. When students see their identities or their interests reflected in formal politics, they can turn out to vote in force.

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. NUS believes that limits to the voting age and the existing voter registration process act as a barrier to active political engagement. As a founding member of the Votes at 16 coalition, NUS is committed to securing the right to vote for all 1.5 million 16 and 17 year olds across the UK. We welcome the lowering of the voting age in Scottish local elections in 2015 and the possible future lowering of the voting age in Wales and call on the UK Government to extend this right for all 16 & 17 year olds across the UK.
6. 16 and 17 year olds contribute to and participate in society in many ways and should be able to have a say on the issues that affect them. They can consent to medical treatment, work full time, pay income tax and National Insurance, claim tax credits and welfare benefits, give consent to sexual relationships, get married or have a civil partnership and join the armed forces. These issues fundamentally impact the life of young people and yet without the right to vote, they are denied the opportunity to have a say on them. These issues affect the lives of 16 and 17 year olds in the same way they do for everyone aged 18 and above, so young people should be able to have their say in shaping these issues in the same way. In NUS’ recent report into the experiences of students in FE and technical education, one student echoed this argument *“I know 16 year olds who are paying tax, so why don’t we get a vote? At 16 we have access to information. A lot of things affect young people so we should have a say. Votes at 16 should be combined with political education.”*⁶²¹

⁶²¹ <https://www.nus.org.uk/PageFiles/12238/Students%20Shaping%20Post%2016%20Skills%20.pdf>

7. A poll run by NUS in summer 2016 found that 76% of 16 and 17 year olds said that they would have voted in the EU referendum had they had the chance⁶²². Similarly, the Scottish independence referendum in 2014 saw 109,593 16 and 17 year olds register to vote, with 75% of young people claiming to have voted⁶²³. Whilst there is no one complete answer to improving engagement in formal politics, voting from an early age can be a catalyst for a route towards individuals understanding their rights and responsibilities as citizens. Getting people involved in politics from a young age can encourage them to stay politically active throughout their lives; 97% of 16 and 17 year olds who reported having voted in the Scottish Independence Referendum said they would vote again in future elections⁶²⁴.
8. The introduction of the system of individual electoral registration (IER) in 2014 presents a further barrier to the active political engagement of students and young people, with the switch knocking thousands of people in the UK, predominantly students who would have previously been block registered by their institution, off from the electoral register. Looking at the 21 regions with the highest population density of students across the UK, registered voters dropped by 181,552 in 2014, nineteen times higher than the drop-off the previous year of 9,727.⁶²⁵
9. In 2014 NUS made clear that any proposal to introduce IER must include a clear and thorough plan as to how the risks to registration levels can be mitigated.⁶²⁶ We recognise that since 2014 campaigns targeted at students have been run locally and nationally in an attempt to drive up registrations. Similarly NUS and students' unions continue to play a vital role in getting students registered to vote.
10. NUS further recognises that IER has brought with it the possibility for online registration and this is a great benefit for students. NUS believes however that the negatives of IER greatly outweigh the positives for students. Following the 2015 general election the Association of Electoral Administrators reported that *"The registration of students and care homes under IER is extremely difficult under current legislative procedures and has resulted in far fewer students and care home residents being registered. A review of how these two groups can be registered more easily should be undertaken, with consideration being given to allowing EROs to directly register people at institutions"*.⁶²⁷

⁶²² <https://www.nusconnect.org.uk/articles/eu-ref-16-and-17-year-olds-are-being-denied-a-say-on-their-future>

⁶²³ https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/179812/Scottish-independence-referendum-report.pdf

⁶²⁴ https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/179812/Scottish-independence-referendum-report.pdf

⁶²⁵ <http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN06764/SN06764.pdf>

⁶²⁶ <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmpolcon/writev/1463/m23.htm>

⁶²⁷ <https://www.aea-elections.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/aea-report-elections-and-ier-challenge-of-2015.pdf>

11. Through the recently passed Higher Education and Research Act 2017, there will now be an obligation on higher education institutions to do more to support the registration of their students to vote. This is a positive move that NUS called for and supported during the passage of the legislation, and continues to support; however, we – as others have – note that the final legislation did not go so far as to prescribe a specific mechanism for universities and HEIs to implement to improve student voter registration levels. Universities like Sheffield, and elsewhere, have demonstrated remarkable success in increasing their levels of voter registration through integrating voter registration at the point of course enrolment – what is known as the ‘Sheffield model’.
12. With the Higher Education and Research Act now passed, and its voter registration clause at a critical juncture as guidance and advice to institutions is formed, we believe it is imperative that as many institutions are supported to introduce their own variants of the ‘Sheffield model’ to maximise the opportunity that this Act now presents.
13. More widely, NUS urges the government to explore alternatives to IER which make it easier for students – and citizens – to register to vote and remain registered, automatically.

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?

14. NUS believes that education plays a crucial role in supporting students to become active citizens. In 2016 NUS conducted a consultation with FE students which saw us visiting hundreds of students across dozens of colleges throughout England and asked, what is important to them when they complete their education. Students across the country repeatedly identified that they would like to have access to political education to help them become active citizens and develop social & civic skills⁶²⁸.
15. NUS believes that all students should have access to citizenship education from primary level through to university. This should enable students to leave education feeling equipped with the skills, knowledge and experience to become active, well-informed, confident members of their local, national and global communities. This means making sure that education covers politics and democratic life, as well as social issues such as sex and relationship education (SRE), sustainability and inequality, critical thinking and holistic understanding of equality and diversity.

⁶²⁸ <https://www.nusconnect.org.uk/resources/expectations-of-learners-in-area-reviews-waves-1-3>

16. NUS notes that Citizenship has been a statutory subject on the national curriculum since 2002 and that all secondary schools in England will be required to teach sex and relationships education through the Children and Social Work Bill 2017. NUS believes that the scope of citizenship education is currently too narrow and should encompass wider political and constitutional rights, as well as social issues including global citizenship and sustainability, legal rights and financial literacy, human rights, liberation, and diversity. ‘Active citizenship’ should be given priority and embedded as far as possible across the curriculum.
17. In our 2017 report with GuildHE, NUS outlined six key ways in which higher education institutions can play a role in supporting students to become active citizens⁶²⁹. This includes providing volunteering opportunities, encouraging democratic engagement, encouraging sustainable actions, engaging with the local community, developing identities as global citizens and creating the space for self-reflection and personal development. Educational institutions and students’ unions alike play a crucial role in delivering this.
18. Citizenship education shouldn’t just start at HE and in NUS’ recent report on students in FE and technical education we identified that many students are unhappy with the citizenship education they currently receive and would like to see more of a focus on society and politics. One student said *“They don’t teach us anything like that [civic education & politics] in school. You get a bit of it here but depends on what course you’re on”*⁶³⁰. FE students should be taught about formal politics and voting but also about volunteering and community engagement, to provide routes to engaging in civic life beyond typical democratic activity.

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?

19. NUS believes that the ability to communicate in a common language is the bedrock of a shared and communal society. For many UK residents whose first language is not English, ESOL is their way to find employment, enter education, and engage with their local communities and public services. The 2011 census found that 760,000 UK residents lack English language proficiency. This is a barrier to employment, education and social cohesion⁶³¹.
20. Despite being an essential lifeline for so many across the UK looking to integrate into society and take up their role as citizens, over recent years we’ve seen extensive and

⁶²⁹ <http://www.guildhe.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/6710-Guild-HE-Active-Citizenship-Report-44pp.pdf>

⁶³⁰ <https://www.nus.org.uk/PageFiles/12238/Students%20Shaping%20Post%202016%20Skills%20.pdf>

⁶³¹ <https://www.ons.gov.uk/census/2011census>

damaging cuts to English language services. In 2008 the Government spent £230 million on ESOL funding and by 2015 this had been cut by 60% in real terms⁶³². What is more, wider cuts to the adult skills budget have left providers unable to find funding from other sources. NUS notes that in January 2016 the Government announced a £20 million English language tuition fund, however this sum only goes part of the way of recovering funding for ESOL lost over recent years.

21. 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. It is clear that far more than the 140,000 learners currently on ESOL courses wish to take them up⁶³³.
22. In December 2016 the Casey Review into how social integration can be improved across the UK found that community cohesion is being undermined by ongoing funding cuts to ESOL courses. It concluded that: *“The government should support further targeted English language provision by making sufficient funding available for community-based English language classes, and through the adult skills budget for local authorities to prioritise English language where there is a need”*.⁶³⁴
23. According to both the 2011 Equality Impact Assessment into ESOL cuts and the 2016 Casey Review into social cohesion, a lack of English proficiency is particularly prevalent among Muslim, Polish, Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities, while women are more likely than men to not be able to speak English well or at all. This leads to lower wages, lower community integration and less civic participation.
24. If the Government is serious about integration of migrants, ESOL is a low-cost and straightforward solution. NUS recommends that the Government reverses recent cuts and delivers a sustainable public funding settlement for ESOL provision and all UK citizens should have a statutory right to ESOL if required, independent of immigration or employment status.

7 September 2017

⁶³² <http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7905#fullreport>

⁶³³ <http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7905#fullreport>

⁶³⁴ https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/575973/The_Casey_Review_Report.pdf

New Citizenship Project – written evidence (CCE0170)

How can government and parliament best create and support an engaged and active citizenry in Britain?

(1.1) A word first on where this response is coming from: the [New Citizenship Project](#) is a pioneering strategy and innovation company, on a mission to support the shift in the dominant story of the individual in society from Consumer to Citizen. We help organisations do things better (and do better things) because we think of people differently, using creative industry skills to inspire participation from people as Citizens instead of simply serving them as Consumers. Our work spans all industries and all sectors, with clients including Tate, Guardian, National Trust, and many more. Our way of working is rooted in defining generative inquiry questions, in response to which we then work alongside our clients, supporting them to innovate, test and learn.

(1.2) In this submission to the [House of Lords Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement](#), we'd like to begin by articulating an illustrative example core question government might hold openly with the citizens of Britain, in order to create the space for the engaged and broad-based 21st century citizenry we believe we could have in this country:

How can government and parliament best create and support an engaged and active citizenry in Britain?

(1.3) Even articulating a question in this way represents a significant shift from the current framing of this call for evidence as another example of outdated and dry public “engagement”, which is practically impenetrable to all but the usual suspects. It's great that this Select Committee is happening at all, but we see a huge opportunity for its medium to match its message: for you to facilitate a genuine public conversation about what the relationship between the state and the citizen might be.

(1.4) In other words, **our first unashamedly provocative response is that if government really want to figure out how best to engage citizens, you should be asking them.** Our dream project would be to help you ask that question - to help you hold the space for a true national conversation - not just to try to answer it for you ourselves.

(1.5) Accepting for now, though, the remit of this call for evidence, there are a further four contributions we would like to make: a conceptual framing, and then three categories of action we would recommend.

Conceptual framing:

The Citizen is a concept of the role of the individual in society, not a legal status

(2.1) The default use of the word Citizen is, at least implicitly, as a legal status. This is the case in the text of this call for evidence, in the terms of which “citizenship” is shorthand for “British citizenship”.

(2.2) This is an unhelpful starting point, and needs to be explicitly set aside. I can be a citizen of my town, of England, of the United Kingdom, of Europe, and of the world, whether or not any or all of these have a legal status attached. Thinking and acting as an interdependent member of the community at each and every one of these levels is what it takes to live a good life; not choosing between them. Citizenship is not a question of what passport we hold; it is an idea of who we are as human beings, a question of what we can do, and what we should.

(2.3) As such, the idea of the Citizen is better understood in contrast to two other ideas of who we are: the Subject, and the Consumer. In Subject mode, we do as we are told by our betters, with little or no power to shape the course of our own lives. In Consumer mode, we have the power to choose and the right to complain; our role is to get the best deal for ourselves, as narrowly defined individuals. In Citizen mode, we can and want to shape the societies and communities we live in. We define what the available options are, instead of just choosing between them; and we seek the best for the defined community as a whole, not just our own immediate self-interest.

SUBJECT	CONSUMER	CITIZEN
DEPENDENT	INDEPENDENT	INTERDEPENDENT
TO	FOR	WITH
RELIGIOUS	MATERIAL	SPIRITUAL
DUTY	RIGHTS	PURPOSE
OBEY	DEMAND	PARTICIPATE
RECEIVE	CHOOSE	CREATE
COMMAND	SERVE	FACILITATE
PRINT	ANALOGUE	DIGITAL
HIERARCHY	BUREAUCRACY	NETWORK
SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE	DELIBERATIVE

Quickfire concepts table from [This Is The #CitizenShift](#)

Action pathway 1:

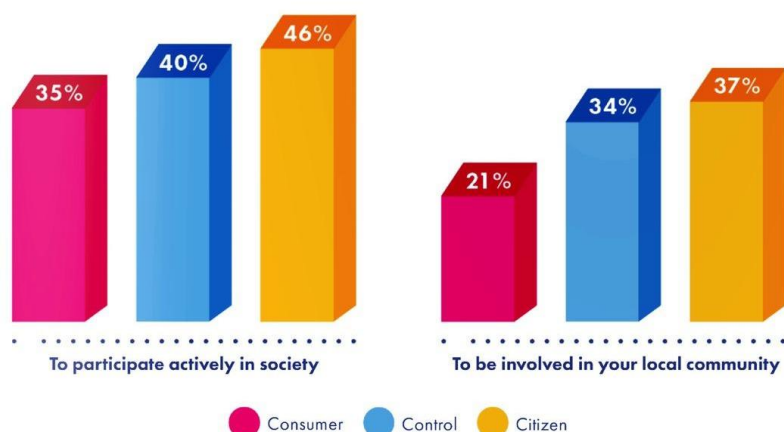
Stop undermining the Citizenship inherent in human nature

(3.1) The good news is, human beings are inherently participatory, empathic, collaborative creatures - despite what we may have told ourselves over the last century or so. There is a growing consensus in the fields of animal behaviour and evolutionary biology, perhaps most popularly expressed by Frans de Waal in his TED talk on [Moral Behaviour in Animals](#), that empathy and collaboration are as significant as drivers of evolution as competition and status. The potential for Citizenship is present in all of us.

(3.2) But we don't exist in a vacuum. The messages we receive in our day to day lives (through the news, through advertising, through the built environment), the measures that govern us (what success looks like at home, at work, in society), ultimately the way that we are invited to participate all shape our response to the world around us.

(3.3) We have been involved in a number of studies that show when people are primed to think as Consumers they are less socially motivated, less likely to participate in their communities and wider society. When people are primed to think as Citizens they are more socially motivated. This is as true with prompts as subtle as a single word, or in the case of the data below, exposure to a single normative statement. Simply asking people "to what extent do you agree that it's important to find brands that fit your personality?" can be enough to diminish significantly their motivation for local and national participation - regardless of the extent of their agreement.

(3.4) When the effect of such subtle primes is so significant, ask yourself what we are doing to Citizenship when the average person is exposed to somewhere between 1500 and 5000 commercial messages a day, when the Consumer Confidence Index is reported regularly as a critical indicator of societal success, and when "consumers" becomes more of a colloquialism than "people" - let alone "citizens". Citizenship needs air to breathe, as well as nourishment.



The priming effect of Consumer and Citizen norms, gathered in partnership with YouGov. Data explained fully [here](#).

**Action pathway 2:
Build lifelong Citizen skills across society**

(4.1) Nourishment is, however, important. Citizenship is a muscle you build, not a cup you empty. Citizenship education should be thought of primarily as a lifelong pursuit of learning-by-doing, that is about building this muscle and repeatedly creating the conditions for its exercise and development; not just a set of rules to be learned by rote, or something that is only for children, though we should start young.

(4.2) An obvious point to start in building the skills needed to be a Citizen is formal education. But this is not about a specific module or area of the curriculum aimed at informing young people on their status as a citizen. As measures like [Everyday Democracy](#) show, it is not just an information gap, it is a skills and belief gap. The way our children participate at school is far too limited in scale and scope, [children on average speak as little as 20 seconds during a 45 minute lesson](#). We need to move from Citizenship Education to building Citizens through all our education.

12. Case study: [School 21](#)

13. (4.3) School 21, a new school based in East London, was started on the premise that our school system wasn't adequately equipping young people with the skills they need in the 21st Century. The founders talk of "a shared belief that education must be done differently if we are to prepare young people properly for the world they are going into.... we need schools to rebalance head (academic success), heart (character and well-being) and hand (generating ideas, problem solving, making a difference)." School 21 has created approaches intended to build student's sense of agency: one of the central premises is helping students find their voice, helping them to communicate in different contexts through oracy programmes like Voice 21 developed with Cambridge University; another is in perseverance, fostering the belief that sustained effort and contribution results in better outcomes; a further approach is to work collectively, to have constructive dialogue between students through coaching groups and feedback.

(4.4) If it starts from our formative education, it certainly doesn't end there. What if...

10. Universities saw increased tuition fees as a prompt to look meaningfully at undergraduate education - moving from passive lectures into active forums - by questioning how students can meaningfully shape their own education.
11. Workplaces created more opportunities for people to act outside their immediate job roles, building employees' civic muscle e.g. employing open sourcing methods to gain ideas and insight from across the business rather than from the few in charge.
12. Government equipped administrators with the new skills of governance needed to make civic engagement meaningful: ["convening, conflict assessment, negotiation, active listening and reframing, facilitation, and consensus building"](#)

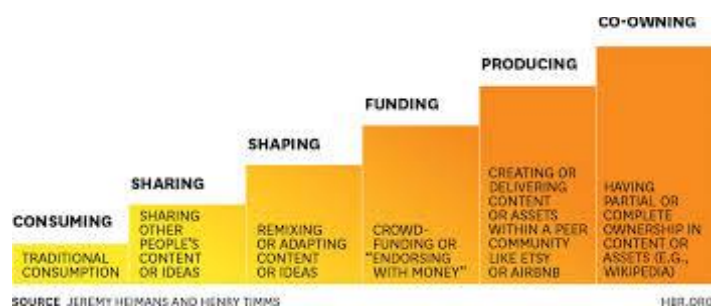
These ideas are the focus of widespread experimentation both across the world and indeed across the UK, but here at least there is little or no explicit structural support or backing from government. These structures matter.

Action pathway 3:

Develop structures, systems and spaces that encourage participation

(5.1) The skills we develop are only as good as the structures and spaces we put around them; without structures which offer these skills meaningful outlets, they wither on the vine. Sustained, broad-based civic engagement (such as the much cited example of [Porto Alegre’s participatory budgeting](#) process or the less famous [Better Reykjavik](#) platform) is only possible through establishing structures, methodology, processes, measures, and providing spaces, both physical and online, to allow for meaningful participation. The absolutely critical ingredient, though, is a meaningful level of power. Where trivial, inauthentic participation opportunities are provided, people will either not participate, or will them with the disrespect they deserve (Boaty McBoatface, anyone?).

(5.2) A useful starting point is to develop a typology of engagement opportunities, to understand what does exist and what could be created. Various models exist including Gaventa’s spaces for change and Arnstein’s ladder of participation. All emphasise the inadequacy of choice between a pre-determined set (as in voting) and of feedback on predesigned approaches (as in standard consultation processes). We prefer this model, since it accentuates what the individual can do. A revised iteration is expected in a forthcoming book in Spring 2018.



The [New Power](#) Participation Scale

(5.3) The potential implications of this for the role and processes of government are profound. Today, we have outdated “old power” policymaking systems where most people simply *consume* the outputs (in the form of public “services”) and a very few become intensively active citizens at the *sustain* level, in effect becoming institutionalised as part of government (councillors, for example). Where we need to be is a place where a far broader swathe of society are active participants in much lighter touch ways, but still more dynamic and participatory than voting.

(5.4) The momentum behind this shift from purely representative democracy to a hybrid representative-participatory model is gaining pace around the world - Taiwan’s vTaiwan platform is another of the pioneers, and there was recent fanfare in Argentina over the

announcement that 20% of the laws passed in that country in the last year originated as online citizens' proposals. The UK - or at least UK central government - needs to move further, faster.

Parting thought: a time for hope

(6.1) The nature of these sorts of discussions often tends to focus on the negative; on diagnosing the problems of disengagement, of a dearth of Citizenship, and seeking to understand the reasons for them. This, however, misses a big part of the picture. Across the country, just as across the world, people are already doing this stuff, both professionally, in the best local authorities, and in self-organised structures in local communities. We wanted to finish by citing a case study of a nascent project that we think hugely exciting; but with the caveat that such initiatives need government to come in soon as an explicit supporter of such initiative if we are to take this change to scale.

14. One to watch case study – [Participatory City](#)

15.

16. (6.2) Participatory City is a 5-year project in Barking and Dagenham with local residents, government and organisations. The objective is to increase practical participation, working with 25,000+ people to grow a new network of 250 projects and 100 businesses; projects and businesses meant to support the community in a sustainable way covering childcare, food production, retail, business skills, manufacturing and the environment. It builds upon work done with Lambeth Council in 2014/15, to develop new systems for civic engagement – both citizen to citizen and citizen to government. Participatory City is designed to counteract the fragmentation of communities, where individuals interact with organisations and institutions over and above peer to peer learning and support. The approach is to develop local projects that find new ways of fostering participation and getting resources to the people who need them most: “a re-organisation of local systems to lift all boats.” The learnings from the work done so far and what happens next, when done at scale, should offer real insight into the structures and spaces needed for a flourishing of participation and civic empowerment.

8 September 2017

New Philanthropy Capital – written evidence (CCE0097)

New Philanthropy Capital (NPC) is a charity consultancy and think tank focused on helping charities and funders achieve the greatest impact. We aim to transform the charity sector by increasing the impact of charities, increasing the impact of funders, and strengthening the partnership between the two.

Our work includes supporting individual charities and funders, and exploring issues affecting the wider charity sector through our think tank work. Our [State of the Sector](#) research programme considers current challenges and opportunities for the sector, and touches on many issues relevant to this inquiry.⁶³⁵ A [recent paper](#) co-authored by NPC’s chief executive Dan Corry also looks at the role civil society plays in ‘the shared society’ and how it can be strengthened.⁶³⁶

NPC exists to support social sector impact. One aspect of the sector’s impact is the role it plays in promoting individual and community well-being, and in doing so creating a more cohesive society. This can be a difficult topic to get a handle on: definitions vary and our understanding of what works, and what is most cost-effective, is limited. However, we—the public and social sectors—need to understand it better if we are make best use of the resources available.

Our response to the Committee’s inquiry should be seen in this light. In it we focus on two of the Committee’s questions: the role of the third sector in encouraging civic engagement, and steps government and Parliament can take to support this (question 7), and the effectiveness of voluntary citizenship programmes such as the National Citizen Service (question 6).

Although in this response we refer to ‘the sector’, the charity sector is far from homogeneous. Financially it is dominated by a small number of very large organisations, while one third of charities with an annual income of less than £1m are in a financially precarious position, operating with no reserves.⁶³⁷

NPC would be happy to discuss any aspect of this submission in more detail with members of the Committee.

NPC’s response to the Committee’s call for evidence

Active citizenship: the role of the third sector

The third sector has a key role to play in supporting civic engagement and active citizenship

⁶³⁵ See NPC’s website: www.thinknpc.org/our-work/projects/state-of-the-sector

⁶³⁶ Corry, D. and Stoker, G. (2017) [The ‘shared society’ needs a strong civil society](#). New Philanthropy Capital.

⁶³⁷ NCVO (2016) [The UK Civil Society Almanac 2016](#).

1. The third sector—by which we mean informal voluntary and community groups or associations as well as formal, established charities and social enterprises—provides a means through which people can exercise active citizenship. It provides a space in which people of different backgrounds, experiences and outlooks come together to explore shared interests or pursue a common cause. **Charities therefore play a key role in bringing people together and inspiring civic action by offering opportunities for people to be active in their communities.** This is particularly important in the aftermath of the EU referendum campaign, which has exposed and created divisions in society.
2. Charities are increasingly thinking about the role they play within the wider community. As part of NPC's [State of the Sector research programme](#) we undertook quantitative and qualitative research involving 400 charity sector leaders. The findings, set out in [Charities taking charge](#), show 66% of sector leaders surveyed see community networks as important to achieving their mission.⁶³⁸ This is particularly true for smaller organisations, while larger organisations increasingly see themselves playing a role in building community capacity.⁶³⁹
3. There are different aspects of citizenship and people will choose to be 'active' citizens in different ways—including in ways that can be uncomfortable for government, such as campaigning and activism. Civil society provides a route for people to exercise active citizenship in this way, too. Campaigning is—and always has been—an important part of what the charity sector does.
4. In [Charities taking charge](#) we found that increased civic action is prompting some charities to rethink their role as one that supports, empowers and mobilises people to solve problems, rather than simply delivers products and services.⁶⁴⁰ However, the space for civil society to speak out on important issues⁶⁴¹ is narrowing. From [the Lobbying Act](#)⁶⁴¹, to the Charity Commission's [guidance on campaigning in the EU referendum](#)⁶⁴², over recent years charities have found themselves in an ever more hostile environment. **The sector has a legitimate role in raising issues that matter to beneficiaries, and society as a whole loses out if this role is restricted.**

But responsibility to deliver greater civic engagement should not be enforced upon third sector organisations

5. Charities we work with tell us that part of what makes their work effective is that it is—and is seen to be—separate to the state. This allows charities to develop trusting

⁶³⁸ Hoare, G., Shea, J. and Murray, P. (2017) [Charities taking charge: Transforming to face a changing world](#). New Philanthropy Capital, p35

⁶³⁹ Ibid, p50

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid, p52

⁶⁴¹ UK Parliament, [Transparency of Lobbying, Non-Party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration Act 2014](#), 5 February 2014

⁶⁴² Charity Commission, [The European Union referendum: The Charity Commission's regulatory guidance for charities](#), March 2016

relationships with people and to have a different kind of conversation with them. Our [research into the role of charities in the criminal justice sector](#), for example, found that this central relationship—which is built on trust and on organisations treating people as individuals—is at the heart of charities’ unique contribution to the criminal justice sector.⁶⁴³ Similarly our work [on the role of charities in health](#) highlighted this unique position between the system and the beneficiary, which allows charities to act as trusted, independent intermediaries.⁶⁴⁴

6. There are many charities whose mission is explicitly to promote active citizenship, or who tackle issues relating to citizenship and civic or political engagement. However, making this the responsibility of all third sector organisations risks undermining their independence—a central aspect of what makes them effective. **While recognising the role the third sector plays in supporting active citizenship, government should avoid placing specific responsibilities on third sector organisations to do this.**

How government can support civil society and civic engagement

The Office for Civil Society should commission research into where social capital is weakest...

7. There is a strong body of evidence linking social capital with individual and community well-being and economic growth. One big question—for policy-makers, but also for charities and philanthropic funders—is what to do in areas where social capital is weaker. NPC’s work sees us talking to foundations and philanthropists, many of whom would like to fund work in this area but are not really sure of what works.
8. There has long been a concern within the third sector that funding flows to areas where social capital is already strong, while other areas—the so-called ‘cold spots’ of civil society activity, often areas where the local economy is also weak—miss out. This problem risks being exacerbated by the shift towards citizen-led models of working set out above. As one charity sector leader put it in [Charities taking charge](#), ‘if [that model] works really well what you do is you accelerate the growth and development of those places with assets, and those without get left further behind.’⁶⁴⁵
9. So what is to be done? Firstly, we need a better understanding of the problem and of effective measures to tackle it. NPC welcomes the [Office for National Statistics \(ONS\) Social Capital Project](#) to improve the measurement of social capital in the UK.⁶⁴⁶ **Building on that, we recommend that the Office for Civil Society (OCS) commissions research**

⁶⁴³ Wyld, G. and Noble, J. (2017) [Beyond bars: Maximising the voluntary sector’s contribution in criminal justice](#). New Philanthropy Capital.

⁶⁴⁴ Bull, D., Sheil, F., Joy, I. and Bagwell, S. (2014) [Supporting good health: The role of the charity sector](#). New Philanthropy Capital.

⁶⁴⁵ Hoare, G., Shea, J. and Murray, P. *op. cit.*

⁶⁴⁶

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing/bulletins/socialcapitalintheuk/may2017>

into understanding where social capital is weakest and what works in strengthening social capital, building on existing evidence and practice.

10. NPC has also floated the idea of creating a social infrastructure index.⁶⁴⁷ This would form part of the research work proposed above and would identify the local physical and social networks that enable connections to be made and social capital to grow—everything from libraries and parks to sports facilities and meals on wheels.
11. The previous government funded the creation of community organisers to help communities and individuals express their views and concerns and to act upon them. **This programme should be kept under review to see how well it works. There may be a case for councils to be encouraged, or even funded, to have community development officers.**

...and target funding to plug the gaps

12. **Government should invest resource into strengthening social capital, targeting funding to those areas where social capital is weakest and civil society activity low—with possible sources including the dormant assets fund and EU successor funding the ‘Shared Prosperity Fund’.**
13. As we set out in [Boldness in times of change](#), effective voluntary sector infrastructure can support civil society activity by: brokering collaboration and partnerships; providing a voice for the sector with local government; supporting improvement; and giving organisations, particularly smaller ones, space to plan and think.⁶⁴⁸ We also set out how digital technology can enable a more networked sector. This has the potential to enable organisations to share knowledge and ideas on an open source, peer-to-peer basis rather than the top down ‘broadcast’ model (where one organisation takes in the knowledge and sends it out to members). **Government could do more to support the digital and data infrastructure that enables charities to have a greater impact—including by replicating the successful [Ministry of Justice Data Lab](#)⁶⁴⁹ model in health, employment and education to support charities in better understanding their impact.**
14. The hollowing-out of local infrastructure creates a major challenge to supporting smaller, more local community groups but, with a few notable exceptions, infrastructure is far down the list of priorities for most funders. **The Big Lottery Fund should consider a fund that supports bottom-up and peer-to-peer networks and collaboration.**

The wider context of people’s lives must be considered

⁶⁴⁷ Corry, D. and Stoker, G. (2017) [The ‘shared society’ needs a strong civil society](#). New Philanthropy Capital.

⁶⁴⁸ Murray, P., Hoare, G. and Wixley, S. (2016) [Boldness in times of change: Rethinking the charity sector for the future](#). New Philanthropy Capital.

⁶⁴⁹ <http://www.thinknpc.org/our-work/projects/data-labs/justice-data-lab/>

15. Active citizenship and civic engagement develops within a wider context. For example, planning policy influences whether or not there are spaces where people can interact, get to know their neighbours and find other people to associate with. This is about creating spaces where ‘acts of kindness’ can take place.⁶⁵⁰
16. There is some evidence to suggest that levels of active citizenship are influenced by people’s wider circumstances. For example, in its [review of the evidence on social capital](#), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) cites a study showing that differences in educational attainment explained 14% of variations in volunteering rates between countries, and 21% of variations in the level of interest in politics.⁶⁵¹ The same report points to a number of studies suggesting that high levels of income inequality are associated with low social capital: low levels of civic participation, and lower levels of trust. **It is not only through promoting ‘active citizenship’ that government can build active citizenship. Government should use its powers to positively influence the wider context in which active citizenship and civic engagement can develop.**
17. Similarly, we need to remember that civil society activity does not *necessarily* support active citizenship. In the same way that the way the state works can promote dependent or active citizens, so too charities can support dependence or autonomy among the people with whom they work. Equally, while charities often bring people together, they can also be divisive; civil society activity can reinforce or even create inequity. ‘Community’ groups may speak only to certain members of a community—building bonding capital, but not necessarily providing bridging capital⁶⁵², which is an important part of social cohesion. **Charities themselves need to reflect on how they work with people and whether they are supporting dependence or autonomy, and whether they include or exclude.**

The effectiveness of the National Citizen Service in creating active citizens

18. The National Citizen Service (NCS) has three aims: promoting a more cohesive society through social mixing; promoting a more responsible society by developing young people’s skills; and promoting engaged citizenship by supporting young people to carry out projects in their local community. We wish to address two aspects of NCS: whether it works, and whether it constitutes value for money. Note that NPC was involved in the [evaluation of the NCS pilots in 2012](#) as a junior partner to NatCen Social Research.⁶⁵³

There is, as yet, no evidence of the lasting impact of NCS

⁶⁵⁰ See Ferguson, Z. (2016) [Kinder communities: The power of everyday relationships](#). Carnegie Trust UK.

⁶⁵¹ Scrivens, K. and Smith, C. (2013) [Four interpretations of social capital: an agenda for measurement](#). OECD.

⁶⁵² Ibid.

⁶⁵³ NatCen Social Research, Office for Public Management and New Philanthropy Capital (2013) [Evaluation of National Citizen Service: Findings from the evaluations of the 2012 summer and autumn NCS programmes](#).

19. While external evaluations have shown some initial positive effects, we have little evidence regarding whether these initial positive changes are sustained over time. The only evidence currently available shows the initial impact drops off rapidly. On the aim of promoting a more cohesive society through increased social mixing, shortly after the summer programme more than 80% of young people said they felt more positive towards those from different backgrounds—but this had fallen to 57% 16 months later. Similar effects were seen on the aim of promoting engaged citizenship: shortly after completing the programme around 70% of participants said they were more likely to help in their local area—this had fallen to 38% 16 months later.⁶⁵⁴ The 2015 evaluation found that, two years following completion of NCS, the effects on volunteering behaviour were not statistically different from zero.⁶⁵⁵ **In order to understand the effectiveness of NCS, we need data on the long-term impact of the programme to know whether initial positive impacts on attitudes are fully sustained, and what that ultimately results in in terms of behaviours and decisions. Good control groups are needed to understand the ‘value-add’ of NCS.**

Insufficient consideration was given to value for money from the outset

20. Data on any long-term effects of the programme is needed to make an informed judgement regarding value for money. However, the evidence we have so far suggests NCS has been an expensive way to fund the voluntary sector’s work with young people, at an estimated cost per participant of £1,863 in 2016.⁶⁵⁶ The programme will have received £1.26bn funding between 2016–2020, and it is projected to have a £400m annual budget by the end of this parliament. Meanwhile, [Unison has estimated](#) that £387m was cut from youth service budgets between 2010 and 2016, resulting in the loss of over 3,500 youth work jobs and the closure of 603 youth centres.⁶⁵⁷
21. An [Ipsos MORI evaluation](#) in 2015 estimated that NCS delivered benefits of between £0.70 and £2.38 per £1 spent, based on short-term outcomes.⁶⁵⁸ A more recent [cost-benefit analysis](#) finds a much more positive picture—however, this looks at individual life-satisfaction and participation in higher education rather than the broader aims originally set out for NCS. It is also worth noting that the earnings premium from a university degree is a significant factor in the improved cost-benefit ratio.⁶⁵⁹
22. Could the same thing have been achieved more cheaply by harnessing the existing charity sector rather than establishing a new programme from scratch, with all the

⁶⁵⁴ National Audit Office (2017) [National Citizen Service](#).

⁶⁵⁵ Cameron, D., Stannard, J., Leckey, C., Hale, C. and Di Antonio, E. (2017) [National Citizen Service 2015 evaluation: main report](#). Ipsos MORI.

⁶⁵⁶ National Audit Office (2017) [National Citizen Service](#).

⁶⁵⁷ Unison (2016) [A future at risk: Cuts in youth services](#).

⁶⁵⁸ Cameron, D., Stannard, J., Leckey, C., Hale, C. and Di Antonio, E. *op cit*.

⁶⁵⁹ National Citizen Services and Jump Simetrica (2017) [If you could bottle it...: A well-being and human capital value for money analysis of the NCS 2015 programme](#).

programme development and assessment work that any new programme necessarily entails? Little thought appears to have been given to whether there were more effective or more cost-effective ways to meet the same aims—something the [National Audit Office concluded in its recent report](#), stating *'The OCS set up NCS without considering different ways it could meet its long-term aims of social responsibility, cohesion and engagement cost-effectively'*.⁶⁶⁰

There is work to be done to shape the National Citizen Service for the future

23. Looking back at what might have been is important, but of limited use now that NCS is well-established and clearly remains a political priority. **So, the focus should be on ensuring that it works effectively and on making sure we do have the necessary data to understand and improve the impact the programme has.** The recently announced partnership with the Scouts is a positive step in engaging the wider sector and building on the established expertise of charities already active in this space.
24. As noted above, programmes such as NCS are just one small part of the story. Policy-makers should not put too much weight on NCS to transform the way that young people see themselves in society, their relationships with other people of different backgrounds (socio-economic, ethnic and other), and their commitment to social action in the future. The evidence that the programme has had a lasting impact in these areas, let alone that it is cost-effective, is not yet in or conclusive. **NCS is just one small part of the story—and too often over-emphasised in debates relative to all the good work done by the voluntary, charity and community sector within communities.**

7 September 2017

⁶⁶⁰ National Audit Office (2017) [National Citizen Service](#).

Newcastle Council for Voluntary Service – written evidence (CCE0038)

Newcastle CVS is the lead infrastructure organisation for Newcastle and Gateshead's voluntary and community sector. As well as developing and supporting voluntary and community organisations to be more sustainable and resilient, we organise networks and events and represent the voluntary and community sector in strategic discussions. We carry out research and produce policy studies. We have over 750 member and associate organisations that are local voluntary and community organisations, CICs and social enterprises and operate in Newcastle and Gateshead.

Newcastle and Gateshead are based in the North East of England. Newcastle is a city with two universities and a population of around 300,000 people living in mainly urban areas. Gateshead has an inner urban area, a larger more rural population (former mining villages) and a population of around 200,000 people. Both areas have council wards that are in the lowest 10% of wards in the Index of Multiple Deprivation.

1. Until recently, both populations in Newcastle and Gateshead would have been defined by (relative) stability, but in the last fifteen years, the outcome of migration (within and outside the UK); the impact of the universities; and desire to access to better paid jobs means both areas now have a much greater number of residents who have lived in the area for less than five years. Is citizenship about place? Is about belonging and identity? How do you define yourself if it is in relation to others – work, family, partnership, parenthood. If these states are changing what does that mean – are you intrinsically the same person in a different place and state or do you alter to fit the circumstances. One of the post Brexit debates divides people into 'anywhere' – a citizen of the world, or 'somewhere' being more fixed in attitude.

Identity itself is changing and becoming more fluid – gender, race, religion/belief; people no longer fit into single boxes. This in itself is not a problem for the individuals, but the attitudes of others (people, organisations and services) are more hostile. The issue of age and perception means much greater tolerance by younger people.

However the converse of this is people who would prefer to be with others like them, and how they can engage within this rapidly shifting landscape.

2. Is the definition of citizenship more than the legal one? Should there be citizenship ceremonies for all? How can this be promoted without a sense of superiority? How can this be raised sensitively in schools? How do you encourage citizenship and diversity – that which binds us rather than divides us? How about celebrating difference? Part of the citizenship process is a test – why should anyone have to prove themselves and what does the test indicate – namely you know the answers to some questions. It is unlikely that the majority of people born in the UK could answer all these questions.

3. This feels very legalistic; what is the role of the state and the individual? What happens if an individual chooses not to engage – legal action, fines, imprisoning them? Experience shows people engage where they make a difference, get treated with respect, get heard and receive a response. Enforcement and monitoring is not the way to go and is more likely to alienate; who ‘enforces and monitors’, for what purpose? People need to have a choice to engage or not.

4. It is more than law, it is the environment and culture. Children and young people are not taught sufficiently about the history of ordinary people (as opposed to kings and generals), the rights movement, the struggle for the franchise or encouraged to register to vote.

There is a lot of confusion about ‘political engagement’ – can you ask someone to sign a petition, what happens if you take part in a march etc. Political engagement is not necessarily about political parties but social change. The current laws in relation to charities (Transparency of Lobbying Act) has led to confusion and a deterrent to take action.

Voting could be made mandatory and include a ‘none of the above’ option? There are claims that the UK system of voting (usually First Past the Post) disenfranchises so many people that they don’t vote because their preference isn’t counted. Do countries that have different electoral systems have a higher turnout. Is the way people vote, the polling register, a particular day etc a disincentive? Should it be mandatory to register to vote - there appears to be a trade-off between encouraging more people to register and vote and safe systems that prevent fraud. Recent voting figures illustrate the different turnouts at elections in relation to age – 58% of under 25s as compared to 75% of people aged over 60. There is also massive disenfranchisement for poorer people, people who move about a lot, people from BAME communities, people in houses of multiple occupation, new residents, students and young people (universities and FE Colleges should have to ensure that all eligible students are registered to vote). The voting age should be lowered to the same age of responsibility for marriage and being a member of the armed forces.

5. We should be using education as a tool for good and to encourage engagement. Local charities could be involved in delivery. Again it should be part of everyday education, but compulsion is not always the best way to engage. Does political mean party political - how should this be taught without indoctrination. The current syllabus has minimal political education - what is meant by local and national governments, where does power and responsibility lie, comparative political systems. Political education should be widened to include democratic education.

6. There is insufficient current evidence on the outcomes from NCS. It seems to be incredibly variable. In Newcastle a national organisation has been parachuted in whilst local young people’s organisations (who were too small to bid for franchises) have had their grants and contracts disproportionately cut. Local organisations, which are grounded in communities, attract local volunteers, often people who benefitted themselves. Unless the NCS provider is an existing local organisation who is linked in already to communities, it doesn’t seem to

work well. It doesn't operate all year round. It often doesn't engage with the young people with the greatest needs and there is no incentive for this to happen. How can programmes become compulsory – what if someone chooses not to engage – will they be fined or imprisoned? NCS was clearly a political priority and it has been put onto a statutory footing. We are not convinced that the money spent could not have better used in supporting local voluntary organisations which relate to different communities (geography and identity).

7. Charities are often the mechanism for civic engagement for many people - by providing volunteering opportunities, by encouraging social action and by advocating for our beneficiaries. Civic engagement should be the responsibility of all. Often charities and community organisations are not recognised for this role, but instead as service providers. Charities have to identify their public benefit - and be clear about how they discharge this. Government and Parliament should recognise this wider role of voluntary and not for profit organisations. We are not paid to do this but it is central to what we do.
8. Are British values really different to French or other Western European values defined in the consensus after the Second World War? The UK has an Equality Act that is framed in legislation that makes it clear that people should not be discriminated against because of particular characteristics. Values should include respect for difference and diversity. If individuals are not treated with respect by the State or suffer unfair discrimination, it is not surprising that they don't engage. The growing disparity and wealth in society leaves more people disenfranchised. A fairer society is more likely to encourage participation and engagement. Our current legislation hasn't caught up with developments in social media and ICT.
9. People don't just feel 'left behind' because many people are actually left behind. They work hard, have minimal employment rights, don't earn enough to properly care for their families, don't have the opportunities for long term stable housing, don't have access to better education and jobs. After nearly fifty years of the Equal Pay Act, even the BBC with all of their diversity policies, have gross pay differences between men and women. This particular inequality can be measured objectively. There are clearly many factors which go beyond the protected characteristics in The Equality Act which mean many communities and groups are excluded from everyday life. Our organisation works with victims of Hate Crime and this has huge impacts on the quality of their lives. If we have people from more diverse and different communities in positions of power and who are more visible in the media, then these will more inspirational and act as role models to others. What percentage of the House of Lords are white men aged over fifty, as compared to those in the population at large?
10. These (citizenship, civic engagement, social cohesion and integration) are all part of the same spectrum. A healthy society is more likely to embrace diversity and difference. Some communities have mono-cultures and if children are raised in this environment and adults work in this environment, how do they cope and deal with differences they have never

previously encountered. Sometimes the response to difference can be fear and antagonism. The use of quotas, positive discrimination, role models and more people from different and diverse communities in positions of power should be introduced.

11. Communication is key to integration. It is particularly important for women who might otherwise have to rely (inappropriately) on their children to interpret. The state should pay for English as a Second Language classes - most of this funding has been removed since 2010. Many charities and volunteers offer classes. Action Foundation, a Newcastle-based charity offers free classes run by volunteers some of whom are refugees and migrants, to teach others. Here at Newcastle CVS we offer bilingual advocacy so people who need to access public services can make their voices heard and exercise their rights.
12. The many charities, voluntary organisations, community groups that operate across the U.K. that are dependent on the goodwill of volunteers surely promote a tolerant and cohesive society. People are giving their time, capacity, commitment and resources (including money) for no personal benefit. As an infrastructure organisation operating in Newcastle and Gateshead we see over a quarter of residents volunteering on a regular basis. If asked why they do this, many would define it terms of 'doing good', 'giving back', 'feeling worthwhile', as well as enjoying it. I have never heard of anyone volunteering from the perspective of a 'British citizen'.

Care needs to be taken not to regulate or involve compulsion but instead consider the environment and culture that encourages involvement and engagement that leads to a healthier society. Any final document should refer to charities, community groups and volunteering.

27 August 2017

No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF) Network – written evidence (CCE0155)

1. The No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF) Network, hosted by Islington Council, is a network of local authorities and other organisations focusing on the statutory safeguarding response to destitute migrant families, care leavers and adults with care needs, who, due to their immigration status, cannot access mainstream benefits or statutory housing services. Local authorities are required to provide essential financial and housing support to the most vulnerable individuals and families due to safeguarding duties set out in the Children Act 1989, the Care Act 2014 and equivalent legislation in the devolved administrations.
2. This submission responds to questions 9,10 and 11:

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?

11. Are there particular barriers faced by newcomers to Britain? Could the naturalisation process, including the citizenship test, be improved and if so, how?

3. This response seeks to demonstrate that some aspects of UK immigration policy are not conducive to encouraging a meaningful sense of belonging or active citizenship, which in turn affects a person’s ability to integrate. Such policies affect not only people who have naturalised as British but also those who have acquired British citizenship through birth and are dependent on a parent who is not British.
4. Key points:
 - British children in families where the parent has no recourse to public funds (NRPF) may be economically disadvantaged and feel ‘left behind’ due to the impact on the family of being excluded from benefits and other publically funded services, e.g. free school meals. Such families may become dependent on housing and financial assistance provided by social services.
 - Prosperous and safe communities cannot be achieved if a significant proportion of residents are forced to rely on ‘safety-net’ services provided by communities, charities and social services at considerable expense to the taxpayer. Instead, economic self-sufficiency amongst citizens can be promoted by the state through the provision of benefits and child care in order to enable and sustain employment.

No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF) Network – written evidence (CCE0155)

- People on lengthy immigration pathways to citizenship, namely the 10-year settlement route, will face barriers to integration throughout this period which may impact on the extent of their civic engagement and integration once they obtain citizenship.
- Citizenship fees prohibit children in low-income families from asserting their entitlement to British citizenship and give rise to costs for local authorities where these fees are funded for children in the care of social services.

5. Recommendations:

- The government should treat people who are on immigration settlement routes, and their dependants, as future citizens, and prioritise economic resilience over immigration sanctions in order to support a path to civic engagement based on fair access to services.
- The government should actively encourage people with an entitlement to British citizenship to apply for this by providing accessible information and promoting this within statutory services, the voluntary sector and communities.
- Any person with an entitlement to British citizenship should not be prevented from obtaining this due to prohibitive fees:
 - Fees should be significantly reduced and/or subject to a fee waiver for people on a low income.
 - Looked after children in the care of local authorities should be exempt from paying a fee to register as a British citizen.

A. Disadvantages faced by British citizen children who are dependent on a parent who has no recourse to public funds (NRPF)

6. British citizen children, who are dependent on a parent who is a non-EEA national and has no recourse to public funds (NRPF), do not have the same entitlements as their British peers, and are at risk of experiencing poverty due to their parent's immigration status. The NRPF condition excludes the parent from claiming many welfare benefits, homelessness assistance and an allocation of social housing through the council register.
7. This situation may arise in single parent families, where the parent has a right to live in the UK that has been acquired due to being the carer of a British child. The child may have acquired their citizenship at birth through the other parent being British or settled, or may have registered as British by entitlement, for example, following their birth and 10 years' residence in the UK. The parent may have obtained leave to

remain under the Immigration Rules, or have acquired a right to reside under European law:

(i) Leave to remain with NRPF granted under the Immigration Rules

- The parent must make an application to the Home Office for a fee of £1493 (including the Immigration Health Charge) unless they are eligible for a fee waiver.
- The parent will have 30 months limited leave to remain and be on a 10-year route to settlement, so will need to reapply for leave to remain every 2.5 years.
- The parent will have the NRPF condition, excluding them from welfare benefits and social housing, unless they have demonstrated to the Home Office that they are destitute, in which case recourse to public funds may be granted.
- Between 2013 and 2015, over 50,000 individuals with dependents were given leave to remain in the UK along with a ‘no recourse to public funds’ condition.⁶⁶¹

(ii) Derivative right to reside under European Union (EU) law as the primary carer of a British citizen (Zambrano carer)

- Right to reside and work in the UK acquired by a non-EEA national parent when a British child would be deprived of their EU citizenship rights should they be forced to leave the EU if the parent is not permitted to stay and work in the UK.
- The parent is not required to document this right but will need to do so in order to evidence their right to work and lawful presence in the UK.
- In November 2012, the benefit and housing regulations were amended to exclude Zambrano carers from accessing income-based benefits and social housing. These restrictions were upheld as lawful by the Court of Appeal on the basis that ‘safety net’ support could be provided to the most vulnerable by local authorities under section 17 of the Children Act 1989.⁶⁶²
- Zambrano carers cannot acquire a permanent right of residence under EU law and will need to apply for leave to remain under the Immigration Rules, as described at (i), in order to embark on a route to settlement.

8. Parents with either type of immigration status will be excluded from most income-based welfare benefits, including those provided to sustain low-paid employment, and will be reliant on the insecure private rented sector for housing. The parent’s immigration status will also impact on whether the British child will be able to access some other publically funded services, as highlighted below.

Public funds for immigration purposes	Parent is Zambrano carer	Parent has leave to remain with NRPF
--	---------------------------------	---

⁶⁶¹ The Children’s Society, *Making Life Impossible: how the needs of destitute migrant children are going unmet*, April 2016, p.7 <https://www.childrensociety.org.uk/what-we-do/resources-and-publications/making-life-impossible-how-the-needs-of-destitute-migrant>

⁶⁶² *Sanneh & Ors v Secretary of State for Work and Pensions* [2015] EWCA Civ 49 (10 February 2015). <http://www.bailii.org/ew/cases/EWCA/Civ/2015/49.html>

No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF) Network – written evidence (CCE0155)

Child benefit	No	Yes (due to an exception)
Child tax credit	No	No
Other publically funded services (not classed as 'public funds' for immigration purposes)		
Free school meals (where these are not universally provided) ⁶⁶³	No	No
Government funded childcare for 2 year olds ⁶⁶³	No	No
Government funded childcare for 3 & 4 year olds (15 hours)	Yes	Yes
Government funded childcare for 3 & 4 year olds (30 hours where parents are working)	Yes ⁶⁶⁴	No
Government funded childcare (new tax-free scheme where parents are working)	Yes ⁶⁶⁴	No
Pupil premium funding paid to a school to support the attainment of disadvantaged pupils ⁶⁶³	No	No

9. As a consequence of the resulting financial hardship often experienced by these families, who struggle to earn sufficient income from employment alone to cover their housing, living and childcare costs, social services often have to step in and provide support under section 17 of the Children Act 1989, in order to safeguard the welfare of a child in need. The responsibility of providing this parallel welfare system is summarised by the Judge in a judicial review case that examined the lawfulness of a local authority's child in need assessment where the parent had leave to remain with NRPF: *'the local authority is empowered to rescue a child in need from destitution where no other state provision is available.'* ⁶⁶⁵

10. The NRPF Network's data shows that in December 2016, 23% of children in NRPF families supported by 39 local authorities under section 17 were British Citizens. ⁶⁶⁶

11. However, safety net support provided by local authorities will generally not be on a par with that which a family of equivalent size would receive were they claiming welfare benefits. Families will be provided with financial support at a level

⁶⁶³ The only instances where these may be provided to a British child in an NRPF family are when the child: has a current statement of Special Educational Needs or an Education, Health and Care plan; is entitled to Disability Living Allowance or was formerly looked after by a local authority and their main carer has an adoption, special guardianship or child arrangement order.

⁶⁶⁴ The Childcare (Early Years Provision Free of Charge) (Extended Entitlement) Regulations 2016 & The Childcare Payments (Eligibility) Regulations 2015 do not specifically exclude non-EEA nationals with a right to reside in the UK derived from EU law from accessing these services.

⁶⁶⁵ *AC & SH, R (On the application of) v London Borough of Lambeth Council* [2017] EWHC 1796 (Admin), paragraph 42.

⁶⁶⁶ Data from NRPF Connect database taken on 8 December 2016: 679 out of 2963 children supported under section 17 of the Children Act 1989 or section 22 of the Children (Scotland) Act 1995 were British citizens.

determined by the local authority to meet a child's assessed needs, so will vary between families and authorities. Often Home Office asylum support payments are used as a base rate - £36.95 per person/week - but the amount paid may be lower or higher than this depending on the local authority's practice and needs of a particular family.

12. With regards to housing, the courts have been clear that the local authority must be satisfied that accommodation provided under section 17 of the Children Act meets the child's needs.⁶⁶⁷ The accommodation used by local authorities to house NRPF families may include B&Bs and out of area placements.
13. The average time period NRPF households are supported by social services is 855 days.⁶⁶⁸ Usually the only way a family can end their dependence on social services' support is by the parent applying to the Home Office to change their immigration status so that they obtain recourse to public funds.
14. Immigration policies excluding the main carers of British citizen children from mainstream benefits and social housing does not therefore encourage integration through employment, differentiates children in these families from their British peers and leads to economic disadvantage. It is widely accepted that children from low income families are less likely to do well in school, are more likely to suffer ill-health and face pressures in their lives that can be associated with unemployment and criminality.⁶⁶⁹ Therefore, British children in NRPF families will face challenges integrating fully into society which may affect their ability to actively participate as a citizen by the time they become adults.
15. The fact that a British child's parent may themselves be on a long pathway to citizenship, and, as a consequence, face barriers to economic self-sufficiency, will also adversely impact on the family's ability to integrate and affect the ability of communities more widely to prosper - see section B.

B. Immigration pathways to citizenship

16. When considering barriers to active citizenship for future citizens who become British through naturalisation, rather than acquisition through birth, it is necessary to examine their pathway to citizenship, as this will have an impact on their ability to integrate within UK society, overall community cohesion and may also result in an individual feeling 'left behind'.

⁶⁶⁷ *C, T, M & U, R (On the Application Of) v London Borough of Southwark* [2014] EWHC 3983 (Admin)
<http://www.bailii.org/ew/cases/EWHC/Admin/2014/3983.html>

⁶⁶⁸ Data from NRPF Connect database taken from 45 local authorities on 30 June 2017: average number of days on support for all supported households (2599), including 1853 families.
<http://www.nrpfnetwork.org.uk/nrpfconnect/Pages/default.aspx>

⁶⁶⁹ *The Casey Review: a review into opportunity and integration*, 5 December 2016, paragraph 1.9.
<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-casey-review-a-review-into-opportunity-and-integration>

17. Under the Immigration Rules, leave to enter or remain may be granted on a route to settlement in the UK, allowing indefinite leave to remain (ILR) to be applied for after a specified period of continuous leave. For example, refugees are on a five-year route, whereas people applying under the family migration rules will be on either a five-year or 10-year route.
18. The 10-year settlement route was introduced in July 2012, when the family migration rules were reformed, and applies to people who are granted leave to remain on the following basis:
- Child who has lived in the UK for seven years
 - Parent of a British child or child who has lived in the UK for seven years
 - Partner of a British citizen where the Home Office has accepted that to refuse leave would result in a breach of their right to family life (Article 8) – they may or may not have been required to meet the minimum income requirement
 - Person granted leave to prevent a breach of their human rights (non-asylum related)
 - Private life (long residence) in the UK
19. Adults may only naturalise as British citizens when they have a form of settled status, such as ILR. Being required to apply for limited leave to remain every 2.5 years before ILR can be applied for on completing 10 years, results in people experiencing a long period of instability and creates barriers to their integration into UK society:
- A fee of £1493 (including £500 Immigration Health Charge) must be paid to extend leave to remain every 2.5 years unless a fee waiver applies.
 - A small administrative error made when further leave is applied for can result in a person inadvertently becoming an overstayer and immediately losing access to any benefits, the private rented sector and free secondary healthcare.
 - If the NRPF condition is imposed following a period where a parent has had recourse to public funds, any benefits will immediately stop, employment may not be sustainable due to prohibitive childcare costs and the family may become reliant on social services' support – see section A.
 - Long-term reliance on insecure and expensive private sector housing.
 - Restrictive regulations mean that few people with limited leave will qualify for student finance and home fees if they wish to pursue higher education.
20. Despite the government clearly recognising that such people have a long-term future in the UK, this group will have spent a considerable length of time in the UK facing continual insecurity regarding their immigration status. They are likely to have encountered barriers to work and education, and may have experienced poverty and dependence on social services' support if they have children - see section A. If people are to naturalise as British having obtained settlement on completion of the 10-year route, then this will be a highly relevant factor in their ability and willingness

to participate as active citizens. If it is accepted that people have a long-term future in the UK they must be treated as future citizens and provided with the opportunity to fully participate and integrate into British society.

C. Fees for registration as a British Citizen

21. Children in low-income families who are entitled under the British Nationality Act 1981 to register as British Citizens face barriers doing this due to the mandatory application fee of £973.
22. This fee applies to children who are entitled to register because they were born in the UK and their parent subsequently becomes British or acquires settled status, or because they were born in the UK and have subsequently been resident for 10 years.
23. With no legal aid available for these types of applications, which may be complicated by a child's unsettled accommodation history if applying under the 10-year rule, legal advice would be an additional cost.
24. Where a local authority is looking after a separated migrant child under section 20 of the Children Act 1989, then it will fall to social services to fund a registration application as in the majority of cases it will be in the child's best interests to obtain British citizenship. Although there is a fee exemption for immigration applications made by looked after children, there is no equivalent for registration applications.
25. NRPF Network data indicates that a significant number of children in NRPF families, who are receiving social services' support to safeguard their welfare and prevent destitution, may be eligible to register as British citizens, were it not for the prohibitive cost: out of 2963 children in 1829 family households receiving social services' support, 572 non-British children were over 10 years' old and 491 families had at least one non-British child over the age of 10.⁶⁷⁰
26. Although the data does not confirm whether these children were born in the UK or how long they have lived in the UK prior to receiving social services' support, it suggests that up to 491 out of 1829 families, 27% of supported households, may have a child who would be eligible to register as a British citizen.
27. Where a child can evidence their British citizenship, this will have consequences for the parent, as they may be able to obtain a right to stay in the UK, and ultimately become British themselves. (See section A). Where there is a delay registering a child as British and resolving the parent's immigration status, the family will remain dependent on social service's support, which is not in the best interests of the child, and will impact on the extent to which the child has integrated by the time they are finally able to obtain citizenship, particularly if prior to this they did not have any leave to remain.

⁶⁷⁰ Data from NRPF Connect taken on 8 December 2016 from 39 local authorities.

8 September 2017

Mr Christopher Norris– written evidence (CCE0051)

Media, publishing and social entrepreneur

1. Citizenship mean belonging to a place – through birth, marriage or conscious choice (after a registration period) and agreeing to a set of social values that characterise the best of British character.

Civic engagement implies an individual’s active integration into their local community beyond the scope of his/her immediate and extended family, participating in shared cultural and social experiences.

In the 21st century, civic engagement embraces and reflects online activity and behaviour.

Individuals have multiple identities: family; peer-group; cultural; religious; personal interest groups; local; regional; national and international. These identities are held in dynamic balance all the time and – along with personality, character and moral outlook – make up the individual personas that we present to the world.

2. The most easily agreed set of British values is the ever-evolving bedrock of the law.

The purpose of politics is to influence and shape the law towards reflecting, rewarding and amplifying best practice in social and public behaviour.

We need to write a personality statement of what it means to be British, a set of shared values that every law-abiding can agree. For example, the best of British character is law-abiding, tolerant, hard-working, fair-minded, good-natured, loyal, generous, sociable, charitable and outward-looking.

Society needs to showcase best civic practice and reward outstanding behaviour.

3. Society must build trust between our various communities. This needs a deep review assessment of everyone’s needs, culture and ambition.

Equal opportunities need to be engrained in everything we do, not just paid lip service. We need to address and root out all aspects of life in Britain that prevent social mobility: everyone in the UK deserves the same chance to shine so that citizens succeed on merit, not on nepotism, class or financial wealth.

Politics need to define methods and procedures for ensuring equal opportunities and meritocracy across all communities in Britain. Punitive sanctions need to be available and

enforced – and seen to be enforced – to ensure everyone has an equal chance to succeed in life by reaching their goals and achieving their ambitions.

4. We need to encourage citizens to vote. The following suggestions are some of the changes that need to be made:
 - People must be allowed to vote at 16: the age of consent is the time when an individual’s personal choices are directly affected by politics.
 - Introduce proportional representation for all elections
 - Enshrine a Bill of Rights into UK law
 - Create a culture that explains the benefits of voting: give reasons why voting makes a positive difference on everyone’s lives
 - Conduct research into why people don’t vote and act on the report’s findings
 - Develop secure ways of voting electronically
 - Ensure robust security of the voting process
 - Design ways to provide instant factual feedback to political claims (i.e. to reduce ‘fake news’ by presenting the truth or falsehood of political statements in real time)
 - Educate students to understand the importance of politics to their lives
 - Reform the House of Lords: create a second elected chamber of regional representatives to deal with long-term social issues beyond the life cycle of the House of Commons.
5. Good citizenship needs to be taught from birth (including during ante-natal classes for parents). Such teaching would have no exemptions: whilst everyone would have to participate such training would be framed as fun and relevant.

The education system needs an overhaul. League tables based on academic achievement perpetuate class and wealth bias. The curriculum needs to address the needs of wider society in terms of how productive citizens behave. The importance of universal suffrage is vital to student’s understanding of what it means to be an adult and an active participant in civic society.

6. This question is the first time I have come across the National Citizen Service. The programme looks fabulous. I would be relaxed about making the scheme compulsory, for 15-17 year-olds and – in an age-appropriate version - for newly naturalised citizens.
7. Central and devolved government create holistic environments where civic engagement can flourish; local government run individual schemes and programmes within these environments. Examples of best local practice can be shared and taken up nationally.

8. The civic ‘personality statement’ (see question 2) needs to be enforced so that everyone buys into a shared set of values. Championing of best practice will reduce the impact and attraction of groups with views and beliefs that condone and encourage violence against society’s civic values.
9. Human nature dictates that we all compare ourselves negatively with other people. As a society, we need to create an education system that encourages social and civic engagement and reduces the fear of the unknown.

We need to impose zero tolerance of racist, sexist, culturally intolerant and class-based statements, policies and behaviour, both online and in the real world.

We need the media to be more socially engaged. We need voices from all parts of society to have real power in the media.

We need to devise punitive sanctions that can be imposed on any rogue media that perpetuate stereotypes, bias and intolerance in the pursuit of higher ratings or increased circulation figures that do not impact the freedom of the press.

There is a world of difference between ‘free speech’ and ‘hate speech’.

10. Citizenship and social cohesion are two sides of the same coin. No one joins a club if they don’t like the rules. Society need zero tolerance institutional and individual racism, sexism, bullying and class-based prejudice.
11. Proficiency in English is important, but new citizens need to feel like they have a positive stake in their communities. Any testing procedure needs to avoid creating ‘us and them’ scenarios; the system needs to expand the definition of ‘us’.
12. We need to encourage local participation in community projects with real purpose and social-cohesion impacts (e.g. via [CrowdPatch](#), the not-for-profit crowdfunding platform for social entrepreneurs)

We need to publish and broadcast positive news stories that showcase the best of the British character

We need to expand the voices we spotlight and promote positive role models who are succeeding in the public sphere:

Business

- [EMpower role models](#) – annual rankings for top 100 ethnic-minority executives
- [Black British Business Awards](#)
- [Asian Business Awards](#)

Culture

- [MOBO Awards](#) – music

Mr Christopher Norris– written evidence (CCE0051)

- [British Urban Film](#) Festival – film
- [BEFFTA Awards](#) – creative arts, media and entertainment industries

Sport (here are a few examples)

- Football – Ryan Bertrand; Chris Smalling; Dele Ali; Jesse Lingard; Alex Oxlade-Chamberlain; Raheem Sterling; Daniel Sturridge; Jermaine Defoe; Marcus Rashford; Danny Welbeck
- Cricket – Haseeb Hameed; Moeen Ali; Chris Jordan; Isa Guha; Heather Knight; Anya Shrubsole; Natalie Sciver
- Rugby – Courtney Lawes; Maro Itoje; Marland Yarde; Billy Vunipola; Maka Vunipola; Anthony Watson; Nick Isiekwe; Sarah Hunter; Deborah Fleming

3 September 2017

Nottingham Civic Exchange and Professor Matt Henn – written evidence (CCE0188)

Executive summary

- Our submission answers questions 4, 5 and 6 set out by the commission. Our expertise in researching younger people’s political and civic activity leads us to make a set of clear recommendations at the end of this document which we hope the commission will take forward.
- This submission sets out key issues affecting younger people and formal political engagement and makes a strong case for lowering the age to vote to 16.
- We also make the case that the inquiry should avoid supporting compulsory voting aimed at younger people due to a set of potentially damaging consequences.
- We also ask the inquiry to recommend introducing stronger local and project based KS2 citizenship and political education and to fundamentally re-develop citizenship provision.
- Finally, whilst we can see the value of programmes such as NCS, we make a plea for the inquiry to recommend strengthening long term, embedded and community based approaches to support younger people to develop stronger ties within communities and civic and political systems.

About the authors

1. **Nottingham Civic Exchange** is Nottingham Trent University’s pioneering civic think tank. With a primary focus on issues relating to the city and the region, Nottingham Civic Exchange will enable discovery by creating a space where co-produced approaches are developed to tackle entrenched social issues. Nottingham Civic Exchange supports the role of NTU as an anchor institution in the city and the region. Nottingham Trent University holds engagement with communities, public institutions, civic life, business and residents at the core of its mission. You can find out more about our work at www.ntu.ac.uk/nce.
2. **Professor Matt Henn** has nearly 20 years’ experience of researching youth and democratic engagement, earning an international reputation for his work in the field. He has led successful projects funded by the ESRC. His work has resulted in [numerous high profile publications](#), together with significant interest from the political parties and citizenship agencies, as well as from the national, local and international media.
3. Professor Henn would be delighted to submit further evidence and give oral evidence if so called.

Submission

Voting and participation of younger people (Q. 4.)

4. Through a range of largescale research projects measuring and codifying young people’s views, we believe there are a number of crucial changes required to encourage voting

levels and engagement. Research led by Professor Henn has sought to better understand the characteristics and issues for younger voters and non-voters in the UK.

5. Our submission focuses on encouraging political activity with younger people. Our argument is that young people in Britain are neither anti-democratic nor innately anti-election. This is evidenced by the 75 per cent of 16 and 17 year olds who voted at the Scottish Independence Referendum in 2014, while it is estimated that 64 per cent of registered voters aged 18 to 24 cast a ballot at the 2016 UK referendum on EU membership. Furthermore, at the 2017 General Election there was a large upsurge in the youth voter turnout rate to 64 per cent; this has been attributed by some to the unusual nature of the contest, not least because of the attention given to youth issues by several of the main political parties, but also to the high profile direct form of electoral campaigning from the Labour Party. These particular cases suggest that young citizens will take part in formal election-oriented (institutionalised) politics where such contests have critical meaning and value-potential for them.
6. It remains to be seen whether or not young people's willingness to vote in these recent identity-oriented Referenda and at the 2017 General Election reflect the beginnings of a genuinely new and positive trajectory in youth political engagement, or a temporary reversal in an otherwise ongoing trend of disengagement.
7. Certainly, UK national politicians have observed this relative youth electoral abstention with ongoing concern. Given that young people are significantly less likely to vote than their older contemporaries, it is therefore crucial that young people do not develop a natural pre-disposition towards electoral abstention, otherwise the threat to democracy is that in time the more voting-oriented older generations will be replaced by younger election-abstainer generations.
- *Changes to voting processes be considered based on research*
8. Using quantitative data from a large representative national survey of 1,025 young people aged 18, recent research conducted at NTU has considered young people's responses to a range of electoral administrative reforms, including whether they would be more likely or less likely to vote in the future if they were able to vote:
 - in a public place such as a supermarket;
 - over more than one day (including weekends);
 - by phone (including by text message or smart phone App);
 - via the Internet or digital television;
 - or if polling stations were open for 24 hours.
9. From this study and based on nearly two decades of researching in this area, Henn's views are that the introduction of these methods would have a positive impact in terms of stimulating increased electoral participation. In particular, voting via the Internet or digital TV would be especially effective in terms of encouraging them to vote in future

general elections, followed by voting over more than one day (including weekends) and then voting by phone (including by text message or by a smart phone app)

10. Whilst it is recognised that such changes would not bring uniform increases, there exists a sizeable minority of a key sub-group of intending abstainers that might be persuaded into voting in the future if initiatives were enacted. **45%** said they may vote in the next election if they could use the Internet or by digital TV and **32%** by phone. These findings suggest that introducing increased flexibility into the electoral provisions might encourage some to reconsider their stated intention to abstain from participating. Consequently, these electoral administration options should be further investigated in terms of their potential impact on political engagement in general and voting in particular, and the issues and practicalities associated with implementation.
- *Compulsory voting - a risk not worth taking?*
11. One method by which government might intervene to reduce young people's disengagement from electoral politics is to introduce a system of compulsory voting for young people. Whilst the case has been made by numerous policy actors and academics we do not believe this intervention would be beneficial to the longer term aim of supporting increased engagement in political and civil activity. Our main concern with compulsory voting is the risk of increasing societal divisions and the masking affect created by compulsion to deal with the deeper issue of disconnection between younger people and the political system.
12. We recognise the potentially positive outcomes to follow from the introduction of compulsory voting for young people. For instance, drawing on the idea that voting (and indeed non-voting) may be habit-forming, a recent IPPR study has concluded that such a one-off compulsory system would "kick-start a life-long habit of voting" (Birch, Lodge and Gottfried 2013, 21). Secondly, evidence suggests that compulsory voting may reduce generational disparities in electoral participation rates; in particular, it helps to ensure that socio-economically disadvantaged groups are neither under-represented at the ballot booth nor under-estimated in the minds of politicians and policy-makers. In essence, by helping to eliminate the generational *electoral* divide, it is argued that this would have the effect of reducing generational social and economic *policy* inequalities. This might contribute to the creation of a virtuous circle, in that young people begin to recognise the latent power of their vote and of their influence over the political class – and this might help to shape an enhanced positive predisposition to electoral participation. However, this is a contested position, and Lever (2008) has recently concluded that in Australia – where compulsory voting is extremely popular and long established – there exists little evidence that high levels of electoral turnout are correlated with enhanced responsiveness of political parties to socio-economically marginalised groups.
13. A major drawback of such a compulsory voting scheme for young people is that it singles them out as 'different' from the rest of the adult population, helping to reinforce the

stereotype of this current youth generation as distinctly apathetic. The implication being that it is the behaviour of young people that needs changing, rather than a reform of the political process and of democratic institutions which should become more accessible and meaningful. We are also concerned by the negative implications for the health of our democratic system; by forcing them to vote, this may entrench attitudes of disdain for the parties. However, offering the option to vote for '*None of the above*' on the ballot paper may help mitigate against this latter point.

14. A key question to address is whether or not compulsory voting would resolve the disconnect between young citizens and democratic institutions and processes and result in high quality political engagement? Our response is largely shaped by evidence from Henn's ESRC research project mentioned above. Firstly, the data suggest that more young people would vote if compelled to do so in electoral law. However, these data also reveal that those already demonstrating low levels of political engagement - previous non-voters as well as likely future abstainers - would be particularly resistant to compulsory voting. Indeed, such compulsion may actually serve to reinforce a deepening resentment, rather than to engage these particular young people in a positive manner. Compulsory voting for first-contact elections might result in a *quantitative* increase in the numbers of young voters, but the evidence presented here suggests that it would not necessarily improve the *quality* of broader political engagement. Consequently, we don't believe that the case for compulsory voting for young people has been made.

- *Lowering the voting age to 16*

15. Evidence suggests that young people are open-minded about electoral politics and do not have a hardened disaffection; they are more likely than not to express faith in voting and the democratic process although not with politicians or political parties. Research indicates that there is therefore a perception problem. It may be that more young people might opt to engage in elections if they can be convinced that as an age cohort they themselves and their issue priorities are treated seriously by politicians. Reducing the voting age to 16 might assist this process by persuading young people that they are valued by the political class. In doing so, it would contribute to the conversion of their already-existing democratic commitment into actual democratic participation.

16. There is no consensus on whether extending the vote to 16 year olds should be considered a basic right. Detractors question both the maturity of adolescents aged 16 and 17 who have not yet had the opportunity to develop advanced autonomous knowledge and understanding of politics (Chan and Clayton 2006), and also their lack of motivation which it is argued might reduce overall percentage rates of electoral participation (Electoral Commission 2004). Advocates argue that extending the vote to young people while they are "members of settled communities" - living at home and attending school - might increase their turnout in elections (Berry and Kippin 2014, 7). Furthermore, it follows that if socialised into voting within these contexts, they are more likely to continue to do so in the future as voting becomes habit-forming (Franklin 2004).

Finally, supporters argue that enfranchising 16 and 17 year olds would ensure that their concerns are brought to the attention of the political class.

17. As mentioned above, when these younger groups were granted the right to vote at the Scottish Independence Referendum in 2014, three quarters of them cast a ballot. This suggests that young people are not innately averse to voting on matters that are of critical consequence for them. We believe that providing the vote from 16 would be beneficial for young people and society at large.

Educations and citizenship (Q. 5.)

18. Education is in our opinion a critical area to support engagement in civic and political activity. We set out below a series of suggestions to improve and develop this.
19. We don't believe current provision is working and believe an increase in provision starting at KS2 should be implemented, which focusses on awareness of political processes and structures at a local and national scale. This should be complemented by more practical project based interventions for young people that highlight the value and ease of engaging in civil and political systems that exist around them, and position active citizenship education within the context of local communities.
20. The introduction of statutory citizenship classes in schools in England in 2002 was in large part prompted by successive governments' anxieties related to these issues. It is claimed this 'citizenship curriculum' contributes to the development of democratic knowledge and skills, of building informed young citizens, and of preparing them for participation in democratic life. However, reaction to statutory citizenship education (CE) has been mixed (Citizenship Educational Longitudinal Study, various 2001- 2010). Ofsted, has concluded that the method of delivery has been left wanting; and perceived as such by young people. Consequently, in 2012, CE was significantly scaled-back and reinvented with a changed curriculum that gave greater emphases to life skills "at the expense of the political" (Kerr 2014, p.46). These changes continue to raise questions about the efficacy of citizenship education in schools as a preparation for young people's participation in democracy.
21. The active involvement of young people in schools and the wider community provided an opportunity for learning and *experiencing* active citizenship (Kerr et al 2004: 2-3). Such opportunities depend on student interest, the teaching staff's involvement in the wider community and the school ethos (Ibid: 5). They also depend on a commitment to experiential learning. The original Advisory Group on Citizenship (1998) report emphasised the importance of active learning for active citizenship (see also Arthur and Davison 2002; Packham 2008; Woodward 2004), an approach that requires opportunities for community involvement and learning *through* citizenship (Selwyn 2002).

22. In the original AGC recommendations, citizenship education was seen as intimately tied to action in the wider community (AGC 1998). Despite this, later research by the NfER found that:

“Young people’s participation opportunities are currently confined largely to the school context, and comprise opportunities to ‘take part’ in clubs and societies, rather than to effect ‘real change’ by engaging with various decision-making processes in and out of school. Additionally, opportunities in the curriculum are often not connected with those in the whole school, or indeed, with wider contexts and communities beyond school.” (NfER 2006a: 1)

23. If current patterns of political disengagement and disaffection are to be reversed, then citizenship education has a critical role to play in helping to:

- promote enhanced universal political literacy,
- foster a strengthened civic culture, and
- alert young citizens to the potential value that is to be gained from strong, active and regular political participation, including (but not limited to) voting.

24. To achieve these outcomes, citizenship education should be extended and deepened so that schools should become what Mycock and Tonge call “sites of democracy”. In particular:

- Citizenship education should remain a statutory element of the national curriculum;
- statutory Citizenship education should be extended to all primary schools to help younger students’ develop their knowledge and understanding of democratic institutions and processes and promote the value to be gained by participating in civic and political projects and activities;
- the GCSE Citizenship Studies should be available to all secondary schools across the UK;
- the balance of emphasis of the Citizenship curriculum should be revised so that political literacy is given increased prominence to pre-2014 levels;
- there should be an expansion of the number of trained specialist teachers who take the lead in the design, teaching and assessment of the citizenship curriculum;
- there should be the “formation of a standing all-party Commission on Education for Citizenship to monitor provision in schools and colleges in England (as recommended in the Crick Report of 1998)” as has been suggested by contributors to the *Beyond the Youth Citizenship Commission*” (Kerr, 2014).
- Schools should work with community partners to embed civic engagement and practical experience into the Citizenship curriculum, a defining feature of good practice identified in the longitudinal evaluations cited above.

25. We think these are fundamental issues that should be supported and taken forward to ensure future generations of young people grow up understanding how to engage with and influence the world around them.

Young People as citizens in their communities (Q. 6)

26. The increased emphasis on citizenship and social action over the past decade has been welcome, but it has been characterised by short-term programme based approaches at the expense of embedded community-based services for young people. The decline in youth services and youth work provision is well documented, despite previous Ofsted reviews acknowledging the important contribution of youth work to citizenship education.
27. Short term programmes have the benefit of securing high rates of participation but, as the National Audit Office found, 'it remains whether ... effects are enduring' (NAO 2017). There is an added difficulty that such time limited programmes may do little to position young people's power and influence within their own communities. One aspiration for citizenship programmes must be to challenge the exclusion of young people from democratic and community power structures.
28. Longer-term and embedded provision for young people is more likely to be community-based, acting as a 'permanent base' for children and young people to experience active citizenship.
29. At the Nottingham Centre for Children, Young People and Families (www.ntu.ac.uk/nccyfp) we are working with former Children's Commissioner and current Visiting Professor Sir Al Aynsley-Green to develop a 'whole-community' approach to addressing attitudes towards children and young people. This programme will seek to embed aspects of active citizenship education (and the promotion of young people's rights and responsibilities) within the many statutory and voluntary organisations that intersect with their lives. We would be very keen to keep the Committee abreast of developments in this work.

Recommendations

30. As stated in our submission we feel there are a number of crucial steps to take when considering younger peoples formal electoral actions and political and civic engagement. Below we set out a series of recommendations we wish the inquiry will consider and explore in more depth.
31. Flexibility to voting methods and systems are needed to help increase engagement of younger voters and potential voters. Making positive changes to voting administration would see an uptake on voting for younger people with increased attention placed on online or mobile voting options. Between a half and a third of young people identified as abstainers in the political voting system stated they could be persuaded to vote if it was available over the internet, TV or mobile services. This flexibility will also have a knock on affect across the voting population of the UK.

32. Compulsory voting and especially first opportunity compulsory voting should be avoided for future attempts to increase engagement in civil society and voting. Negative impacts and increased stigma associated with forced voting will only reinforce entrenched disdain for political parties who introduce it and reduce effectiveness of this policy intervention for young people.
33. The voting age should be lowered to 16 for all local and central government elections and referenda. We disagree with the assumption that younger people aren't politically engaged in the UK. Evidence from recent UK experiments with votes for 16 year olds suggests that young people do hold strong views on matters viewed as of critical importance to them. This should point to further pressure on political parties to pivot their policies and engagement to a younger demographic to build on recent increases in younger peoples voting rates.
34. The 2017 election highlighted increased engagement with formal political processes from younger people when policies and parties targeted them which strengthens our previous assertions that younger people are disillusioned with political parties and not the role of politics and civil society to improve the world around them. All political parties should take note of this and ensure policies and engagement is designed to better reflect the views of all citizens.
35. Citizenship Education should be developed for Primary School students with a focus on developing knowledge of political institutions at a local and national level with a curriculum that also stresses participation in civic and political projects
36. Department of Education should set out plans to expand the recruitment of specialist citizenship educators to design, teach and assess curriculum which is integral to rather than a bolt on to students educational experience
37. Explore the value of 'whole community' approaches and assert the importance of long term community based civic opportunities for younger people to help strengthen their engagement and awareness of civil society and politics

8 September 2017

Dr Line Nyhagen, Reader in Sociology, Loughborough University – written evidence (CCE0077)

The role of religious faith in the understanding and practicing of citizenship and civic engagement among religious women, with an emphasis on Muslim and Christian women

1.0 Summary

1.1. Religious faith provides a significant source of identity and meaning to many Muslim and Christian women. Religious faith often underpins these women's sense of belonging to their local communities, to families, friends and neighbours, and thus also provides emotional ties to places and to people. Moreover, religious belonging provides individuals with opportunities for participation and citizenship practice. However, religious beliefs and practices can provide both barriers and resources to participation within and beyond religious communities.

1.2. For Muslim women, Islam provides moral guidance on how to best live your life, just as Christianity provides moral guidance for Christian women. The women in my research equate being a "good Muslim" or a "good Christian" with being a good citizen. Some of the key values that both Muslim and Christian women associate with being a good citizen are: participation in local communities including in religious contexts; caring for family, friends and neighbours; obeying the law; voting in political elections; and having compassion, tolerance and respect towards other people. Despite their religious distinctiveness, there is a considerable commonality between Muslim and Christian women's views of what citizenship is and what constitutes a "good citizen". Muslim and Christian women's wants are the same: to live in peace and care for their families, friends and neighbours, to contribute to society by playing an active part in local communities, and to feel that they belong by connecting with others in a range of social contexts.

1.3 While Christian women feel that their religious identities and practices are largely accepted by the wider society, Muslim women report that their faith is constantly questioned, stereotyped and stigmatized by the wider society. Muslim women experience discrimination, harassment and stereotyping on the street, on public transport, in educational and employment contexts, in media outlets, and in the public sphere more broadly. These experiences have a detrimental impact on Muslim women's sense of well-being and feeling valued as full and equal citizens. Religious hatred and discrimination should be addressed in educational programmes for children and young people. In this regard, the right of women to wear religious dress that signifies their faith must be underscored. The reporting of religious hate crimes should specifically note gender-based forms of such crimes in order to highlight women victims and address their needs.

1.4 Many Muslim women seek opportunities to actively participate in their own religious communities by attending the mosque and engaging in other community organisations. It is

Dr Line Nyhagen, Reader in Sociology, Loughborough University – written evidence (CCE0077)

important to them that mosques are able to accommodate women's participation via designated spaces for women, and also that mosques afford women access to roles in mosque management and teaching. Importantly, many Muslim women view gender segregated mosques as providing them with an opportunity for participation, rather than as a barrier to their participation. As a response to the general lack of women in mosque governance structures, some Muslim women are developing women-led mosques (e.g. in London and in Bradford).⁶⁷¹ Muslim community organisations, including mosques, should be encouraged to include women in their management and teaching. This encouragement should be extended to all faith based organisations that are in receipt of any form of public funding.

1.5 Muslim women's own community organisations should be more widely recognised, listened to and consulted with by UK government institutions, as well as by other civil society organisations including male-dominated Muslim community organisations and also secular women's organisations. Muslim women's organisations provide the best insights into Muslim women's experiences and needs.

2.0 Evidence base

2.1 I am an established academic at Loughborough University, with twenty years' experience of researching the lives and experiences of religious women and men, with a special focus on Christian and Muslim women in European contexts including the UK, Norway and Spain. The evidence herein is based on my research, which has been published in a range of scholarly books and academic journals.

2.2 Selected relevant publications:

2.2.1 Nyhagen, L & B. Halsaa (2016). *Religion, Gender and Citizenship: Women of Faith, Gender Equality and Feminism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. Available at: <http://www.palgrave.com/kr/book/9781137405333>

2.2.2 Nyhagen, L. (2016). 'Lived nations – whose nations? The quest for belonging'. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 24 (2): 171-176.

2.2.3. Aune, K. & L. Nyhagen (2016). 'Religion, Politics and Gender'. In Jeffrey Haynes, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics*. New York: Routledge, 335-351.

2.2.4. Nyhagen, L. (2015). 'Conceptualizing Lived Religious Citizenship: A Case-Study of Christian and Muslim Women in Norway and the United Kingdom'. *Citizenship Studies* 19 (6-7): 768-784.

⁶⁷¹ For the Inclusive Mosque Initiative in London, see <http://inclusivemosqueinitiative.org/>; for plans by the Muslim Women's Council in Bradford to build a women-led mosque, see <https://www.womenledmosque.co.uk/>. For a further initiative in this direction, see <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/26/seyrans-ates-muslim-feminist-liberal-mosque-london-britain>

Dr Line Nyhagen, Reader in Sociology, Loughborough University – written evidence (CCE0077)

2.2.5. Nyhagen Predelli, L., B. Halsaa & C. Thun (2012). “‘Citizenship is not a word I use’: How Women’s Movement Activists Understand Citizenship”, in Beatrice Halsaa, Sasha Roseneil and Sevil Sümer, eds., *Remaking Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: Women’s Movements, Gender and Diversity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pages 188-212.

2.2.6. Nyhagen Predelli, L. (2008), “Religion, citizenship and participation: A case study of immigrant Muslim women in Norwegian mosques”. *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 15 (3): 241-260.

2.2.7. Nyhagen Predelli, L. (2004). “Interpreting Gender in Islam: A Case Study of Immigrant Muslim Women in Oslo, Norway”. *Gender & Society*, vol. 18, no. 4, August 2004: 473-493.

See also:

2.2.8 Nyhagen, L. (2017). ‘Britain’s “Missing” Muslim Women’. *The Conversation*. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/britains-missing-muslim-women-80436>.

2.2.9 Nyhagen, L. (2016). ‘Good Muslims’ or ‘Good Citizens’: how Muslim Women Feel about Integration’. *The Conversation*. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/good-muslims-or-good-citizens-how-muslim-women-feel-about-integration-58796>.

3.0 Religious faith as providing resources and barriers to citizenship and civic engagement

3.1 Muslim women participants in my research referred to stereotypes in society at large as producing significant barriers to their lived citizenship. Due to negative media portrayals of “Islam” and “Muslims”, and to isolated terrorist incidents perpetrated by people calling themselves “Muslims” in the UK and in other geographical contexts, some Muslim women felt they have to demonstrate that they are “a good Muslim”, and that “good Muslims can be good citizens”, so as to counter stereotypes. For example, one participant stated that Muslims ‘... *have to be good role models; we have to be good, responsible members of society because that is going to reflect on our religion... You have to portray your religion in the best possible light, because you can damage the image*’. It was also suggested that because some Muslim women are ‘so visible and identifiable’ due to their dress, they are under particular pressure to demonstrate that they are good citizens. Another participant noted that she is not as comfortable in public spaces as she was before, thus suggesting that a fear of being harassed. She also observed that an increasing number of Muslim women are wearing the hijab and the practice is therefore becoming increasingly normalized. Because of negative media portrayals, she also felt that Muslim women are under scrutiny and need to demonstrate that they ‘are normal’. The interviewed women underscored participating and contributing to society as positive values and actions that should be promoted by Muslims in order to increase society’s acceptance of Islam and of Muslims. But Muslim women participants also talked about uncomfortable experiences of harassment and discrimination in the workplace, in educational settings or in public spaces like city streets and public transport. Such experiences were in some instances directly associated with the wearing of a headscarf while in other cases it was also related to the woman’s skin

colour. Racism, religious prejudice and gender inequalities thus intersect and undermine Muslim women's sense of wellbeing and of being accepted as full and equal citizens.

3.2. Religious community organisations can be said to inhabit a 'borderland' between the private and public spheres, in as much as they are often left alone with little or no public interference (exemplified via exemptions granted to religious organisations from equality legislation) whilst at the same time being important arenas for engagement and participation beyond the spheres of home and/or work. Historically, the voluntary sector has provided women in particular with opportunities to move beyond more restrictive roles in the home and to engage in charitable and political activities that have a considerable impact on the wider societies in which they live. Muslim women in the UK have a long history of mobilization and organization to support local communities, and this history should be made more visible in media and educational resources. 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.

3.3. Religious places of worship such as mosques provide vital arenas for women's sense of belonging and participation as well as for contributing to the wider community. Traditionally, women have been excluded from and/or marginalized within mosques due to a total lack of space for women, or the allocation of an inferior and limited space to women compared to that of men. However, purpose-built mosques are increasingly incorporating separate spaces for women and are thus accommodating women's participation, albeit in gender segregated ways. Although some mosques are becoming more gender-inclusive, there are still mosques from which women are excluded. Women's participation in religious organisations may thus be restricted and even denied through male authority and processes of exclusion. In my research, Muslim women reported that while some mosques now accommodate women through designated spaces, there are others that do not have a space at all for women, or only have a small space for women's prayer, and this was deemed to produce barriers to women's participation. Other Muslim community organisations may also be male-dominated and should be encouraged to operate in more gender-inclusive ways.

3.4 Muslim women in my research are very appreciative of their mosques, which offer women-only spaces via a separate entrance. This enables women to take part in gender segregated religious services, where men are seated in the main prayer room and women in a separate room. The interviewees stated that women feel comfortable coming to the mosque because they have their own space, where they can talk about their personal lives as well as partake in religious prayers. Some also mentioned the introduction of formal women's committees that have decision-making power in relation to women's activities and fundraising as a positive development. For example, an interviewee noted that, in her

Dr Line Nyhagen, Reader in Sociology, Loughborough University – written evidence (CCE0077)

mosque, “*ten years ago nobody would have thought of having a sub-committee of women who would have equal voting rights and look what we have achieved today*”. She saw the role of the women’s committee to be that of ‘*empower[ing women] to participate in mainstream society, using their religious knowledge*’. Religious organisations can thus function as a resource to increase Muslim women’s participation and influence in local communities and as a pathway to further participation in wider society. Muslim community organisations such as mosques can provide women with designated spaces and actively encourage women’s participation and leadership. Muslim community organisations should also encourage women’s participation in wider society, through education, employment and volunteering and impart that women’s participation is both valued and supported by Islamic teachings.

The UK government should encourage and support Muslim women’s own organisations as well as their participation in mosques through its funding policies and other policy initiatives.

3.5. One of the strengths of British Muslim communities is their diverse organisational landscape, be it in the form of mosques and other community organisations, including women’s organisations that work to support Muslim women (e.g., the Muslim Women’s Council of Bradford; the Muslim Women’s Network; Maslaha, and others).⁶⁷² Muslim women’s organisations are legitimate representatives of Muslim women’s voices, and as such they need to be heard in governance and decision-making processes that involve stakeholders such as government institutions, secular women’s organisations, and other Muslim community organisations.

4.0 Supporting and increasing the civic engagement of religious women

4.1. The government should further encourage the reporting of hate crimes, discrimination and harassment to the police where religious individuals are targeted because of their faith. In particular, government should encourage awareness and reporting to the police of abuse where religion intersects with other identity characteristics such as gender (e.g. when women are abused, discriminated and harassed due to their choice of religious dress). The coordinated work of the Community Security Trust, Tell Mama, the Crown Prosecution Service and the Department for Communities and Local Government police in producing a guide for those affected by hate crimes is commendable.⁶⁷³ However, while the current definition of ‘hate crime’ applied by these stakeholders refers to ‘*a person’s race or perceived race; religion or perceived religion; sexual orientation or perceived sexual orientation; disability or perceived disability and any crime motivated by hostility or prejudice against a person who is transgender or perceived to be transgender*’, the definition

⁶⁷² For the Muslim Women’s Council, see <http://www.muslimwomenscouncil.org.uk/>; for the Muslim Women’s Network UK, see <http://www.mwnuk.co.uk/>; for Maslaha, see <http://www.maslaha.org/>

⁶⁷³ See <https://tellmamauk.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Hate-Crime-A-guide-for-those-affected.pdf>

does not include the term ‘gender’ and gender-based hate crime.⁶⁷⁴ In this regard, the work undertaken by Nottinghamshire Police to include misogyny as a hate crime⁶⁷⁵ should be implemented at national level. More attention needs to be paid to *gender-based religious hate crimes*. Such crimes involve intersections between misogyny and religious hatred and can they can be expressed by individuals, organisations, and media outlets.

4.2. The government should seek to combat religious hatred and discrimination through educational programmes for children and young people and also through clear political messages to the wider British public about the need for religious tolerance and the value of religious freedom, including the right of women to wear religious dress. Religious women in the UK, including those from ethnic minority groups, have a long history of mobilization and organization to support local communities. This history should be made more visible in media and educational resources.

4.3. The government should approach the issue of religious faith and citizenship from a broad perspective, where individuals, groups and communities from religious and ethnic minority groups are not viewed in isolation (and thus are potentially further stigmatized) but are seen in relation to individuals, groups and communities of other faiths and none, including the majority faith (Christianity) and secular beliefs. In particular, a political discourse of ‘difference’ between Muslims and other people in Britain must be replaced by a discourse that emphasizes the commonly shared values that are held by people across religious-secular boundaries. As evidenced by my research, Christian and Muslim women share the notion that a “good citizen” is someone who participates in their community, care for their family, friends and neighbours, obeys the law, votes in political elections, and shows compassion, tolerance and respect towards other people. A constructive step would be for the UK government to talk about ‘British values’ not as uniquely British, but as resonating with universal values relating to democracy, rights, duties, participation and caring for others.

4.4. The government should actively consult more with representatives from Muslim women’s organisations in policy-making processes. These organisations provide important counterpoints and corrections to the views that are imparted by male leaders of male-dominated religious organisations where women may be denied a voice. The government should also consider actively requiring male-dominated Muslim organisations to nominate women for participation in consultations with government.

4.5 Muslim organisations (e.g. mosques and civil society/third sector organisations) should be actively encouraged to include Muslim women in their activities and thus provide arenas

⁶⁷⁴ See ‘Hate Crime. A Guide for Those Affected’, 2017, p. 7, published by the Community Security Trust, Tell MAMA, The Crown Prosecution Service and the Department for Communication and Local Government. Available at: <https://tellmamauk.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Hate-Crime-A-guide-for-those-affected.pdf>

⁶⁷⁵ See <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-nottinghamshire-36775398>

Dr Line Nyhagen, Reader in Sociology, Loughborough University – written evidence (CCE0077)

that support and enhance further public participation and engagement by Muslim women. In particular, mosques in Britain should be encouraged to provide ample spaces for women's participation in religious prayer and other activities in the mosque, and to include women in their governance and decision-making processes. These recommendations should be extended to religious organisations across all faiths and none. In this regard, efforts by the government to improve the gender balance on business boards through voluntary means could be replicated for voluntary sector boards. As a minimum, all voluntary sector organisations that receive public funding should be encouraged to report on and improve on (where needed) the gender balance of their own governing structures. Thus, when religious community organisations (or so-called faith based organisations) receive public funding (e.g. to provide public services or to implement public policies), they could be asked to demonstrate the participation of women in the management and spending of public resources.

6 September 2017

Oatlands Community Group – written evidence (CCE0116)

Background

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.

Key questions of interest to the committee

The committee is seeking to gather evidence in answer to 12 questions about citizenship and civic engagement. Oatlands Community Group is submitting evidence in response to questions 9 and 12 in particular. These questions are:

- 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?
- 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?

About Oatlands Community Group

Oatlands Community Group (OCG) is a secular community group in Harrogate, North Yorkshire. It has no fixed community base. The group was set up in March 2016 in response to a perceived need in the local area for events to tackle social isolation. The group officially became a legal entity and not-for-profit organisation in July 2016, and is currently working towards becoming a Charitable Incorporated Organisation. The group is run entirely by volunteers and has received donations of money, equipment and time from a local foundation, companies and individuals.

OCG has developed a calendar of events in the local area which are free to attend and which aim to gather the community together for fun. These events are detailed below. As part of its calendar of events, OCG often fundraises for other charities and in its first year it had raised some £3,300 for other charities.

The experience of Oatlands Community Group

In answer to Q9: 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?

1153

OCG faced a number of barriers to becoming established and operating successfully. These barriers and the ways in which OCG overcame them are detailed in the table below. **Note that we would be very happy to share model and resources (website) with other communities but have no vehicle to do so.**

Barrier	How the barrier was overcome
<i>Securing funds</i>	
Difficulty in securing funds due to not being a registered charity: most grant funders want a registered charity number to award to	In the process of changing our status from unincorporated charity to registered charitable incorporated organization (CIO)
Constraints in our ability to grow as a charity: the public want our services but we lack funds (and volunteers) to support our work	We identified a number of small grants available to unincorporated charities to help fund our first year of events. Once we are a CIO we will be able to apply for a wider range of funds. Some items we funded personally.
Securing grants takes time and experience	We found volunteers with experience of applying for funding, and also attended a course on applying for grants
<i>Going through the process of becoming a CIO</i>	
Guidance was needed to steer the group through a myriad of legal and statutory requirements, preparing a submission to the Charity Commission and writing policies and procedures to support the group's work	Engaged with professionals offering support and guidance for newly established groups (cost for this was funded by us personally) Identified a volunteer with experience of policy writing
<i>Motivating the community to become engaged</i>	
While there is evident demand for the community group and its events, only a small minority of like-minded individuals	Engaging with community individuals effectively by raising awareness of OCG, its aims and its events, and letting people know how they can get involved. Putting out requests for support via social media

Oatlands Community Group – written evidence (CCE0116)

<p>in the community is willing to actually get involved.</p>	<p>(see below). Encouraging young people in particular to volunteer by offering a scheme to help mentor and develop their skills and document this for their CVs</p>
<p>Energetic and enthusiastic leadership is needed to bring those individuals together as one and harness their skills effectively</p>	<p>Our founding members have a strong commitment to the local community and a clear vision of OCG's goals. Without this, the group would probably be much less successful</p>
<p>Raising awareness of OCG and its activities via online presence and marketing</p>	<p>Create 'brand', market effectively using website, Facebook, blogging, vlogging, Instagram, Twitter</p>
<p>Reaching those in the community who may not access information online, and associated costs of doing this</p>	<p>Signpost visually through banners & flyers, word of mouth, feedback surveys & testimonials. Funding for this was obtained from local businesses and small grant providers</p> <p>Created a partnership working with other community groups (e.g. Oatlands Community Centre, St Mark's Church)</p>
<p><i>Including hard-to-reach groups in our activities</i></p>	
<p>Reaching cross-generationally: some young people may never have come across volunteering / limited community opportunities for very young volunteers possibly through lack of information & opportunities / limited volunteering opportunities for elderly (who may have a lot of experience) due to H&S Risk Assessments regarding frailty or exclusion based on age (both young and old).</p>	<p>OCG has established a volunteer scheme for young volunteers (aged under 18) whereby we train them and also document the hours they put in so that they can put these on their CVs at a later date. While we do not specifically target older volunteers, our opportunities are open to everyone.</p>

<p>Inclusion – ‘community’ isn’t just based on where you live it’s also based on things like heritage, ethnicity, faith, culture, environment, leisure activities – people in the community may identify in multiple communities – how to find out about them, how to engage with them</p>	<p>By using a variety of locations (e.g. community centre, church, playing fields), we aim to reach a broad range of people within the community</p>
--	--

In answer to Q12: 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?

OCG has established various events over the past year that have helped promote a positive vision of British Citizenship. These are detailed in the table below.

<p>Event</p>	<p>Ways in which it promotes a positive vision of British Citizenship</p>
<p>‘Tuki’ Community Café – runs once a month between 11am-2pm, hosted by a local church, serving light lunches and cakes. Monies raised go to other charities. More than £2,500 has been raised since September 2016</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brings people of all generations together: many customers are pensioners, and the volunteers who run the café are either adults aged c. 30-50 or children aged 8-18 who wait on the customers. • Encourages respect for people across generations.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This ‘community melting pot’ offers insight and appreciation of different skill sets in different age groups • Broadens general knowledge • Offers all the opportunity to contribute positively to the lives of those living a working in the same community • Offers an environment of mutual tolerance and harmony
<p>MESSI – Mobile Email Smart Phone Social Media Information service (runs at the same time as the Community Café every month). Our youth volunteers give up their time to help older people learn how to use devices such as mobile phones</p>	<p>Our younger volunteers share their digital skills with older members of the community – helping to upskill across the generations and reduce social isolation by teaching older people how to use mobile phones, computers and social media</p>
<p>Knitting group (runs at the same time as the Community Café every month). People with knitting skills (generally older people) are on hand to teach younger people how to knit. The group knits squares to be made up into blankets by ‘Knit-a-Square’, a charity which sends blankets to orphaned children in South Africa</p>	<p>Offers the older generations the opportunity to share skills with younger people and keep skills alive</p>
<p>Community Coffee Mornings: In November 2016 OCG teamed up with Dementia Forward to host a ‘memories’ event. This was held at a local community centre venue – where participants could come together to share ‘memories’. The local Pre-school children who use rooms behind the Community Centre were invited to attend.</p>	<p>As has been demonstrated in the recent Channel 4 programme ‘Old people’s home for 4 year olds’, getting old and young people together has a huge positive impact on health, well-being and even life expectancy! Everyone very much enjoyed the event.</p>

Oatlands Community Group – written evidence (CCE0116)

<p>‘Wonderful Windows’: we encouraged local residents and businesses to put up displays in their windows and light them up for two evenings in March 2016 and also 2017, creating a (free) trail of interesting and imaginative displays for people to follow</p>	<p>This free event had more than 80 participants in the first year and resulted in people of all generations getting outside on a dark winter evening, chatting and enjoying the displays together</p>
<p>‘Oaticulture’ plant and seed swap, and seed bank: held twice a year and hosted by a local church</p>	<p>This event encourages people to try growing plants and seeds they may not otherwise grow, raising awareness of gardening and reducing waste by ensuring that unwanted plants and seeds are used by others in the community</p>

Feedback from members of our community about our events has been overwhelmingly positive. We detail in the table below some of the feedback we have received.

Event	Comment received
<p>Tuki Café (August 2017) – money raised on behalf of charity Open Arms Malawi</p>	<p>On behalf of everyone at Open Arms Malawi I would like to thank the Oatlands Community Group for putting on a fantastic event, which raised over £350 to help some of the most vulnerable children in Malawi.</p> <p>The event was very well run, with tonnes of support and adults and children all rolling their sleeves up, working hard, having fun and getting involved. Each and every volunteer made sure that we got the most out of the day. We met a host of local community groups and regular visitors to St Mark’s too, who were all interested and supportive of our work. It was a pleasure to get to know you all and see the enthusiasm of everyone who came together to support us. You should all be very proud of what the group have achieved and we look forward to working with you all again soon. Claire Collins, Open Arms Malawi</p>

<p>Tuki Café (July 2017) – money raised on behalf of charity Caring for Life</p>	<p>On behalf of Caring For Life, and the Harrogate Support Group in particular, I would like to thank you very much indeed, especially Victoria and the brilliant team, for the wonderful Tuki Cafe yesterday. This was a first experience for me personally, and won't be the last! As a community-enriching event it was great: a lovely happy atmosphere around the room and I believe a good time was had by all. We were really impressed by the organisation and efficient friendliness of the event. We would like to particularly praise the young helpers who went about their potentially difficult tasks with great professionalism.</p> <p>As for our own charity, the funds raised were far more than we had expected, and we really valued the opportunity to present the work of CFL to the local community in this way. We very much hope we might be able to repeat the cafe next year.</p> <p>Thank you all so much! David Young Caring for Life</p>
<p>Tuki Café – feedback from customers</p>	<p>“Just keep up the good work”</p> <p>“Very good service”</p> <p>“Really enjoyed the live singing today- made it extra special”</p> <p>“Great – will recommend to my friends”</p> <p>“Lovely warm and friendly atmosphere & music. Lovely food and Drinks. Wonderful”</p> <p>“The young volunteers serving us at this community café truly sparkle”</p> <p>“I love the knitting table - there are lots of people to help me”</p>
<p>Wonderful Windows 2016</p>	<p>“This was a fab event and it was so nice to see so many groups of people (and people in cars) going around the area. So many people had spent time and</p>

	<p>effort in creating such a wide range of window displays...</p> <p>As a community we should feel proud that we came together to pull this event off, and the organisers who did all the hard work getting it off the ground deserve a huge pat on the back for your vision and efforts. Thank you.”</p> <p>“Lots of people getting involved. Getting out and about with the children. A sense of common purpose meeting people in the street who were also wandering.”</p> <p>“Whole experience from making our display with the children at Pre-school to enjoying the other displays with my son. It felt magical and such a different experience to anything I’ve seen before.”</p> <p>“Loved the creativity and range of people who participated.”</p> <p>“Lovely simple open ended idea, could be enjoyed by young and old alike.”</p> <p>“The creativity of the participants and hearing how excited the kids were wandering around. It was good fun making the window display. It’s new and different for Harrogate - or even Yorkshire. Once it's had a few years of running it may become very popular.”</p> <p>“Really nice to see something happening in the community, reminded me of my childhood where you knew all your neighbours and doing a street party for something like the royal wedding was normal and everyone took part”</p>
--	--

7 September 2017

Outside the Box – written evidence (CCE0189)

1. This response comes from the Rural Wisdom project, which is developing ways for rural communities to support and work well for older people. It brings together work in local communities in Scotland and Wales as well as links with people in other parts of the UK. These notes draw on what we are hearing from older people, especially those who live in rural communities.

2. The overall message is that older people care about citizenship and about civic engagement, and want to be part of promoting them. This includes a lot of practical supports that they give to people of all ages, and they would like to be more involved.

Question 1

3. For many people, being a citizen and engaging in their community means identifying with a local community or geographic place as much as identifying with a country. There are people who have lived in their area for many years and want this to be a good place for the people coming after them – but they feel this longer-term view is generally not respected or understood, including by politicians and staff of public bodies who are often taking a short-term view.

Question 2

4. There needs to be many, frequent ways for people to strengthen their sense of belonging to the UK and to their own local area. People want more activities and events that bring together people across ages, recent arrivals and people who have lived here a long time, people who use different languages and have different cultures. Their experience is that people have a sense of belonging to a place when they work together to create something and are all welcome to be part of it. Community connectedness then gets reinforced when people see and talk to each other day-to-day. The most effective shared events are usually those organised by community groups for a practical purpose with community links as the welcome side-effect.

5. People are telling us of the many ways these opportunities are being undermined. There are closures of community facilities such as town or village halls, libraries and shared open spaces, and losing local shops, where people used to meet and have the conversations that create social connectedness.

Question 4

6. Older people care a lot about politician and electoral engagement, partly because they remember the advances in society and people's circumstances that have been achieved. But there is a risk that older people are overlooked in discussions about electoral and political engagement.

- There are real problems in older people who have dementia and other health problems not being able to vote because care providers and others do not understand the rules on incapacity and voting, and/or are not willing to give people the practical support they need to vote.
- Campaigns that focus on younger people can give out a message that older people's views do not matter so much.
- Older people could help encourage people who have less confidence around electoral and political participation, but they are rarely given opportunities to do this.

Question 7

7. The main way to support civic engagement is for public bodies to show that they really do want to hear what people have to say. This means getting right the consultations and other engagement with people who live in that area or are interested in that topic.

- Ask people what is important to them, rather than only have a pre-determined plan or set of priorities.
- Allow long enough to have a real dialogue and bring the conversation to where people already are.
- Act on what people contribute and report back on what has been achieved before starting on the next consultation.
- Remember that civic engagement has to be made to work for everyone - thinking about the language that is used, communication routes and all the good practice on equality and diversity.

8. Civic engagement relies on opportunities for people to talk over issues and ideas with other people to help them work out what they want to say. It is also important for people to hear a range of views and experiences. This is another way in which losing community groups and opportunities to meet a wider range of people within communities damages our society.

Question 9

9. The main factors that we are hearing from older people who live in rural areas are people not being visible and people not being respected – and we expect this applies to many other people who feel 'left behind'.

10. In practice, most decisions are made by people who talk mostly to other people who are like themselves and who communicate in the ways that they use. Older people and people living in rural areas often feel they are not visible to decision-makers or to the people who are influencing decisions. Aspects of this include:

- Not knowing about opportunities to participate, because the flow of information does not reach many older people when it is circulated through routes they are not part of.
- Not being able to get to the places where discussions happen, or events not getting out to rural areas and lack of transport and high costs for people getting in to towns.
- Poor internet access in many rural areas - when information for consultations and responses can only happen on-line people are denied a voice.
- The pace and style of much civic engagement effectively excludes a lot of people.
- When people feel that no-one is going to listen to what they have to say, they stop making the effort to contribute. The main factor people mention here is whether they have been given any evidence of previous consultations or other engagement leading to positive changes.

11. Another problem is when voluntary organisations are said to be ‘representing’ people who live in that area or share circumstances. For example, it is now common for Third Sector Interfaces – the old Councils of Voluntary Service – to have a place on public bodies in Scotland that is counted as the voice of all people using public services and their families, as well as the voice of all voluntary organisations and community groups. Some of the people taking on these roles try to check out with people in the area, but there is not the time or resources to do it properly. Inevitably, a small number of groups have more influence than others, reinforcing the sense of other people being ‘left behind’.

12. Practical steps that can help overcome the barriers include all the good practice around supporting real equality and diversity. But what will underpin it is a change of approach: having more time for open conversations from the outset, going to where people are, and showing people that their contribution is welcomed and respected.

Question 10

13. The experience of many older people is that social integration, citizenship and civic engagement are closely interlinked, and that good social connections and inclusion is at the heart of making things work better for everyone.

14. Many older people feel they are not included when people talk of social cohesion. They are concerned about the ways older people are presented as dependent and having little to contribute.

15. These are a few of the examples we know of older people taking action that enhances social connections in their community:

- Organising most of the community activities in rural areas, including groups for children and young people and events that bring the community together
- Looking after buildings that are shared by the community

Outside the Box – written evidence (CCE0189)

- Encouraging and supporting people who are new to the area until they find their own friendships and get settled in
- People living in a care home meeting people using an ESOL class, to let them practice ordinary conversations
- Inviting young people, including those who find school a challenge, to do activities like gardening and mending things that benefit other people as well as build skills and confidence, and encouraging them around employment options.

Next steps

16. The people we have met look forward to the next stage of the Select Committee process and want to be part of the conversations that follow.

Contact for this response

The response was brought together by Anne Connor of Outside the Box, which hosts the Rural Wisdom project.

There is more information about Rural Wisdom at www.ruralwisdom.org.

Outside the Box supports a range of community projects and enables people who feel excluded to have a voice and make changes in their communities. There is more information about what we do at www.otbds.org

8 September 2017

Professor David Owen – written evidence (CCE0021)

1. Citizenship has a dual face: as a legal status as an equal consociate in a self-ruling polity and as a form of activity with others directed to the common good.

Addressing the first face, four trends are significant: (a) the collapse of the norm of single nationality (whereas in 1960 70% of states disallowed dual nationality, now 70% permit it), (b) the rapid spread of expatriate voting rights (nearly all the world's democracies now have provisions for expatriate voting), (c) the gradual development of non-citizen voting rights, especially at local levels (but also at national levels – see New Zealand for most developed case), and (d) the emergence, at varying levels, of regional (supranational) citizenship or entitlements to civic statuses such as (in its most developed form) EU citizenship.

These trends point to what we might call the 'transnationalization' of the state which combines a recognition that the (civic) nation is not limited to the territory of the state and that the old citizen/alien distinction no longer adequately captures the range of civic statuses within the territory of the state and across states. In an increasingly globalised world, sustaining strong links with expatriate citizens (mobilising the economic and political support of diasporas) and engaging in inclusive integration of immigrant denizens is a sensible strategy for sustaining the 'effective sovereignty' of the state.

Addressing the second face, it is important to note that citizenship operates across local, regional subnational, national, supranational (EU) and transnational contexts. Civic engagement is not just a matter of local volunteering but also of acting in the different contexts in which one has civic standing (think for example of the importance of remittances from (and even to) the UK, or of the civil society organisations formed by expatriate citizens to act across borders). One of the great challenges today is that of enabling the reach and connectivity of civic activity across different contexts and not fixating on measuring engagement in one as if it was a way of measuring civic engagement as such. Two examples:

- a) Many migrants do engage in civic action such as volunteer work in their local communities – whether this is UK citizens in France or non-UK EU (or non-EU) citizens in the UK – but many are also engaged through contemporary finance and communications technologies in transnational civic action in their 'home' states. Both home state and state of residence can support these activities or put obstacles in their way or, even, design mechanisms to link local and transnational action. What tends to happen is that states focus on civic action in their territory and overlook the wide forms of civic action that are going on.
- b) If we consider the UK, a problem of citizenship in England is that it has a highly centralised state and a relatively weak local government structure (except perhaps in London and now Manchester, etc, with empowered mayors) so that there is no strong sense that local civic action or political involvement is

effectively connected to the national level. The centralisation of political party structures has also supported the widespread sense of disempowerment at local levels, and devolution of party structures may also be an important part of re-engaging people in civic life. There is an important potential role for regional citizenship to mediate and connect local and national levels but this is likely to require stronger forms of regional governance than currently exist.

In brief, citizenship in the 21st century is complex and messy – it runs across different contexts of governance and at different levels of governance – and characterised across OECD states, in ways that have supported the rise of populism, by a sense of disempowerment that, I think, needs politicians to worry less about values and rather more about empowerment. Unhealthy values will flourish in contexts where people feel disempowered, that their agency is ineffective.

What citizenship have to do with identity? Here we need to distinguish two issues. The first is that citizenship entails an identity – being British is a civic identity. The second is that the experience of citizenship, of one's civic identity, is mediated through one's other (social/cultural/economic/religious) identities. A key issue here is the relationship between one's civic identity and one's other identities, that is, whether one experiences one's civic identity as being at odds with one's cultural or religious identity or, indeed, as denigrating or demonizing that identity. One of the problems with talk of "British values" is that either these are so abstract as to be indistinguishable from the values of any liberal democratic states or they are given substance through a particular limited cultural thick interpretation of them that is parochial and acts as a mechanism for marginalizing other ways in which these abstract values can be manifest. What actually matters is that citizens have an effective sense of civic identity in the sense of identifying with the main social and political institutions of society, of valuing these institutions as a whole (which can be valued on the basis of a variety of different values!), and that requires that they experience themselves as included within them (this point applies to migrants, those in post-industrial wastelands, the elderly, etc.) – this is the sense of belonging that matters in a liberal democratic state. Pride in being or becoming British should be encouraged when it is reflective pride in these institutions, a pride which is exhibited not least by criticism of elements of them when they are failing to sustain an inclusive sense of belonging. (Nb. the patriotism of criticism and dissent is the reflective form of patriotism.) And rituals such as citizenship ceremonies can, done properly, be important – but only if the commitments made by the state in the ritual are not contradicted by the experiences of everyday life.

How can this be supported? Honest critical history in schools is important – acknowledging the mistakes and cruelties of the British state and trying to show where it has learned and improved on the basis of these errors, drawing attention to the role of the social and political struggles of excluded groups in changing the make-up of the state (the struggle for democracy, the struggle against empire) in a way that links civic activity to the increased legitimacy of the British state. Being able to participate in the vernacular of civic life is also

important – and ideally free (or, if not, very subsidized) English language lessons for immigrants as a basic civic responsibility should be supported (even if making citizenship conditional on a language test is less justifiable). But there are also wider issues about social mixing that need to be addressed through longer range work on urban planning, schooling and making sure that we avoid spatial and job segregation in our society.

3. I see civic engagement as a duty – but would stress that civic engagement can take many forms. The partner who looks after the kids while the other partner attends a political meeting or does voluntary work or engages in a community meeting is enabling ‘civic work’ – one might push this point further and note that vast amounts of (typically gendered) care work is done as unpaid labour and can be seen as ‘civic work’. So in this general respect, monitoring or enforcing civic engagement does not seem a plausible option. But there are some general forms of civic engagement that could be specific duties and could be relatively easily monitored and enforced. These are:

- a) Compulsory voting.
- b) National Civic Service.
- c) The Duty to Work.

I’ll take each in turn.

- a) The only good argument for compulsory voting is that it addresses the problem of a systematic lack of voting by the most disadvantaged members of society. Since we know that if people do not vote in the first 2-3 national elections that they are eligible for, they are likely never to vote, one way of addressing this point is to make voting compulsory for the first 2-3 elections that you can vote in. Personally I have no problem with unrestricted compulsory voting on condition that the ballot also includes ‘None of the Above’ so that political parties (a) cannot claim a spurious legitimacy from the exclusion of this option and (b) because it would incentivize political parties to make their manifestos have general appeal and not simply appeal to those currently likely to vote.
- b) National Civic Service, e.g., as something done between 18-25 as chosen by individual, if it is properly designed with a wide range of options may be worth serious consideration not only for its civic character but also for its potential role in social mixing, that is in exposing people to others of different classes, ethnicities, sexualities, etc. Given the degree to which social fragmentation into niche groups (reinforced by social media) is prevalent in contemporary society and supports the formation of social stereotypes, the ‘enforced’ mixing of national civic service might be one counterforce to the fact that traditional sites of social mixing (church, pub, party) have suffered significant decline.

- c) The Duty to Work – this is more tentative and depends importantly on the state being willing to take up the role of ‘employer of last resort’ but done sensitively it would acknowledge both that one important civic duty is to contribute through work and that work is an important social source of self-respect.

4. It seems to me to make sense to have a lower voting age for local elections than national elections both as a training ground and because votes at local elections are more likely to show the direct effect of voting and hence support participatory disposition.

I would also universalize the franchise in local voting for all (non-transient – c.6 months) residents as many states have already done – municipal governance largely concerns services to residents and all residents should be entitled to a say on how their schools, roads, hospitals, etc. are governed. This would also thereby provide an initial civic basis for the political integration of immigrants.

It is a problem with the FPTP system that vast numbers of people either experience their vote as wasted or feel constrained to vote for the ‘least bad’ option from their political standpoint. Adopting a proportional system (not AV) would provide a way of addressing this that is urgently needed as a matter of engaging people both by allowing new political parties, including regional political parties, to emerge and by pushing existing political parties to be less lazy and less focused on marginal constituencies. FPTP may have made sense in an age where parties mapped straightforwardly on core social cleavages but it now distorts our political system in a way that threatens the basis of representative democracy (cf. Peter Mair, *Ruling the Void*) and is likely only to encourage political extremism.

14 August 2017

Dr Alison Davies, Peterborough Racial Equality Council – written evidence (CCE0056)

This submission draws from a forthcoming report on a study conducted by Peterborough Racial Equality Council in partnership with the Open University. The study explores the views of young people from minority ethnic backgrounds on what, in their experience, are the main barriers to community cohesion in their small city, and how they would build a better understanding between communities.

The principal sources of data are a survey of 450 young people aged between 14 and 19 from black and minority ethnic backgrounds, using open ended questions and free

responses, followed by discussions with individuals and small groups. Individual responses are denoted by the survey number (111).

The responses reported here relate to:

- The values that all of us who live in Britain should share
- The relationship between civic engagement and social cohesion

British values

The survey asked; 'If you were asked to decide upon some 'British values' what would they be?'

The young people were largely uncomprehending of the concept of 'British Values'. However, they understood Islamic values, Christian values, and humanitarian values very well and demonstrated these eloquently in response to questions about 'how to improve community relations'. However, they struggled to identify any that could be labelled as specifically 'British'.

'There are no such things. Values such as politeness, non-violence, non-discrimination etc. are values that should be universal. One cannot simply deem a particular group of values to be British. As a British citizen myself, I find the idea of British values to be absurd' (311)

Others (13%) highlighted the changing nature of British society, reflected in changing values.

'I don't know [what British values should be] as British culture is constantly changing, so will the British values. We need global values!' (277)

Some suggested statements of values with irony:

'Pick on someone different to you' (109)

'We need to get rid of all these immigrants, they're taking our jobs' (127)

The most frequently expressed responses (20%) offered popular icons such as 'fish and chips', 'drinking tea' or 'the Queen'. Respect for people and helping them irrespective of background were stated as aspirational values by 15%, but 'tolerance' was not sufficient.

'Tolerance – is that how much you can take of something?' Asked A.

In the vision for society held by these young people, there are many values beyond tolerance.

Social cohesion and civic engagement

The young people were asked; 'What is the biggest barrier to community relations in the city?' and 'What could be done to improve relations between communities and faith groups in the city?'

25% of respondents perceived the greatest barrier to be the segregation or lack of communication between different groups within the city. A further 18% specifically cited language barriers, indicating that funding for English / ESOL classes and EAL specialists should be a government priority. Correspondingly, the suggestions for improving engagement given by 28% involved the organisation of some kind of activity in which young people from different communities would come together. School and informal social encounters did not seem to fulfil this purpose but organised gatherings, social events, and sports tournaments, did. A further 19% proposed interfaith events and festivals.

The other main barrier to cohesion was deemed (by 21% of respondents) to be ignorance, or lack of understanding about each other's cultures, leading to stereotyping and judgemental attitudes. A further 15% specifically cited overt racism. This barrier, all agreed, should be addressed by better teaching about different cultures and faiths in schools and community settings. It should be noted that this cohort of young people had already received the standard input of 'citizenship education' through Personal Development Education or PSHE, but they believed that a much deeper and better informed understanding of different beliefs was required to change attitudes.

'We can definitely teach more about all religions and cultures – to get an understanding of everyone's faith and culture. I think it would bring us closer as a community' (413)

The summary above is taken from a much longer report of the study which will be published by the Open University later in the year.

4 September 2017

Political Literacy Oversight Group of the All Party Parliamentary Group for Democratic Participation – written evidence (CCE0058)

1. About the Political Literacy Oversight Group:

The Political Literacy Oversight Group exists to promote higher levels of political literacy amongst the general population, and among young people in particular. As a non-partisan critical friend to Government departments or parliamentary select committees, the Group is able to provide the breadth and depth of expertise to sustain and advance best practice in the fields of citizenship education and political literacy. The Group plays a facilitative role for organisations and individuals already working in this space, and as such draws upon a far-reaching network of experts. In particular the Political Literacy Oversight Group seeks to work with stakeholders and policy-makers at local, regional and national levels by focusing on the development of evidence-based policy and practice. The following submission of written evidence provides concise commentaries from a selection of group members in response to questions laid out by the House of Lords Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement in their call for evidence. Further information about this group, and the work of its constituent members, can be found in our recently published [Capacity Report](#).

2. Executive Summary:

Never before have the British people been asked so frequently to take decisions, with monumental consequences, about the way we should be governed and the very constitution of our political system. That phenomenon known as the referendum, once anathema in British politics, has become an increasingly frequent instrument of democratic governance in the UK. Yet these choices are taking place against a backdrop of declining civic engagement, diagnosed in anti-political research by declining levels of partisanship, diminished voter turnout, popular detachment from politics as characterised by poor performing governments and failures of accountability, and plummeting trust in political elites. In particular the latest research shows that our young people are becoming more conservative, more individualized and less likely to engage in *any* form of political activity (see Grasso, 2016).⁶⁷⁶ It is in this context that the Political literacy Oversight Group welcomes this timely investigation of citizenship and civic engagement.

This written submission makes a number of recommendations for the committee's consideration in the construction of their final report. These may be simplified to three key statements:

⁶⁷⁶ For the sake of maximising space in this submission, any references are provided as in-text citations and may be provided in full upon request.

Political Literacy Oversight Group of the All Party Parliamentary Group for Democratic Participation – written evidence (CCE0058)

- Citizenship education in schools should be prioritised as a policy commitment and resourced effectively, including formal programmes of assessment, Ofsted inspections of school delivery, and expanded teaching training initiatives.

- Parliamentary reforms and online education initiatives aimed at improving legislative transparency in recent years should be extended to the job specification of local and national politicians, so that the governed have regular opportunities to interact with governors.

- Extra-curricular institutions, particularly universities and the National Citizens Service, should have a responsibility to promote citizenship and political literacy in post-Brexit Britain.

Previous academic and policy work on civic engagement has tended to focus on new methods of democratic design. These have included deliberative mechanisms such as participatory budgeting and e-petitioning, voluntary employment and welfare reform, as well as considerations of lowering the voting age. These are, in essence, supply side reforms aimed at facilitating public interest and engagement in a political system that gives them agency. However, these publications and policies have largely overlooked the power of demand side reforms in general, and the role of education in cultivating political interest, efficacy and participation in particular. As the cornerstone of a civic journey for life, the Political Literacy Oversight Group believes that education should occupy a central focus of the committee's work.

The following seven sections provide evidence from seven separate expert members of the Political Literacy Oversight Group. Each section tackles particular questions from the call for evidence and provides targeted recommendations. For further information on the Political Literacy Oversight Group, please contact James Weinberg (jweinberg1@sheffield.ac.uk).

Section 1

James Weinberg: Research Lead in Youth Politics, The Sir Bernard Crick Centre, University of Sheffield; Chair, Political Literacy Oversight Group.

Qu.5 *What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship?*

Schools provide an invaluable platform through which to equip young people with the skills and knowledge to engage in politics, with both a capital and small 'p', in a meaningful way throughout adulthood. This is *not* about politicising young people but endowing them with an understanding of the law, the machinations that drive industry and trade, the formal and informal avenues of political campaigns necessary to affect systemic change in society. It is also about equipping young people with the skills of debate, critical thinking, negotiation

and community-oriented organisation. In doing so citizenship education in schools can make accessible, to a broader section of our young people, these and other meso- or macro-level institutions, and in turn generate a desire or wherewithal to participate in 'political' decision making across a range of issues when they leave school (Whiteley, 2012).

The benefits of citizenship education are well documented (see section 6 by Suzy Dodd in this submission). Following on from the longitudinal study conducted by the NFER in 2002-2010, recent research (Keating and Janmaat, 2016) has shown that citizenship education in the UK can increase the likelihood of voting by 14.9% and expressive political participation in adulthood by 13.1%. Taking a broader view of citizens' civic journey, there is also robust evidence around the world to suggest that citizenship education - done effectively as part of a skills and knowledge-based curriculum - can a) mitigate socio-economic and cultural inequalities (e.g. Castillo et al., 2015), and b) reduce rates of gang membership and violent crime among vulnerable groups (e.g. Edwards Jr., 2012). These findings should be of special relevance to UK policy makers concerned with tackling growing levels of social and political inequality as well as threats of youth radicalisation.

Recommendation:

- **Statutory citizenship education should be available in all secondary schools and given greater profile as a priority subject;**
- **Statutory citizenship education should be extended to primary schools.**

Qu.5 *How effective is current teaching?*

Arguably the single greatest challenge facing effective CE provision in schools is teacher expertise and training. Citizenship has remained a rare specialisation in secondary schooling; only 284 Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs) practiced the subject in 2006 (against a target of 540) (Ofsted, 2010) and in 2010 only 220 citizenship ITT places were available. Even if the initial rate of CE teacher training in the 'noughties' was maintained, it would take another two decades for each of the 3360 maintained secondary schools to have one trained citizenship teacher (Jerome and Hayward, 2009). The result is that non-specialists, with no formal training and a plethora of competing obligations, must deliver citizenship education.

A recent study of more 110 teachers from more than 60 UK secondary schools (Weinberg, under review) found that a) teachers do not have a shared understanding of citizenship and the purpose of citizenship education; b) there is a distinct gap between academic work on good pedagogy for citizenship education and classroom practice due to an absence of initial teacher training (ITT) and/or continued professional development (CPD) opportunities; c) citizenship education continues to be sorely neglected and/or ignored in state secondary schools and national education policy; d) where citizenship is taught, it is delivered with individualistic and inward looking political conceptions of 'good' rather than 'active'

citizenship. However, participants in Weinberg's study outlined an immense appetite for citizenship training among teachers of all disciplines. The study also showed that where staff had trained in a cognate specialism, they were better prepared to discuss citizenship education in active and participatory terms with an understanding of effective pedagogy in the subject.

Recommendation:

- **Introduce training in the pedagogy of citizenship education and political literacy as a statutory feature of all Initial Teacher Training courses.**

Qu.5 *Should there be more emphasis on political participation, both inside and outside classes? Do the curriculum and the qualifications that are currently offered need amending?*

Teachers in Weinberg's study talked in highly individualistic terms about the values of their pupils and their attitudes to citizenship education; by contrast school-based citizenship education should seek to develop a participatory culture informed by sound political literacy in order to engender measurable social impact. The curriculum as it is currently conceived, although light-touch in its approach, is not so much a problem as the lack of teacher training and the deficit of explicit support for the subject nationally among policy-makers and locally among test-oriented school leaderships. Since 2010 the importance of citizenship education has been superseded by a narrative of character education. Made manifest in symbolic policy programmes such as Social Moral Spiritual and Cultural learning (SMSC), Fundamental British Values, and Prevent, character education develops young people in soft social, emotional and non-cognitive skills that, whilst important for cultivating personally responsible dispositions, do not enhance the political literacy and participatory mindset of young people. National policy discourse must redress the imbalance between character development and citizenship education by clarifying the distinction between 'learning through volunteering with social capital as a learning outcome' (i.e. character education) and 'learning through community involvement with democratic citizenship, which includes an understanding of the political basis of community, as a learning outcome' (i.e. citizenship education) (Annette, 2003, p.140).

Recommendation:

- **Issue schools with a mandate to give equal priority to citizenship education and character development. Provide expert guidance on the distinction between the two terms and how to achieve this outcome in school based curricula.**

Section 2

Sarah Mills: Senior Lecturer in Human Geography, Loughborough University

Qu.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?

Since its launch in 2011, National Citizen Service (NCS) has expanded to reach over 300,000 young people in England and Northern Ireland. This short-term voluntary programme for 15-17 year olds involves two residential experiences and a social action project. NCS is funded by the UK Government – a “Big Idea for the Big Society” (Mycock & Tonge, 2011). The programme is currently managed by NCS Trust / Department for Culture, Media & Sport, and delivered regionally via social enterprises, charities and private sector partnerships. 360,000 young people are expected to be completing the NCS programme annually by 2020-21.

Although citizenship is enshrined in NCS’ name, research has found that NCS graduates often equate citizenship solely with volunteering (responsibilities rather than rights) and that the scheme emphasises participation at the local scale as part of a national collective, rather than further connections with European or global citizenship formations (Mills & Waite 2017). Despite the benefits of the programme for young people identified in evaluations and research, citizenship remains ambiguous in the NCS framework and synonymous with ‘social action’. There is scope for NCS to foster more meaningful engagement with politics.

Recommendations:

- **Introduce a greater political element into NCS via citizenship education and political literacy**
- **Revisit the aims of NCS and its ‘scales’ of youth citizenship in post-Brexit Britain**

Research has also found that the NCS experience is shaped by regional geographies of service provision (See Mills & Waite evidence to this Select Committee). This determines the extent to which NCS participants on-the-ground have an opportunity to engage with citizenship and political education (especially in Phase Two of the curriculum). Furthermore, the extent to which NCS social action projects are ‘youth-led’ varies by region (Mills & Waite 2017).

Recommendations:

- **Ensure consistency in the NCS curriculum across Regional Delivery Providers**
- **Prioritise ‘youth-led’ social action within the NCS offer**

Political Literacy Oversight Group of the All Party Parliamentary Group for Democratic Participation – written evidence (CCE0058)

The existing format of NCS is short-term (3-4 weeks), however it does require a full-time commitment from young people during that summer, with current barriers including employment, education and family commitments. Any extension to the length of the programme would therefore further cement these barriers. The existing graduation ceremony rightly celebrates the achievements of NCS graduates and this may be lost with a more ‘public citizenship ceremony’, the dynamics of which could be politically sensitive.

Recommendations:

- **Retain the existing length of NCS and graduation ceremony**
- **Ensure NCS remains voluntary and not compulsory**

The Public Accounts Committee [\[link\]](#) has raised concerns over NCS’ value for money in comparison to third sector organisations. NCS has recently announced a three-year partnership with the Scout Association as part of a new innovation programme.

Recommendations:

- **Continue to monitor NCS’ value for money and programme evaluations**
- **Ensure NCS is seen as part of a wider landscape of citizenship and civic engagement opportunities for young people rather than core focus of investment and efforts**

Section 3

Matteo Bergamini: Founder & Director of Shout Out UK.

Patrick Ireland: Creative Director of Shout Out UK.

Qu.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?

When one talks about civic engagement – and the responsibilities or rights of a citizen – there is a glaring issue in the UK: we do not equip our young people, and thus our citizens of the future, with the tools necessary to engage in our political system. As such, there is a profound gap in our society when it comes to civic engagement.

Political literacy in schools should be a right of all citizens as it is also, simultaneously, their own responsibility to engage with the political system, safeguard our democracy and ultimately maintain the interests of our country. However, engaging in civic society can only be a citizen’s responsibility if they have first been told how to engage. Without offering citizens this right, they are being failed by both the state and civic society in general; and the

consequence of such failure is often political apathy, populism and a lack of interest in civic society.

In January 2016 Shout Out UK (SOUK) launched a Political Literacy Course in a Pupil Referral Unit in Croydon. Since then SOUK have extended the course to schools across boroughs in London (Wembley, Harrow, Fulham, Knightsbridge, Croydon), Dartford, Cambridge and Yorkshire. These courses have demonstrated the potential of extra-curricular provision in political education specifically, but also the benefits of citizenship education in general. This is summarised in our pupil evaluations:

- How much has your knowledge of politics improved? (Out of 5: 5 being Excellent and 1 being Poor)
84% said 5 or 4
- How confident do you now feel when it comes to debating and presenting arguments? (Out of 5: 5 being Excellent and 1 being Poor)
80% said 5 or 4
- Do you feel more confident about expressing your opinions now? (Out of 5: 5 being Excellent and 1 being Poor)
82% said 5 or 4
- Overall, how beneficial do you think this course has been? (Out of Excellent, Good, Fair, Poor)
93.1% said Excellent or Good.

SOUK believes that there is an urgent need for greater attention to Political Literacy in schools. Our education system needs to cover the basics of legislation, Human Rights, and the role of local councils / MPs / Lords. Although technically included on the secondary national curriculum, these topics are not being taught effectively (if at all) to our young people.

Recommendations:

The Citizenship and PSHE curricula should be reassessed to stress the importance of Political Literacy and individual civic engagement. In particular school curricula should contain:

I. Oracy as a pedagogical focus – with debating and public speaking being a heavy part of it. This keeps kids engaged, builds their emotional resilience, confidence and employability skills as well as maintaining their interest in politics and the wider world via interesting, engaging discussion.

II. Media literacy. This should be a key focus as it addresses a growing problem; distrust in the media and the ever-growing issue of more 'likes = more credibility'.

III. An extra-curricular focus. Government departments should cooperate with external organisations already working in this space.

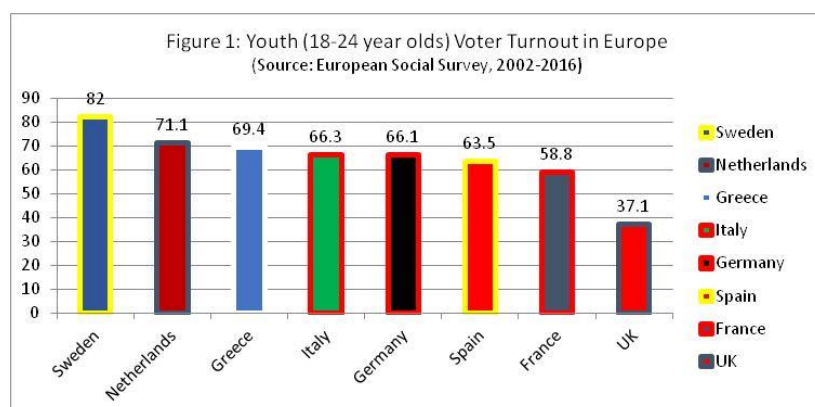
Section 4

James Sloam: Reader in Politics, Royal Holloway University; Convenor of the UK Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Young People’s Politics.

Qu.1 *What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century?*

The evidence presented here focuses on trends in the civic and political engagement amongst younger citizens. Young people are the ones who react most to the changing social, economic and political environment, and so offer us a glimpse of the future of our democracy.

Young people have become increasingly disenchanted with electoral politics. This is particularly the case in the UK, where younger citizens are much less likely to vote in general elections than older generations, previous generations of young people, and their peers elsewhere in Europe (Figure 1) (Sloam 2016).



Young people in the UK are interested in politics – as interested as their peers elsewhere in Europe – but are put off by the political system. They have developed new conceptions of ‘citizenship’ and ‘politics’ (Marsh et. al 2007), and have turned to alternative, issue-based modes of civic and political engagement (Norris 2003): from voting, to ethical shopping, to online petitions, to demonstrations, to poetry slams. These non-electoral forms of participation have been facilitated by new technologies, which have reduced the costs and increased the speed of political communication (Bimber et al. 2005). The challenge for politicians and government officials is to adapt to these changes in young people’s politics.

Qu.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?*

In the UK, the first-past-the-post electoral system is problematic with regard to youth participation. Young people in the UK have less viable parties to vote for, and many

constituencies can be seen as ‘dead rubbers’ where only one party and candidate have a realistic chance of winning. In other countries, with proportional systems of representation, turnout rates tend to be much higher, and resources for party campaigning are spread more evenly across the country.

Another factor that inhibits higher turnout amongst young people is the prioritization of older generations in public policy in recent years e.g. the triple lock on pensions versus the trebling of university tuition fees. If young people already feel detached from mainstream electoral politics, this is likely to make them even less likely to vote. If this happens, politicians are even more likely to ignore them. And, the vicious circle continues.

In Germany, by contrast, public policy succeeded in shielding young people from the worst effects of the financial crisis e.g. youth unemployment actually fell during this period. In the UK, there is also the additional issue of voter registration. [With the introduction of Individual Voter Registration in 2014, over a million citizens \(disproportionately young people\) fell off the electoral roll.](#)

These systemic problems with British democracy represent a significant hurdle for youth participation in representative politics – especially to those from poorer backgrounds. The following section sets out some ‘easy win’ solutions for strengthen youth engagement.

Qu.9 How might these barriers be overcome?

a) Political Contact

In the existing body of the research one of the most interesting comparative findings is that young people in the UK have the lowest level of contact with politicians and government officials out of all the old EU countries (Sloam 2013). This is problematic in that the existing literature also highlights the effectiveness of such direct engagement between citizens and political activists, politicians and government officials.

Recommendations:

- **Each UK member of parliament should commit to holding at least one interactive session (discussions over concrete issues) in each school (primary and secondary) in their constituency over the course a 5-year parliament.**
- **Each local councillor should commit to holding at least one interactive session (discussions over concrete issues) in each school in their ward over each term in office.**

b) Political Literacy

Another problem that hinders youth participation in democracy is lack of civic and political knowledge. It is well known that citizens who know more about democracy and how it works are more likely to become engage (Galston 2001). Yet levels of knowledge about politics and democracy in the UK are relatively know.

Recommendations:

- **Strengthen citizenship education in schools by increasing the time that schools devote to the subject in general, and the teaching of political literacy in particular;**
- **Strengthen the role of Ofsted in inspecting citizenship education;**
- **Mandate universities and Higher Education colleges, as part of their widening participation and community engagement commitments, to hold democracy days in local schools (and provide support to citizenship teachers).**

Section 5

Burphy Zumu: Head of Advocacy, Bite The Ballot.

Q4. Do current laws encourage active political engagement?

In sum, existing electoral law does not encourage active political engagement. This is evident by looking at the two key indicators of formal political engagement; (1) turnout at general elections and (2) political party membership numbers.

UK politics has seen diminishing party membership since the 1950s, barring Labour's recent surge, and turnout to general elections since 2001 have not been over 70% (Houses of Parliament, 2015; Dempsey, 2017). Numerous academic studies and public opinion surveys on the voting behaviour of the British people demonstrate evidence that political literacy (via effective political education) is required to encourage formal political engagement *particularly* in regards to voting rather than electoral legislation (Houses of Parliament, 2015).

Recommendation:

- **A nation-wide consultation of how the Government can ensure all young citizens receive high-quality political education in the United Kingdom.**

Qu.4 What are your views on changes to the franchise for national or local elections, including lowering the voting age?

Many young citizens go through their compulsory educational journey and reach the age of franchise without an understanding of our political system and it is underfunded civil society groups, like Bite The Ballot (BtB), who are left trying to equalise this scenario. For this reason, we are not necessarily championing a change in the franchise for either national or local elections. However, BtB do accept that there are credible arguments to support lowering the age of enfranchisement to 16, such as taxation without representation. Nevertheless, supply-side reforms to the franchise are not sufficient in and of themselves to stimulate political participation. This has been evident globally in those countries who have introduced lower voting ages over the last 50 years without commensurate rises in electoral

Political Literacy Oversight Group of the All Party Parliamentary Group for Democratic Participation – written evidence (CCE0058)

turnout. Regardless of changes to the franchise, BtB feel that young citizens will neither feel more motivated to vote nor be more able to effectively hold their leaders to account without sufficient political education.

Recommendation:

- **A nation-wide consultation of how the Government can ensure all young citizens receive high-quality political education in the United Kingdom.**

Qu.4 *Should changes be made to the voting process or the voting registration process?*

The Government would argue the introduction of Individual Electoral Registration (IER) is a demonstration of electoral law encouraging active participation by granting citizens greater political responsibility. However, this seems at odds with the threat of financial punishment in the case of non-registration (Gov.uk, 2017). The main repercussions of this regressive policy have the rendering of an electoral register that is incomplete and inaccurate, with even greater disparities between over- and under-registered groups of citizens. This is exacerbated by the under-resourcing of electoral administrators, who are limited by lack of access to suitable technologies.

Recommendations:

- **A review into the need for a single national electronic register to replace the 381 electoral registers that currently exist in the United Kingdom.**
- **The introduction of a national 'registration status' website so that citizens can check their own registration easily.**

Section 6

Suzy Dodd: Secondary School Teacher; Research Assistant in Youth Politics, The Sir Bernard Crick Centre, University of Sheffield.

Q.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?

Education has a central role in teaching and encouraging good citizenship. Over the last twenty years, most countries have introduced or reformed citizenship curricula. Although analyses and comparisons of efficacy are still sparse, the global literature suggests that citizenship education (CE) can have an impact in three key areas: knowledge, values and participation. This impact depends on curriculum design and implementation.

Research suggests that formal CE has the strongest and most consistent positive impact upon civic knowledge and political literacy (Niemi and Junn 1998). Some studies have

indicated a decline in young people’s civic knowledge in the last twenty years (Schulz et al 2009), despite a concurrent increase in CE. In Australia and New Zealand, however, where citizenship is taught as a discrete subject and formally examined, levels of relevant knowledge were sustained.

Recommendation:

- **Expand the provision for teaching and assessing citizenship as a discrete subject at all levels.**

Extant global research suggests that discrete citizenship teaching, particularly at the secondary level, can have a more positive impact on values than integrated CE delivered through other subject curricula (Keating et al 2010), supporting the recommendation above. Pupils’ views can become more polarised through mismanaged discussions, however, particularly in countries with a high proportion of minority ethnic groups. Pupils also tend to associate more strongly with national and regional areas after participating in relevant CE programmes. Analysts of Asian CE, which is often integrated into the wider curriculum, argue that it is failing to develop empowered, global citizens due to an overly nationalistic focus (Cha et al 2017).

Recommendations:

- **Reconsider CPD and training for teachers delivering CE, with a focus on effectively managing discussions to promote positive values.**
- **Analyse the current CE curriculum to ensure that the promotion of national identity is not at the expense of active and global citizenship.**

Comparative studies (Keating et al 2010; Schulz et al 2009) have suggested that young people are more likely to actively participate in citizenship activities if schools provide and/or promote opportunities to do so, particularly through discrete CE. This impact is often evidenced by the increasing proportions of young people participating in voluntary citizenship service programmes: from NCS in the UK to community service programmes in Bahrain. Furthermore, campaigns targeting young people can boost voter registration and turnout (e.g. Bite the Ballot), although these are rarely delivered through schools.

Recommendation:

- **Continue to promote citizenship programmes through schools, and expand this to promote other modes of participation.**

Section 7

Harriet Andrews – Director of The Politics Project

Qu.5 *How effective is current teaching?*

Political Literacy Oversight Group of the All Party Parliamentary Group for Democratic Participation – written evidence (CCE0058)

The Politics Project specialises in youth democratic education, providing youth people with opportunities to learn about the democratic system and use their voice. We deliver educational workshops for young people, training programmes for educators and a variety of dynamic resources and events.

In the last 18 months, we have designed and delivered nine political engagement programmes, working with 515 young people across 20 schools and youth organisations to deliver three events and 132 hours of political workshops. Our work has focused on Brexit, regional devolution and local government.

Through our work with teachers across Greater Manchester we have found the following:

- The majority of citizenship teaching is delivered by non-subject specialists who feel ill-equipped to deliver political literacy;
- There is no uniform approach to meeting statutory duties and little guidance on best practice including on how different requirements can be delivered together;
- Teachers feel that political and social issues are coming up in the classroom, especially in relation to the Manchester attacks, and would like to be better supported to address these issues;
- Many of the benefits of citizenship education e.g. critical thinking and oracy skills, are essential to employability but are not clearly tested in the formal exam process.

Qu.6 *What other routes exist for creating active citizens?*

A variety of organisations are now providing specific support to schools to enhance both the quantity and quality of citizenship taught outside of accredited courses. Some examples include:

- Smart School Councils have developed training and resources to support schools to run more effective and democratic school councils.
- Votes for Schools provide weekly resource packs to schools to support discussions around current social and political issues.
- The Politics Project has created the Digital Surgeries programme to support students and their elected representatives to have meaningful digital conversations.

Qu.6 *Are they good value for money?*

Through our experience of delivering Digital Surgeries in schools across Greater Manchester we have been able to increase the number of institutions delivering citizenship activities and provide more opportunities for politicians to have an active role in citizenship education. Programmes such as these are impactful because they increase democratic participation in young people in a way that is responsive to schools' needs and the practical constraints teachers face. These programmes are designed to fit into the school timetable and thought

has been given to the practicality of who and how the materials will be delivered, taking away this burden from schools. With this approach, it is possible to tip the balance in favour of school-wide citizenship education across the UK.

Recommendations:

- **Provide guidance to schools to highlight the synergy between various Ofsted requirements and statutory duties and how these can be delivered together.**
- **Increase the importance of skills development in Ofsted evaluations of schools, particularly in relation to Oracy and Critical Thinking.**
- **Provide schools with information about organisations that can support them to meet their statutory duties effectively.**

5 September 2017

The Political Studies Association – written evidence (CCE0231)

Background

1. The Political Studies Association (PSA) welcomes the opportunity to respond to the House of Lords Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement.

2. The PSA was founded in 1950 to ‘promote the study of politics’. The Association is formed of some 1,900 academics, students, researchers, policy makers, journalists and teachers. We are the primary association for the study of political science in the UK and provide resources and events connecting academic research to wider audiences throughout the year. We are also the professional subject association for Politics teachers in UK schools. The Association has pursued our focus on the promotion of the study of politics in a nonpartisan way and to audiences across and beyond the United Kingdom.

Response to Question 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?

3. Young people are the future of our democracy and their engagement with politics and society is crucial for its long-term vitality and survival. Teachers and the teaching profession are clearly critical to this, as they play such a central role in the development of young people's understanding of the world outside the classroom.

4. Political education through both the Citizenship curriculum and the A level in Politics is key to enabling students to think critically about their surroundings and empowering them to take their part in our political institutions and democratic life. The PSA supports political and citizenship education from primary age onwards and across a student's entire lifetime at school.

5. The Politics A level has recently been reformed and its first teaching is taking place from September 2017. This qualification requires much broader and more detailed knowledge than the previous iteration of this award. The PSA supports this and thinks that it will be beneficial in providing pupils with the required theoretical background for understanding and engaging with politics.

6. Specifically, elements of the Politics A level focus on the conceptual underpinnings of political participation. Students are required to learn about many of the facets that inform active participation in our democracy, including: different typologies of democracy and electoral systems; the British Constitution; the British political party system; the role and function of Parliament; and human rights in their contemporary and historical context.

7. The reformed Politics A level also requires entrants to learn about key political ideologies, including Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism. This provides further insight into how important thinkers conceive of the political world and often the place of individuals within politics. Options such as feminist and anarchist ideology provide critical reflection on these dominant discourses. This enables students to better understand the breadth of ideas across political parties and a background for decision making about their own political preferences.

8. The A level also offers a comparative element to examine political participation in the USA and an examination of Global Politics more generally. This enables A level students to think more deeply about the British political system and its strengths and weaknesses and therefore enables them as better-informed citizens to engage with the UK political system.

9. The number of students undertaking the Politics A level has been growing over recent years. The latest figures show a 12.8% increase from 15,540 entries in 2016 to 17,523. The PSA welcomes this increase as well as any measure to increase political knowledge amongst UK school children.

Phil Sooben

The Political Studies Association – written evidence (CCE0231)

CEO, Political Studies Association

Alex Prior – written evidence (CCE0251)

This evidence deals primarily with how engagement is understood within the current political landscape, as well as exploring citizens' political attitudes. In addressing this question, the author defines engagement as *a consistent and meaningful dialogue between an institution and individual(s)*. The *institution* in question is the UK Parliament, a key mediator of citizen engagement. Recommendations for future improvements are centred around an informed citizenry and more effective use of existing resources. A list of referenced texts is provided at the end of this document.

Executive summary

1. It is important to be realistic about citizens' political attitudes and aspirations
2. It is inaccurate to equate voter turnout with democratic engagement, with no consideration of why citizens vote (or why they do not vote)
3. Engagement is a two-way form of communication, which necessitates establishing what constitutes 'success'
4. Low levels of citizen trust in political institutions – and a lack of satisfaction as to how they run – is not a new phenomenon
5. The gap between approval of Parliament *in theory* and approval of Parliament *in practice* risks creating a landscape of inevitable dissatisfaction
6. Public expectations of politicians are complex and often contradictory
7. These contradictions are often exacerbated by reactions to political scandals
8. Populism (which is often fuelled by political scandals) represents the antithesis of meaningful engagement
9. Some level of opposition to parliamentary politics is inevitable, given the divisive nature of politics and the non-partisan status of parliaments
10. Education and political literacy are essential to improving engagement
11. Social media is a useful tool for improved discussion, despite the continued emergence of 'echo chambers'
12. Parliaments must modernise their approach to web technology, moving away from 'broadcasting' and towards meaningful discussion
13. Physical accessibility is both a symbolic and a practical consideration within discussions of democratic engagement

Interpretations of engagement

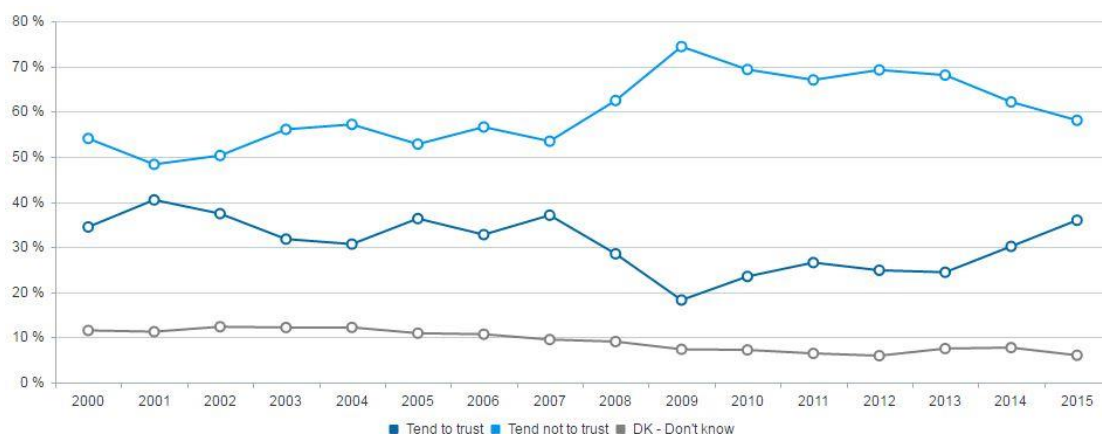
1. It is important to be realistic about what citizens actually want from politics; specifically, what citizens are prepared to commit in terms of time and energy. Contemporary citizen engagement is characterised by many academics as a desire for *influence* rather than *involvement*, with clearly-defined points of entry and exit.

Moreover, Ruth Fox (Director of the Hansard Society) has previously argued that participation is often visible only when citizens perceive their own self-interest to be in jeopardy (2009, p.675-676).

2. Clearly, any discussion of citizen engagement must consider what citizens want (and don't want) from politics. However, academic studies frequently over-simplify these discussions by diagnosing widespread apathy or disengagement based on voter turnout figures (implying that low turnout and low engagement are synonymous). In reality non-voting is far from self-explanatory. Just as the act of voting can be highly symbolic and expressive, to refrain from voting can be equally meaningful. It is perfectly possible for a citizen to be engaged, yet not vote. Conversely, a citizen may vote and still be profoundly disengaged. Engagement is a consistent and meaningful dialogue between an institution and individual(s). It is not encapsulated by voting, or by any other single act.
3. The term 'dialogue' is a crucial point of consideration, since engagement is a two-way form of communication. Parliamentary openness is not engagement. Nor is citizen participation. Engagement is defined by the dynamic between the two. It is important to differentiate engagement from *broadcasting*; from a "monologue in disguise", presented as if it were a conversation" (Coleman, 2004, p.115). Parliament's efforts at communicating to citizens must be met with citizen participation in order to constitute real engagement. It is therefore important to establish a realistic quantifier of 'success' in this regard.

Citizens' attitudes to politics, politicians and institutions

4. The Hansard Society's most recent Audit of Political Engagement notes an encouraging majority (73%) in citizens' recognition of Parliament as essential to UK democracy; however, only 30% reported satisfaction with the actual running of Parliament (2017). Ipsos MORI data shows that dissatisfaction with Parliament is not a recent phenomenon, having been consistently evident between 1995 and 2010 (2011). In terms of trust, data from the Eurobarometer shows a similar trend:



Levels of trust in the UK Parliament, based on survey information from the European Commission’s ‘Eurobarometer’, indicating ‘distrust’ as a consistent majority view (2016)

Uniformly low levels of trust in political institutions contributes to a sense in which approval of Parliament is mostly *theoretical*. In other words, Parliament’s importance is widely acknowledged, but its performance is seen to consistently fall behind.

5. This raises the following question, linked to what Pippa Norris refers to as a ‘democratic deficit’ (2011): is there an agreeable point of compromise between citizens’ democratic aspirations and the abilities of political institutions to serve them? Matthew Flinders warns of an environment in which citizens’ demands eclipse what the political sector can realistically deliver (2012; 2012), rendering public disappointment inevitable. There is a case for arguing that the ‘tipping-off point’ for this democratic deficit has already been overstepped.
6. This situation is compounded by the often contradictory demands put on politicians as public figures, particularly the difficulty of balancing constituency work and parliamentary responsibilities (Norton, 2013; Norton, 2002). The current political landscape (facilitated by broadcast media) dictates that politicians be relatable yet professional, personable yet elite. To quote Stephen Coleman, they must be “ordinary enough to be representative, while extraordinary enough to be representatives” (2005, p.15).
7. The difficulty of meeting these expectations is made more difficult by the fallout from events such as 2009 expenses scandal. As Steven Fielding points out, the 2009 scandal’s significance lay not only in its revelations, but also its fitting “very easily into an already-established narrative in which politics and corruption were close bedfellows” (2011, p.227). Also significant was that the “desire to politically tar and feather the sinners” did not materialise into proactive engagement (Fox, 2009, p.676). This links back to the characterisation of ad-hoc democratic participation in Paragraph 1.
8. This particular thread of political opinion – automatically aligning ‘politics’ with the ‘corrupt’ mainstream establishment – is one of the hallmarks of populism. Whether populism is actually gaining momentum in the UK is an open question, but its relevance to engagement is precisely in terms of its dismissal of ‘informing’, in favour of pre-existing ‘common sense’ (Stoker, 2006, p.137), and in its “forcing [of] voters to make a choice about what they think when they do not think” (Chwalisz, 2015, p.18). Populism therefore represents a contrasting mindset to that of informed, meaningful engagement.

Recommendations for improvement

9. It is worth reiterating that politics is inherently divisive. Parliaments are political institutions that must define themselves as impartial, therefore occasional criticisms of ‘facelessness’ – even ‘irrelevance’ – are to be expected. Parliament’s administrative responsibilities are extremely difficult to negotiate smoothly, given the definitively unstable nature of politics. As mentioned in Paragraph 1, it is important to be realistic about prospective improvements.
10. Strengthening Parliament-public connections necessitates improvements in education and the spread of political literacy. Failing to do so undermines balanced reflection, opening the door to populism (see Paragraph 8). In this context academia itself can be a source of criticism; “self-referential as well as self-reverential, and often unreadable for anyone but a specialist” (Riddell, 2010, p.552). A more open working practice between academics and parliaments is required, in order to foster greater political literacy and strengthen engagement.
11. Another key resource for improved engagement is social media. As a tool, social media is conducive to the informal, fluid means by which (particularly younger) citizens engage with contemporary politics. However, it is important to consider social media alongside the points on ‘dialogue’ made in Paragraph 2 & 3. Social media discussions often demonstrate an ‘echo chamber’ effect, in which communicators seek out sources of agreement rather than challenge, jeopardising the extent to which a meaningful dialogue has been achieved (or even sought out).
12. Parliament still utilises web technology primarily as a broadcast medium rather than a discussion format. In this sense the potential of social media remains unrealised, as it is employed as an extension of existing communication techniques rather than a means for innovation. A cultural change is required in order to curb this ‘top-down’ approach. A number of parliamentary committees and departments have begun to acknowledge the importance of building forums through social media, which must be encouraged as a practice.
13. Accessibility and openness are not just cultural concerns; they are inherently practical. John Parkinson notes that in many cases, the symbolic ‘opening up’ of legislative buildings is followed by a reduction in the amount of administrative work that takes place within them (2013, p.444). Responsibilities then transfer to other (equally inaccessible) locations (Parkinson, 2013, p.444). In this case we can see a distinction between engagement as a *premise* and as a *practice*. Parliament’s ongoing Restoration and Renewal project will serve to shed additional light on this distinction. The physical accessibility of Parliament is both a useful metaphor for the accessibility of engagement, and a key practical consideration.

Sources and suggested texts

- Chwalisz, C. 2015. *The populist signal*. London: Rowman & Littlefield International.
- Coleman, S. 2004. Whose conversation? Engaging the public in authentic polylogue. *The Political Quarterly*. **75**(2), pp.112-120.
- Coleman, S. 2005. *Direct representation: towards a conversational democracy*. [Leaflet]. London: IPPR Exchange.
- European Commission. 2016. *Eurobarometer interactive*. [Online]. Available from: <http://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/PublicOpinion/index.cfm/Chart/index>
- Fielding, S. 2011. Fiction and British Politics: Towards an Imagined Political Capital? *Parliamentary Affairs*. **64**(2), pp.223-232.
- Flinders, M. 2012. *Defending politics: why democracy matters in the 21st century*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Flinders, M.V. 2012. The demonisation of politicians: moral panics, folk devils and MPs' expenses. *Contemporary Politics*. **18**(1), pp.1-17.
- Fox, R. 2009. Engagement and participation: what the public want and how our politicians need to respond. *Parliamentary Affairs*. **62**(4), pp.673-685.
- Ipsos MORI. 2011. *Satisfaction with the way Parliament works 1995-2010* [Online]. Available from: <https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/2453/Satisfaction-with-the-way-Parliament-works-19952010.aspx?view=wide>
- Norris, P. 2011. *Democratic deficit: critical citizens revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norton, P. 2002. Introduction: linking parliaments and citizens. In: Norton, P. ed. *Parliaments and citizens in Western Europe*. London & Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass, pp.1-18.
- Norton, P. 2013. Parliament and citizens in the United Kingdom. In: Leston-Bandeira, C. ed. *Parliament and citizens*. London & New York: Routledge, pp.139-154.
- Parkinson, J. 2013. How legislatures work – and should work – as public space. *Democratization*. **20**(3), pp.438-455.
- Riddell, P. 2010. In Defence of Politicians: In Spite of Themselves. *Parliamentary Affairs*. **63**(3), pp.545-557.
- Stoker, G. 2006. *Why politics matters*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- The Hansard Society. 2017. *Audit of political engagement 14: the 2017 report*. London: The Hansard Society.

26 September 2017

Professor David Richards, Dr Patrick Diamond and Professor Martin Smith – written evidence (CCE0053)

This submission collectively addresses two of the questions in the terms of reference: **do current laws encourage active political engagement [4] and how can society support civic engagement [7].**

We note that the inquiry should prioritise the view that longer-term trends over the issue of civic engagement need to be understood in terms of citizens’ disengagement from the traditional arenas/institutions of formal politics, not from politics itself.

From this perspective, **we argue** that efforts to encourage citizenship and civic engagement have to also focus on reforming political and public institutions, rather than simply changing the behaviour of individuals or imposing new civic obligations

We also warn that while Brexit might present an opportunity to reform the existing way formal ‘arena’ politics is conducted in the U.K., the very real potential looms of a top-down, re-centralising of power that will potentially exacerbate some of the very issues that go to the heart of this inquiry.

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?***

The Scope and Focus of the Inquiry

We welcome this salient and important Inquiry into citizenship and civic engagement in the United Kingdom. That said, we would urge the Committee to embrace a broad perspective to consider the issue of citizenship within the context of the crucial role political institutions play in shaping civic engagement. The two are deeply intertwined.

Previous similar themed initiatives have rather frustratingly tended to adopt a somewhat narrow focus concentrating for example on citizen disengagement re. traditional forms of ‘arena politics’ or ‘duty norms’ – e.g. voter turn-out, party membership etc. Subjects⁶⁷⁷ have been depicted as increasingly taking citizenship, and with it democratic politics, for

⁶⁷⁷ In narrow constitutional terms, Britain of course, has subjects not citizens. Having made this point at the outset of this memorandum, for the sake of consistency with the terminology employed by this inquiry, we will use the term citizen rather than subject henceforth.

Professor David Richards, Dr Patrick Diamond and Professor Martin Smith – written evidence (CCE0053)

granted, of being both complacent and unrealistic about what it is able to deliver. This view suggests that over time, the relationship between citizen's rights and responsibilities has become increasingly skewed; the rights of the individual have been prioritised with insufficient focus on the reciprocal duties or obligations of the citizen.

The origins of this approach are hardly new. One only has to turn to the 1970s and the oft stated argument that citizens' expected too much from politicians (who amplify the problem by ratcheting-up expectations to get elected), and were then disappointed when such expectations were not met. The result was a growing cynicism on behalf of the electorate about the political process and in turn a growing disengagement from the formal and traditional channels of civic engagement. The problem was perceived to be exacerbated by structural changes in British society, with the latter becoming less deferential and more atomised. This was seen to lead in turn, to the erosion of a sense of civic duty and with it civic engagement.

The logic of this approach is that citizens need to be much more understanding of the work of politicians and public officials and more broadly, they need to develop a more reflexive attitude towards representative democracy. *Ipsa facto*, the antidote is identified in calls for a greater emphasis on initiatives such as citizenship education programmes, often targeted at younger demographic cohorts.

Recent events in the form of the 2014 Scottish Referendum, the 2016 referendum on membership of the European Union, and the 2017 U.K. General Election challenge a number of assumptions underpinning this perspective. In the case of the Scottish referendum, the 84.6% turn-out - the highest of any national or regional election in the UK since 1918 - was a democratic exercise that engaged the public, and more importantly, was an election in which every vote had the potential to count. The early evidence⁶⁷⁸ from the 2017 Westminster election also reveals a notable upturn in voting among the 18-24 and 25-34 cohort. More broadly, turnout at general elections has continued to rise since the historic post-war low of 2001⁶⁷⁹. Such evidence suggests that people participate when they believe their vote has the potential to influence the outcome of an election.

We would wish to caution this Lord's Inquiry that approaches which purport to examine issues surrounding civic engagement that emphasise only changes in the nature and behaviour of society embrace only one-side of the coin.

In contrast, the argument we wish to present to this inquiry is to encourage a broader, more holistic approach to citizenship and civic engagement which focuses on the manner in which formal politics in the U.K. is currently organised and conducted.

⁶⁷⁸ House of Commons Briefing Paper (2017) *General Election 2017: Results and Analysis* Nos. CBP 7979, 11 July 2017 <http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7979#fullreport>

⁶⁷⁹ UK Political Info (2017) *General Election Turnout 1945-2017* <http://www.ukpolitical.info/Turnout45.htm>

The Salience of Institutions

Our research⁶⁸⁰ emphasises that issues surrounding citizenship and civic engagement do not lie exclusively with citizens (who of course in the UK system are subjects and sovereignty resides with Parliament and not the people), but also with contemporary public institutions and the political process.

The United Kingdom's political system is essentially shaped by a nineteenth century conception of representative democracy prioritising top-down accountability over bottom-up engagement⁶⁸¹. Both the model and its related institutions no longer work effectively in the context of a 21st century world defined by transparency and open information. Cynicism, mistrust and lack of civic engagement are a consequence of the failure of long-standing public institutions to reflect the needs and interest of citizens, the increasing ability of citizens and the media to obtain and analyse information about public and private institutions and in so doing, be perceived to be properly accountable.

The last decade has seen a number of high profile institutional crises or scandals often involving trusted institutions such as the Police (Hillsborough; 'Plebgate'; the use of undercover officers; Stephen Lawrence), the BBC (salaries and payoffs for senior staff; and Jimmy Saville), Parliament (in relation to expenses, cash for honours); the NHS (over standards of care and the reporting of information) and most recently, local government in the light of the Grenfell tragedy (safety standards in social housing). Within this context, civic disengagement and a growth in cynicism is not surprising. Public institutions have failed to act in ways that might be expected in a democratic society.

We would argue that in many ways, these scandals are linked by a set of embedded practices within institutions, and the failure of organisations to adapt to a world of open information. The problem with all these cases is that the 'truth' has only been revealed after the event. There is a pattern of flawed decision-making in closed systems which when investigated and exposed, fuel perceptions of crisis and a growing loss of faith in public institutions.

What binds these scandals together is the distance between citizens and those who lead public institutions, particularly where policy-makers effectively take decisions in secret, and then try to cover up mistakes where failures have occurred.

Yet, it is increasingly difficult for institutions to control the flow and interpretation of information. For instance, the manner of Ian Tomlinson's death was revealed by mobile phone footage. The mistakes of Hillsborough were revealed by a long-standing campaign

⁶⁸⁰ 'Westminster's Dilemma in a Post-Brexit World: Reconciling a 'New Politics' with the Westminster Model' ESRC, R120741 <https://www.researchgate.net/project/Westminsters-Dilemma-in-a-Post-Brexit-World-Reconciling-a-New-Politics-with-the-Westminster-Model>

⁶⁸¹ Richards, D., Smith, M.J. and Hay, C. (2014) *Institutional Crisis in 21st Century Britain* Basingstoke: Palgrave

Professor David Richards, Dr Patrick Diamond and Professor Martin Smith – written evidence (CCE0053)

involving the relatives of the victims. Failures in the NHS have been revealed by a succession of whistle-blowers.

Historically, UK institutions have been self-regulating, stemming from what was essentially a nineteenth century artefact, effectively holding themselves to account. As Mick Moran⁶⁸² has persuasively argued, the British approach to accountability was one of ‘club government’, whereby institutions set their own rules and were judged by other ‘good chaps’, in terms of whether they had broken the rules or not. This nineteenth century vision of accountability was based on the notion that citizens had to trust organisations to make the right decisions. From this perspective, the public were deemed to be either too self-interested or too lacking in expertise to be able to question the decision-makers, who with a strong sense of public duty, would ensure that the UK was governed effectively. It led to many public organisations operating within the context of an institutionalised culture of secrecy.

This approach to accountability through self-regulation was sustainable when institutions were able to control the supply of information. Hence, the accountability processes were validated against information that they formally released, while citizens usually did not have the information or resources to challenge the established, institutional account.

Citizens, Institutions and New Forms of Open Information

Overtime, this process has been undermined by the development of new forms of information:

- Freedom of information and data protection has meant that organisations have been subject to pressures to release large swathes of information, often at the behest of the media.
- The development of meta-data which allows analysis of organisational performance (for example comparison of organisational performance is now relatively easy to organise).
- The growth of open information sources for developing political organisation around exposing institutional behaviour.
- The digital storage of data means that large swathes of information are accessible in ways which were never possible before.
- This digital storage has been exploited by the growth of whistle-blowers and leaks: the activities of individuals such as Edward Snowden and organisations such as wiki-

⁶⁸² M. Moran (2007) *The British regulatory state: high modernism and hyper-innovation*. Oxford University Press

Professor David Richards, Dr Patrick Diamond and Professor Martin Smith – written evidence (CCE0053)

leaks have exposed institutional information in ways that previously were not possible.

- The politicisation of information – information is now subject to a wider analysis and critique, as institutions lose their monopoly of control, and there is growing distrust of institutional accounts.

Citizens, the Rise of Anti-Politics and Calls for a New Politics

This mistrust of institutions has had a growing impact on Westminster politics, reflected in the perceived growth of ‘anti-politics’, witnessed in a perceived increasing divide and disconnect between citizens and politicians.

Studies of anti-politics reveal it to be a complex, multi-dimensional phenomenon throwing-up numerous pathologies concerning power, democracy, legitimacy, participation, and accountability⁶⁸³. There has been longer-term patterns of public disengagement from traditional forms of ‘arena politics’ or ‘duty norms’ expressed for example, by declining electoral turnout, party membership and wider political participation in mainstream politics.

Elsewhere, there is the depiction of the so-called ‘left behind’, of those who are: ‘on the wrong side of social change, are struggling on stagnant incomes, feel threatened by the way their communities and country are changing, and are furious at an established politics that appears not to understand or even care about their concerns’⁶⁸⁴. As Peter Mair⁶⁸⁵ observes: ‘...traditional politics is seen less and less as something that belongs to the citizens or to the society, and is instead seen as something that is done by politicians’.

Westminster politicians are by no means immune to these challenges given their reliance on claims to democratic legitimacy as the lodestar of the representative process. Yet, it is here that our current research reveals the emergence of an intriguing paradox: a pattern stretching back over two decades of leaders of mainstream opposition parties espousing the case for a ‘new politics’, but when in office adhering to the established ways and means of governing.

In surveying these calls for change⁶⁸⁶, while the context behind them may vary, advocates for a new politics are united by a familiar ring in their rejection of the old ways of doing

⁶⁸³ See for example Hay, C. (2007) *Why We Hate Politics*, London: Polity. Stoker, G. (2017) *Why Politics Matters: Making Democracy Work*, 2nd edn. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

⁶⁸⁴ Ford, R. and Goodwin, M. (2014) *Revolt on the Right: Explaining the Support for the Radical Right in Britain*, London, Routledge.

⁶⁸⁵ Mair, P. (2005) *Democracy Beyond Parties* Center for the Study of Democracy Papers 4 January 2005 <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/3vs886v9> p.21.

⁶⁸⁶ Richards, D. (2016) *British Politics in the Age of Uncertainty: the link between*

politics and the need for an alternative. Illustrative, but by no means exhaustive examples include:

- May 1997, [Tony Blair](#) arguing his government: *'...will govern in the interests of all our people...and restore trust in politics in this country. That cleans it up, that decentralizes it, that gives people hope once again that politics is and always should be about the service of the public.'*
- April 2010, [David Cameron observing](#) that the UK electorate had been: *'...betrayed by a generation of politicians, by an elite that thinks it knows best. People have lost control. The politicians have forgotten, the public are the master, we are the servant. That's what needs to change in our system...Blow apart the old system. Overthrow the old ways. Put people in the driving seat.'*
- Similarly his Coalition partner, [Nick Clegg](#), reiterated, *'This government is going to transform our politics so the state has far less control over you, and you have far more control over the state,...break up concentrations of power and hand power back to people...This government is going to persuade you to put your faith in politics once again.'*
- In the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum [Alex Salmond](#) asserted that: *'Whatever else we can say about this referendum campaign, we have touched sections of the community who have never before been touched by politics....I don't think that will ever be allowed to go back to business as usual in politics again.'*
- The latest Labour Party leader [Jeremy Corbyn](#), saw his elevation to Leader of the Opposition as: *'...a vote for change in the way we do politics...Kinder, more inclusive. Bottom up, not top down. In every community and workplace, not just at Westminster...Something new and invigorating, popular and authentic, has exploded.'*

In different ways and at different times, each leader in seeking office for their party has called for an alternative approach to the conduct of politics that is more devolved, bottom-up, deliberative and participatory. There is some evidence of established parties seeking to reform from within. Collectively, leaders have invoked similar rallying calls to reject the status quo by taking on vested powers and interests to change the way politics is practised. In the context of the UK, we might frame this as a search by politicians to offer a new social contract of political renewal and re-legitimation in response to a growing climate of anti-politics.

old, new, and anti-politics <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/71927/1/blogs.lse.ac.uk-British%20politics%20in%20the%20Age%20of%20Uncertainty%20the%20link%20between%20old%20new%20and%20anti-politics.pdf>

Professor David Richards, Dr Patrick Diamond and Professor Martin Smith – written evidence (CCE0053)

Yet the very same politicians when in power have continued to work within the existing institutions of the state, and with it the way politics has traditionally been done. When surveying the recent landscape of reform in the UK, change has been limited and where major reform has occurred, for example further Scottish devolution in 2014 [alongside English devolution as a corollary] and most recently Brexit, it appears more as an unintended consequence, rather than the culmination of government policy, even less so a *new* form of politics.

As such, reforms have been predominantly ad hoc, grafted on to the existing Westminster system. The calls for a new politics as an antidote to the rise of anti-politics have largely gone unheeded. Instead, the British political tradition's mode of governance, captured in the Westminster model's centralising and top-down tendencies, has remained ostensibly intact. This dynamic of central control is germane to the wider issues this inquiry seeks to examine.

Civic Engagement, Governance and Pressures for Institutional Re-Design

While the Westminster system has largely remained intact, the process of governing bears almost no relation to nineteenth century governance. The levels of intervention of the state in everyday life today are manifestly different. Moreover, state intervention does not just come from a centralised government (which oversees the process) but from an almost infinite range of fragmented institutions that deliver public policy – ranging from private bodies to local government, to regional organisations, to semi-independent NHS trusts, free schools and universities.

There is a need in these circumstances to re-think both the nature of institutions, and with it the mechanisms of civic engagement. Institutions have to accept that they operate in an open information world, and that there will be challenges to their decisions if they attempt to take policies in ways that are not transparent and accountable.

In addition, both citizens and civil society organisations are participating more readily in political debate, but they are doing so outside the traditional arenas of parties and parliament. Blogs, tweets, petitions, social media forums, internet based lobbying such as 39 degrees, and the growth of political movements like Momentum illustrate a wide interest in the political, but a disillusionment with the traditional forms of Westminster arena politics.

The issue of civic engagement, both in terms of its potential decline and how it might be re-invigorated, can be understood in terms of the increasing perception of a gap between citizens/civil society and decision-makers and with it, the failure of political institutions to adapt to the demands and pressures of 21st-century democracy.

Professor David Richards, Dr Patrick Diamond and Professor Martin Smith – written evidence (CCE0053)

Elite government sits uncomfortably with what Manuel Castells⁶⁸⁷ identifies as the rise of the networked society based on a sharing of information driven by new digital technologies. Moreover, whilst inequality has increased since 1979, citizens have more control over their own lives. Elite government may have been able to function in a world of limited horizons and the ability to control information, but it is increasingly difficult to sustain in a climate in which people have greater expectations for themselves and their children.

The problem is that the flaws of the ‘club government’ model through which many of the UK’s institutions operated has been revealed, but it has not been replaced by an alternative form of legitimation. A process of demystification has led to a loss of faith in institutions among the public. What we have seen in recent years is not, as is so often claimed, a process of depoliticisation but in reality a process of repoliticisation; through different mechanisms, institutions are opened up to greater scrutiny in how they operate.

Decisions which in the past were made behind closed doors are increasingly coming under the spotlight; whatever the many faults and limitations of digital politics, new media is making a difference to political legitimacy and accountability. Information is transmitted more rapidly while disparate groups of people are able to respond at low cost. Smart phones and tablets have become an instrument of accountability over public officials, while freedom of information and large data sets are allowing challenges to the arguments of elites at the apex of large institutions.

Contrary to the defenders of the current model, accepting our democracy as the ‘least worst’ system is not enough because it is alienating voters (particularly the young), eroding civic engagement, and producing a dangerous flight from institutional politics.

The UK has never had a participatory and democratic culture; it has a politics centred on holding a circulating elite to account. But a more sophisticated electorate in a world of greater open information is no longer convinced by this system. There is a need to build a new model of politics for the 21st century rather than sustaining a model organised round the mores of the 19th century.

This requires the stretching of conventional approaches to civic engagement by adopting a broader understanding of what constitutes political engagement beyond traditional ‘duty norms’ and appeals to the need for ‘thick’ over ‘thin’ democratic practices⁶⁸⁸. In so doing, the Inquiry should consider how to systematically evaluate how far people and civil society groups can be engaged, through, for example, digital media and the different and innovative

⁶⁸⁷ Castells, M. (2000) *The Rise of the Network Society: Economy, Society and Culture* Blackwell

⁶⁸⁸ Thick democracy here invokes a sense of politics occurring within traditional arenas, between groups involving face-to-face engagement. Thin democracy offers a wider and loose connotation of politics based on [digital] communicative networks, accessing different resources and with faster means of information distribution.

Professor David Richards, Dr Patrick Diamond and Professor Martin Smith – written evidence (CCE0053)

ways in which they can be included in debate and decision making. Institutional re-design might include:

- developing real-time accountability rather than post-hoc accountability;
- a cultural ‘accountability shift’ where the presumption is that decision processes will be exposed rather than hidden to ensure organisations abandon a ‘goldfish’ bowl ethos;
- developing open policy making, with officials losing their monopoly over access to decision makers and the sources of advice being widened considerably (something previous governments have supported in principle);
- organisations using meta data and open forms of communication to rebuild trust with citizens;
- using the internet and digital fora for political engagement and bypassing traditional forms of representation such as parties and voting.

Civic Engagement and Decision-Makers – Bridging the Gap

Civic engagement requires people to become involved in decisions that are salient to their own lives, that are not party political in a way that one party monopolises the process, with the outcomes that are about allowing ‘normal’ citizens to become involved in politics and decision-making. It may be that it has to take account of new media, that it may be populist and result in decisions that Westminster’s governing class does not like. It may be that it has to be much more flexible and responsive than existing institutions allow. It may be that participation varies from issue to issue. What blogging and Twitter and discussions boards on other social media platforms reveal is that there are many people who have distinctive views; that people are not ‘anti-politics’ when politics is about issues that interest or affect them, and that they think they can have some control over; something that has been clearly illustrated by the activism of the Grenfell tower residents.

We would emphasise that this inquiry should prioritise the view that longer-term trends over the issue of civic engagement need to be understood in terms of citizens’ disengagement from the traditional arenas/institutions of formal politics, not from politics itself. The British political tradition and its emphasis on accountable government over democratic engagement fosters a culture where policy-makers tend to infantilise the electorate.

The most recent, high-profile example of this approach is evidenced in the Brexit negotiations. The Government’s position is one in which it will deliver on a Brexit deal [ostensibly forged behind Whitehall’s closed doors] that will then be put before Parliament in March 2019. The Government argues that it is at this point that it will be held to account.

Professor David Richards, Dr Patrick Diamond and Professor Martin Smith – written evidence (CCE0053)

It is an approach that shuns consultation, civic engagement, the binding in of civil society, and more broadly political pluralism which given the highly divisive nature of Brexit would appear to be a pre-requisite for a successful and potentially lasting settlement.

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?*

In our view, the evidence provided by proponents of electoral reform that a more proportional electoral system would decrease the number of ‘wasted votes’ remains compelling. The First Past the Post electoral system is increasingly untenable in a devolved polity such as the UK: for instance, until the 2017 election, the Conservatives had no Scottish representation in the House of Commons, while Labour was severely under-represented in southern England. This situation has a damaging impact on the legitimacy and effectiveness of the political system, and appears to have exacerbated civic disengagement from the formal electoral process. Crucially, the current system is failing to deliver on its supposed strength: clear accountability with the election of strong, single, majority party government.

There a powerful argument for lowering the voting age to 16 in that there is evidence that the younger that people vote, the more likely they will continue to vote throughout their lives. Moreover, it creates an incentive for young people to engage in the political system. Nevertheless, voting at 16 should be introduced with stronger civic education in schools so that the responsibilities of political engagement can be properly understood.

We are sceptical about the case for state funding of political parties: the danger of state funding is that such arrangements would further distance citizens from political parties, who would no longer be required to gather resources by encouraging citizens to donate money or time. The issue is that party politics will operate even more within an exclusive elite arena disengaged from the issues and problems that voters encounter in their daily lives. State funding also creates disincentives for parties to attract members and to engage more widely with society. One of the key issues in terms of engagement is that most people are put off existing forms of party politics. State funding would likely entrench current practices.

Concluding Comments

The case we have presented here seeks to prioritise the view that efforts to encourage citizenship and civic engagement have to focus on reforming political and public institutions, rather than simply changing the behaviour of individuals or imposing new civic obligations.

Professor David Richards, Dr Patrick Diamond and Professor Martin Smith – written evidence (CCE0053)

In concluding, we note that the vote to leave the European Union presents a window of opportunity for institutional reform and re-design. We caution though that the manner in which the current government is approaching Britain's withdrawal is not without concern: the result of the referendum on UK membership of the EU can be read as an expression of dissatisfaction with the way in which elite politics and policy-making has been conducted in recent decades; this discontent is especially pronounced among so-called 'left behind' voters. Yet the May Government's approach captured in the Vote Leave mantra of 'taking back control' appears to re-establish the British political tradition - a re-assertion of sovereignty, Whitehall centralisation, and executive prerogative – which in all likelihood will exacerbate the very disillusionment that led to the Brexit outcome in 2016, even when the UK is outside the EU. This re-imposition of Whitehall control and the attempt to claw back discretionary powers from the devolved institutions across the UK will merely risk fanning the flames of 'anti-politics', leading to further citizen disengagement from politics over the long-term.

4 September 2017

Professor Jo Shaw, Salvesen Chair of European Institutions, University of Edinburgh – written evidence (CCE0045)

With the United Kingdom set to leave the European Union in 2019, the country stands on the cusp of major constitutional change. One of the many dimensions of that overall transformation is an important change in the status of ‘citizens’. UK citizens will no longer be ‘EU citizens’, protected under EU law. Hence they lose both the bundle of socio-economic rights associated with the EU Treaties (free movement, non-discrimination, etc.) and the political status associated with this, including the right to vote in European Parliament elections. EU27 citizens retain their status, but EU citizenship loses – subject to any withdrawal agreement negotiated under Article 50 TEU – most, if not all, of its political and legal traction in the UK. In other words, EU27 citizens will be ‘third country nationals’ in the UK. So far as we can tell, subject to whatever transitional arrangements are put in place for those who are presently in the UK or have some attachment to the UK that needs to be protected (e.g. former residence), the status of ‘second country national’, which nicely describes the ‘privileged foreigner’ status of EU citizens resident in other Member States at present, will disappear at the point of Brexit.

The issue of Brexit and EU citizenship receives scant mention in the Select Committee’s Call for Evidence. It is none the less one of the most important items of context providing the background to the Committee’s work on citizenship and civic engagement because of the important status changes to be introduced and the processes through which the UK and its citizens and residents are going. It is worth noting – in the context of the Call’s interest in political participation – that adding the total number of EU citizens resident in the UK to the number of UK citizens long term resident outside the UK creates a total which is larger than the number of votes which separated the respective tallies of Leave and Remain. And yet those groups of people, few of whom had the right to vote in the Referendum, who are some of those most intimately affected by the Referendum outcome, as regards their legal status and ‘citizenship rights’.

This response to the Call for Evidence therefore proceeds on the assumption that it is important to itemize the citizenship-related dimensions of Brexit, so that this roster of implications can be carefully built into the Select Committee’s deliberations. These reflections need to go beyond setting up a simple dichotomy between ‘British citizens’ and ‘others’, because the reality is much more complex. Nor should the work of the Committee be premised on the assumption that Brexit marks a straightforward revival of national sovereignty in relation to citizenship matters, along with everything else. International law, and some aspects of EU law, will continue to affect these questions, especially if a withdrawal agreement is successfully negotiated under Article 50 TEU. But internally there is an ethical imperative for policy-makers to proceed in a manner that is conscious of the threat to individual rights that Brexit poses. This is a threat that is unprecedented in the

Professor Jo Shaw, Salvesen Chair of European Institutions, University of Edinburgh – written evidence (CCE0045)

context of citizenship developments within the UK's core European territories (i.e. leaving aside questions relating to the treatment of citizenship status and 'subjecthood' in current and former colonies and territories, as well as the historic and ongoing implications of the unraveling of the British Empire).

A country which is about to embark upon a phase of major constitutional change is a country that needs to take a hard look at the contours of its citizenship regime, in order to ensure that it is operating optimally. A citizenship regime encompasses the formal legal status of membership – or nationality as it is sometimes known – as well as other elements. 'Nationality' is the status recognized under international law, the external dimension of which 'sorts' persons and allocates them to one, or sometimes several, states (depending upon national approaches to dual citizenship). Internally, citizenship determines access to some residual rights that most western liberal democracies reserve only to citizens, such as absolute protection against deportation (also prohibited under international law), most rights to vote and stand for election (although the UK has been an exception in this sphere with its allocation of rights to Commonwealth and Irish citizens hitherto, as well as rights under EU law), as well as access to many public service positions, especially in areas of national security and defence.

Beyond formal membership in this sense, citizenship as a membership status generally has fuzzy edges, because so many rights and duties (e.g. to pay taxes) or opportunities to provide service (e.g. to serve in the armed forces) can and do attach to various categories of settled non-citizens. Those who enjoy rights similar to, but not entirely identical to those of citizens, are often called 'denizens'. Residence is a very important marker of this type of entitlement, which is why cases where stability of residence is threatened receive prominent coverage in the media. One recent example is that of Shane Ridge, who was born in the UK and who long thought that he was a UK citizen. He was incorrectly judged by the Home Office not to be a UK citizen and received a warning that he had no right to reside in the UK because he did not have leave to enter as a non-UK citizen, and that he should therefore leave the country where he had lived all of his life. In this case, it seems that UK law was too complex even for the Home Office to understand, and it was forced into an apology and a rapid climb down when it transpired that in fact Ridge was a UK citizen via his grandmother.⁶⁸⁹

Many of the fuzzy edges of citizenship involve not only rights-based elements, but also aspects of identity and belonging: the feeling of 'home'. In this context, Prime Minister Theresa May's 'citizens of nowhere' comment during her speech to the Conservative Party conference of 2016 undermined confidence in the inclusiveness of the UK citizenship regime in its apparent dismissal of the values and practices of multiple identity and attachment which are important not only for EU27 citizens resident in the UK (and their families, from

⁶⁸⁹ See Home Office in the media: 30 August 2017, <https://homeofficemedia.blog.gov.uk/2017/08/30/home-office-in-the-media-30-august-2017/>.

wherever they hale) but also for many UK citizens who have been, are currently, or were in the future planning to use their EU citizenship rights. It is one thing to rail against the entitlements of ‘citizens of the world’ who are literally, with their airport lounge passes, business class travel and travel-friendly passports, ‘citizens of almost everywhere’, but quite another to lace that challenge to ‘elites’ also with an attack on ‘citizens of nowhere’, many of whom have few if any choices about where they live. For these groups, low cost air travel and coach travel are more familiar forms of transport than business class air travel. With statements such as May’s, there is a risk that those who are exercising free movement rights end up feeling as if they are less than equal citizens in the societies in which they live, even if they still have full rights to be there. At this moment of constitutional change, there is a risk that a statement from a leading politician claiming that ‘this is citizenship and this is not citizenship’ will be unhelpful and demoralizing for those most at risk of a loss of rights following Brexit.

With the UK leaving the EU, an important distinction between the operation of EU law in relation to free movement and the broad structure of UK immigration law will disappear. UK immigration law operates on the basis of ‘permissions’ – leave to enter and remain, ‘indefinite leave to remain’, etc. This is what the ‘settled status’ that the UK intends to offer EU citizens resident in the UK at the time of Brexit will be; it will not be a ‘rights-based’ status, as is EU citizenship, which offers individual citizens rights anchored in EU free movement law in the Treaties and secondary legislation, and guaranteed by national courts, under the supervision of the European Court of Justice. But more than that, the evidence thus far (largely anecdotal, but also research-led deriving from projects undertaken by academics such as Professor Catherine Barnard, Dr Nando Sigona, and Dr Charlotte O’Brien amongst others) highlights the sense of ‘loss of home’ that EU citizens have already been experiencing, which is affecting their conduct in a variety of ways. With EU citizenship likely no longer to provide an effective back-up status, many people who feel vulnerable are applying for UK citizenship, although first they must establish the intermediate status of ‘permanent resident’ under EU law. This is a status that the UK government appears determined to render legally meaningless after Brexit, with all EU27 citizens needing to apply for settled status, regardless of whether they have already obtained a permanent residence card. Other EU27 citizens, including many highly skilled workers as well as those in the vital hospitality and agricultural sectors, are articulating current and future intentions to leave the UK, and yet other workers and service providers are declining the opportunity to come to the UK because they see it as a less attractive destination both economically and culturally. These actions will not only harm the UK economy but also the fabric of UK society, as children in particular experience a sense of dislocation and loss (including UK citizen children who are members of transnational families who are forced into difficult decisions because of the operation of the harsh UK family reunion rules).

Focusing now on the issue of naturalisation, the question can be asked whether there is an ethical imperative on the part of the UK as a state to make adjustments to its regime of

citizenship in order to make it more accessible for those groups of resident EU27 citizens who see this as the most important step if they are to retain both a sense of belonging and legal security. The excessive cost of UK citizenship,⁶⁹⁰ and the sense that those who do have substantial resources may well have various other means of protecting their interests through the ‘purchase’ of residence permits and even citizenship (in some countries) highlights the intrusion of issues of economic inequality deep into the fabric of citizenship in a way that is disturbing, given that citizenship is meant – above all – to be about equality. Matthew Grant has argued that UK citizenship has become rather unattractive in recent years,⁶⁹¹ and this situation may become worse if the bureaucratic systems are placed under ever higher levels of stress after Brexit, through the ‘settlement’ process and more and more applications for naturalisation. It is also important to recognize that for some EU citizens naturalisation is not an option, not only for reasons of cost, but also because their country of origin has a very restrictive approach to dual citizenship: problems will arise for some Dutch, Swedish, Austrian and Estonian citizens as a result of this, because they do not wish to be placed in the situation of making an invidious choice which EU citizenship protected them from having to make.

One interesting dimension of the post-Brexit vote contestation of these issues of citizenship and belonging has been that there has been much more civic engagement around this status than there was before it became an ‘endangered species’. The factors which prompted the Brexit vote are, of course, not an issue for the Committee, but it is worth pointing out that for decades EU citizenship – as a set of rights and principles – has largely been taken for granted both in the UK and elsewhere in the EU. But many UK citizens are starting to see that they will lose something of value as a result of the UK’s departure from the EU, even if this is something as apparently trivial as the EHIC card. It is also arguable that the increasing realization that the task of protecting the rights of UK citizens resident in other EU states as well as EU27 citizens in the UK is rather more complex than was evident in the airy assurances of those advocating a Leave vote in 2016 has perhaps further undermined the delicate relation of trust between citizens and politicians which is central to a sense of effective civic engagement in a liberal democracy. This final point should certainly be a matter of concern for the Committee as it develops its work.

31 August 2017

⁶⁹⁰ Recently noted in the Economist: <https://www.economist.com/news/britain/21648699-becoming-british-costly-business-paytriotism>.

⁶⁹¹ See M. Grant, “‘Citizen of the world’? Think again: British citizenship after Brexit, 21 November 2016, www.democraticaudit.com/2016/11/21/citizen-of-the-world-think-again-british-citizenship-after-brexit/.

Professor Peter Hopkins, School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University, in collaboration with Dr Katherine Botterill and Dr Gurchathen Sanghera – written evidence (CCE0080)

Professor Peter Hopkins, School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University, in collaboration with Dr Katherine Botterill and Dr Gurchathen Sanghera – written evidence (CCE0080)

Background to submission - our comments here draw upon our Arts and Humanities Research Council project about the everyday experiences of Muslim and non-Muslim young people growing up in urban, suburban and rural Scotland. Overall this project worked with 382 young people from diverse ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds including Muslim young, other South Asian youth (such as Sikhs, Hindus and non-religious South Asians), asylum seekers and refugees, international students, Central and Eastern European migrants and white Scottish youth. Most lived in Scotland's main cities, but some were from Dumfries, Fife and Inverness. Our final report is available here:

<https://research.ncl.ac.uk/youngpeople/outputs/finalreport/>

Key summary points

- Racism and Islamophobia are everyday experiences for many ethnic minority youth in Scotland. Efforts need to be made to challenge racism in order to prevent divisions within and between communities;
- Participants expressed a frustration with the ways in which Britain's Asian communities are represented as lacking any internal diversity;
- Ethnic minority youth are interested in talking about politics and aware of political issues (including international, national and local politics); opportunities for them to engage in politics and in public life need to be made more transparent in order to maximise opportunities and awareness;
- For those who have engaged in political and public life, some were worried that they may be seen as too political or as radical and others still were frustrated by troubling stereotypes based on assumptions about their gender, race or social class. Simplistic stereotypes about Muslim young people in particular need to be challenged in order to enable them to participate in public life.

In response to the questions identified by the Committee, we respond in particular to questions 7 and 9 below:

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?

Professor Peter Hopkins, School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University, in collaboration with Dr Katherine Botterill and Dr Gurchathen Sanghera – written evidence (CCE0080)

7.1 Resilience of young people - Although racism and Islamophobia were significant factors in the everyday lives of our participants, many young people demonstrated resilience to everyday racism and felt able to manage and respond to it. Racism needs to be challenged but the resilience demonstrated by young people is a significant strength that could be built upon to promote participation in public life.

7.2 Strong concern about and interest in global politics - Many of the young people involved in our research were passionate about and interested in global political issues. They engaged in debates about such issues and were knowledgeable about the role of politicians and others in world affairs.

7.3 Strong ethic of care - Many of the young people who participated in our research demonstrated a strong ethic of care for others and expressed and practised this through a number of avenues such as: volunteering; community activism; and voicing a strong interest in political issues (international, national and local).

7.4 Politicised by the Scottish independence Referendum - Many young people in our research – including those who were previously not interested in politics – were politicised by the Scottish Independence Referendum and the lowering of the voting age to include 16 and 17 year olds. This engaged and interested cohort of young people are an asset and could be utilised in order to promote participation in public life.

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?

9.1 From our research with diverse ethnic and religious minority young people as well as white young people, we found the following barriers when it comes to them being active citizens and to engaging politically:

9.2 Everyday racism - The vast majority of the ethnic minority youth who we have worked with in our research experienced racism; some experience it on a daily basis. These experiences varied widely and included physically aggressive forms of discrimination (e.g. extreme violence), having a headscarf pulled off by a fellow passenger on public transport or having bricks thrown across the street. There were also experiences of name-calling, taunting, or individuals being made the subject of jokes and “banter” in public. Our participants also referred to experiences of racism online such as on social media. Young people felt it is important to talk about racism and referred to racist incidences on the basis of accent, skin colour, faith, dress, nationality and ethnicity. Young people explained that racist incidents tended to be triggered by media stereotypes and people who were under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs. Our participants understood that racism can be both covert and overt. Encountering and responding to racism was context-dependent, based on the intersection of place, community size, peer and intergenerational relations, and personal identities.

Professor Peter Hopkins, School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University, in collaboration with Dr Katherine Botterill and Dr Gurchathen Sanghera – written evidence (CCE0080)

9.3 Islamophobia - Interconnected with racism, many of our participants felt discriminated against because of their perceived religion and so experienced personal and institutional forms of Islamophobia (as people often assumed they were Muslim). That being said, young Muslims questioned the usefulness of the term 'Islamophobia'. The term is seen to be 'othering', reinforcing difference, which in turn further marginalises Muslims. Young people preferred the term 'racism' to 'Islamophobia'. The media, including social media, are catalysts of anti-Muslim sentiment. We have written about Islamophobia based on this research: <https://theconversation.com/eight-ways-that-islamophobia-operates-in-everyday-life-64444>. More recently – and since this research has been completed – we are concerned about the high levels of public Islamophobia and rise in hate crimes particularly connected with Brexit.

9.4 Legacies of negative media representation - Even although some media outlets may be making an effort to change how they represent Britain's Asian communities, there is a legacy of exclusionary headlines and problematic images about British Asians that continually re-circulate; these are very damaging for ethnic minority youth.

9.5 Gendered and racialised stereotypes - a strong theme across our project is about the problematic stereotypes placed upon many ethnic minority young people, including the ways in which these are gendered, racialized and shaped by other markers of social difference. These powerful stereotypes operate to keep ethnic minority young people in their place and may restrict them for engaging in public life. Such stereotypes present a significant set of barriers for young people.

9.6 - Fear of being misrecognised as 'radical', 'extreme' or 'oppressed' - an important barrier to participation in public life that we found in our research was a reluctance amongst some young people to engage in politics in case of misrecognition. Here, young Muslims – and those who were mistaken for being Muslim - were concerned about being labelled as too 'political' or as 'radical'; this led some young people to avoid talking about politics entirely.

9.7 - Lack of awareness of the heterogeneity/diversity of Asian community in UK - all of our participants were concerned (and some were angry) about the lack of awareness of the diversity within the Asian community in the UK. They felt labelled, misunderstood and misrepresented as they were regularly assumed to belong to a homogenous Asian community that lacked any internal diversity. Young people were eager to correct this and to point out divergences, differences and disjunctures within the Asian community (and within sub-groups of this community) whether this be based on politics, faith, family or education.

9.8 The importance of locality and the significance of place in shaping engagement - the focus of our research is upon Scotland and young people from a range of locations across urban, suburban and rural Scotland participated in the research. We found that the local context in which young people grow up often has a strong influence over the likelihood or

Professor Peter Hopkins, School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University, in collaboration with Dr Katherine Botterill and Dr Gurchathen Sanghera – written evidence (CCE0080)

not of them participating in public life. Some participants were frustrated by assumptions that Scotland is 'white' and is not home to a significant Asian community.

9.9 Religious vis-à-vis ethnic and racial classifications - in some contexts, the classification or division of communities by religion and/or race and ethnicity is not particularly helpful and may construct barriers to participation in public life. We found that many young Muslims and other ethnic and religious minority young people were discriminated against because they 'look Muslim'. With such an example, it would be more useful to engage with such issues through working with a diversity of ethnic and religious minority groups rather than only focusing on one specific religious group. Also, in some places, the Muslim community is small and it may be more helpful to identify barriers to participation based on being a South Asian or based on being BME.

The team who did the research

Peter Hopkins is a Professor of Social Geography at Newcastle University and has conducted research about Muslims in Scotland for over fifteen years. He has a PhD from the University of Edinburgh. His books include 'Geographies of Muslim Identities: Diaspora, Gender and Belonging', 'Muslims in Britain: race, place and identities' and 'The Issue of Masculine Identities for British Muslim Identities after 9/11: A Social Analysis'. He recently led a large AHRC-funded research project about the everyday geopolitics of Muslim and non-Muslim young people with the others involved in this submission.

Dr Katherine Botterill is a Lecturer in Human Geography in the School of Life, Sport and Social Sciences at Edinburgh Napier University. She has research expertise about migration, mobilities and geopolitics, and was a full-time researcher on the everyday geopolitics research project.

Dr Gurchathen Sanghera is a Lecturer in the School of International Relations at the University of St Andrews. He has conducted research with Muslims in both England (particularly in Bradford) and Scotland. He has published on a range of issues connected to this including: social capital, gender

6 September 2017

Professor Jennie Popay and Dr Emma Halliday – written evidence (CCE0149)

Introduction.

This submission is from Professor Jennie Popay and Dr Emma Halliday in our individual capacity. We welcome the opportunity to provide written evidence towards the Select Committee’s work as it considers issues related to citizenship and civic engagement. Our submission draws on research on the social determinants of health inequalities and in particular the potential positive impacts of civic engagement involving communities of ‘place’ (residents of a geographical area) within the UK context. We focus on evidence related to engagement approaches that seek to increase the ‘collective control’ residents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods have over decisions that affect their lives. Examples include initiatives that allocate funding to communities who take action around shared priorities in a geographical area (place based initiatives) or models of working that enable more equitable collaboration between communities and public sector and other organisations. In particular we provide evidence to contribute towards questions 9 and 12 of the evidence call.

Response to Q9.

Why so many communities and groups feel “left behind”:

1. *Scale of health and social inequality in the UK*: There is a very significant body of evidence documenting the scale and nature of the health inequalities associated with inequalities in social and economic living and working conditions. These inequalities are seen across almost all causes of mortality and many diseases including mental illness. However, perhaps the most profound dimension of these inequalities are those associated with **life expectancy** and **healthy life expectancy** (years without chronic illness) at birth between more and less disadvantaged areas of England. For example, based on figures for 2008-13 there is a 6 year difference in life expectancy and 20.2 year difference in healthy life expectancy between women living in the most and least deprived areas – the figures for men are 8 years and 19 years respectively. There are also significant inequalities between different regions, with health being worse on average in the north of England than in the south even when people are living in the same socio-economic circumstances. It is important to stress that these inequalities in health outcomes are not inevitable: as a recent paper in the BMJ has shown, the period of increased social investment between 1997 and 2010 across the whole of government, targeted at disadvantaged areas and groups, was associated with a decline in health inequalities.⁶⁹²

⁶⁹² Barr B, Higgerson J, Whitehead M. Investigating the impact of the English health inequalities strategy: time trend analysis. *BMJ*. 2017 Jul 26;358:j3310. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.j3310>

2. *Lack of control as a driver of inequality:* The causes of health inequalities are complex and multifaceted but there is conclusive evidence that the social and economic conditions in which people live and work are primary drivers.⁶⁹³ In this context, there is a growing body of evidence on the importance for health of the control people have over decisions that have an impact on their lives.⁶⁹⁴ Though much of the research has focused on control at the individual level, there is increasing interest in the social and health impact of ‘collective control’ by communities of interest or place which theory and some albeit limited research suggests may ‘work’ in the same way.⁶⁹⁵
3. *Stigmatisation of economically deprived areas:* The impact of stigma associated with inequality presents significant issues for groups already experiencing considerable disadvantage. These processes of stigmatisation are shaped by the attitudes of those living or working outside an area, including journalists, as well as residents of other neighbourhoods and public officials working locally and nationally. Exploratory work during the Communities in Control study (see point 6) identified that residents perceived negative or stereotyped images connected to the areas where they lived, to affect life chances, investment into the area, social cohesion and wellbeing.⁶⁹⁶

Barriers to active citizenship:

4. Existing research reviews have identified a range of factors acting as barriers to non-participation in decision making/civic activities by residents of disadvantaged areas, as well as challenges affecting on-going participation in programmes of engagement.⁶⁹⁷ These barriers include:
 - 4.1. *(Mis)understandings of non-participation:* Professionals may misunderstand a lack of participation as resulting from apathy or a ‘lack of capacity’ among the community. Community members may, however, enact non-participation or be unwilling to engage with external agencies as a rational decision, which is based on

⁶⁹³ CSDH. Closing the gap in a generation: health equity through action on the social determinants of health. Global Commission on Social Determinants of Health. Geneva: World Health Organization, 2008. Available at: http://www.who.int/social_determinants/thecommission/finalreport/en/ [accessed 6 Sept 2017]

⁶⁹⁴ Ibidem.

⁶⁹⁵ Whitehead M, Pennington A, Orton L, Nayak S, et al. How could differences in ‘control over destiny’ lead to socio-economic inequalities in health? A synthesis of theories and pathways in the living environment. *Health & Place*. 2016;39:51-61. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2016.02.002>

⁶⁹⁶ ‘How are communities tackling poor reputations of local neighbourhoods?’ Briefing for ESRC Festival of Social Science Event. Available at: <http://www.lilac-healthequity.org.uk/> [accessed 6 Sept 2017]

⁶⁹⁷ See for example, Popay J et al, Community engagement in initiatives addressing the wider social determinants of health. A rapid review of evidence on impact, experience and process (2007) <https://www.nice.org.uk/guidance/PH9/documents/social-determinants-evidence-review-final2>

poor experiences of previous engagement efforts by professionals or where communities perceive past funding (e.g. regeneration) to have had little impact.⁶⁹⁸

- 4.2. *Lack of capacity in systems*: Emphasis is typically placed in programmes on the capacity of lay communities to engage within society. However, successful engagement and partnerships requires action to release and also build the capacity of whole systems (people who live and work in an area for example and the institutions responsible for commissioning and delivering public and private sector services). This includes for instance action to develop appropriate skills and competencies of organisational staff; tackling a dominant professional service culture; the overall organisational ethos and culture; and the dynamics of the local and national political systems.⁶⁹⁹ For a model attempting to address these issues at the neighbourhood system level, see NIHR Collaboration for Leadership in Applied Health Research and Care for the North West Coast (under point 7).
- 4.3. *Power dynamics between communities and agencies*: The imbalances of power has been frequently neglected in engagement activities or programmes. Community scepticism and conflict may result from a lack of clarity or disagreement about the degree of influence that members of the public hold or should have with regard to decision making.^{700,701}
- 4.4. *Influence of social context*: Where initiatives aim to engage within a geographical setting, pre-existing social conditions/cohesion may affect the abilities of people living and working in an area to engage with each other. This is influenced by the extent communities have a shared sense of place, a shared history, or previous experience of engagement. Such factors can influence whether communities are willing to interact or feel able to come together around shared interests within their community. While such factors have traditionally been construed as barriers to participation, the process of engagement may, over time, result in new and

⁶⁹⁸ Orton L, Halliday E, Collins M, Egan M, Lewis S, Ponsford R, Powell K, Salway S, Townsend A, Whitehead M, Popay J. Putting context centre stage: evidence from a systems evaluation of an area based empowerment initiative in England. *Critical Public Health*. 2017 Aug 8;27(4):477-89.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09581596.2016.1250868>

⁶⁹⁹ Pickin C, Popay J, Staley K, Bruce N, Jones C, Gowman N. Developing a model to enhance the capacity of statutory organisations to engage with lay communities. *Journal of Health Services Research & Policy*. 2002 Jan 1;7(1):34-42. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1258/1355819021927656>

⁷⁰⁰ Popay J, Whitehead M, Carr-Hill R, et al. The impact on health inequalities of approaches to community engagement in the New Deal for Communities regeneration initiative: a mixed-methods evaluation. Southampton (UK): NIHR Journals Library; 2015 Sep. (Public Health Research, No. 3.12.) Available from: www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK321028/ doi: 10.3310/phr03120

⁷⁰¹ Pickin, C. Popay, J. Staley, K. Bruce, N. Jones, C. Gowman, N. (2002) Promoting organisational capacity to engage with active lay communities: Developing a model to support organizational change For health, *Health Service Research and Policy*; 7 (1)34 – 46

strengthened social connections and cohesion as residents come together and engage with each other, and with other organisations.⁷⁰²

Response to Q12.

5. There is some evidence of health and social impacts for individuals and communities arising from civic involvement in initiatives aiming to involve communities in neighbourhood decision making. Particularly, there is evidence that engagement of citizens is an important element of successful action for cohesion in local communities. Evidence summaries are provided from public health studies of two English place based programmes (New Deal for Communities, Big Local) and a model of neighbourhood resilience being tested in the north west of England.

5.1. The *New Deal for Communities (NDC)* initiative was a government-funded programme introduced in 39 of the poorest neighbourhoods in England in 1998. The aim was to improve the social conditions and health of people living in these areas. Local residents had to be involved in planning and delivering NDC projects but they were engaged in different ways in different areas. Our research identified different approaches to civic participation ranging from those that gave residents considerable influence over NDC decision-making and build community capacity for engagement to those in which professionals were more likely to engage with residents more instrumentally to gain support for their organisation's agenda. The results show a mixed picture but the general pattern in these results suggests that, in those NDC areas in which residents had the greatest influence over NDC decisions and opportunities to participate, local people were more likely to report that the NDC had improved the area, and that relationships in the community, levels of trust and mental health had improved over time than residents in areas in which they had less influence.⁷⁰³

5.2. Over the longer term, however, pressures faced by the NDC programme to deliver 'early wins' and the initiative's top-down performance system appeared to create a disempowering environment at odds with a more gradual community development process needed for true empowerment and engagement to evolve. NDC local programmes that appeared to retained their commitment to an ethos of civic engagement and community influence over time were able to draw on organisational 'resources' that protected or enabled this ethos to be sustained (e.g. strong leadership committed to empowerment values) in the face of governmental pressures to spend funding and show results.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰² Orton et al. 2017.

⁷⁰³ Popay J, Whitehead M, Carr-Hill R, et al. Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK321024/>

⁷⁰⁴ Popay J, Whitehead M, Carr-Hill R, et al. Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK321019/>

6. The *Communities in Control (CiC) study*⁷⁰⁵ is assessing the health impact of the Big Local programme. Big Local is being rolled out in 150 areas in England with funding from the Big Lottery.⁷⁰⁶ The study's first two phases (2014/17) were funded by the NIHR School for Public Health Research (SPHR) and undertaken by a collaboration of five members of NIHR SPHR1 (the LiLaC collaboration between the universities of Liverpool and Lancaster, the universities of Sheffield and Exeter; The London School for Hygiene and Tropical Medicine; and Fuse; The Centre for Translational Research in Public Health). The findings reported here present an early assessment of the health and social impacts of programme that will continue to unfold over the longer term.

6.1. *Impacts at the collective level arising from civic engagement*: The study has identified numerous examples of the positive impact that the exercise of collective action by residents is having on the physical environment and on social relationships in Big Local areas. The findings also show how communities experiencing place-based stigma (which other research has shown to have negative impacts of life chances and quality of life) can take positive action to improve the reputation of their neighbourhood and the people who live there. Across these examples there is a common thread of how the process of taking actions around neighbourhood issues is resulting in the accrual or strengthening of community resources (e.g. social networks, physical and financial resources, power) within these local systems as residents take action themselves, collaborate with others or seek to gain a greater voice in, or influence decisions taken by others. On the other hand, the research also found examples of how 'feedback loops' can negatively impact: with collective action generating conflict and dampening confidence when residents' perceived their efforts (e.g. local projects or events) to have not been successful.

6.2. *Individual level impacts of civic engagement*: Longitudinal survey data from 15 Big Local areas has provided some evidence of improvements in subjective assessments of control and mental health among those residents most actively engaged in Big Local. While these findings are based upon a relatively small sample, this supports a hypothesis that empowerment of residents at the collective level may have positive effects on mental health and wellbeing for those who participate. However, impacts are complex. For example, residents most closely involved in Big Local activities also reported challenges and stress from participating in these collective decision making processes. In some cases, these experiences were reported to have had significant negative impacts on subjective feelings of wellbeing.⁷⁰⁷ In contrast, other residents reported that involvement, particularly social opportunities beyond core decision-

⁷⁰⁵ NIHR SPHR 'Communities in Control study', Available at: <http://sphr.nihr.ac.uk/health-inequalities/about-the-communities-in-control-study/> [accessed 6 sept 2017]

⁷⁰⁶ <http://www.localtrust.org.uk/>

⁷⁰⁷ NIHR SPHR (July 2017) Health Inequalities Research Programme: Communities in Control Study Phase 1 & Phase 2. Final report. Available from: j.popay@lancaster.ac.uk

making structures, had positively transformed their subjective wellbeing. This points to the need for initiatives to create multiple opportunities to increase the breadth and depth of participation and for evaluations to track the differential effects of these over time.

7. *NIHR Collaboration for Leadership in Applied Health Research and Care for the North West Coast: Promoting resilience at a systems level:* Throughout the UK severe funding cuts are straining the capacity of local governments, Decreased public funding for services increases pressure on individuals and communities to cope with socioeconomic adversity without external support. Promoting individual or community resilience alone is not enough to reduce health inequalities locally. Enhanced resilience at a systems levels, underpinning engagement between paid workers, the institutions they are employed by and communities, has the potential to improve the social drivers of improvements in collective and individual health. The NIHR CLAHRC NWC has a programme of work focusing on developing system resilience in nine neighbourhoods in the North West of England. Features of this work include promoting more equal collaboration between residents, Local Authorities, community organisations and private sector organisations where appropriate to understand, and influence, action that can promote system resilience,⁷⁰⁸ as well as resident led local enquires to help plan for action and help evaluate the impact of changes put in place.⁷⁰⁹

8 September 2017

⁷⁰⁸ Porroche-Escudero A, Popay JM, Barr B, Mosedale SL, Ring A, Sadler G, Simpson G, Wheeler P. Systems resilience: improving public health through collaboration and community based participatory research. *BMJ Open*. 2017 Mar 6;7(Suppl.):A6. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2017-016492.18>

⁷⁰⁹ CLAHRC NWC 'Evaluation under the spotlight for CLAHRC NWC Neighbourhoods for Learning.' Available at: <http://www.clahrc-nwc.nihr.ac.uk/news/article.php?title=134> [accessed 5 Sept 2017]

Project for the Registration of Children as British Citizens – written evidence (CCE0079)

Introduction

The Project for the Registration of Children as British Citizens (PRCBC) is a registered charitable company set up in November 2012 in order to raise awareness of registration and the importance of citizenship, as well as to support and increase the number of children and young adults who register as British citizens.⁷¹⁰ We have also encountered several examples of children and young people who acquired British citizenship by birth but are without a passport and facing significant barriers to securing Home Office recognition of their citizenship – particularly where a British or settled parent is no longer contactable or is estranged and refusing to cooperate.

In the near five years of its existence PRCBC has represented over 200 children and young people to register as British citizens, or obtain British passports to prove their status. It has dealt with over 20 judicial reviews of Home Office refusals to register British citizenship. So far all those that have concluded have led to the Home Office registering the child or young person as British. We have advised numerous other individuals and organisations in person, by phone and by email.

Our experience and other research show an increasing number of children and young people have been born and spent all their life in the UK but are not British citizens; and many others have spent all or most of their life that they can remember here. They feel completely British but are not yet formally citizens and face huge barriers to becoming citizens.⁷¹¹ Very many of these children and young people born in the UK are entitled to register as British citizens. This includes children born in the UK who are stateless and who have an entitlement to register as British citizens. Those children not born here, but whose future clearly lies in the UK, may be registered as British citizens at the discretion of the Home Office. Many of these children, their parents and carers, are unaware of these rights. Children entitled or otherwise able to claim British citizenship are in many cases wrongly described as ‘migrants’ and their need for formal recognition wrongly treated as a matter to be solved by pursuing an immigration status. Depriving them of British citizenship, however, leaves them in a precarious position, subject to immigration law powers for many years and, in several cases, at risk of losing a right to register as British altogether.

The barriers to obtaining citizenship are many:

⁷¹⁰ More information about PRCBC on our website, <https://prcbc.wordpress.com>

⁷¹¹ For example, COMPAS, at http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/media/PR-2012-Undocumented_Migrant_Children.pdf and executive summary at http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/media/PR-2012-Undocumented_Migrant_Children_Executive_Summary.pdf

- Information – many children and young people, and their families, do not know they are not British and, therefore, do not find out about how they might be able to become British
- Legal advice – following the implementation of the Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Act 2012, legal aid is not available for advice and representation (unless exceptional case funding is secured) on British nationality law, even for lone children, and many lawyers are insufficiently familiar with it, meaning it can be hard to find out that a right to register exists
- Home Office practice – decision-making is poor, unnecessary evidential demands are made and the Home Office often fails to act on information it already holds that would confirm citizenship or an entitlement to it (e.g. the fact of a parent’s British citizenship or settled status) meaning expert legal assistance is often needed
- Fees – 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.⁷¹² There is no provision for fee waivers and the fee is not refunded if the application is refused. There are other or additional fees that may apply in individual cases.⁷¹³
- Good character – children over 10 have to satisfy the Home Office they are ‘of good character’ even when they would otherwise be entitled to citizenship. The current Home Office policy applied to children applying to register whether by entitlement or discretion is the same policy guidance as for adult migrants wishing to naturalise as British citizens.⁷¹⁴ The normal provisions of the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act 1974 do not apply in relation to nationality and

⁷¹² See PRCBC and Amnesty International-UK joint Briefings on fees, April 2017:

<https://prcbc.wordpress.com/why-are-children-not-being-registered/>

⁷¹³ Requesting a review of a Home Office refusal is £321; confirmation of British citizenship is £234; British passport fee for a child is £46.

⁷¹⁴ This has been raised as a serious concern in a recent report by the Independent Chief Inspector of Borders and Immigration (ICIBI) Report: A short inspection of the Home Office’s application of the good character requirement in the case of young persons who apply for registration as British citizens:

<http://icinspector.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/A-short-inspection-of-the-Home-Office—s-application-of-the-good-character-requirement1.pdf>

See also Home Office response to the Independent Chief Inspector’s report: ‘A Short Inspection of the Home Office’s application of the good character requirement in the case of young persons who apply for registration as British citizens’ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/home-office-response-to-the-report-a-short-inspection-of-the-home-offices-application-of-the-good-character-requirement-in-the-case-of-young-persons>

immigration matters,⁷¹⁵ so any caution or conviction as a child can always be considered even after it is treated as spent.

This is the background from which PRCBC is responding to parts of the Committee's questions 1 and 2.

Question 1

In PRCBC's experience, British citizenship is of considerable importance to a child and young person's identity. This is the case both when a child who considers and believes themselves to be British discovers that she or he is not, and when that child or young person is then registered as British. In the intervening period, the sense of not belonging is palpable for a child or young person who discovers themselves to be excluded from rights, recognition and opportunities that she or he had anticipated and which are possessed by her or his peers.

For someone who was born in the UK, or brought to this country at a young age and who may have no recollection of any other place, this feeling of exclusion may be especially powerful.

When PRCBC represents older children, who have grown up here registering as British, we ask them to write to explain why they want to become British. Some of the statements made by these children are reproduced below:

"British citizenship is very important for me because not having it has held me back a lot and prevented me from going on journeys with sports teams or even being a part of them. I feel like I can make the most out of having it and contribute to the country in the future. I should have British citizenship as I am a boy who is very integrated and comfortable in British society and as there are no other places I could possibly call home. I should have it in order to better my life and contribute to Britain in the future."

16-year-old boy, parents from Nigeria, lived in UK since he was two

"Becoming a British citizen is very important for me as this would help me in my plans to study Accounting and Finance in a university. Also accounting companies such as KPMG requires its employees to have unlimited status within the UK, without the citizenship I will not be able to pursue my dreams therefore I would feel I have failed in life. Also, I am very British from heart therefore I always feel awful that I don't have a British citizenship and when people find out that I do not hold a British citizenship some people instantly see me as an alien and treat me as if am a lesser of a person."

17-year-old girl, parents from Pakistan, lived in UK since she was six

⁷¹⁵ Section 56A of UK Borders Act 2007, inserted by section 140 of the Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Act 2012, at <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2007/30/section/56A>

“As I am not a British citizen, I have felt insecure amongst my friends. Despite being fully integrated within the community and having the same upbringing as them, I feel that I am not seen as sharing the same identity as them. I feel uncomfortable explaining my situation to other people because my friends would expect me to have citizenship already and they would find it unusual if I don’t ... if I was a British citizen I would feel more at ease around other people my age. It is important for me be granted British citizenship now so I can feel that I have a rightful place in the country where I grew up and so that I can maintain my current friendships and study. I want to become British because this will bring me more stability in my life. If I was British I would be able to continue my life in the country that I grew up in and remains my home.”

17-year-old girl, parents from India, lived in UK since she was four

“I believe that I am integrated into British society, my understanding of life in the UK, UK society and the UK Economics mean that in the future I hope I will be a valuable asset to the UK. I intend to use all knowledge gained and yet to gain to acquire a job where I will be able to be an active citizen of British society. I intend to continue to grow up here, purchase my own home as well, raise my family in this country as work here.”

17-year-old boy, parents from Nigeria, lived in UK since he was four

“I only imagine my future living in this country, and this is my only home. ... I want to become a doctor to help people from all over the world who live or visit the U.K. ... I am an optimistic and social person but sometimes I do feel worried and stressed out having only been granted Leave to Remain and not British citizenship. I believe that I should be granted British citizenship as I am already integrated into British society and have been living here since I was a child.”

17-year-old girl, parents from Pakistan, lived in UK since she was five

Question 2

British citizenship is not solely acquired by birth or attained through naturalisation. Children’s rights to register as British citizens are not well known and have long been and continue to be overlooked or ignored. This is at the heart of why tens of thousands of children and young people are effectively deprived of British citizenship to which very many are entitled, and others could secure, by registration. There are several reasons why it is vital the Committee does not replicate this oversight. Firstly, children cannot naturalise. They may register as British citizens. Secondly, and especially important, naturalisation is a matter of discretion whereas for the majority of affected children registration is a statutory right. Whereas the Home Office policy and practice consistently fail to understand or respect the distinction, naturalisation is intrinsically linked to immigration status. Registration is not. Settled status (indefinite leave to remain) is a precondition for

naturalisation. Registration by entitlement is of persons born in the UK. Not only have such persons no need for an immigration status, they are not migrants. Thirdly, 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 because their rights are not recognised as independent of parents or guardians or their citizenship rights are never considered; or both.

The foregoing is a vital consideration, which should underpin the Committee's consideration of citizenship. We do not make submissions on the other questions on which the Committee are consulting. However, if rights to register as British are not kept firmly in mind, there is a very real risk the Committee will make recommendations in relation to such concepts as 'civic engagement', 'active citizenship', 'rights and responsibilities', which would further exclude and deprive children of British citizenship, including where it is their statutory right.

Any such result would be a serious blow to these children's best interests, which are already very far from respected, leaving many children and young people in the UK to suffer various deprivations, exclusions and risks by reason of their not having British citizenship even when born in the UK and entitled to obtain it. A child or young person may be deprived of the opportunity to hold a British passport, and thereby to travel overseas. She or he may be excluded from free healthcare, lawful employment, rented accommodation, social assistance or a student loan. She or he may be unable to vote or to pass on British citizenship to her or his child. She or he may be at risk of immigration powers, policies and practices including powers to detain, remove or deport her or him; or being required to make repeated applications for short periods of leave to remain for many years, potentially at significant cost and at risk of prohibitive changes to rules or fees. For many these concerns become increasingly acute at or as adulthood approaches, but for some the impact may be at a much younger age.

Our recommendations

A key over-arching recommendation for the Committee, therefore, is to remove or mitigate the existing barriers to tens of thousands of children and young people in the UK exercising their rights to register as British, and thus to fuller participation in society. This could be done by:

Recommendation 1

The Home Office should ensure that children's best interests are a primary consideration in its nationality decision-making, and its statutory duty to promote the welfare of children is actively respected in this area of its work.

Recommendation 2

The Home Office should ensure that it does not impose unnecessary and inappropriate evidential hurdles in policy or practice to children exercising their right to register as British or to securing a passport or other formal recognition of their British citizenship. The Home Office should also facilitate a child's right to British citizenship where it can confirm matters material to the child's entitlement from its own records (e.g. confirming the nationality or settled status of a parent).

Recommendation 3

The Home Office should ensure that its consideration of the 'good character' requirement in children's British citizenship registration respects and relates to the circumstances of children, and does not merely replicate its application of this requirement in adult's registration or naturalisation cases. Parliament should consider removing this requirement for children's registration or raising the age at which it applies.

Recommendation 4

The profit element should be removed from children's registration fee in all cases, including where their right to register continues into adulthood. There should be a waiver of the fee for children who cannot afford it.

Recommendation 5

Where a child is 'looked after' by a local authority, there should be a fee exemption. This would prevent the shifting of costs from central to local government.

Recommendation 6

There should be active and effective promotion of the rights of children to register as British citizens.

Recommendation 7

There should be legal aid available for children to receive advice and assistance in relation to their citizenship rights.

Solange Valdez-Symonds

Director and solicitor

6 September 2017

Pupils 2 Parliament – written evidence (CCE0258)

Summary

- The views of 281 primary school children aged 9 to 11 are reported.
- 72% knew they were British Citizens, 8% that they were not British citizens. One in five children (20%) did not know whether or not they were British Citizens.
- 80% of the children were very proud or quite proud to be British or living in Britain.
- Most usual reasons for being proud were freedom, safety, equality and the NHS . Most usual reasons for not being proud were the weather, terrorism, and hearing bad news.
- The twelve top rights the children thought child citizens of Britain should have were education, housing, to give their opinions, clean water, food, freedom, a right to vote, family, medical treatment, the right to play, and not to be taken into slavery.
- The top nine duties and responsibilities children thought child citizens have were to keep to the law, help others, help clean at home, do chores, not to litter, look after their pets, respect others' faiths and religions, help and care for friends, and keep themselves safe.
- The communities children told us most frequently that they felt they belonged to were their sports clubs or teams, their group of friends, their school, and their non-sports clubs and groups.
- 71% of the children said that their opinions as a child were a little, or not much, taken notice of.
- The three top British values identified by the children were taking responsibility for each other, caring, and democracy.
- The three top ways children currently engage in helping other people were helping someone they come across that needs help, donating to charity, and taking part in events for charity. The top ways children would like to be able to help others were helping people with MS, raising money for charity, helping homeless people, and giving food to a food bank.

Pupils 2 Parliament – written evidence (CCE0258)

- 60% of the 9 to 11 year olds asked intend to vote in elections when they reach voting age.
- Ceremonial events made 53% of the children feel more proud of Britain, but did not make 45% more proud.
- Of seven key elements of primary school citizenship education, the two that children considered they had learned and understood best were about people's different religions, cultures and backgrounds, and how to work out what is true and fake in what the media and social media tell us. The two that children considered they had learned and understood least were how Parliament and Councils work, and how to research and find out for themselves what is happening in the country and the wider world.

Introduction

1. This report is a formal submission to the House of Lords Citizenship and Civic Engagement Committee, in response to its inquiry on citizenship and civic engagement.
2. The report is from Pupils 2 Parliament, a project to enable school pupils to consider and feed in their views to parliamentary, national government and national body public consultations and inquiries. The project has been approved by the Clerks of both Houses of Parliament to use the term 'Parliament' in its title.
3. Pupils 2 Parliament aims to bring the particular viewpoint of children and young people to those conducting inquiries and consultations - plus the uniquely fresh and often challenging analysis that children and young people bring to decisions and policies.
4. The project also gives school pupils the chance to learn about and consider key issues and decisions being made by parliament, national government and public bodies, and genuinely to participate in democracy by feeding their views into real national decisionmaking.
5. Pupils' views are independently gathered through discussions with groups of pupils led by someone from Pupils 2 Parliament, usually with a member of school staff taking notes of the pupils' views. We use information from the relevant consultation or inquiry document to explain the issues. We specialise in putting the issues and questions even-handedly, without leading pupils in any way or suggesting any responses. All views come spontaneously from pupils, with no adult prompt on what they might say.
6. The information we gave to pupils about this inquiry came from the documents on the parliament website. The topics we asked the pupils about to find out what they

thought they had learned well and understood from citizenship education at school, were selected from the list of objectives given by the Department for Education for Key Stage 2 in primary schools.

7. I am grateful to the staff of the Citizenship and Civic Engagement Committee for their wish to receive and consider a report of pupils views from Pupils 2 Parliament on this subject outside the formal public consultation period, so that we could gather children's views in school term time. We agreed the questions we asked pupils with the Committee's policy staff, and added some they asked us to put to children, to make sure that we were asking questions that would be useful to the Committee.
8. This report contains all pupil views given, without selection, comment or addition. The views reported are entirely pupils' own views, and nothing but pupils' views.
9. Views in the report came from 281 primary school pupils aged 9 to 11, in 9 focus groups across 8 schools. These were Belle Vue Primary School, Stourbridge; St George's CE Primary School, Clun; Eardisley CE Primary School; Gig Mill Primary School, Stourbridge (two groups), Hob Green Primary School, Stourbridge; Orleton CE Primary School; Staunton-on-Wye Endowed Primary School; and Stokesay Primary School, Craven Arms.
10. This report represents the vital perspectives of child citizens on central issues of citizenship and civic engagement, both as present citizens and as future voters, and I hope that their views will provide the Select Committee with a serious and valuable input to their deliberations.

Knowing whether you are a British citizen

11. We wished to know how many of the pupils were sure they were British citizens, how many were sure they were not British citizens although living in Britain, and, importantly, how many children were not sure of their own citizenship.
12. Out of 270 9-11 year old children answering this question, 80% knew what country they were citizens of, but 20% were not sure of this. 72% said they were British citizens, and 8% that they were not.
13. Some of the reasons for uncertainty about citizenship were being unsure about which UK countries counted as 'British' (for example, could one be both Welsh and British at the same time – which of those was one's country?), having one or both parents from

different countries than Britain, and exactly where the boundaries of a country such as England were in the borderland with Scotland.

How proud are children of being British?

14. We asked all the children how proud they were of being British or of living in Britain.
15. Of 256 children who answered this question, a large majority (80%) said they were very or quite proud to be British or living in Britain. 20% were not really proud or definitely not proud. The most common answer was, from almost half the children (49%), was to be quite proud.
16. We invited children to give us examples of why they felt proud or not proud to be British or living in Britain.
17. Some children said they felt proud to be British, but were not really sure why. It was just that it was their country. It was also where they have their families. One felt proud because they had friends in a different part of the country. Some children just felt proud of Britain because they had been born part of it.
18. One reason for being proud of Britain was that we have more freedom and rights here than in many other countries. It is a free country. It is an independent country. You have of course to keep to the laws and rules in Britain, but these have been “set fair” compared to many other countries. A view linked to this was that “Parliament makes good choices”.
19. Some said they were proud that Britain is a country where people are not always judged for being in a minority group. The country is fair and not racist, and the colour of your skin doesn’t matter.
20. Children also said that we have more safe food and clean water compared with other countries, and more housing and hotels than some countries. We also have farms with sheep and cattle. Britain is also quite a wealthy country. These made them feel proud.
21. Other children said they felt proud because they had what they needed in Britain, including important things like shelter. Yet others felt proud of Britain because there have not been any recent wars here. Not having many natural disasters in Britain, such as earthquakes, tsunamis and tornadoes, made some feel proud.

22. Having a good army was also given as a reason for being proud of Britain, so was how the armed forces had protected the country's people in World War II, and how we are an island country surrounded by sea and with a strong navy. There was a view that Britain sticks up for itself.
23. Some children were also proud because animals are usually well treated in Britain; "we take them seriously and try to look after them".
24. Another reason for being proud was that Britain has achieved a lot compared with other similar countries, and one child said that having the Olympics and sports competitions had made them feel proud. English has become one of the most known languages in the world. Britain had once owned a lot of the world. Some however said that they felt less proud because they felt the country had not achieved very much.
25. Having big cities in Britain with lots of attractions in them made you feel proud.
26. Other children felt proud to be British because of our NHS and ambulance services, which everyone can use for free. You don't have to pay to get help from a doctor. However, as with many of the points raised, the health service counted both ways. Another view was that lack of doctors and the long hours junior doctors have to work were reasons for feeling less proud of being British.
27. Having special landmarks was given as another reason for being proud of Britain, as was Britain having "a lot of nice people". It is a "nice place to live". Some felt proud of the area where they lived. One child summed it up when they said they were "proud of the area that I live in and the people that live there". A further reason was that Britain does a lot to raise money, and things like clothing, to help people elsewhere in the world. Britain is also free of most deadly or poisonous creatures. For many reasons, Britain feels a safe country to be in.
28. One common reason for not being proud, or being less than very proud, was the British weather, and how cold and wet it is.
29. Another common reason was the amount of litter left around the country. Some said there is too much pollution. One said there is too much smoking of tobacco.
30. A further reason for not being so proud of Britain was that there are no large wild animals here. Another was the state of the economy; "we're getting into minus numbers of money". The fact that not everyone has housing made one less proud

of the country. A different view in another group was that we build too many houses in some places but we don't always focus on the schools that are needed. In one group we heard that voting to leave the EU was a reason for being less proud of Britain, because prices had started rising.

31. Not having wars in Britain had made some proud, given that some countries had been suffering from wars for many years. But there was also the view that the country might be in the middle of a war soon, and that made you less proud of your country.
32. A few children did not feel proud of Britain because of other people coming into the country from other countries.
33. Another thing that made some proud made others not proud. Having nice people in Britain had been said to make some proud of the country. One child said "we are a small country, but we are still here and help each other". Another thought that "even though there are lots of drugs around, everybody is happy and cheerful". But in another group there was a view that people aren't so nice to other people, which made you less proud to be British. In yet another group a reason for not being proud was that there are "nasty people around". There were also bad people coming in with deadly weapons. One child said "I didn't say I am extremely proud because I've been living in Britain most of my life, but people haven't always been kind to me".
34. Other things that made children not proud of being British or living in Britain were the bad state of the roads, the way different people get treated in different ways, and the problem of people attacking those who don't believe the same things they do. The fact that this keeps happening made some children feel that the police and others were not doing much to stop it, and that made them less than proud to be in Britain.
35. Terrorist attacks were a big factor for many children. For some, recent terrorist attacks in Britain, in places like London and Manchester, and the fact that Britain wasn't able to stop these, made them less proud to be British or living in Britain. "I'm not really proud because people in Britain hurt people – there are terrorists and I don't feel people are doing enough about it", "I'm proud to be living in Britain, but lots of things have been happening, like people being harmed, and we're not doing much about it". But for others, having fewer terrorist attacks than some other countries was a reason for being proud to be British. One view was that we can be proud that Britain has clear gun laws, which not all countries do.

36. Hearing so much bad news all the time about things in Britain made you feel less proud of the country.
37. Some children gave us reasons for being in the middle about pride in Britain. One said they were “proud as I know the language and was born here, but on the other hand I want to go to different countries and speak different languages”. Another said that they were happy to live in Britain, and that was better than living in some countries with poor conditions, but they weren’t proud of living here; “I could be just as happy in France or Germany”. The same point was made in another group; living in Britain is “just as good as living anywhere else”.

What rights do children believe they have as British Child Citizens?

38. We defined ‘rights’ as things all children should get whenever they need it, things all children should be allowed to do, things no child should be made to do, things all children should be allowed to know, and things all children should be saved or protected from.
39. We asked children to put forward rights they thought all children living in Britain should have, whether these were rights they already have, or new rights children wanted to propose. Some schools were UNICEF Rights Respecting Schools (and taking part in Pupils 2 Parliament counted towards that award), others were not. Many children knew about the list of children’s rights in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Many others had not.
40. These were the top eleven rights put forward by the most children (in order with the most frequent first):
- To go to school and have an education
 - To live in a house or shelter
 - To say what you think and give your own opinion (including on the rules you have to follow)
 - To have clean water
 - To have food
 - The right to be free
 - The right to vote in national votes and elections
 - To have and stay with your family
 - To have medicines and medical treatment by doctors or in hospital
 - The right to play
 - Not to be taken into slavery.

41. Here is a number of quotes from children, summing up their views of general children's rights:

"I have the right to be me", "the right to be what you want to be", "the right to company and love", "the right to enjoy our lives while we have them", "the right to be free and happy and not worry about bad things and enjoy", "the right to live life as a normal person", "the right to go out and not get hurt", "children should have the right to do what they want to do within reason".

42. Here is the complete list of other rights, which were each put forward by one or two children. They are in no special order. The list is very long, but we have not left out anything that even only one child put forward. We hope it is a good resource showing the huge range of possible future children's rights that have been put forward by children themselves:

to know about the timeline of British history, to go anywhere and not to be worried about attacks, to do what we want with our own money, to go into any country without being stopped, to have a name, if you are fostered or adopted, the right to know that and who your parents are, not always to be bossed around and not always to have to do whatever an adult tells you to do, not to be blamed for something by an adult on the basis of what other children say, not to be given homework, to ride a horse on a bridle path, not to be harassed by motorists when riding a horse as a child, not to have other children or adults going onto your property, to have a brief period of free time if you are stopped from playtime with others, the right to pass examinations, rights about everything, children and animals should have the same rights to medicines they need, to have a home, even if it isn't with your own parents, to have transport, to rest and relax, to be warm, to have fun, to have and choose clothes, the right to help other people, to have choices, to have luxuries, to have help when you need it, to have dental treatment, to have electricity, to be healthy, to go on holiday, to go shopping, to have first aid, to be heard and listened to by adults, not to be abused, to be treated well, to keep cows (a right shared with adults and families), to have friends, to have help from the emergency services, to have pocket money, to be able to get money from the bank and to do jobs to earn money, not to have to go to work, to help look after your parents' animals, to be gay, to have a good environment, to believe in a religion or certain thing, the right to know and say what your rights are, the right to take responsibilities, to have fewer but longer school holidays and terms, the right to choose who to speak to about problems and not to have to speak to just anybody, the right sometimes to do just what you want to do without being controlled by one person or group of people or by adults, the right to some time alone when you want, not to be bossed about by other people than your parents and teachers, not to be pushed against your will or forced to do things, not to be made to fight in a war, not to do any dangerous jobs, to have a guardian, to have your views

respected, to have health checks, to sleep, the right to follow your dreams, children have the right to be as respected as other citizens, to be kept safe and protected, to have parents who understand and obey the laws about child cruelty, not to be hit or hurt by parents, guardians or anyone else, not to be shouted at by teachers, to be taught by parents why you need to stay away from strangers - from a very early age (one and a half to two), to experience a day in the life of an adult, to be kept safe while travelling, to choose your own sports and activities, privacy, not to have people smoking near you, not to be treated cruelly, to know what is going on around the world, to wear your own style of clothes, to have the chance to do what you want to do, to be allowed to play football, walk your dog, and play other ball games in local parks and other local places - without notices saying 'no ball games', to have lower age and height limits for many fun activities, and children have the right to be noticed a bit more.

43. One child said that children should have the right to have adults accept that part of being a child is to be annoying.
44. One child asked a key question about citizenship: "are the British Values rights?"
45. On the right for children to be noticed a bit more, one child summed this up by saying "children should be noticed a bit more – on the news, it is always about adults". They wanted the news to cover the world of children more.

What duties and responsibilities do children believe they have as British Child Citizens?

46. After discussing rights, we asked children what duties and responsibilities they thought all children living in Britain should have – what being a British citizen or living in Britain means you should do as a child.
47. These were the top nine duties and responsibilities put forward by the most children (in order with the most frequent first):
 - To keep to the law
 - To help other people
 - To help clean at home (including toilets!)
 - To do your chores
 - Not to litter – put your litter in bins

- To look after your pets
- To respect other people's faiths and religions □ To help and care for your friends
□ To keep yourself safe.

48. Quotations summing up some of the responsibilities of children were:

“give when you can”, “always believe in yourself”, “when old enough to go out on your own, be responsible”, “do what you can”, “don’t be nasty to your friends, be nice to them”, “appreciate one another”, “if someone has annoyed you, don’t take it out on others”, “respect others’ lives”, “don’t be influenced to do bad things”, “help ensure people do the right thing”, “be nice to each other, be kind, look after the world, don’t litter”, “treat others how you would like them to treat you”, “our duty is to look after people and not to harm anyone”, “respect everyone even if they don’t respect you”, “make sure you know the laws, so that you don’t break them because you don’t know”, “don’t make fun of people’s backgrounds and where they come from”, “be kind to everyone, no matter who they are”, “don’t make fun of what people look like”, “respect people’s dreams”, “every child has responsibility for their own personality”.

49. Here is the complete list of other duties and responsibilities of children, which were each put forward by one or two children. They are in no special order. As with the list of rights put forward by the children, this list is very long, but we have not left out anything that even only one child put forward. As with the rights list, we hope it is a good resource showing the huge range of duties and responsibilities different children consider they have as child citizens:

Not to make fun of someone of a different colour, to respect others, not to abuse the environment, don’t steal vehicles, respect things that aren’t yours, look after others in your family, help look after younger children and be responsible in caring for them, to be respectful, not be mean, to appreciate people who are different from yourself, to be fair, not to be racist, not to make a big deal out of something small happening, not to accuse people wrongly of stealing, to be kind, to be democratic, respect what farmers have spent time and money to grow, respect people’s languages, only make criticisms that help people to do better, don’t judge people by things like the colour of their eyes, be truthful, go to school, to study, to help and look after one another, look after those around you and animals, do as you are told, listen, do your best in everything, do some school work when you are away on holiday, dress yourself, help when requested, follow rules, don’t bully people, respect each other’s thoughts, views and opinions, respect the right of teachers to teach you, to eat and not waste food that you have bought, pick up litter, keep your teacher busy so that they keep teaching their pupils, to be given and to do your homework, be grateful for the food you have, take notice of what your parents say and ask you to do “within reason” (that is as long as they are not asking you to do something that you know is wrong), obey British Values, accept that teachers have a

duty to look after their pupils, to get out of your room and away from your screen and play outdoors, help injured animals you come across, look after the environment, never to kill anyone, never to get into a stranger's white van, to look after yourself, to look after your own stuff and belongings, not to destroy other people's property, not to smoke, not to get into fights, be responsible and get a job, represent your country, try not to do anything bad, be responsible for your friends, be responsible for your own privacy, respect your teachers and other people who try to do their best for you, don't hack, don't damage people's houses set fire to houses or break their windows, report a dangerous bug if you find one, don't steal from people or shops, respect animals be responsible towards them and feed them if they need it, don't kidnap and keep a stray animal that has identification on it, tidy your room, be happy, remember your homework, get yourself and your stuff prepared to get to school, be responsible for your own hygiene and health, not to smoke unless you are over the legal age, cross roads safely, take responsibility for your own money and spend it properly, be responsible for your own actions, help your parents.

- 50.** In one group we heard the view that there is a duty on everyone not to make harm and attacks on people get worse by the way we react; "even though people harm us, it doesn't mean we have to harm them back".
- 51.** One child said that although children have the right to freedom, they also have a duty not to abuse this right; "don't overdo the right to freedom because if you use it to break the law, you will lose your freedom by being in jail".

The communities children belong to

- 52.** We defined 'communities' as groups of people you belong to, outside your family or the household you live in. These could be groups of people you spend time with or do things with, or wider groups of people across your local area or across the whole country that you feel you are part of, even if there are too many for you ever to meet them all. Children could tell us about more than one group or community where they felt they belonged. We have reported below all the communities or groups that children told us they felt they belonged to.
- 53.** The type of community children most often felt they belonged to was a sports club or team. 28% felt they strongly belonged in their sports clubs or teams. The most usual of these sports communities was a football club, team or squad, or a football development academy. Others included rugby, hockey, running, fencing, cricket, mountain biking, motocross, paintballing, golf, netball, basketball, athletics, trampoline, swimming, martial arts, karate, boxing, dirt biking, kick boxing, British Gymnastics and dodgeball clubs and teams. There were special elements of being

part of a team, for example the fact that team members all “communicate during games”.

54. While many spoke of being part of a team that work together and help each other, many also spoke of feeling part of the wider sporting community of all the people taking part in their sport.
55. Some told us they felt part of these communities, not only because they were groups sharing an interest or activity together, but because they had stronger links with the people they knew in the group. As one child put it, “I feel part of gymnastics because they help me”.
56. The second most common group children said they belonged to was their group of friends. 14% of children told us they felt they strongly belonged in a group of friends. As one put it, “I belong to my friends, who care about me”.
57. The third community children most commonly felt they belonged to was the community of their school. 11% of the children felt their school was a group they strongly belonged to. One said “school’s like a big family”. Others said they felt they most belonged to their school class or their school year.
58. Again, feeling you belonged to your school community went further than just being with people you felt you belonged with. It could include wider things your school gave you; “I feel like I belong to my school because I wouldn’t be this far in my life”.
59. Four children said they felt they were a part of the future community of children they would join next at school, either the next year above them, or, for two, the high school they would go to in the next school year. Two other children felt they belonged to the community of children younger than themselves, below their own year at school. Two children felt they still belonged to the community of their old school, and one to the community of the local cathedral school.
60. The fourth most common communities children felt they most belonged in were nonsports activity clubs. 10% of children told us they felt they strongly belonged in these. They included clubs for science, art, dance, Spanish, drama, dog training, sewing, gamers’ squads and ballet. Some of these were school or after school clubs, others were local clubs or activities outside school. One pupil told us they felt they still belonged to the community of the old dance group they used to attend.

61. The next most common community children felt they belonged to was a community of those learning and playing a musical instrument. This included those who felt they belonged to a music group or a group of instrument learners, but for some it went much further to include the wider community of all players of their instrument. Instruments the children played included brass instruments, the flute, guitar, drums, clarinet, and keyboard).
62. Again, one child told us they felt they still belonged as a part of the community of the old music school they used to attend.
63. Although this did not come from many children, there are clearly a few who feel that their main community, or one of their main communities, is that of a school, activity group or club that they used to go to in the past.
64. Some told us they felt they really belonged with the community of their teachers at school. They saw teachers with their pupils as a definite sort of community.
65. Eight children told us they felt they really belonged to the faith community of their Church or Mosque.
66. Six children told us they felt they really belonged to the community of England, one to the community of Scotland, one to the community of Ireland, one that they felt they belonged to the community of Britain. Five others told us they felt they belonged to the community of the whole world. One said they felt they belonged to the community of “everyone”. One child said “I feel I’m part of England ‘cos no-one says to get out”.
67. Five children told us they felt they really belonged to a group on YouTube.
68. Other communities that smaller numbers of children felt they belonged to were: supporters of particular football clubs, atheists, the community of heaven, children in speech, language, maths and reading support groups, the farming community, the community of their parent’s military friends, video gaming groups, Scouts, Guides, Beavers, Brownies and former Brownies. Many of these included belonging to the wider community across the world, as well as the particular local group they were part of.
69. Other communities were given by just one child each. Here is the full list of communities they told us they belonged to, listed in no special order: the community of Parliament, the community led by the Queen and Prime Minister, the community of all children, the people of Africa, people who play X-Box, the

community of horse lovers, the family of their activity instructor, the family of their football coach, ‘the people who care for me’, the people of the county I live in, the people of the valley I live in, the community of my village, the skiing community, people who wear glasses, people who feel they have special needs, England rugby supporters, the eco community, a movie theatre group, and the community of all animal lovers. One child listed a number of international cities and communities they felt a link with.

- 70.** Even though we had asked about communities outside their own families, some children still told us how important it was to belong to a family. One of these children wrote to us; “I belong to my family because they guide me through hard things each day”.
- 71.** In some groups, children asked if communities had to be groups of people. Some told us they felt they really felt belonging when they were with animals, such as their dogs, horses, household pets, or animals on farms they lived on. One child from a farm wrote; “I feel like I belong with my sheep, because they make me happy!”

How much notice do children think is taken of their opinions?

- 72.** The international list of children’s rights (the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child) says children have the right to have their say on things that affect them, and to have their opinions taken seriously. So we wanted to find out how much children thought their opinions really are taken notice of, across all aspects of their lives.
- 73.** Out of the 233 children who answered this question, 16% said their opinions are very much taken notice of, 38% that they are taken notice of a little, 33% that they are not taken notice of much, and 13% that their opinions are not at all taken notice of. The two most usual answers were that children’s opinions were a little, or not much, taken notice of. Overall 71% said their opinions were either a little or not much taken notice of.
- 74.** One child summed this up for many when they said that in this country “our opinions don’t matter, only adults’ views matter”.

What are British Values?

- 75.** We asked children to tell us what they saw as “British values” – things that made people British, things that everyone living in Britain should share, think are important and support.
- 76.** Some of our groups had discussed British Values as part of their citizenship at school, and there was a list of British Values on the wall in one classroom we met in. In this question, we asked children to tell us what they themselves thought were the most important British Values, whether these were ones they had learned about in school, or were ones they had come up with for themselves.
- 77.** Our groups were less certain about what they saw as British values than they were about the rights, duties and responsibilities of children living in Britain. They put forward fewer values than they had put forward rights, duties and responsibilities.
- 78.** The top three values put forward by our groups, in order with the one given to us by the most children first, were:
- Mutual respect
 - Caring
 - Democracy and voting.
- 79.** These other values (not in any particular order) each came from two or more children:
- Fundraising and charity
 - Equality
 - Individual liberty and freedom
 - Rule of law
 - Kindness
 - Tolerance □ Joyfulness.
- 80.** These values (not in any special order) came from one child each: paying your way (paying bills and for your house, taxes, fuel, and rentals), the monarchy, courage, tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs, determination, friendship, perseverance, thankfulness, politeness, engagement, love, helping the poor, honesty, teamwork, happiness – and tea and crumpets.
- 81.** On equality, some things were definitely British values, but still need working on. One boy said everyone should be equal, but there were still big inequalities to deal with, such as the fact that women footballers don’t get paid as much as men players.

82. On honesty, one child said that the spread of terrorism is based on dishonesty and people not owning up to knowing about things.
83. On democracy, one child said that “everyone has to have democracy in their lives”.
84. Tea and crumpets were put on the list because they define something basic about being English.
85. The view was put that a value is something more important than a law or anything else.

How are children involved with and for other people?

86. The Committee were particularly interested to hear what children do with others to help other people, and what more they would like to be able to do with others to help other people. We asked some of our groups to tell us what they did with others for others, outside their own families or households.
87. Although children were able to tell us about many sorts of activities they do, or would like to do, there were not so many activities done specifically to help other people, or done with others.
88. These are the things three or more children told us they did with others to help other people outside their own families or households:
 - Helping people you come across who need your help, for example if someone has fallen over or dropped their money or their shopping
 - Making donations to charity
 - Doing events (for example, sales, book stalls) to raise money for charity.
89. These ways of children already helping others each came from two children:
 - Making things to sell for charity
 - Helping run the school bank
 - Helping a disabled relative
 - Swimming gala or sponsored swims raising money □ Bike rides raising money.

90. Here is the complete list of things children told us they were doing to help other people: helping people who are struggling in some way, helping someone look for something they've lost, helping at a Scout group, serving on the School Council, helping friends with video games, run a race to raise money for charity or special causes like water aid, taking food and drink to people on the street (for example giving a homeless person a cake from a stall), helping teach other children to do tricks in a dance group, helping at swimming group, counting house points, tidying up, never littering the environment, helping make tea at a charity event, helping others through the 'classrooms in the cloud' scheme, raising money for poor people, asking a lonely child if they'd like to play, checking that a child sitting on their own in the playground is OK, helping neighbours carry their shopping into the house, giving money for the poor, helping friends, being a reading buddy to help children read, giving things to a charity store, sponsored walks, playing football for charity, giving someone directions, charity runs (and Colour Runs), going to visit someone who wants to see you even when you don't want to, helping at a care home, helping at a food bank, giving some Christmas money to help someone seriously ill, and "respecting friends and classmates".

91. As well as ways they currently helped people, two children wanted to tell us about ways they helped animals too, both generally helping animals and also doing things to help endangered animals in other countries.

92. We then asked some of our groups to tell us additional things they would like to be able to do with others to help other people. Here are the five things that each came from two or more children:

- Help people with MS
- Raise money for charity
- Help homeless people
- Give food for a food bank
- Generally help people that need your help

93. Other things that each came from just one child were: a sale at school to raise money to help people, helping people with mental health problems, a bake sale for charity, helping a very ill relative more, help my country, helping old people, help to get smoking outlawed, help to stop terrorist attacks, help other people to sky dive, help save lives, help people who have been slaves, visit a poor country to help build classrooms there, go to Africa to help provide food and water, encourage people to do sports instead of watching TV, a Macmillan bike ride, a run to raise money, help people with balancing problems to ride a bike, start a company in the future and give money from it to charity, help police and ambulance people to stay safe, help people who haven't had an education, help evacuated children, a sponsored rugby match, raise money through a motocross club, pass an unexpired car park ticket on

to someone else, help people who don't have much help, help my country in the Army, give out Christmas presents at the hospital.

94. Again, even though we had asked children to tell us of things they would like to be able to do to help other people, some told us of things they would like to be able to do

to help animals. These were to become an animal physiotherapist, to help injured and endangered animals such as rhinos, to act as a guard to endangered animals such as giraffes, and to become a pilot transporting sick or injured animals.

95. On raising money to help other people, one child said they would like to “do something I like for a long period of time to raise money”.

Will children vote in elections when they reach voting age?

96. Voting in elections and referendums when an adult is a key part of citizenship. We asked all 281 children in our groups whether they thought they would, or would not, usually vote in elections when they became 18. Children answered this question by putting tokens into ‘yes’ or ‘no’ money boxes.

97. 60% of the children answered that they thought they would usually vote in elections when they reached voting age. 37% of the children answered that they did not think they would usually vote in elections once they reached voting age. Six children abstained.

98. We hope it will be useful to the Committee to know that the intention to vote in the future stands at 60% of the 9 to 11 year olds asked. (This may perhaps be compared with the regular findings for those aged 18 – 24 in the Hansard Society’s Audit of Political Engagement).

99. We also hope that this information will be helpful in thinking about citizenship education, which the Committee’s staff have said is of particular interest to the Committee.

Do ceremonial events make children feel more proud to be British?

100. One of the questions asked in the Committee’s inquiry was whether ceremonial events make people more proud to be British. We asked all 281 children whether seeing or taking part in local or national ceremonial events made them feel more proud to be British or living in Britain. We explained that this was different to whether or not they enjoyed the events.

101. Just over half the children (53%) felt more proud of being British or living in Britain because of ceremonial events.

102. 45% said that ceremonial events do not make them more proud. Four children abstained on this question.

Children's involvement in decisions

103. The Committee is interested to know about how far children take part in making decisions outside their own families or the households where they live. We asked the children in some of our groups to give us examples of decisions they do have a say in outside their family or household, and then to tell us of any other sorts of decisions they thought they don't have a say in but thought they should have a say in.

104. Here is the full list of decisions children did have a say in outside their own families (not in any special order):

- Choosing your friends (this was the most frequent decision children made)
- Having a say on the school council
- Having your say by putting your opinions to your teacher
- Decisions when playing with friends
- Voting for Head Boy and Head Girl at school
- Voting for school House Captains
- Choosing sports Captains
- Choosing which motocross races your team takes part in
- Players' choice in football
- Choosing clubs to join
- Voting for members of the school council □ Having a say through Pupils 2 Parliament
- Having a say through a school suggestions box
- Choosing what to buy with your own money □ Designing cheerleader outfits for competitions □ Choosing your own shoes.

105. Here is the full list of decisions children did not have a say in, but thought they should have a say in outside their own families (again, not in any special order):

- Children's Mini-elections when the country votes
- Voting on who should become Prime Minister
- Having a say whenever someone tells you to do something

- Voting about school dinners
- Having a say in deciding how long you should play electronic games or on your phone
- In choosing your own sweets
- In choosing your own cheerleading class
- In choosing your own horse riding gear
- Choosing what to buy with your own money
- The decision on how much pocket money you should get
- Choosing where your motocross team races
- Taking part in more consultations
- What you want to do later on in your life
- Voting on who is right to look after the country
- Having a say in decisions about improving things at school
- Writing to the government to tell them our opinions and what as children we think they could do better.

What have children learned from their citizenship education at school?

106. The Committee’s staff asked us to find out from children how well they thought they had so far learned about citizenship at school. So we took seven key areas of citizenship education from the government’s list of things to learn in years 5 and 6 in primary school. (This is the Department for Education’s voluntary list of ‘objectives’ in Key Stage 2 Citizenship).

107. We went through those seven parts of citizenship with all of the children in our groups, and asked them to tell us whether they had learned each one well at school and now understood it.

108. Here is the list of the seven parts of citizenship we asked them about, with the ones children understood best at the top. In brackets after each one is the percentage of the 281 children who said they had learned and understood it:

People’s different religions, cultures and backgrounds (80% of children)

How to work out what is right and what is wrong in what the media and social media tell us (66% of children)

How laws are made (55% of children)

What democracy is (48% of children)

Current affairs – what is happening in our country and the wider world (43% of children)

How to research and find out about things that are happening (40% of children)

How Parliament and local Councils work (39% of children).

109. I am grateful to the Heads and staff of the eight schools for letting me carry out these discussions with their pupils, to the members of staff of each school who took notes of the pupils' votes and views, and above all to the pupils themselves who gave their fresh thinking, views and ideas for this report.

QED Foundation – written evidence (CCE0062)

1. QED Foundation is a national charity founded in 1990, which works to promote the social and economic advancement of disadvantaged communities, with a particular emphasis on the needs of ethnic minorities. Our main focus is on influencing social policy by working in partnership with the private, public and third sectors to address barriers to integration. However, we also deliver education, training and employment services direct to communities. First-hand experience of this work at grass-roots level informs our campaigning activities.

2. We are submitting evidence based on experience gained through supporting more than 30,000 people from ethnic minority backgrounds through education and training. We have helped 1,000 women in Pakistan to develop English language and life skills before coming to the UK.

We have chosen to answer questions 9, 10 and 11.

3. 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?

4. The last decade has seen some progress in ethnic minority representation in public life, with a record number of 51 MPs from non-white backgrounds sitting in the House of Commons in 2017. However, these successes cannot overshadow the fact that it is much more difficult for people from BME communities to achieve their potential and enjoy the same quality of life as their white counterparts. If you are from an ethnic minority background, you are more likely to be unemployed or have a low-paid job that is not commensurate with your skills and experience. Low incomes create a vicious circle of child

poverty and poor educational attainment. The absence of visible role models from similar ethnic backgrounds in many areas of public life further reduces young people's aspirations.

5. In August 2016 the Equality and Human Rights Commission report *Healing A Divided Britain* revealed that 82% of hate crimes in England and Wales are racially motivated. Many commentators have ascribed the sharp rise in offences following the Brexit vote to xenophobic political rhetoric, which was seen as legitimising racist attitudes. Prior to the referendum many Muslim communities already felt victims of a climate of suspicion caused by government anti-terrorism strategies. Such an environment promotes a 'siege mentality' in disadvantaged communities and discourages engagement in wider civic life.

6. While we believe inability to speak English is the main barrier to active citizenship faced by many isolated BME communities, lack of transport is another important factor. Many families do not have access to a car and bus and train fares can be prohibitively expensive. As women from some ethnic minority groups rarely leave their immediate neighbourhoods, they are more likely to feel at home engaging in activities in familiar settings.

7. Recommendations

8. Measures to promote the social integration of Muslim groups should focus on the benefits of increased diversity and active citizenship rather than linking community cohesion to anti-terrorism measures.

9. Political parties should crack down on the use of inflammatory and provocative language in public debate.

10. The media should take a more responsible and equitable attitude to reporting sensitive issues relating to faith and ethnicity including coverage of Far Right and Islamic extremism.

11. Opportunities to engage in active citizenship should be made available to people from minority faith and ethnic groups at trusted neighbourhood venues such as community centres and places of worship.

12. Public bodies should actively recruit for leadership roles such as school and college governors and board members from BME communities. These measures could include asking successful role models to talk about their experiences and encourage others to follow suit.

13. Efforts to promote active citizenship should focus on those BME communities that have shown least social and economic progress and face the highest levels of disadvantage including Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Somali groups.

14. 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?

15. The last 18 months have seen the publication of a glut of reports highlighting shocking levels of social segregation. Whilst people from similar backgrounds will always want to live in close proximity to each other, they should have opportunities to mix with people of different faiths and ethnicities in the workplace. We therefore see increased diversity at work as a crucial first step to encouraging active citizenship yet much work needs to be done before this is a reality. The *Healing A Divided Britain* report revealed that the previous five years had seen the number of long-term unemployed young people from ethnic minority backgrounds almost double while it fell slightly for their white counterparts.

16. Some individuals face many barriers to participation because they belong to overlapping communities of interest. For example, in July 2016 a House of Commons select committee report found that Muslim women, 65% of whom are economically inactive, suffer the greatest economic disadvantage of any group due to their ethnicity, faith and gender as well as a combination of all three factors. Underlying reasons include discrimination and Islamophobia, stereotyping, pressure from traditional families, lack of tailored advice around higher education choices and insufficient role models.

17. In addition many Muslim communities are concentrated in post-industrial areas with few employment opportunities. In 2016 a Policy Exchange report revealed that the former mill towns of Oldham, Bradford, Batley, Halifax, Blackburn, Keighley and Accrington - all with large south Asian populations - were among the ten worst integrated places in England and Wales.

18. Workplace diversity is further reduced by the tendency of many ethnic minority parents to steer gifted children towards a few favoured professions such as medicine and law whilst others follow their relatives into low-paid jobs with few opportunities for progression such as restaurants and taxi driving. However, QED Foundation has successfully used madrassahs as bases for delivering careers advice to Muslim students and their families. We have also worked to strengthen links between these Islamic educational institutions and mainstream schools.

19. QED Foundation initiatives aimed at increasing workplace diversity have included:

- job 'melas' or fairs, where young people have face-to-face access to a wide range of employers
- producing a series of programmes promoting non-traditional careers with Yorkshire Television and distributing them to community groups throughout the region
- working with the Home Office to promote 'fast-track' Civil Service careers to high flyers from south Asian backgrounds
- supporting directors and senior managers of 800 large private and public sector organisations to recruit, retain and reward BME employees

- helping 350 small and medium-sized companies in England and Wales to address underrepresentation of ethnic groups

20. While much attention has been paid to levels of ethnic segregation in schools, there has been less focus on further and higher education. Ethnic minority students are greatly underrepresented at Russell Group universities and the EHRC report found that 89% of apprenticeship starters were white.

21. Recommendations

22. Young people from BME backgrounds should be encouraged to aspire to careers in a wide range of industrial sectors and at all levels of seniority.

23. Trade associations and professional bodies should do more to encourage men and women of all ethnicities to consider more diverse employment opportunities.

24. Universities, colleges and other educational institutions should build links with disadvantaged communities and offer additional support and mentoring to BME students.

25. Economic regeneration initiatives, including the proposed Northern Powerhouse, should ensure that people of all faiths and ethnicities will be able to share in the future prosperity of the area.

26. 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?

27. English language training is the single most important factor in facilitating the successful integration of new arrivals to the UK. The ability to communicate with people from the host community is also critical in promoting citizenship and civic engagement among second-generation immigrants, particularly women.

28. However, ESOL classes are best delivered as part of a holistic package of support. For example, QED Foundation was funded by the EU to run courses for third-country national women in Yorkshire and London including English language training. Students also benefited from support with confidence building, communication skills, personal finance and accessing health, housing and education services. There were visits to employers to see the world of work at first hand and opportunities to explore British heritage and culture.

29. We have also trained English language teachers in Pakistan and run pre-departure courses to prepare over 1,000 women to join their husbands in the UK. This approach has since been adopted elsewhere in the EU and we have recently run a similar pilot programme for men in association with the University of Bristol.

30. Unfortunately the majority of interventions aimed at increasing English proficiency do not reach the people who are most in need of help. These people may be additionally

handicapped by poor literacy levels in their own language and many college courses assume a higher degree of competence than is the case. Furthermore, institutional settings may be intimidating and unsuitable venues for educating people who have little experience of venturing outside their immediate community and limited access to transport.

In contrast, voluntary and community-based organisations are often able to meet the needs of the most isolated individuals because they have spent many years developing a deep understanding of the neighbourhoods they serve and winning the trust and goodwill of their diverse populations. They are also best placed to build bridges with wider society by engaging volunteers to help immigrants develop language skills and familiarise themselves with their surroundings.

31. However, their ability to deliver these much-needed services is now severely compromised as they have been progressively starved of resources, particularly the withdrawal of the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals. This programme was replaced by the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund in all EU member states in 2015. Although the UK has been allocated €370m and the national programme states that the government welcomes the involvement of the voluntary and community sector, to date there have been no assurances that any financial support for its work will be forthcoming.

Meanwhile organisations that are well placed to support the naturalisation process are being forced to scale back their operations, with the resultant loss of expertise and experienced staff.

32. Recommendations

33. English language tuition is best provided by trusted organisations and community anchors working at grass-roots level such as female-led madrassahs. Sufficient funding should be made available to cover outreach activities and offer crèche facilities to meet the students' childcare needs. Training should also be available at times that enable women to combine learning with family and home responsibilities. If necessary, the delivery of culturally appropriate tuition might entail single-sex classes.

34. In addition to ESOL classes, new arrivals need a wider range of support such as confidence building and an introduction to life in Britain.

35. Pre-departure training in English and life skills should be available to migrants before departure to the UK.

36. ESOL provision should be extended to settled ethnic minority communities as well as new arrivals.

37. The government should make a firm commitment to set aside a proportion of the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund to support voluntary and community sector initiatives helping newcomers to settle in to life in the UK, including English classes.

5 September 2017

Queen's Park Community Council – written evidence (CCE0100)

Queen's Park Community Council (QPCC) is London's first and only parish council, established in 2014. It is co-extensive with the Queen's Park ward of Westminster City Council, with a population of 13,769 (2015). The ward has the highest number of households (1,632) with dependent children, and the highest number of Black / African / Caribbean / Black British residents, in Westminster. The Index of Multiple Deprivation (2010) places 33 per cent of the ward in the top 5 per cent most deprived in England. In terms of its diversity, the ward is ranked in the top 0.8% of England. In the City Survey (2012), 30 per cent agreed that they could influence decisions affecting the local area and 22 per cent wanted to be more involved in decisions taken at borough level.⁷¹⁶

We welcome the establishment of the Select Committee and the opportunity to contribute to its work. Our comments below address mainly your second and seventh questions, with reference also to questions 9 and 10. Our experience reflects the response of citizens when they are given genuine opportunities to participate in and contribute to local governance. The logic is that more meaningful citizenship – through local representation around local issues – generates higher levels of civic engagement.

We wish to stress the role of community development in the history of QPCC. Several years of high quality, sustained community development carried out by Paddington Development Trust succeeded in engaging residents, leading to a successful campaign to establish their own local council, thereby taking responsibility for addressing a number of local issues. In diverse urban areas particularly, it is hard to see how such *formal empowerment* can be achieved without sustained investment in community development.

With reference to the relationship between citizenship and civic engagement on the one hand and social cohesion and integration on the other; we note a tendency towards segregated schooling in the Queen's Park area, with many local parents apparently opting for non-local schools because of the demographics. This seems to suggest that integration is not the preferred option for many native citizens. While many residents lead by example in promoting integration and active civic engagement, their efforts need to be reinforced by authorities and employers.

We identify three particular components of civic engagement in Queen's Park, as follows:

The importance of scale – Queen's Park is an appropriate scale (boundary approximately 2 miles round) to make democracy work as a cultural characteristic, which people can be proud of and to which they feel they can contribute unproblematically. Within wider local government, ward boundaries are too weak functionally and QPCC can be seen as a reaction against that.

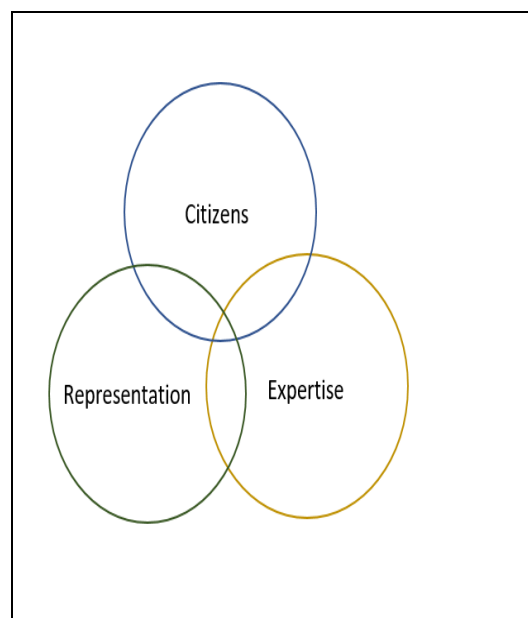
⁷¹⁶ Sources for these data can be provided on request.

Information and awareness – people will not readily engage if they do not understand the different levels and responsibilities of governance, or if they feel their views are not represented. As it is, too many people emerge from the UK education system with scant understanding of how local government works or what purposes it serves. Further, in Queen's Park some of our population have come from parts of the world with weak traditions of democratic involvement.

From our point of view, it is critical to involve local people as much as possible in the preparation and dissemination of information about what the council does and has done. At all levels of the process, wide representation at decision making level is key.

Addressing democratic detachment. In the global context, democracy is in turmoil. Detachment from democratic processes is a huge barrier to civic engagement, and low levels of civic engagement jeopardise democracy. In Queen's Park, we sense that it is possible to promote *participative democracy as an immersive culture* – by this we mean that we want it to become a resilient, uncontested feature of day-to-day life in families, schools, workplaces, community groups, and voluntary and statutory organisations.

To this end we are exploring the effects of changing the relations between the classic governance roles of 'citizen', 'representation' and 'expertise'. Thus for example, by involving more residents on working groups which feed directly into Council, or in augmenting the work of paid staff through their own expertise, we increase the amount that gets done and can make the effects of local governance more apparent to more people, thus stimulating a virtuous spiral of civic engagement. This would be represented by larger overlaps between the circles in the diagram.



Concluding remarks

Increased levels of civic engagement will follow from closer association with democratic processes and a more pervasive democratic culture. Both the processes and the culture can be made more meaningful through local governance driven by community development, as we believe is shown by the experience of QPCC. The challenge now is, how to ensure that the relation between local government and residents feels like part of a natural continuum, not seen as something detached or in conflict?

7 September 2017

Dr Kingsley Purdham, University of Manchester – written evidence (CCE0071)

Deal Or No Deal? The Rights, Responsibilities and Returns of the Citizen and the State

Introduction

Research that colleagues and I have conducted including on behalf of the Electoral Commission, local authorities and the Economic and Social Research Council directly addresses a number of issues under consideration by the Select Committee on Citizenship and Citizen Engagement.

This submission is a summary of published and ongoing research into: young peoples civic engagement, religious identities and rights claims, Muslim political participation, citizen involvement in governance and the responsiveness of the democratic political system. The full references to the research are given below.

There are three key themes: 1. Competing rights claims and the recognition of different aspects of identity including British values; 2. An unresponsive political system – deal or no deal; 3. The citizen and state information gap.

The views expressed here are those of Dr. K. Purdam.

Research Evidence Summary

(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? (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?

Britishness – Research with religious groups in the UK suggests that the sense of citizenship in terms of values and attitudes including *Britishness* is variously interpreted. Overall the policy emphasizes of *citizenship, community cohesion, multiculturalism, equal opportunities* and *freedom of speech* were seen as more helpful than *Britishness* in supporting religious groups participation in society. The research found that Sikh, Muslim and Jewish organizations were more likely than Christian respondents to view the policy emphasis on *Britishness* as helpful. This is a challenge to the popular representations of the attitudes of religious groups including in the media.

Competing Identity Rights Claims – This research suggests that despite the multidimensional nature of identity, aspects of identity are increasingly in competition in terms of legal protection in the UK. As a result, there are concerns about a developing **legal hierarchy of identity characteristics** including in relation to religion and sexual orientation. There is a heightened sense of equality rights claims amongst, and between, different populations and this includes concerns and claims that are not actually reflected in the present legal framework. This may reflect a detachment from the changes in the law and the rights of different religious groups, and in the short term it may be contributing to increased tensions. It is clear that identity based rights claims need to be in the context of the acceptance of the equalities legislation.

Civic Engagement and Persistent Poverty - A further aspect of the issue of civic engagement is the persistent poverty many people in the UK face. An estimated 13.5 million people live in relative poverty (60% of the median income) and 19 million people do not have an adequate standard of living according to the Minimum Income Standard. Moreover these may be underestimates given the impact of the poverty penalty and the additional costs people with limited financial resources can face for essential goods and services. This means that financial survival can take precedence over civic engagement and greater involvement in governance and decision-making. Until the levels of poverty are fully understood and effective policies introduced to reduce them the levels of civic engagement are unlikely to increase in the UK.

Key references: Purdam, K., Royston, S. and Whitham, G. Measuring the “Poverty Penalty” in the UK. (2017) *Significance*. 14, 4, p. 34-37; Purdam, K. (2017) A Travel Map of Life Expectancy. *Environment and Planning A*, 49, Issue 7, pp 1453-1457; Purdam, K., Weller, P., Contractor, S. and Ghanea, N. (2017) Religious Organizations and the Impact of Human Rights and Equality. *Politics, Ideology and Religion*. 18, 1, pp 73-88; Garratt, E., Chandola, T., Purdam, K. and Wood, S. (2016) Income and Social Rank Influence UK Children’s Behavioral Problems: A Longitudinal Analysis. *Child Development*. doi:10.1111/cdev.12649; Purdam, K., Garratt, E. and Esmail, A. (2015) Hungry in the UK? Hungry? Food Insecurity, Social Stigma and Embarrassment in the UK. *Sociology*, 50(6), pp.1072–1088.

(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?

Belonging and Engagement - Research I co-led suggests that rather than a primary focus on ‘Britishness’ or ‘British values’ a focus on the rights and responsibilities of citizenship underpinned by commitment to *community cohesion, multiculturalism, equal opportunities and freedom of speech* could be effective.

An aspect of this relates to the importance of citizens having a sense of belonging including being part of the decision-making that can affect their local area. Many communities feel

disempowered, let down by the political system, misled by the claimed value of public consultation and ignored by politicians. For example, our research suggests that during the last two general elections only around 50% of electoral candidates replied to enquiries from the electorate. Less than a third of responses directly answered the question posed. Even so there is an interest amongst citizens in being part of the decision making in their local area as part of governance partnerships - if real power is devolved. This is the **deal or no deal** approach - where rights, responsibilities and returns equally apply to the citizen, politicians and the state.

Key references: Purdam, K., Weller, P., Contractor, S. and Ghanea, N. (2017) Religious Organizations and the Impact of Human Rights and Equality Laws. *Politics, Ideology and Religion*. 18, 1 pp 73-88; Purdam, K. and Crisp, R. (2010) Measuring the Impact of Community Engagement on Policy Making. *Journal of Civil Society*. 5, 2. pp 169-186; Richardson, L., Purdam, K., Cotterill, S., Rees, J., Squires, G. and Askew, R. (2014) Responsible Citizens and Accountable Service Providers? *Environment and Planning A*. 46, 7 pp 1716 – 1731; Southern, R. and Purdam, K. (2016) The Changing Representation Interface: Democracy and Direct Contact with Politicians. *Journal of Civil Society*. 12, Issue 1 pp 101-120.

(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? (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?

Decision Making and Responsibility - This research examined the role citizens can take in local decision-making including through the use of community contracts working alongside local politicians and council officers. The research highlighted how citizens can feel a greater sense of being part of a community by being involved in the decision-making. A key aspect of this was the mutual commitment and shared responsibilities between citizens and policy makers. However the involvement of citizens must be directly linked to the policymaking process and decision making in order to ensure public engagement. Again this is an example of the **deal or no deal** approach and has implications for both the citizen and the state.

Helping and Reciprocity – This research examined the extent to which citizens help other people in their local area and the role reciprocity has in pro-social behavior. Helping other people is a key component of civic society. The research found that those people who reported helping other people were less likely to expect help in return. The local context of helping was also shown to be important. People who live in an area where they perceive

other people help each other are less likely to expect help in return for helping. However younger people compared to older people were found to be more likely to expect help in return for helping. This suggests the developing role of conditional helping in local communities. This may be a long-term issue for community cohesion. There is again a direct link here to **deal or no deal** approach to civic engagement and citizenship.

The Language of Governance and the Recognition of Citizens - There is a disjunction between the language of governance and everyday life. For citizens and the state the language of governance needs to evolve. For example, if paying tax is a 'contribution to society' then it should be named as such. If helping a neighbor is contributing to well-being then it should be recognised and measured as having a value. Many of the valuable everyday voluntary activities of citizens often go unmeasured in official statistics. This is part of the public information gap or what can be termed the **citizen and state information gap**.

Key references: Purdam, K. and Tranmer, M. (2014) Expectations of Being Helped in Return for Helping. *Population, Space and Place*. 21 pp 66-81; Purdam, K. and Tranmer, M. (2012) Help in Context: A Multilevel, Multivariate Analysis of the European Social Survey. *European Societies*. 14, Issue 3, pp 393-415; Richardson, L., Purdam, K., Cotterill, S., Rees, J., Squires, G. and Askew, R. (2014) Responsible Citizens and Accountable Service Providers? *Environment and Planning A*. 46, 7 pp 1716 – 1731.

(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?

Diversity, Civic Engagement and a Sense of Place – This research highlighted the challenges people can feel about increasing levels of diversity and change more generally. For example, most people over estimate the level of ethnic and religious diversity in the area where they live. This is part of a wider problem of how informed people are about population change. This extends to other issues such as the levels of crime and anti-social behavior in their area. This is another part of the **citizen and state information gap**. Knowledge about your local area and the UK population as a whole should be part of the responsibilities of citizenship. But it also applies to the state including politicians who should ensure they have evidence-based knowledge about the circumstances, experiences and attitudes of citizens.

Research with Muslim local elected councilors highlighted their diverse and multiple identities including having critical views towards some mosque leaders. Their political concerns were dominated by the politics of everyday life such as local planning issues and refuse collection. In many ways Muslim councilors were typical of local politicians in the UK in terms of predominantly being older men. However there was also evidence of the

electorate contacting Muslim councilors from outside their ward in order to seek out councilors who had an identity who they felt more closely matched their own. The essentialising of identity can create barriers. It would be of value to follow up this research and examine if, and how, the councilors political attitudes and experiences have changed.

Understanding Change - A key issue in relation to civic engagement is how people understand and respond to change. For example, in relation to cultural identities people can often be searching for, and feel more comfortable in, an authenticity that never truly existed or which was partial and transitory. These ‘imagined authenticities’ can become a barrier to social change and integration. This can be addressed through a focus on a better understanding of identities and global values. This is again linked to the **citizen and state information gap** described above.

Key references: Purdam, K. (2000) The Political Identities of Muslim Local Councilors, *Local Government Studies*, 26 No 1, Spring 2000 pp 47-64; Purdam, K. (2001) Democracy in Practice, *Politics*, 21, No 3 September, pp 147-157; Weller, P., Purdam, K., Contractor, S. and Ghanea, N. (2013) Religion or Belief and Equality. Britain in Global Contexts. London, Bloomsbury; Purdam, K., Weller, P., Contractor, S. and Ghanea, N. (2017) Religious Organizations and the Impact of Human Rights and Equality. *Politics, Ideology and Religion*. 18, 1, pp 73-88; Simpson, L., Purdam, K., Gavalas, V. and Tajar, A. (2009) Jobs deficits, neighbourhood effects and ethnic penalties - explaining labour market inequalities amongst ethnic minorities. *Environment and Planning A*. 42, 4. pp 946-963; Norman, P., Purdam, K. and Tajar, A. (2007) Representation and Local Democracy, *Political Geography*, 26, Issue 1, Jan pp 57-77; Purdam, K., Fieldhouse, E., Kalra, V. and Russell, A. (2002) Voter engagement amongst ethnic minority communities in the UK, London, Electoral Commission; Russell, A., Fieldhouse, E., Purdam, K. and Kalra, V. (2002) Voter engagement amongst young people in the UK. London, Electoral Commission.

6 September 2017

Owais Rajput – written evidence (CCE0118)

My major question and key point is that what does the future hold for British Muslims and I want to start from one of the largest Diaspora community, British citizens of Kashmiri heritage living on the UK land **(Three Million and in most cases they are forth & fifth generation born & brought up in UK)**, and at present they are nowhere in British political system. In past and in present they not included in UK Censuses. **Same applies to other heritage background Diaspora community with Muslim faith living on UK land.** Kashmiris community both living in UK and abroad whereby its evidently clear that none of their key identities is unknown to the current world, yet the division between themselves (Kashmiris community) is undeniable gapping in high rate?

My submission also reflection of Benedict Anderson Revised Edition 2006 (Imagined communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism) pg xi states that it is not only the world that has changed its face over the past twelve years. The study of nationalism too has been startlingly transformed - in the method, scale, sophistication, and sheer quantity.

As is the case of the world today, both national and international communities, they are undergoing a period of substantial change and economic pressures. Despite the fact that such a climate can generate feelings of uncertainty and concern amongst diverse communities, it can also present opportunities for development and innovation. However, there are many arguments as well as researcher subjective belief that immigration often equals to inadequate support, sympathy or even rejection. Despite the various equality and diversity acts, the primary source of problems that have stressed some communities have still not been addressed.

Therefore, an extensive theoretical and qualitative approach with some quantitative research is needed to look at three major areas.

1. A general introduction to the socio-political issues of State of Jammu & Kashmir in the 19th and 20th centuries and how this has affected Kashmiris living in the UK.
2. Issues of identity (religion, language, culture, heritage) within Kashmiris community living in the UK
3. Cultural perceptions and the differences between young and older Kashmiris living in the UK
4. Physical, mental health and Dementia limitations in British Kashmiri community living in the UK.

Therefore, conclusively, this research will aim at searching what books / articles have been published on UK Kashmiri Muslims

What do these books / journals tell us about their true culture, religion, language and their origin with interest to focus on the missing information if any?

More important, looking into the possibility of engaging in research with local communities through interview and questionnaires with hope to capture the true-life experience of Kashmiris living in the UK

RESEARCH AIMS:

A decade ago, UNESCO reported that 450 million people of the world's population develop a physical or mental limitation at some time in their life cycle (UNESCO Courier, 1981:8). In 2000, these number was expected to rise to 600 million (Mittler, 1990: 54) A significant number of these people are children who, because of hunger, malnutrition, or lack of adequate health care, are marked for life with a disabling condition. Surprising, Kashmiris communities living in the UK form a significant segment towards this statistic; researcher's question is can this be controlled if not solved if the true identity of Kashmiris community living not only in the UK but across the globe is made known to the world today?

Therefore, I believe that it is imperative to investigate the identity of Kashmiris and barriers such as Physical Barriers, Negative Attitudes, Cultural issues and believes that affect or hinder a positive progression with the Kashmiris living in the UK.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

This research will look at the identity, social, economic, political and religious makeup of British citizens of Kashmiri heritage and how it has been kept invisible and excluded by the British State and society (deliberately or unintentionally). The research looks deeper into Kashmiri identity and compatibility with British society, does it present problems? Kashmiris socio-economic position in UK such as education, employment / lack of employment, provision / facilities, organisations among UK Kashmiris (religious and social), elements of radicalisation within UK Kashmiris and lack of UK Kashmiris de-radicalisation model in the UK Government such as Channel referrals. This research looks into Kashmiri culture (Biradiri, language, and religion). Different theories of migrations such as (a) push-pull (b) chain migration to understand why Kashmiris migrated to the UK from 1900 to 1980s and Demographics of Kashmiris in the UK. This research also looks into the formation of a new identity of Kashmiris as Pakistani or Muslim and their inability to assert their Kashmiri identity, and the role played by social analysts. Generational differences, the role of the media within migrant communities and case studies of Kashmiris to understand Problems and challenges of UK Kashmiris.

British citizens of Kashmiri heritage are experiencing social exclusion and economic disadvantage in the UK, but that the trouble of distinguishing Kashmiris has implied that their needs frequently ignored. In most authority reviews like the census 2011, it is believed that British citizens of Kashmiri heritage largely report their ethnic group as Pakistani. The reasons most often cited for identifying Kashmiris as distinct from Pakistanis are:

1. Identity: although Kashmiris may self-identify as Pakistani, this may not be their strongest or preferred identity. Linked with the desire of some Kashmiris for a separate Kashmiri State.
2. Resource allocation / service delivery: local authorities and other organisations may not distribute resources evenly between different parts of the self-reported Pakistani population. Organisations may make assumptions about the needs of B.K. population, for example, that Urdu is the only language required for those with low English language proficiency.
3. Monitoring inequalities: Kashmiris are disadvantaged than other Pakistanis as a result of their rural background. Their experiences may be 'masked' by those of other Pakistanis when they combined in the same ethnic grouping.
4. Kashmiris are likely to suffer racial discrimination and disadvantage in the UK. Not fully recognising this group in the census makes it difficult for decisionmakers to measure and respond to specific aspects of socio-economic and cultural disadvantage (UK census, 2011).

Division for Education and Skills (DFES) National information "the confirmation of minority ethnic students" demonstrates that Kashmiris would prefer not to distinguish as Pakistanis; In one of the tables, it appears, almost 9,000 Kashmiri Pakistanis, 10,000 Mirpuri Pakistanis, and 52,000 different Pakistanis. This demonstrates Kashmiris need their personality yet for reasons unknown open administrations Chiefs keep on identifying Kashmiris as Pakistanis. This opposed to the prevalent view,

Kashmiris being content with Pakistani or Muslim character and the interest for Kashmiri incorporation inside the British State and society, is because of the political circumstance in South Asia is not valid. Taking a gander at the hardship, inner city destitution ghettos, mobs of Bradford, Leeds and numerous other inward city regions where Kashmiri people group can be found, the contextual investigation recommends that the quest for personality be a British issue. This further confirmed in that amid the 2001 enumeration, figures more than 20,000 individuals ticked other and self-affirmed as Kashmiri. (Office for National Statistics 2006) Finally, the study has found that Pakistani instruction achievement likely is in standard with Indians i.e. above national normal yet when blended with Kashmiris we get the other picture, which implies that of all Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) bunches Kashmiri instruction underachievement is the most noteworthy. This also suggests a genuine conversation starter for open administrations suppliers to perceive the issue no matter how to look at it and attempt to address it.

According to *Punch* (pg 2005:46), good research questions is *Clear, Specific, Answerable, Interconnected, Substantively relevant*.

Therefore, for the sake of this research my questions will be more influenced by Benedict Anderson "Imagined Communities" whereby I will be looking into the following points whereby I will be closely working with the community for better understanding.

Researcher will be investigating:

1. What is the true identity of Kashmiris nationalities living in the UK?
2. What is the meaning of "Biradari" about Kashmiris community living in the UK and how does family relations influence it?
3. Do we have a common language within Kashmiri community or is it a diverse language and its origin; also does the Kashmiris living in the UK retain the originality of their language or has it changed and what caused the changes?
4. How does the original cultural influence modern culture within the Kashmiris living in the UK and does the young generation buy in the old cultural norms or influenced by super western changing culture?
5. Is there any room for social change and how will it affect the relationship between the elder and younger Kashmiris living in the UK?

METHODOLOGY:

With the use of articles, books and written journals I will do a very detailed Literature Review to identify missing information regarding the identity of the Kashmiris living in the UK.

The Equalities Bill (2010) is one such piece of legislation that imposes a duty to achieve fairer cultures within organisations. People from specific marginalised groups, such as within disability studies (where in our case we will be applying this into Kashmiris immigrants), have proposed a social solution to reducing discrimination through an environmental approach that seeks to remove the barriers to equity by increasing fairer access and greater opportunity (Swain *et al* 2003). Holbeche (2001) argues that commitment to the organisation's ethical codes and values can enhance personal development if the learning process is also understood and shared by people across the organisation. Indeed, from the perspective of the new Bill, when people across the nation understand the value added to it by a commitment to equality, strategies for change can be seen as levers towards improving socialising and integrating. This means that compliance with legislation is not considered to be an additional pressure rather it is a minimum standard in addressing unfairness, and enhancing human wellbeing which requires a more widespread and deliberate intervention.

To capture the true identity of the Kashmiris living in the UK through literature review, Researcher will theoretically investigate more into:

ISLAM IN THE UK:

In July 2006 Sheffield City Council and partners commissioned a report by Meridian Pure of Warrington; it found that “The Yemeni community was the first Arab community who were settled in the UK”. The report also traced the history of the Yemeni community in Britain back to 1885 (Allen; Okoro; Rosenfeld, 2001). However, the migration of Muslims to the UK after the Second World War is of great importance to the current demography of Britain because for economic reasons, initially as part of the post-war reconstruction of Britain. The UK Muslim community has grown from around 20,000 in 1950 to 2.7 million, which is 4.8% of the whole UK population (UK Census, 2011) this pattern of migration was to be the foundation of the present day British Kashmiri community.

BRITISH CITIZENS OF KASHMIRIS HERITAGE ETHNOGRAPHY

'British citizens of Kashmiri heritage' are the people who emigrated from State of Jammu & Kashmir, or they have genealogical origination there. The bigger part is from the Pakistani-coordinated Kashmir. By intricacy, 'Dr. Majid Siraj' a first expert from the Indian-controlled Kashmir, now settled in Srinagar, after his retirement from Leeds UK, observes that 'it was exceptional for normal specialist's people to get Passports or IDs in Indian-held Kashmir'.

KASHMIRIS IN BRITAIN:

England has gotten feedback as being in charge of the Kashmiri debate since it ruined the issue in 1947. At the point when Douglas Hurd, as a Foreign Secretary in 1995 requested that India consider human rights in Kashmir, India reacted that Britain had not felt it 'important to learn the desires of the settlements to which it exchanged force, including India, itself-and it had countenanced proceeded with brutality in Ireland as opposed to allowing the separation of the UK.'

BRITISH CITIZENS OF KASHMIRI HERITAGE COMMUNITY CURRENT POSITION:

It is widely accepted that "HARD TO REACH" communities are defined by socio-economic and political marginalisation, due to ethnic, cultural, religious and class differences (Jones; Newburn, 2000). This has led to feelings of alienation and "victim - hood" on the part of the British-Kashmiri community (B.K.), (*Abbas, 2007*). In their view, they are non-stakeholders in today's secular British system (*Habibullah, 2009*). This is compounded by the wider Islamophobia faced by all Muslim communities and the on-going human-rights abuses and occupation suffered by their counterparts in the sub-continent (Kaul; Kachru, 1998).

RELIGION AND LANGUAGE:

It is relevant to point out that there is not one Islamic category, but many 'Islamic sects' (Knott; Khokher, 1993). This perhaps explains why there are trends within Islam that have an ambiguous relationship to violence and offer justifications for its use or even extol it (Strawson, 2008). Strawson observed that "There is in fact an intense conflict within Islamic discourse over the issue, which since the late nineteenth century has been connected to the

position of Muslims in a world that has been perceived to be dominated by colonialism and since 1945 increasingly by the West” (Strawson, 2008; Ter Haar, 2008).

CONCLUSION:

Lot of Diaspora communities living on UK land are still classified as hidden or hard to reach communities. Policymakers & decisionmakers have very little or no insight of Diaspora communities living on UK land. I focused on British citizens of Kashmiri heritage living on UK land to just make it easy and understandable. If we really want to talk about ‘Social Integration’ then we should include all Diaspora communities living on UK land including British Kashmiris in Dialogue process. Political Parties and civil society really needs to understand a lot about Diaspora communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND FURTHER PLAN OF ACTIONS:

I submitted case study of British citizens of Kashmiri heritage, firstly migrated in 1890 in UK and now in mostly cases they are 4th and 5th generations born & bred in UK). Civil society really needs to do more research studies work in all Diaspora communities living on UK land to get insight of day to day issues and to understand factors of gap between policymakers and the Diaspora communities.

Notes:

Key features:

1. What features of nationalism do other countries have? I am thinking of the US and India, particularly who seem to be very pro-nationalists. Scotland might also be worth looking at.
2. Are people proud to be British? If so, why.
3. What is the relationship between the State and its citizens. I see a scope for bringing in the proposed Bill of Rights and Responsibilities.
4. Youth Brief – we lowered the voting age in the Scottish Independence vote of 2014. But not, in the EU referendum. Why and how has this affected the outcome of both.
5. Voting rights and responsibilities. For example, you will be aware the ECJ required the UK to give prisoners the right to vote, which, rightly was ignored by the Gov. How can the State encourage people to participate?
6. Education brief – (see para. 5 particularly). Should citizenship and its traits be a compulsory part of the education system?
7. Voluntary citizenships. My daughter last month did the National Citizenship Service and the Duke of Edinburgh awards, both on which I have asked her write about, as part of our “facts to support our opinions”. Can I ask we all look amongst our own relatives and contacts for this?

Owais Rajput – written evidence (CCE0118)

8. BAME/Muslims feeling left behind. I would use the word “ignored”. Thoughts?
9. Social Cohesion – undercover thoughts on the Burka ban, which rightly, has been rejected by the Gov. But also, the recent riots against the state and incitement of protests capitalism, nuclear power, trident, austerity etc. what is fuelling this rise?
10. How important is it citizens are proficient in the English language?
11. Role models who promote a positive vision of Britishness. This one will be interesting and an opportunity to approach and deal directly with such peoples.

Quick intro’s –

Ash Zaman is the Deputy Chairman of the Conservative Muslim Forum. Owais was formerly a member of UKip who left in protest against UKip’s position to ban the Burka which was widely covered on the msm, including Sky News.

Brother Owais, as discussed yesterday, I attach the brief from the Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement, which is looking for written submissions on citizenship in modern Britain and looks at a wide spectrum of the population.

I also attach some preliminary bullet points to consider – this is not meant to be an exhaustive list but a preliminary starting point. You may want to concentrate on one particular part or parts, please let me know.

This is an opportunity to talk put across the point, we as Muslim are an integral part of British society and make up what is meant by ‘British values’. As a Muslim and former PC for Ukip, who left in protest against of their stance on banning the Burka, it will be interesting to hear your views on the point of ‘social integration’.

I think the brief is something the CMF, as the official affiliate Muslim group of the Conservative Party can add real value.

8 September 2017

Supplementary Evidence from Zanib Rasool MBE – (CCE0267)

The organisation I work for [Rotherham United Community Sports Trust] supports young people who do not attend school; many are excluded. We need to look at work with young people outside school in youth settings. Sadly many of those giving the most cause for concern are often not in schools.

As an organisation we are training up our sport coaches in youth work so they can engage with young people and fill in some of the gaps left by loss of youth service posts and closure of open access sessions for young people and detach youth work, as there is no one there to listen to young people on the margins.

Work with parents is vital as you learn from your parents rights and responsibilities, acceptable behaviour and many of our children across all communities don't have those parents. A good example of this is with schools who are teaching children about healthy eating and having healthy school dinners and parents then undoing that work by giving them take-aways almost every night. I learned social responsibility and duty from my parents and working hard, they were Commonwealth immigrant who came here in the early 1960s.

Even though I am not a sports person myself I have found it is a good tool to engage young people. Over 12 months we have organised 23 football tournaments bringing teams across Rotherham and regionally together through our Kicks programme, an evening diversionary programme to reduce ASB. (Similar programmes are delivered across England by community football programmes like ours under the umbrella of English Football League Trust.) Football is a global game developed in England and we can engage men quickly through football even if they don't speak a word of English, and we use sport as a hook to progress them on to other things like ESOL.

We run a grassroots football club called United 4 Communities with players from all backgrounds playing in a Sunday league, young players from Dinnington playing with young people of Asian backgrounds living in the town centre, they know they have to play as a team to win and that is the only reason that stops them from fighting each other. Through sports we engage them in education, volunteering and apprenticeships.

The Muslim women we are working with play netball every Saturday evening and have played two competitions with a women's netball team from Barnsley, and would not have otherwise met. We are now looking at putting them in regional competitions, some wear traditional clothes and the hijab, the clothes they wear are not important, it's the participation and integration. Sport is a great tool to integrate all sectors of community.

I am just about to start my doctoral research in ESOL and I am finding there is a long waiting list for people wanting to learn English and that the English language learning provision is not adequately resourced. We must not also forget there are many people in white working class communities who cannot read and write.

Restless Development – written evidence (CCE0198)

We find poverty is a big divide and fragments communities as often people in white working class mining areas in Rotherham presume all the resources are going to minority community, and they feel they have been forgotten and often get drawn in to racist ideology as they don't have any direct contact with other people so rely on the media.

The faith community is also doing some great work, a church near me has been running a mother and toddler group every Thursday for 30 years, all run by volunteers, it is attended by mum and toddlers from all background including my own nephew and that is the age we need to start. One of the Islamic centres in Rotherham hosted a Macmillan coffee morning and invited the care home residents next door to attend, it was lovely to see young people and the Imams serving tea and samosas.

My colleagues are currently working in another Mosque in Rotherham delivering health sessions to children and young people alongside their Quranic classes. They have an hour of their usual lessons and then an hour with our health team. The Mosques are slowly starting to follow the lead of the churches.

Muslim women especially are playing a very active role in Rotherham, my mentor who set up the first Asian women's organisation in Rotherham in early 1980s and now in her 70s is still running the centre accessed by many women from new arriving communities wanting to learn English. I think sometime in policy we are represented as passive and not engaged civically, and in reality in many cases it is the opposite.

We need to invest more in ESOL provision as there is high demand for it. More schools need to open their doors to parents learning on same site as their children so you create a family culture of learning.

We need to relook at the cuts in youth provision as youth workers did some great work around personal relationships, racism, the holocaust; the list is endless and there is only so much schools can do.

Sport funders perhaps also need to look at not only increasing participation in sport and making people healthier but also focus on community cohesion through sport and linking people together.

Restless Development – written evidence (CCE0198)

Introduction

Restless Development is a global agency that works with young people to demand and deliver a just and sustainable world for all. It is run out of strategic hubs in ten countries across Africa, Asia and in the UK and USA, with a wider network of partners across the world. Reaching over 500,000 young people a week, one of its four key goals is to ensure young people have a voice so that they are able to drive change as active citizens. The organisation supports young people to actively engage influence and inform decision-

making processes, deliver programmes and shape their own communities. Ensuring that young people are active citizens and that their voice counts means that they can bring about transformational change for whole societies.

In the UK, Restless Development supports a diverse network of more than 1000 young people to volunteer, campaign and become active global citizens. Examples of its work include the coordination of Youth Stop AIDS; a youth-led movement and campaign network that acts to ensure governments, global institutions and corporations are committed to ending AIDS by 2030. It is also a member of the DFID funded International Citizen Service (ICS) consortium, having supported over 3000 young people to contribute to development impact across Africa and Asia, but also take action after placement to becoming life-long active, global citizens.

Summary

- The nature of citizenship for young people is changing - they are participating in communities in different ways than previous generations.
- British citizenship education should be placed within a global citizenship framework, to reflect the increasingly diverse societies, both online and offline, that young people inhabit.
- Young people need to be provided with the necessary skills, training, opportunities and networks in order to develop as active citizens. This should be provided through structured engagements - which will ensure people are independent active citizens in the future.
- Restless Development supports lowering the voting age to 16 in the UK, based upon experience that if young people are properly supported to take part in active citizenship activities for the first time, they are far more likely to do it again independently.
- If young people are given a voice in the decisions that affect them, they can be active citizens which will allow them to lead transformational change in communities.

What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

1.1 According to traditional citizenship indicators⁷¹⁷, youth civic participation has decreased over the 21st century. In the UK fewer young people vote in elections, or formally join

⁷¹⁷ [“The New Global Citizen: Harnessing Youth Leadership to Reshape Civil Society”](#) (Rhize, September 2016).

political parties, as compared to their older counterparts - a trend that has persisted and widened over time. These findings have been associated with a rise in young people's scepticism towards established institutions and political processes⁷¹⁸. However, our experience shows that youth *are* participating in civic spaces, and taking action in their communities - just in different ways to previous youth generations. We therefore recommend that discussions associated with 'civic engagement' and 'citizenship' are broadened to support emerging and exciting forms of youth civic participation in the UK today.

1.2 At Restless Development, we support hundreds of diverse young people each year to take action during the 'Action at Home' phase of their ICS placement. During this 6-month phase, young people are supported and encouraged to take action in their local communities on issues chosen by them. We have found that, when given the freedom and support to take action on issues closest to them, young people today will endeavour to take on a wide range of community activities. These activities are not always captured in traditional models of citizenship. For example, many volunteers use technology to raise awareness of local and global issues, through platforms such as blogging, podcasts, videos, and using social media to create change. Other volunteers attend protests, organise events at their universities, and lobby MPs to act on issues that they have experienced first-hand whilst volunteering overseas. The themes volunteers take action on vary widely, and many stay connected to the experiences and relationships they developed overseas when taking action.

1.3 Although young people may be perceived as less visibly organised in their neighbourhood around traditional community centres, such as religious institutions and youth centres, our experience shows that young people are still driven to build new communities and take civic action through harnessing features of their identity and interests, such as LGBT+ issues, climate change, economic inequality, and more. During our trainings, we encourage volunteers to reflect on their personal stories and their values to help them identify opportunities and networks to take action within, based on their shared identities with other young people.

1.4 As the above example shows, young people are moving away from the 'dutiful' approach to citizenship, which is motivated by community belonging and affiliation to existing institutions. Youth today are leading the growth of social movements, which operates when individuals collaborate in looser networks, centred on community action and shared values.

⁷¹⁸ ["Most young lack interest in politics - official survey"](#) (BBC, February 2014)

Civic engagement today is less focused on loyalty to the state and nation, and is increasingly motivated by personal identity and experience, asserting individual rights, and connecting with other young people, both within and across national borders. Through these new interactions, young people are forging new global identities whilst based in Britain.

1.5 An example of a youth-led movement is [Youth Stop AIDS](#), one of Restless Development's leading campaign networks. Established for 13 years, the youth-led movement speaks out, takes creative action and engages those in power to ensure that governments, global institutions and corporations are committed to ending AIDS by 2030. The movement was set up by young people in the UK who had witnessed the HIV epidemic whilst volunteering overseas. It now operates through a broad network of youth groups based across the country, which use technology and community meetings to build relationships, develop strategic thinking, and take action on the global HIV epidemic.

1.6 This growth in social movements has been supported by online and offline networks and tools. Young people are creating and defining new approaches to social change, using technology to build new ways to create change within their communities. Peer-driven networks, grassroots organising, and offline contact are still important elements in this. Institutions should focus not on creating these networks for social change, but should instead identify and support them.

1.7 Central to all of this is the demand by young people to have a voice on the decisions which affect their daily experiences and their personal identities. Crucially, if a diverse range of young people have a voice and are given the tools and access to influence those in power, it will help to ensure that they can realise their leadership potential and bring about transformational change for wider society.

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?

2.1 For our youth network, being British today is inextricably linked to being a global citizen. Their citizenship narrative is not about being 'British first', but about being a global citizen who is proud to live in a country which leads on and cares about global issues. Citizenship in the UK can thus be strengthened by increasing the emphasis we place on the concept of

Global Citizenship. Young people today live in a digital age where traditional borders and experiences of national identity are being reshaped constantly through globalisation and technology. Both local and global issues can move young people passionately to take action, due to the pervasive and borderless nature of modern technology.

2.2 Global citizenship is a critical aspect of British citizenship. Britain's important global role must be furthered by its citizens', not just its government. We recommend that institutions learn from young people and their ability to stand in solidarity with global causes. When young people feel connected to wider movements, and if they have the tools they need to create change and influence the powerful, they can be highly engaged and committed to global issues. This is something to celebrate in terms of civic engagement.

2.3 For example, young people within our network are increasingly proud and ready to defend Britain's commitment to 0.7% of GDP going to international development, as well as our government's leadership on global issues such as LGBT+ rights and climate change. At the time of this submission, young people across the country have been contacting and meetings with their MPs to express their pride in Britain's commitments overseas. Such globally focused actions are a reflection of modern British citizenship, encapsulating some of the aspects that make young people proud to be British. This further strengthens the argument that modern notions of British citizenship should be discussed within a global citizenship framework.

2.4 Another example of British young people exercising their citizenship rights to speak out on global issues was the Action/2015 campaign, a global coalition that came together united by the belief that 2015 was a critical year for progress in the fight against climate change, poverty and inequality in the formation of the Sustainable Development Goals. Restless Development supported a diverse group of young activists in the UK to engage and mobilise the public during this campaign. Through an evaluation of the campaign's accomplishments, it was demonstrated that youth in the UK emerged as the key focus of the campaign⁷¹⁹. When given the support and integrated into a wider movement for change, youth generated great enthusiasm for the action/2015 work in the UK and led much of the strategic thinking behind the campaign.

⁷¹⁹ Action 2015 Campaign Evaluation (Firetail, February 2016):
<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0Bywm4VwGJMMbWFIKbWxkdkRLaGc/view>

2.5 The above examples demonstrate that many British young people are ready to act as global citizens and do not see a disconnect between taking civic action to drive change on local and global issues. Attempts to strengthen people's identities as British citizens should also embrace the global dimension of the modern youth experience, particularly with regard to an increasingly diverse national landscape.

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?

3.1 In the UK Restless Development would agree with the lowering of the voting age to 16. This would allow young people to meaningfully participate in the democratic process and help provide them with the voice essential to their active citizenship.

3.2 At the age of 16 young people in the UK are treated as capable, responsible citizens in a number of ways, including being able to gain employment, pay income tax, get married, join the army or even become a director of a company.

3.3 The majority of 16 and 17 year olds are still in formal education institutions. This provides the ideal setting to support young people to register to vote, understand the democratic process, discuss and debate the issues with their peers, and put their citizenship education into practice. Furthermore, if standardised support is given through formal institutions, it decreases the reliance on family and individual networks to be able to guide young people through the process of voting for the first time, thus increasing the likelihood of a more diverse range of young people registering and turning out to vote.

3.4 Our experience has shown that if young people are properly supported to take part in active citizenship activities for the first time, they are far more likely to do it again independently. Therefore if 16 year olds are supported to vote by their schools and colleges, we believe that more of these young people are likely to vote again in the future - thus increasing the overall youth voter turnout. Voting also encourages engagement with decision makers as part of the democratic process. At Restless Development, we have taken this approach within our 'Youth Decide' events, giving young people the space to engage with, debate and shape their opinions on major political topics - such as Brexit, the refugee crisis, and reframing the vote. These quarterly events build on each other to foster a habit of political debate and engagement amongst young people in the UK.

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?

4.1 Young people should be supported on their journey to active citizenship, being provided with the skills, training, confidence and tools to engage and organise within their communities. If they are supported through initial engagements, then they will do it independently in the future. This can be supported by encouraging active citizenship through formal education, which could cover crucial elements such as how parliament works and our voting system.

4.2 Political participation, and the potential to engage with and influence decision makers, is a crucial element of active citizenship. Institutions must take care not to de-politicise lessons on civic engagement, and must recognise that young people need to have a voice in the decisions that affect them - this is the key factor to ensure ongoing civic participation. Young people must recognise that they have actual power to create change, and must understand how to use that power effectively.

4.3 We would also recommend that civic education is delivered in an engaging way, so young people are not deterred by the concept of active citizenship and the formal civic processes. At Restless Development, we have recently conducted a training audit to ensure that all of our trainings with volunteers are as youth-led, participatory, and engaging as possible. Fostering youth leadership and peer-support within trainings and citizenship schemes is particularly important, as these are tools needed to ensure long-term civic engagement for young people.

4.4 As discussed above, young people today are embracing a more active and participatory form of citizenship, rather than more 'dutiful' models of citizenship. Therefore, any formal educational initiatives or non-formal programmes focused on good citizenship should reflect and strengthen the leadership potential, political awareness, and critical thinking abilities required for youth to meaningfully participate in civic spaces.

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?

5.1 Voluntary citizenship programmes are a good first step at mobilising and supporting young people, but longer-term structures and support are needed to embed active citizenship. For example, it is important for funding to be long-lasting and sustainable, in order to support young people for longer periods when they are embedded in own communities. This will sustain the habit of civic engagement and ensure that citizenship programmes are not tokenistic or perceived by young people as one-off activities, separate from daily life.

5.2 Throughout our delivery of the International Citizenship Service, we ensure that volunteers understand that being an active citizen is a lifelong journey - *not* defined by taking a one action in their communities, followed by an official stamp to mark completion of the programme. We work with a diverse range of young people, many of whom were often not previously engaged in politics or community action. We expose these young people to a range of tangible ways they can take action and have a sustainable impact in the UK and abroad (e.g. through working in host communities overseas, learning how to engage with MPs, joining campaign stunts, and more). We also encourage volunteers to stay connected to the wider Restless youth network in the future, through using social media platforms; encouraging them to go back to their schools and communities to motivate other young people to get involved in community action, and through our ‘Youth Decide’ events (described below) to connect individuals to the wider network.

5.3 Building and nurturing this network of active citizens is an important way of ensuring that youth understand that being an active citizen does not end after the 6-month programme. Instead, the journey of active citizenship can continue on far beyond the official time period prescribed by the programme. This approach was also demonstrated through our experience leading the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation Development Advocates programme, which equipped young people with the skills to continue to speak out and shape development priorities well beyond the programme timeline.

5.4 However, our experience is that appropriate investment for ‘active citizenship’ is increasingly hard to come by. With funding focused on fixed outcomes of youth

engagement, the flexible funding that encourages youth-led active citizenship activities is limited. There is an opportunity for the ICS programme to better fund and support collective active citizenship activities that would have a greater sustainable impact on local and global communities.

5.5 Having a voice, and being able to influence those in power is an essential element of active citizenship. Trying to separate politics is to ignore this crucial element of citizenship. At Restless Development, we run a global project called the [Accountability Advocates](#). As part of this initiative in the UK, young people have been trained to work on the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). A team of young people collect data to monitor and hold the government to account on the SDGs in the UK, whilst also linking up with the wider global movement of accountability advocates. This initiative is a prime example of long-term active and political civic engagement, led and designed by young people who are supported to take action on issues that affect their lives.

5.6 Voluntary citizenship programmes should be available for everyone - and we should push for their inclusivity - but they are not right for everyone, so should not be compulsory. Young people should choose what sort of active citizenship works for them. Structured citizenship programmes should thus incorporate tailored and adaptable support, to ensure that young people can find a pathway to a form of citizenship which works for them. This model of personalised support is a crucial part of how Restless Development supports young people to become active.

5.7 We think that public citizenship ceremonies are not necessary, especially when substituted for personalised support, recognition and connection to a wider movement. In our experience, offering tailored 1:1 support to young people as they take action in their communities means that volunteers feel that their work and achievements are recognised, without the need for a formal ceremony. Moreover, it is important for young people to understand that active citizenship does not 'stop' after a programme has been completed; they should see themselves as developing the long-term habits of civic engagement.

5.8 Citizenship programmes offer exceptional value for money; they provide outcomes for the individual young people; but crucially for also the communities in which they take action; and longer-term as their active citizenship continue. Appreciating value for money requires an acknowledgement of the holistic nature of a schemes outcomes and its ability to impact on the individual, community and short and longer-term.

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?

6.1 We recommend that institutions should invest in community-based and national organisations that have the expertise in supporting young people in civic engagement and are committed to creating spaces for young people to connect and take action. This provision of skills, opportunities is crucial to encouraging active citizenship.

6.2 At Restless Development, we have been demonstrating the power of supporting young people to lead and create spaces for civil society discussions and initiatives. Our series of ‘Youth Decide’ events are organised and facilitated by young people within our youth network. These events focus on topical global issues and bring together diverse young people to meet, discuss and collaborate on how they can take action on these issues. For example, during the Brexit election, young people came together in London to listen to other points of view, engage in immersive theatre techniques to understand different perspectives, and develop their opinions in a safe atmosphere. The creation of community spaces and investment in young leaders is a powerful way to build civic engagement, amplify youth voices, and grow community awareness.

6.3 Given the changing nature of citizenship, as noted above, there should be more flexibility in understanding what ‘civic engagement’ is and as a consequence, what types of initiatives should be funded. We recommend that funding for civic engagement is focused on youth-led community action, and on providing movements with the capacity to meaningfully access and engage with influencing spaces in which youth can impact change on local and global issues.

6.4 The government should also consider the implications of the Lobbying Act and the restrictions this places on engaging young people in active citizenship activities. The restrictions place strain on programmes, staff and volunteers, that rely on public communications and engagement in topical issues. One example is in the run up to the recent General Election volunteer’s blogs about the election were edited before being posted online, a direct contradiction of encouraging young people to freely speak out on politics. Given that amplifying youth voice is one of the foundations of active citizenship, the government should consider how the Lobbying Act impacts citizenship programmes and youth engagement in political processes.

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?

7.1 As noted above, youth will define and exercise their citizenship in diverse ways. This could be a potential barrier if not embraced. For example, many citizenship initiatives could feel distant and rigid for young people who are driven to create change based on their lived experiences, but who lack knowledge of formal processes, wider citizenship concepts, or access to real decision-making spaces. This is particularly the case for minority youth groups, who do not see themselves represented in government or the establishment. Such lack of representation can alienate the concept of ‘politics’ and power from ordinary young people, and needs to be addressed to make ideas of formal citizenship and civic engagement relatable for minorities.

7.2 At Restless Development, we have also led on influencing governments globally to make political processes and spaces more youth friendly. This could take the form of structured, meaningful and effective participation in official policy processes, the promotion of formal and informal spaces where young people can engage with each other and the community at large, and volunteering schemes. We also advocate engaging with young people in the spaces where they already meet - be this is in communities, online or at universities.

7.3 21st century notions of identity are being reshaped by young people, as civic engagement is increasingly based on individual values and personal experience. Many young people view themselves through the lens of intersectionality, aware of how structural barriers to participation (such as race, class, gender and disability) can help or hinder their opportunities in life. Youth will thus feel motivated to take action on the issues and causes that they personally relate to, and not necessarily to notions of citizenship rooted in formal institutions and concepts. Institutions need to adapt to this changing reality by working directly with young people to co-create personalised routes for young people to get involved with civic activities.

7.4 In the specific case of citizenship programmes, there is a need to push for inclusion and diversity to ensure the opportunity is accessible to people from all parts of society. This may require additional investment, but ultimately strengthens the initiative. For example, within the International Citizenship Service programme, Restless Development has undertaken

many measures to ensure that we can ensure young people are fully supported to lead and take action overseas and in the UK.

7.5 These adjustments can include fully understanding and altering programmes to support volunteers with mental health conditions; helping volunteers to access housing benefits once they return to the UK; providing personalised guidance on identity concerns such as sexuality and race; and more. Government funding for the programme ensures that any young person can access the opportunity, regardless of economic background. This is absolutely crucial to ensuring that certain groups do not feel “left behind” in citizenship opportunities - the first step is to acknowledge all the potential barriers and actively address them when recruiting and supporting young people to take action.

Mrs Violet Rook – written evidence (CCE0020)

The rights and responsibilities attached to citizenship

A citizen in the United Kingdom should have a voice in the community, to create fairness, equality and liberty for all for this and each generation now and in the future.

A chance to live a life which is protected by laws established in time via the legislature, common law and the judiciary.

I took part in the project in regard to a preamble for a written constitution in 2015 and this was a step towards that process of encouragement of active citizenship. Parliament needs to be open to such ideas which promote comment and to allow comment to lead to debate.

Citizens need to have the knowledge to join organisations locally and make their views known. Social Media promotes some active participation, but many people are afraid of personal involvement. This needs to be overcome if democracy is to be real for the next generation.

Local groups need to feel that their voice is heard and how to make it heard. Information via education and use of knowledge in regard to Parliamentary procedure can aid these ambitions. Our constitution is a balance of what went before, it shows where we have been and what we have created and how we have arrived at the decisions of today, and shows the way to the future.

The state of citizenship education and the role that it plays in creating active citizens

This should begin at school and be part of the National Curriculum. It should continue throughout childhood and be part of the qualifications obtained on leaving full time education. I studied the British Constitution O and A level GCE examinations and have also completed a MOOC course via Future Learn online. These courses were once considered unnecessary, but are vital in the 21st century if citizens are to understand the state and how it works.

Education in regard to citizenship and civic engagement should be conducted at a local, regional and national level. Events which are in progress at this time including visits to local government council meetings by school children and visits of councillors and members of parliament to schools to explain their role should be extended and be mandatory to their role. And adults attending a least once refresher Course on government in ten years would help understanding of any changes taking place.

Topics for education

Citizenship and civic engagement education

1279

Mrs Violet Rook – written evidence (CCE0020)

- should become part of the National Curriculum.
- should be mandatory at GCSE O and A level
- adults have a mandatory one day refresher course every ten years.
- all politicians eg members of parliament and councillors (parish, town county councillors) have a mandatory role to visit schools at least annually to explain role to pupils. These visits to be stated on their own website and on Parliamentary register.
- Members of Parliament to inform constituencies regarding work via email, text and social media weekly.
- Residents to be able to give views to MP's via active live feeds to Parliamentary debates.

The ways society can support civic engagement and the role of Government and Parliament. The relationship between civic engagement and social cohesion.

Individuals can be supported via being aware of their rights and the opportunities for involvement in civic engagement. I was involved with an organisation called Community Voices in Newcastle which brought together many individuals from all cultures and across generations. This involved representation in regard to Partnership Boards in the city where representatives from the Council, business, the public services and the voluntary sector all came together to discuss and make decisions regarding health, education and civic concerns.

Though these were not social groups, individuals brought together in this way made friends and learnt from each other. This led to a social cohesion which was praised by most of those involved and gave benefit to the city. Individuals learnt about other countries and different methods of government and how to adapt and co-operate.

Educating society via encouragement in civic engagement seems to prove that knowledge helps to unite.

Ways of Support

Provide education via National Curriculum

Local, regional and national encouragement for all cultures to be included in public, voluntary organisations with resources to allow information.

Made it mandatory for Councillors and Members of Parliament and House of Lords to attend schools at least annually to allow pupils to ask questions.

Pupils to see at least one civic engagement event in school year.

Video conferencing with MP's and local and national groups.

Mrs Violet Rook – written evidence (CCE0020)

Video conferencing with Parliamentary Committees and local and national groups on a regular basis to allow for comment and debate.

Video conferencing at a local level with Councils and residents and schools on a regular basis-real time.

Information is power therefore all generations need to be kept in touch with the real world and how decisions are made and feel they have a voice in such decisions or at least the voice can be used and hope give it could be heard.

14 August 2017

Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) – written evidence (CCE0088)

1. About the RSA and the Citizens’ Economic Council

1.1 The Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) aims to help citizens create fulfilling lives and a flourishing society. Supported by our 29,000 Fellows, we share powerful ideas, carry out cutting edge research, and build opportunities for people to collaborate.

1.2 The evidence in this submission draws upon qualitative evidence gathered by the RSA [Citizens’ Economic Council](#) research programme,⁷²⁰ which has engaged with 244 citizens across the UK on their experiences of economy and society in the following ways:

- **An Economic Inclusion Roadshow:** 12 focus groups across the UK engaging with 190 ‘left-behind’ citizens on economic inclusion (See Appendix A).
- **The Citizens’ Economic Council:** Engagement with a demographically diverse (see Appendix B), and randomly selected 54 citizens across the UK over five days in five months through a ‘jury-style’ deliberative process on economy and society.
- **Crowdsourcing economic policy:** engaging with over 1000 citizens on policy challenges identified by the Citizens’ Economic Council.

1.3 Our contributions in relation to education also draws upon the RSA’s experience working with a Family of seven RSA academies, as well as its work on creative learning and development through the Action and Research Centre.

2. Executive Summary

- Citizenship, including understanding how it is both supported and sustained, is a complex concept. The factors that shape it are individual (personalities and motivations), based on social networks, groups, and people’s environment, as well as wider social and global influences. Steps taken to strengthen citizenship therefore, will similarly need to be nuanced if they are to be successful.
- Effective civic engagement strengthens and deepens citizenship, and removes barriers that might exist preventing citizens from getting engaged. It also accounts for the risks of ‘engagement’ burnout and takes steps to safeguard citizens accordingly.

⁷²⁰ The RSA’s Citizens’ Economic Council Prospectus (2016): <https://www.thersa.org/discover/publications-and-articles/reports/economics-for-everyone-prospectus-for-the-citizens-economic-council>

Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) – written evidence (CCE0088)

- The RSA see learning and development, both in schools and in later life as critical to supporting active citizenship and civic engagement. Citizenship education has enormous potential to strengthen citizens’ sense of belonging and citizenship.
- Recent work at the RSA has illustrated the importance of investment in civic engagement capacity if we are to encourage a sense of belonging and citizenship amongst those most ‘left-behind’ by national economic policy.

3. Citizenship as a complex phenomenon

Citizenship was a reoccurring theme in the deliberations of the Citizens’ Economic Council and the participants outlined the following dimensions as of importance:

3.1 Citizenship as a social contract

Citizenship meant the gaining of civic and social rights, in exchange for wider civic and social responsibilities. Citizens suggested that citizenship involved looking beyond individual self-interest towards considering the wider collective good.⁷²¹ Those who fulfilled their responsibilities by adhering to laws and social norms, and contributing to society in some way, should have access to the basic rights of a citizen such as food, shelter, and work.

3.2 Citizenship is an important counterweight to consumerism

Participants recognised the tensions they experienced between wanting to be a ‘good citizen’ and the reality and pressures of their everyday life. For example, citizens contrasted their longer-term desire for food policy to promote healthy eating, sustainability and fair rewards for those in the supply chain, with their shorter-term desires for cheap, readily available and low cost food. Such examples demonstrate the importance of engaging with citizens in a more meaningful way, should policymakers seek to understand what it is that citizens want beyond market signals and consumer choice.

3.3 ‘Contribution’ needs to be understood broadly and barriers to it addressed

“We should value all types of contribution...even being parents.”

Participant, Citizens’ Economic Council

Citizens highlighted the gap between many forms of social contribution, and what is measured and therefore valued as an economic contribution (in GDP terms). For instance, we heard from a group of care workers about their experience of the disconnect between the contribution of care work and the way in which it was valued. Other participants in both the Roadshow and Council suggested society should appreciate contributions including parenting, unpaid childcare support, and volunteering. It was noted that many individuals

⁷²¹ This reflects a longstanding philosophical tradition, with roots in the thinking and analysis of Aristotle, Rousseau, Locke and Rawls. Social contract theory is not limited to the traditions of Western political thinking; its origins emerge from the work of 3BC Buddhist emperor Asoka.

Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) – written evidence (CCE0088)

may want to contribute but may face barriers including: a lack of time, poverty, or social circumstance (e.g disability). Structural problems within the democratic system were also mentioned; citizens felt that often engagement processes might be tokenistic rather than responsive, and spoke of disillusionment and apathy with democratic processes due to prior negative experiences. Promoting a stronger sense of citizenship requires understanding the structural barriers that prevent people from participating, and taking steps to address those barriers. Citizens must also be safeguarded against engagement ‘burn out’, by taking care not to ask them to commit beyond what they are practically able to give and volunteer:

“There’s pressure on the citizen to do more. I’ve always seen myself as a good citizen because I worked hard in school and did all the right things, and then you expect to get an amazing job but it doesn’t work like that. ... It isn’t valued that we do those little things like look after someone... But there isn’t anyone asking me ‘are you okay?’”

Participant, Citizens’ Economic Council

4. Effective civic engagement facilitates more active citizenship

4.1 The Citizens’ Economic Council proposed the following definition of engagement:

“Citizen engagement and empowerment”⁷²²

Citizens have the knowledge and capacity to positively contribute to society and the economy.

Citizens have the information, knowledge, capacity, understanding and the opportunity to participate to the degree they wish, in local, regional and national economic policy making.

Citizens are engaged and empowered to make decisions as communities – in ways that affect them locally and nationally.

Citizens are able to participate in their workplaces and in their roles as consumers, suppliers and employees.”

4.2 The most effective way of strengthening citizenship is to ensure good civic engagement is embedded in the course of the everyday life of the community. As the RSA report *Community Capital* details, empowerment also comes from being part of a social network and peer support, giving people a sense of self-efficacy and ability to engage as a citizen.⁷²³ Furthermore, people identify as citizens on multiple levels at the same time: community, region, nation (England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Island), state (UK), European and

⁷²² This paragraph is from the Citizens’ Economic Charter, co-created by the Council during their deliberations (See Appendix C for the full charter).

⁷²³ The RSA. (2015) *Community Capital: The Value of Connected Communities*. Available at: <https://www.thersa.org/discover/publications-and-articles/reports/community-capital-the-value-of-connected-communities>

Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) – written evidence (CCE0088)

global. A sense of belonging and connectivity is best built from the ground up - at a local level - and only with strong roots can a stronger sense of identity and pride be built.

5. Learning and development, both in schools and in later life as critical to supporting citizenship and civic engagement

“I think there should be more life education.... This would mean that children as they grow older then can make more informed decisions about their futures.”

Participant, Citizens’ Economic Council

5.1 Education has an essential role to play in ensuring that young people have the knowledge and skills they need to be active citizens. The schools in RSA Academies, serving disadvantaged communities in Birmingham and the Black Country, are committed to providing a broad education that prepares children for the world beyond school. Students engage with workplaces, receive support for volunteering opportunities and enterprise programmes, and receive age appropriate careers advice and guidance. Unfortunately the narrow school accountability frameworks at both primary and secondary school, combined with real terms funding cuts are putting pressure on state schools to reduce the amount of time they are able to devote to these aspects of a child’s education. Recommendations to support and encourage all schools to prioritise citizenship would be welcome. This view is echoed by findings from the Citizens’ Economic Council, which proposed a National Review of Citizenship Education to address low levels of public understanding of economics, politics and society:

“Review the current curriculum on life skills, any advice that’s out there, what post education formal opportunities for self-education are there. Are we teaching people to be good citizens? Are schools providing at thorough understanding of mental health?”

Participant, Citizens’ Economic Council

5.2 The Citizens’ Economic Council’s workshops with those of school age revealed that young people value and gain a great deal from civic engagement, and there are ways of encouraging young people to engage beyond voting. In Paris⁷²⁴ and Boston⁷²⁵ for instance, the cities’ participatory budgeting processes actively invite and welcome engagement from young people and children below voting age on how to spend their city’s budget.

⁷²⁴ A proportion of Paris’s investment budget was reserved for spending on youth and education projects. In 2016 a new school framework enabled 66, 155 children to vote in determining how that money is spent. Mairie de Paris. (2016) *The Participatory Budget of the City of Paris*. Available at: <https://www.paris.fr/actualites/the-participatory-budget-of-the-city-of-paris-4151>

⁷²⁵ Through Boston’s ‘Youth Lead the Change’ initiative, young people aged 12-25 have offered and voted on over 700 ideas for urban improvements through online crowdsourcing and public vote. In the programme’s first year, 1,500 young people cast votes at polling places in schools, community centres and transit stations across the city. City of Boston. (2017) *Youth Lead the Change*. Available at: <https://www.boston.gov/departments/boston-centers-youth-families/youth-lead-change>

6. Civic engagement can address the exclusion experienced by those ‘left behind’

6.1 People feel ‘left behind’ as a consequence of their interactions with the economy and the lack of opportunities available in their communities

A consistent theme throughout all workshops was a sense of inequality, lack of trust and imbalance in power between politicians, corporations, economic institutions and citizens. Many participants said that this made them and those that they knew feel disillusioned with the system and less likely to engage. Another strong theme that emerged was that a decline in services available had affected people’s sense of belonging to a community and being in an environment that enabled them to reach their full potential. We heard of concerns such as: lack of access to local voluntary and community services; uncertainties about the future of a local community centre; funding cuts to the police, NHS, and educational institutions; and the lack of good quality job opportunities, all of which affected peoples’ ability to take part in society. More specific barriers mentioned were the lack of translation services or language classes, particularly in some of the multicultural areas we visited, such as Birmingham and Oldham. In Oldham, the citizens of Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani origin we spoke to felt disempowered by the disappearance of local civic support such as translation services, which had previously helped to strengthen community cohesion, and improve dialogue with public services.

6.2 Investing in people and places is necessary to unlock civic engagement

6.2.1 Civic engagement initiatives form an important part of investment in people and place. The RSA’s Inclusive Growth Commission has called such initiatives ‘social infrastructure’⁷²⁶ – ensuring that as many people as possible are able to both contribute to and benefit from growth. We understand social infrastructure as including early years support, education, skills and lifelong learning projects, early action and early intervention work and investment in community development. These are all crucial in helping people, communities and places connect to the benefits of economic activity – as well as to ensure those citizens and communities ‘left behind’ are able to realise their full potential as active citizens.

6.2.2 We found that citizens demonstrate, benefit from, and value social leadership. Very often social leadership is forged from necessity; building informal social networks and relationships to strengthen resilience in the face of economic exclusion. Many also spoke of the untapped potential citizens had to demonstrate social leadership, that could have been realised had they access to greater (financial and non-financial) support that understood the needs of the community.

⁷²⁶ Inclusive Growth Commission. (2017) *Inclusive Growth Commission: Making our Economy Work for Everyone*. Available at: <https://www.thersa.org/discover/publications-and-articles/reports/final-report-of-the-inclusive-growth-commission>

Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) – written evidence (CCE0088)

“We work closely with the government, the local authority – we think we can do a better job as we are crowdsourcing ideas from the bottom up... we know how to solve our own problems – we just need the funding to get on with it.” - Participant, Ardenglen Housing Association, Glasgow

6.2.3 One example we encountered was that of a community group of older women who were given a small amount of NHS funding and supported by a housing association to run activities such as gardening and walking in one of Glasgow’s most deprived areas. When the funding ran out, the group had enough of a stake in the initiative to keep it going – and it continues to this day. One avenue to build membership and belonging is to better understand, identify and support social leadership in communities, and the kinds of civic institutions that can act as vehicles for strengthening sense of citizenship.

6.2.4 We have seen further examples of this through work the RSA has undertaken with community businesses⁷²⁷ across England. Across a wide range of community led businesses, from farms to community centres, we have heard about similar stories of positive impacts from the agency which local civic participation can provide. In Leeds, for example, having successfully developed a community health and wellbeing centre, the New Wortley Community Association is now developing community housing in the local area.

7. The importance of investment in civic engagement capacity

7.1 The key message from our workshops was that people will only engage if they feel it is meaningful and there is chance of them affecting change. Central and local government, and civil society organisations should be prepared to share power and co-produce initiatives with citizens if they are sincere about encouraging civic engagement. The RSA propose that:

7.2 Government conducts a review on, and creates a code of practice for civic engagement

The government last conducted a review⁷²⁸ and created a code of practice on consultation in 2008, which is now archived.⁷²⁹ We propose that a new review is undertaken, and a code of practice is created which moves beyond consultation, towards a wider range of civic engagement approaches.

7.3 Local government structures embed civic engagement into their governance

Combined authorities, LEPs and local authorities have an opportunity to use their new powers to work with residents, civil society and businesses to embed deliberative civic engagement approaches into their decision making processes. We propose that such bodies

⁷²⁷ RSA is delivering a [leadership programme for people involved in community business](#) across England. For more information see: *Community Business Leadership Programme*.

⁷²⁸ Department for Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform. (2007) *Effective Consultation*. Available at: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090609052113/http://www.berr.gov.uk/files/file44374.pdf>

⁷²⁹ Department for Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform. (2008) *Code of Practice on Consultation*. Available at:

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090609023708/http://www.berr.gov.uk/files/file47158.pdf>

Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) – written evidence (CCE0088)

work together to co-design and establish a charter for civic engagement for their city. This would set out a shared vision for engagement, the principles upon which it will be based, the practical ways in which citizens will be supported to get involved and the influence and impact they can achieve.

7.4 The government pilot and implement voluntary national service on policy issues

Participants on the Citizens’ Economic Council proposed setting up a form of voluntary national service for citizens akin to current jury service. This would pay individuals for their time and reimburse employers so that they could participate in national citizens’ panels that learnt about and advised government on policy issues. These are approaches that have been tried and tested across the world; notably through Ireland’s [constitutional convention](#)⁷³⁰, and through deliberative citizens’ reference panels, citizen assemblies and councils in [Canada](#)⁷³¹ and [Australia](#)⁷³² at a local government level.

⁷³⁰ For more information see: *Convention on the Constitution*. Available at:

<https://www.constitution.ie/Convention.aspx>

⁷³¹ Recommendations from the Toronto Residents’ Reference Panel on the Davenport Community Overpass (2017). Available at :

https://static1.squarespace.com/static/55af0533e4b04fd6bca65bc8/t/55e48e32e4b01d0dc78b6144/1441041970276/Davenport_Panel_Report_EN.pdf

⁷³² City of Melbourne. (2017) *Participate Melbourne: 10 Year Financial Plan*. Available at:

<https://participate.melbourne.vic.gov.au/10yearplan>

Appendix A: Economic Inclusion Roadshow focus groups – make-up, recruitment, themes

Theme	Location	Date	Participants	Partner(s)
Industrial decline	Port Talbot, Baglan Community Centre	15-Oct-16	14 residents of Port Talbot. The participants were from a range of age groups, and mainly from socio-economic groups D, as well as some C2 and E.	Recruitment Agency
Low paid work	UNISON, London Offices	18-Oct-16	13 members of UNISON’s Homecare Workers Panel. 12 careworkers (all female) and one care receiver (male). The participants were middle-aged; they were predominately white British but two participants were from black and Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) groups, and there was one white South African.	UNISON
Disability discrimination	Islington, Disability Action in Islington Offices	26-Oct-16	21 members of Disability Action in Islington. The participants were from a range of age groups and ethnic groupings.	Disability Action in Islington; Tamsin Curno
Ethnicity and low income	Oldham, Coppice Neighbourhood Centre	08-Nov-16	19 local residents from ethnic minority backgrounds: Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi. Many participants were from low-income backgrounds; 13 of the participants were female; and the majority were middle-aged but there were also some participants aged 18-30.	Doing Social; Coppice Neighbourhood Centre

Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) – written evidence (CCE0088)

Youth perspectives	Tipton	22-Nov-16	Two groups (of 14 and 16 participants) at post-16 level. One group of nine participants at Year 8 level. Predominately white British, several international students from Norway and Italy.	RSA Academy Tipton
Industrial decline	Clacton-on-Sea, Baptist Church Hall on Pier Avenue	03-Dec-16	11 residents of Clacton-on-Sea, Holland-on-Sea, and Jaywick. The participants were from a range of age groups, and primarily from socio-economic groups C2, as well as some D and E.	Recruitment agency
LGBT discrimination	Central Birmingham	07-Dec-16	10 members of Birmingham LGBT Network, around a third of whom were from BAME groups and one Eastern European.	Birmingham LGBT
Debt and money	Birmingham, Aston	12-Jan-17	14 participants, the majority of whom were women. Participants were recruited from the Money Advice Service and the English as a Second Language (ESL) groups. Participants were predominately from BAME groups.	Birmingham Settlement
Declining community services	Birmingham, Kitts Green	12-Jan-17	19 participants, from a range of age groups. Predominately white British but a few participants from BAME groups.	Birmingham Settlement
Community resilience and housing	Glasgow, Ardenglen Housing Association	18-Jan-17	Nine participants, all white British women aged 40+.	Ardenglen Housing Association

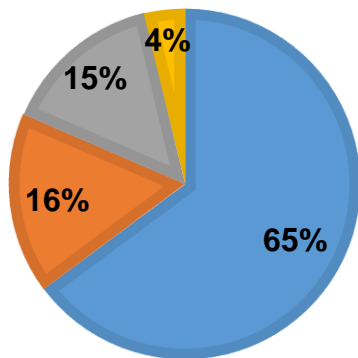
Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) – written evidence (CCE0088)

Youth perspectives	London, Camden Town Hall	31-Jan-17	30 participants from a range of ethnic backgrounds, aged between 15- and 19-years-old. Schools were invited to partake on the basis that they had a free school meal intake of over 40 percent.	Greater London Authority (GLA) Fiona Tycross Assembly Member (AM)
--------------------	--------------------------	-----------	---	---

Appendix B: Composition of the Citizens' Economic Council

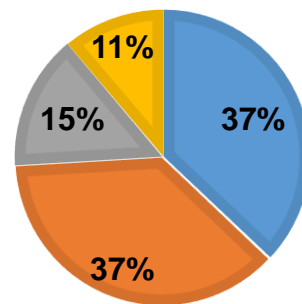
ETHNICITY

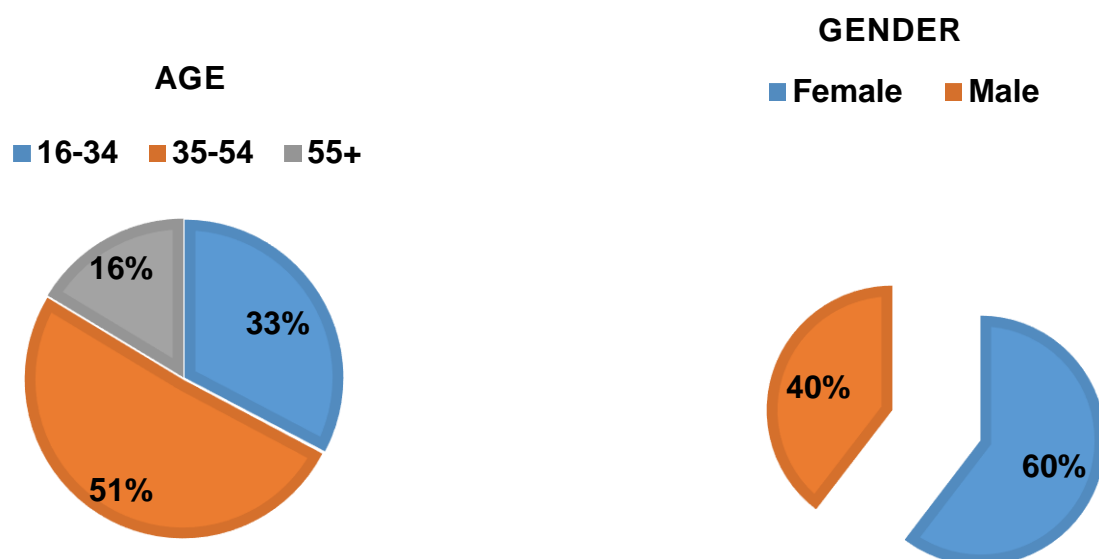
- White British
- Black British
- British Asian
- EU National



SOCIAL GRADE

- AB
- C1
- C2
- DE





Appendix C: The Citizens' Economic Charter

During the course of the Citizens Economic Council we asked our citizens to identify key themes and values by which they thought our economy should be governed. These are laid out in the Economic Charter below. These values were created by councillors from a range of different ethnic backgrounds, age, socio-economic class and gender, and should be recognised as universal in the same way that the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights are. Labelling values as 'British' is not only false as many of these values are internationally recognised, but also counterproductive to creating a shared sense of identity; by trying to erect differences rather than appreciate commonalities this type of rhetoric establishes further division and segregation.

A citizens' economy is one that secures:

Fairness

- Citizens are able to make an equal contribution to the economy, according to their means and their ability.
- Citizens have equality of opportunity within an economy.
- The gap between those citizens who can make contributions and those who have access to opportunities and those who do not is closed, through education, transparency and policy.

Social justice

Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) – written evidence (CCE0088)

Where no citizen fails to have their basic needs met, and vulnerable citizens are protected.

We understand basic needs as:

- Food
- Shelter
- Healthcare
- Access to work
- Participation in society
- Education
- Ensures that everyone has what they need, everyone contributes and everyone's contribution is valued equally.
- Creates policies that support the realisation of these goals, through increased government investment in the necessary infrastructure.
- Ensures equality of access to opportunities and confers rights upon citizens. It also confers responsibilities upon citizens.

Innovation for social good

- Involvement in innovation: Decisions made about the economy should provide many opportunities for all citizens to be involved in innovation. Economic decision-makers should have a strategy in place that allows all citizens to influence innovation.
- Innovation to secure social justice: Innovation should be led by and aim to contribute to social value and social need – understood as developing new ideas and ways of working that help communities and individuals to achieve social justice.
- Innovation has a purpose: Whether for profit or non-profit, organisations and businesses aim to secure innovation that promotes social justice.

Sustainability

- Economic sustainability: Sustainability should aim to secure a more resilient economy in the longer-term, able to withstand and weather crises in the financial system.
- Environmental sustainability: Economic decisions must consider long term impacts on the environment and society (communities and citizens), and take into account the indirect consequences of policy changes and external conditions or impacts eg technological change. Sustainability requires us to manage resources well for the long term; preserving our soil, water, forests and clean air for our basic needs.

Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) – written evidence (CCE0088)

- Social sustainability: Social sustainability seeks to build mixed and balanced communities – ensuring that citizens with diverse skills and a diverse workforce can live in any area of the country.

Governments should think beyond the constraints of short-term, political timeframes when formulating economic policy. Longer-term thinking must be secured and ensured by continuity of government policy, which seeks to protect the planet and people.

Citizen engagement and empowerment

- Citizens have the knowledge and capacity to positively contribute to society and the economy.
- Citizens have the information, knowledge, capacity, understanding and the opportunity to participate to the degree they wish, in local, regional and national economic policymaking.
- Citizens are engaged and empowered to make decisions as communities in ways that affect them locally and nationally.
- Citizens are able to participate in their workplaces and in their roles as consumers, suppliers and employees.

Devolved power and decision-making

- Stronger accountability between citizens and institutions should be created with national economic institutions directly responsive to, and supportive of local government, shifting away from a ‘top-down’ model of decision making.
- In turn, local government should be responsive to locally agreed priorities, generated by citizens.
- Decisions should be made at a local level where possible, seeking to re-establish trust.

Accountability and transparency

All institutions making economic decisions should have stronger accountability to citizens and provide mechanisms through which citizens can hold them to account for their decisions. Transparency underpins all of the values laid out in this Charter. Transparency means:

- Providing public access to unfiltered and straightforwardly presented information, through multiple channels and using a wide range of platforms (for example online, paper and so on)

Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) – written evidence (CCE0088)

- Information should be both understandable and trustworthy.
- Systems must encourage the transparency, impartiality and independent scrutiny of leaders within them. Those leaders should have clearly defined roles, and the appropriate knowledge and skills to make policy that is fit for purpose
- Having the appropriate legislative and regulatory framework in place to enable citizens to monitor performance against the Charter values, supported by an effective enforcement system.

7 September 2017

The Runnymede Trust/Race on the Agenda – written evidence (CCE0214)

2. Pride in being British will be at its strongest when everyone is treated fairly by our institutions, has equal opportunities in school and at work, and has equal access to our public services. Without this, government will not be able to engender belonging and pride in citizenship for all. Miscarriages of justice undermine our identity as citizens. For BME groups, these injustices are clear in education, in the labour market and throughout the criminal justice system. This will be expanded upon further in our response to question 9. The impact on belonging is clear, with research by the University of Manchester showing that those who fall victim to institutional racism are half as likely to feel connected to Britain.⁷³³ Government must live up to its promise to its citizens – a country works for everyone - to ensure pride in citizenship.

Reducing the cost of the citizenship application process would help strengthen newcomers' identity as British. From April 2017, an adult wishing to naturalise has to pay £1282 and an additional £80 for the citizenship ceremony.⁷³⁴ The monthly gross income for an adult above the age of 25 working full time on the National Living Wage is £1218. The cost of the naturalisation process is not affordable.

4. Voting is the symbol of citizenship and engagement with the state. Citizens should have a say in how our government is run and our institutions are shaped. Yet people from BME backgrounds are less likely to be registered to vote. However, this should not be taken as an indication of disengagement. Once registered, BME turnout rates are very similar to white British ones. Worryingly, the proposed constituency boundary changes run the risk of disproportionately disenfranchising BME voters. Drawn only to include registered voters, the proposal will increase constituency sizes where BME are more likely to live, diluting their voting power. Government should be mindful of the unintended consequences of current and proposed electoral polices and mitigate any disproportionate impact. The boundary changes should not be based on those already registered.⁷³⁵

Additionally, the younger age profile of BME people, accounting for 20% of 18-21 year olds, make them more likely to have recently changed address.⁷³⁶ Lowering the voting age would bring more BME people into the franchise. Additionally, a survey by the Electoral

⁷³³University of Manchester (2013). *Diversity or deprivation – what's the issue?* Available at:

<http://www.ethnicity.ac.uk/medialibrary/briefings/publications/diverse-neighbourhoods-policy-brief.pdf>

⁷³⁴Home Office (2017). *Fees with Effect from 6 April 2017 for Citizenship Applications and the Right of Abode.* Available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/607005/NationalityFeesLeaflet_2017.pdf

⁷³⁵ Omar Khan and Kjartan Sveinsson (2015). *Race and Elections.* Available at:

http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/RaceandElectionsFINAL_interactive.pdf

⁷³⁶ Khan and Sveinsson (2015). *Race and Elections.*

Commission in 2015 found BME voters were twice as likely to say they would have voted if they could vote online or if voting was held over the weekend.⁷³⁷ We support the recommendation of the Digital Democracy Commission that secure online voting should be an option for all voters.⁷³⁸ A lack of awareness amongst Commonwealth citizens of their right to vote was another major cause of non-registration. Outreach is needed to ensure widespread awareness of voting rights for Commonwealth and Pakistani citizens living in the UK.⁷³⁹

5. It is essential that pupils and students have a solid understanding of how participatory democracy and government works, what our rights and laws are, and how we live together in a multicultural society. A survey by the Electoral Commission found a deficit of information was key to understanding lower rates of BME voter registration. 21 percent of BME people who failed to register gave lack of information about political parties, compared to four percent of unregistered White people.⁷⁴⁰ Cementing knowledge of political parties and our political system in schools is paramount. Equally, how we can live together successfully in a multicultural society should be part of this teaching.

History has an important role to play in training pupils to be tolerant citizens in a future society that is cohesive. The past has the potential to bring us together as country, by bringing shared experiences of a long-existing multi-ethnic Britain to life. Equally, it should not gloss over the painful and less talked-on aspects of our history that is often missing from our school books, our classrooms and our national discourse. We cannot create a truly unified society until we acknowledge how and why the stereotyping, inequality and discrimination we are still fighting in the UK came to be. The history of British colonialism and migration should be a compulsory part of the curriculum. The Runnymede Trust, with partners at the University of Manchester and Cambridge University have created an online resource – Our Migration Story - to support teachers and students studying migration to Britain.⁷⁴¹ It is important that teachers and trainee teachers have the support and resources they need to teach citizenship effectively.

6. The National Citizenship Service (NCS) plays an important role in sparking an interest in social action in young people. However, to encourage a long-term commitment to active

⁷³⁷ IPSOS MORI (2015). *Electoral Commission Post-General Election 2015 - United Kingdom*. Available at: http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0009/190944/May-2015-UKPGE-Public-opinion-survey-Data-tables-UK.pdf

⁷³⁸ Electoral Reform Services (2015). *The Digital Democracy Commission*. Available at: <https://www.electoralreform.co.uk/news/blogs/digital-democracy-commission>

⁷³⁹ Khan and Sveinsson (2015). *Race and Elections*.

⁷⁴⁰ IPSOS MORI (2015). *Electoral Commission Post-General Election 2015 - United Kingdom*. Available at: http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0009/190944/May-2015-UKPGE-Public-opinion-survey-Data-tables-UK.pdf

⁷⁴¹ Runnymede Trust. *Our Migration Story*. Available at: <http://www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/about.html>

citizenship that is good value for money, government should give support to smaller, local civil society organisations that carry out similar work. NCS currently runs over a 4-week period. Incorporating a longer-term local community project into the programme would encourage enduring commitment to active citizenship.

The NCS Trust currently has contracts with nine providers, across 18 regions, to deliver the programme. Diversifying the delivery partners to include local charities already working with young people has the potential to bring down costs and utilise the expertise these organisations have. This also has the potential to lower the cost of the programme. The Public Accounts Committee found that the cost-per-participant at its current level is too high. Action must be taken to ensure tax-payers money is spent efficiently and effectively.⁷⁴² Additionally, volunteering and social action works because participants have the choice to take part and give back as they see fit to the causes that matter to them. NCS should not be compulsory.

7. Civic engagement is primarily the responsibility of government. As discussed, it is imperative that government ensure ethnic inequalities, and inequalities in general, are minimised to guarantee civic engagement for all. Third sector organisations encourage civic participation either as a direct objective or by creating volunteering opportunities. However, these organisations are facing financial insecurity coupled with an increase in demand. Between 2010 and 2012, NCVO data revealed that income from government to UK charities fell by nearly 9%, in real terms, equalling £1.3bn.⁷⁴³ The BME voluntary sector has fared far worse. In 2007, 53% of funding for BME organisations was from statutory sources, setting the scene for a decade of financial insecurity.⁷⁴⁴ Government can support civil society initiatives that encourage civic engagement in two ways: by supporting them to become financially stable and by listening to the expertise these organisations have gained from their work and using it to inform its policies.

8. All of us in Britain should support the common values that we all share. These values are not unique or exceptional to Britain.⁷⁴⁵ These include tolerance, acceptance, belief in equality and democracy, and respect for the rule of law.⁷⁴⁶ Research by the Dr Lindsay Richards and Professor Anthony Heath revealed that socioeconomic status is the best

⁷⁴² The Committee of Public Accounts (2017). *National Citizen Service*. Available at:

https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmpubacc/955/95507.htm#_idTextAnchor012

⁷⁴³ NCVO Civil Society Almanac (2014). *Over £1bn of government income wiped from charities*. Available at: <https://www.ncvo.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/621-over-1billion-government-income-wiped-from-charities>

⁷⁴⁴ Voice4Change England (2015). *Who is the BME voluntary sector?* Available at: <http://www.voice4change-england.co.uk/content/who-bme-voluntary-sector>

⁷⁴⁵ Grouzet, F, Kasser T, and Ahuvia, A. (2005). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* Vol. 89, No. 5, 800–816

⁷⁴⁶ DfE (2014). *Guidance on promoting British values in schools*. Available at:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/guidance-on-promoting-british-values-in-schools-published>

predictor of support of tolerance, equality and the rule of law. Higher income and education levels correlate with stronger support for these values. Once you adjust for these differences all ethnic groups expressed a similar level of support.⁷⁴⁷ The citizenship of women, ethnic minority groups and the country as a whole, can be strengthened by reducing socioeconomic inequality.

9. BME people and working class communities feel ‘left behind’ for a number of reasons that directly reflect their socioeconomic position and treatment by institutions. The ‘left-behind’ includes both the white working class and ethnic minority working class. These communities have close shared interests and would benefit equally from policies aimed at all low income groups.⁷⁴⁸ For example, Black Caribbean pupils, Gypsy, Roma and Irish Traveller students and white working class boys on free school meals had the lowest attainment at GCSE in 2015 and 2016.⁷⁴⁹ Both income and ethnicity effect the educational outcomes of pupils at school.⁷⁵⁰

Further research indicates that this is also the case in the workplace. The Trade Unions Congress (TUC) and Business in the Community (BITC) documented that racist bullying and harassment at work is commonplace across the country. BME employees are less likely to be identified as having high potential or be promoted.⁷⁵¹ The recent report by the Social Mobility Commission made clear that young Muslim people are facing Islamophobia and discrimination at work and at school. The result, only 6 percent of Muslims are in ‘higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations’ compared to 10 percent of the overall population.⁷⁵² Even when qualifications are taken into account, ethnic minorities are more likely to be unemployed than their White counterparts.⁷⁵³

⁷⁴⁷ Dr Lindsay Richards and Professor Anthony Heath. *Social integration and British values: how divided are we?* Available at: <https://www.britac.ac.uk/blog/social-integration-and-british-values-how-divided-are-we>

⁷⁴⁸ Dr Omar Khan and Dr Faiza Shaheen. *Minority Report Race and Class in post-Brexit Britain*. Available at: <http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/Race%20and%20Class%20Post-Brexit%20Perspectives%20report%20v5.pdf>

⁷⁴⁹ EHRC (2016). *Healing a Divided Britain: the need for a comprehensive race equality strategy*. Available at: https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/healing_a_divided_britain_-_the_need_for_a_comprehensive_race_equality_strategy_final.pdf

⁷⁵⁰ Gargi Bhattacharyy et al. (2003). *Minority Ethnic Attainment and Participation in Education and Training: The Evidence*. Available at: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130402115910/https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/RTP01-03MIG1734.pdf>

⁷⁵¹ Ruby McGregor-Smith (2017) *Race in the Workplace*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/594336/race-in-workplace-mcgregor-smith-review.pdf

⁷⁵² Jacqueline Stevenson et al. (2017). *The Social Mobility Challenges Faced by Young Muslims*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/642220/Young_Muslims_SM_C.pdf

⁷⁵³ NAO (2008). *Widening participation in higher education* available at: <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2008/06/0708725.pdf>

The criminal justice system also treats people unfairly. A Black man is still five times more likely to be stopped and searched by police than a White man in England and Wales.⁷⁵⁴ David Lammy MP's recent review of the criminal justice system found a third of young people in custody have spent time in the care system. A third of the prison population were homeless before entering.⁷⁵⁵ Furthermore, the 'Prevent' strategy has led some Muslim groups to feel they are being treated unfairly, stereotyped and socially excluded.⁷⁵⁶

These considerations are more urgent given the unequal outcomes in the job market and unfair treatment by institutions engender the belief that politicians do not serve BME communities. A survey by the Electoral Commission found that 26 percent of BME respondents that had not registered to vote chose "*Don't like politics/politicians, or nobody represents my view*" as the motivating factor. This is compared to 2 percent of White respondents. For our society to be united around common values and generate active citizens, it is imperative that our institutions work for everyone. We continue to call on government to prioritise tackling economic inequality, disproportionality in the criminal justice system and discrimination in the labour market.

10. Civic engagement is inextricably linked to integration and social cohesion. As discussed previously, inequality in the job market and education, coupled with discrimination and racism, not only affect attachment to Britain but also the likelihood of registering to vote. Citizens must feel that government works for them, politicians represent them and institutions treat them fairly to feel like full citizens.

Schools, universities and workplaces are important sites for integration – a vital opportunity to meet people different from ourselves. Additionally, structures and processes within these institutions significantly affect an individual's outcomes and perception of their stake in society. Research by James Laurence at the University of Manchester shows that positive interactions with ethnic minorities at work improves attitudes towards minority groups.⁷⁵⁷

Catney, G, Sabater, A (2015). *Ethnic minority disadvantage in the labour market* available at:

<https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/ethnic-minority-disadvantage-labour-market>

Alexander, C, Weekes-Bernard, D and Arday, J (2015). *The Runnymede School Report Race, Education and Inequality in Contemporary Britain* available at:

<http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/The%20School%20Report.pdf>

⁷⁵⁴ EHRC (2016). *Healing a Divided Britain: the need for a comprehensive race equality strategy*.

⁷⁵⁵ David Lammy (2017). *The Lammy Review An independent review into the treatment of, and outcomes for, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic individuals in the Criminal Justice System*. Available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/643001/lammy-review-final-report.pdf

⁷⁵⁶ Saffron Karlsen and James Y. Nazroo (2015). *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 63, 759–78. Available at:

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/1467-954X.12313>

⁷⁵⁷ James Laurence (2017). The key to a more integrated society: understanding the impact and limits of social mixing. Available at: <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/understanding-the-impact-and-limits-of-social-mixing/>

Negative contact with ethnic minorities at work does have the opposite effect, but the impact is much less severe than in neighbourhoods. Research by the University of Manchester reveals that those living in communities with higher levels of deprivation were more likely to say that people in the area do not get on well together.⁷⁵⁸ BME groups are more likely to live in deprived areas and more likely to be in poverty. It is essential that government makes tackling BME inequality and deprivation a priority to ensure our society is cohesive and citizens engaged. This would increase diversity in workplaces and education concurrently to successful integration.

11. English language proficiency is integral to ensure successful integration and this has been widely acknowledged in the Casey Review and the report of the APPG on social integration.⁷⁵⁹ English language skills facilitate integration in the job market and in education. It aids access to services and enables social mixing. These must be targeted and accessible to the groups that need them. Classes should be flexible and include community and college-based services to take into account a variety of working patterns and hours. Crèche provision for those with childcare needs should also be available.⁷⁶⁰ Adequate funding for these classes is essential.

As previously discussed, the naturalisation process is too expensive, amounting to more than the monthly salary of someone on the National Living Wage. Government should reduce the cost to encourage citizenship acquisition. As it stands, the citizenship test unduly focuses on culture and history over more practical lessons for life in Britain. British culture is multifaceted and there is no universal experience. We support the analysis of Dr Thom Brooks that the test is too expensive, inconsistent and requires the memorisation of irrelevant information that is unlikely common knowledge for British-born citizens.⁷⁶¹ Instead, the citizenship test should prepare newcomers to navigate the civic landscape: how to vote, how to access services and how our institutions work.

12. RECLAIM is a social change organisation that works with working class young people in Manchester. They work with young people which are deemed ‘hard to reach’ or disadvantaged and run leadership programmes for 12-15 year olds from working class communities and run an Alumni Network until they are 22. Their variety of programmes train young people to be active citizens, supporting youth-led campaigns as well as working with universities and employers to reduce the barriers faced by working class youth.⁷⁶²

⁷⁵⁸University of Manchester (2013). *Diversity or deprivation – what’s the issue?*

⁷⁵⁹ Dame Louise Casey (2016). *The Casey Review: a review into opportunity and integration*. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-casey-review-a-review-into-opportunity-and-integration>

⁷⁶⁰ Refugee Action (2016). *Let Refugees Learn*. Available at: http://www.refugee-action.org.uk/campaigns/let_refugees_learn/

⁷⁶¹ Brooks, Thom (2013) ‘The Life in the UK citizenship test: Is it unfit for purpose?’ Durham Law School Briefing Document, Durham University.

⁷⁶² RECLAIM. <https://www.reclaim.org.uk/Pages/Category/About-us>

Equally, Advocacy Academy support young leaders from marginalised groups to develop the skills and confidence they need to campaign on issues affecting their communities. They bring in campaigners, academics, local councillors and MPs over eight months to train participants to lead a grassroots campaign in their community, and deliver a speech to their MP in the House of Commons.⁷⁶³ These initiatives focus on encouraging civic participation long-term and focus on young people from backgrounds that are least represented in public life.

⁷⁶³ The Advocacy Academy. <http://www.theadvocacyacademy.com/#the-latest>

Scottish Older People's Assembly – written evidence (CCE0212)

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?

The Scottish Older People's Assembly's particular interest is in ensuring that older people are enabled to influence the policies and services that affect them. This presents a challenge as retired people often are more isolated from other members of the community and less adept at accessing and responding to digital means of communication. Older people are often portrayed as a burden on the community. There is a need to overcome that and create a situation in which their experience and lives are seen to be valued.

We have set out some proposals below which we would be pleased to present personally. The aim of these 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.

4. Do current laws encourage active political engagement?

Lack of confidence in the effectiveness of the political system is probably not so much a matter of laws as attitudes and behaviour of politicians. There is a tendency for politicians to believe that their only function is to operate within the parliamentary (or council) bubbles.

Public perception of the government is coloured by the adversarial nature of the Party system. If one says black the other feels obliged to say white. It is probably inevitable in our election process, but it gives the impression that inter-party point scoring over-rides the commitment to working together for the common good of citizens. Improving appropriate public participation in policy formation and implementation would help to improve that. There are many non-political representative groups who could be involved in relevant parliamentary discussions to help keep them objective.

We too often have the impression that citizens and their representatives are seen as a nuisance or distraction from the business of the Parliaments, councils and public bodies and that contact is quite grudgingly allocated to meetings with them. We appreciate that elected representatives have jobs to do but nevertheless they should understand that their prime function is to represent all of the people and not just their own parties. They should make an effort to prioritise their contact with the public.

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?

Our experience is that the Scottish Parliament and government are more open to contact with the public than Westminster. We appreciate that. While we believe it is well intentioned our experience is that interaction with the public and representative bodies is often not as productive as it might be.

For example, public access to Cross Party Groups is welcome, but very few MSPs attend and then often only briefly. Too often the meetings become just a series of reports from the various public groups. That is useful in networking and disseminating knowledge, but there is usually no impression that the MSPs will take the issues forward to government for consideration or action. There should be a more systematic procedure of reporting which MSPs will progress particular issues -perhaps in conjunction with the body that raised them - and a commitment that they will report back on whether policies or suggestions will be adopted or implemented.

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?

The proportion of older people in the population is steadily increasing. Yet all too often the social benefits of longevity are portrayed negatively as a problem, rather than as an achievement to be celebrated. Older people are regularly exposed to that. There is a need to build confidence in the contribution positive benefits older people bring to society.

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?

We believe that the Scottish Older People's Assembly has helped to overcome some of the above challenges in Scotland. Our approach has been to hold regular consultative meetings with a wide range of older people all over Scotland inviting them to express their concerns and their proposals for improvement of existing, or suggestions for new services and policies. We then act as their voice in relaying their views to Ministers and officials of the Scottish and to a lesser extent, UK governments. We believe that is an approach which should be developed and encouraged.

More background about SOPA and our activities follows: -

The Scottish Older People's Assembly (SOPA) was formed in 2009 and became a Scottish Charitable Incorporated Organisation in April 2016. It is led by older people, comprising 25-member organisations representing around 36,500 older citizens across Scotland. Our purposes are the improvement of human rights, the interests of older people, the equality and diversity of older people and citizenship and community development for older people. We influence decision makers on legislation, policies and services applying to older people and hold an annual national Assembly in the Debating Chamber of the Scottish Parliament enabling direct contact between older people and politicians. Please see our website for background information at www.scotopa.org.uk As a result of this exchange older people

become aware of Scotland's democratic system, how policies and legislation are developed and how services are implemented.

Since April 2016 more than 900 people have participated in 21 SOPA meetings around Scotland, two Scottish Parliamentary receptions, one Westminster reception and one national Assembly. The morning session of the Assembly, held in November 2016 was chaired by the Parliamentary Presiding Officer Ken Macintosh and Alex Cole-Hamilton MSP chaired the afternoon session. Keynote speeches were given by the Minister for Social Security, the Chairperson of SOPA and 13 older people who represented member organisations. The afternoon session dealt with preventative issues and a dialogue between politicians and officials was hosted by Alex Cole-Hamilton MSP. 160 delegates attended the Assembly involving 67 different organisations from a wide range of equality groups. The majority were from the Central Belt, but Dumfries and Galloway, Scottish Borders, Grampian, Orkney and West of Scotland were represented. We delivered a report on the Assembly and presented it to the Scottish Government. See our December newsletter for details. <http://www.scotopa.org.uk/2016assembly.asp>

Efficient maintenance of our website and social media which includes all of our events and activities has doubled and boosted reaches and engagement with older people and stakeholders over the internet.

A post-assembly letter to the SOPA Coordinator from Jean Freeman MSP, Minister for Social Security stated "I congratulate you and your colleagues on what you have accomplished during the past year to advance equality for older people and for arranging such a successful event."

The Westminster reception was hosted by Mhairi Black MP early in 2017 and dealt with the anomalies and negative effects within the current pension system, particularly those linked to WASPI. Christine Graham MSP hosted the Scottish Parliament reception that celebrated older people's contribution to democracy and how discrimination towards the older LGBTi community disadvantages them. Trading Standards Scotland in Partnership with SOPA delivered a third reception hosted by Alex Cole-Hamilton MSP. This event singled out some of the issues raised during the national Assembly relating to Scotland's National Outcome - "We live our lives safe from crime, disorder and danger". Mr Cole-Hamilton said: "This was one of the most enjoyable events I've had the pleasure to host. I think we should make it an annual event. What do you say?!"

"Our strength as active citizens derives from the participation of our member organisations. We are pleased that has been recognised in the public and political sphere. Holyrood Magazine which organises prestigious conferences, now routinely invites older people from SOPA to participate, when older people's issues are being discussed. Recently 4 representatives of our membership organisations formed the panel of their conference on isolation and recounted the experience of their members. When Archie Noone, SOPA and Alzheimers Scotland Dementia Working Group spoke at the Holyrood conference on

“Supporting an Ageing Workforce” about his personal experience of dementia, he demonstrated that it does not prevent someone from good humouredly chairing a conference.”Tom Berney, SOPA Chair

In addition to the compliments above, and following our 2015 Assembly 25 MSPs put forward a motion to state support for SOPA and congratulate us on being short listed for a Glasgow Herald Award.

The Scout Association – written evidence (CCE0202)

1. Introduction

- 1.1. The Scout Association (herein also referred to as TSA or The Association) welcome the opportunity to submit evidence to this Inquiry. As the UK's largest co-educational youth organisation, we deliver non-formal education and everyday adventure to over 460,000 six to twenty-five year olds across the UK: activity that builds character, changes lives and has a positive impact in communities.
- 1.2. TSA is a federation of over 8,000 individual Scout Groups, Districts and Counties, all of whom are independent charities led and maintained by a network of over 150,000 volunteers.
- 1.3. TSA welcomes the opportunity to submit evidence to the inquiry. The evidence submitted is based on existing literature, learning from TSA and a consultation with other national youth organisations.

2. Executive Summary and Recommendations

- 2.1. British society is changing, and recent events have exposed the growing divisions within our society. In a time of increasing segregation, active citizenship and giving young people a sense of belonging has never been more important. Supporting young people to make a positive contribution and engage with their local community is key to giving them a sense of belonging in their communities.
- 2.2. There is a crucial role for the youth sector to play in promoting civic engagement amongst young people. The sector is already doing exceptional work in empowering young people to make positive contributions to their community. However more that can be done in partnership with government.
- 2.3. Rather than overlook enduring solutions in favour of new ones, we urge government to expand the reach and impact of current civic engagement programmes to ensure greater prioritisation and promotion by public bodies and private sector businesses.
- 2.4. This submission makes a case for core funding of programmes that build active citizenship (such as Scouting) in young people from as early an age as possible and supportive infrastructure.

2.5. Namely:

2.5.1. Core and targeted funding

2.5.2. Increasing likelihood of partnership between formal and non-formal education

2.5.3. Revisit the previous Governments manifesto commitment to 3 days voluntary leave

2.6. This response uses Scouting as a case study of what that approach could achieve in terms of citizenship and active citizenship

3. What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21 century? Why does it matter and how does it relate to questions of identity?

3.1. TSA believes itself to be a great vehicle for civic engagement in the 21st century. By this we mean that Scouting empowers children and young people, to be active citizens who can make positive contributions to their local communities and the world around them.

3.2. A comparison study found that young people involved in Scouting scored 29.1% higher on Active Citizenship than non-scouts. Furthermore Scouts reported volunteering for 82 hours over the past twelve months, whereas non-Scouts contributed 24.

3.3. Young people are keen to participate meaningfully in their local communities, however many believe that they are not afforded the opportunity. Polling conducted by ComRes for TSA, found that 82% of 12-24 year olds across the UK believe it is important that young people help to solve some of the biggest social issues in this country, but only 36% believe they were given that opportunity.

3.4. We believe that young people, if empowered, can play an important role in their communities. However this can only be achieved through continued funding and support for youth social action projects.

Benefits of engaging young people in civic engagement.

3.5. Encouraging young people to become active citizens is one of core objectives of Scouting. Research has demonstrated considerable benefits for young people, as a result of their civic engagement through Scouting.

- 3.6. Research released by the University of Edinburgh has shown that Scouting and Guiding during childhood can be linked to a lower risk of mental illness in middle-age. The analysis was drawn from the National Child Development Study – a long running study of almost 10,000 people from across the UK who were born in November 1958. Around one-quarter of study participants had been in the Scouts or Guides, and were found to be around 15% less likely to suffer from anxiety or mood disorders, compared with others.
- 3.7. Civic engagement through organisations like the TSA also helps improve the life chances of young people in terms of education and employment. Polling conducted by ComRes for TSA revealed that 89 per cent of Scouts identified that Scouting had helped them to build ‘key employability skills including social, team working and leadership skills. Young people involved in Scouting also scored 19.5% higher on Life Skills and Employability than non-scouts.
- 3.8. TSA research also suggests that Scouting can assist the development of team-working, leadership, resilience and problem-solving, as well as demonstrate commitment and resolve. In a poll conducted by ComRes young people involved in Scouting scored 17.0% higher on Leadership than non-scouts and they also scored 10.5% higher on Problem Solving than non-scouts. They can also provide access to networks and social opportunities that are valuable for future employability.
- 3.9. Supporting and creating opportunities for young people to meaningfully participate in their communities helps them develop a strong sense of agency and belonging. In a recent comparison study, young people involved in Scouting scored 17.3% higher on belonging than non-scouts.
- 4. 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?**
- 4.1. The evidence is clear that engaging young people in social action at an earlier age has a positive impact and results in a stronger sense of citizenship. Research published by think tank Demos shows that the 29% of young people currently participating in social

action develop self-discipline, resilience and empathy by doing so⁷⁶⁴. Furthermore, evidence from the CBI (See CBI First Steps report) shows that social action helps develop optimism, determination and emotional intelligence - skills which are key to employability.

- 4.2. We know that teachers and schools do a fantastic job of teaching citizenship, and we firmly believe that where citizenship forms part of the curriculum it should be encouraged and supported.
- 4.3. Nevertheless, teachers currently fulfil a multitude of different roles; trying to build pupils' subject knowledge; whilst also developing them as individuals.
- 4.4. Research from Demos also revealed that less than four in ten (39 per cent) of state school respondents agreed that their school provided enough opportunities for volunteering and social action compared with 70 per cent of fee-paying school respondents⁷⁶⁵.
- 4.5. Schools and teachers should therefore not shoulder the entire burden of developing young people as active citizens, particularly schools which have insignificant resources or knowledge to provide meaningful citizenship education.
- 4.6. There is a crucial role for the third sector to play in supporting schools to deliver citizenship education. Partnership work is essential to achieving these shared outcomes for young people.
- 4.7. Such partnerships have proven to be hugely successfully not only in building young people's understanding of citizenship but also helping them build vital character attributes.
- 4.8. In 2014 with funding from the Department of Education's Character Education Grant fund, we piloted Character by Doing, a pilot programme designed with Demos, to deliver extra-curricular Scouting activities to 126 children aged 8-10 years old, in schools across England. Participating schools were selected on the basis of deprivation

⁷⁶⁴ J. Birdwell, R. Scott, D. Koninckx (2015) Learning by Doing, Demos.
<https://www.demos.co.uk/project/learning-by-doing/>

⁷⁶⁵ J. Birdwell, R. Scott, D. Koninckx (2015) Learning by Doing, Demos.
<https://www.demos.co.uk/project/learning-by-doing/>

and a lack of similar activities in their wider community. The pilot provided teachers and parents with the tools to bridge the gap between formal and non-formal education, and boost children’s character capabilities such as empathy, grit and leadership.

- 4.9. The pilot’s evaluation report, ‘Learning by Doing’ conducted by Demos, concluded that non-formal learning activities, such as Scouting are an important way of delivering character education, and essential for young people in developing key character attributes.
- 4.10. The ‘Learning by Doing’ report also demonstrated that teachers are keen to include more non-formal education in schools. In a representative survey of 800 teachers, 72 per cent agreed that non-formal education should be recognised in the national curriculum and 60 per cent thought that every pupil in the UK should have the opportunity to take part in activities like Scouting as part of their school routine⁷⁶⁶.
- 4.11. The Scottish inspection framework currently includes the recognition of pupil’s skills development, outside of formal school learning.
- 4.12. Since 2008, the [Curriculum for Excellence in Scotland](#) advocates a holistic approach of the learning process, recognising the skills pupils can achieve through non-formal education, such as Scouting. For example, working with the Scottish Qualification Authority, students from the Queen Anne High School have secured formal recognition of the skills they had developed through a Scout expedition and were awarded the SQA Leadership award, a level 6 qualification on the Scottish Credit and Qualification Framework. The 2013 school’s inspection report recognise the benefits of the partnership between Scouts and the school, recognising that the programme had supported pupils to develop into responsible citizens, effective contributors, confident individuals and successful learners.
- 4.13. Schools can use third sector partnerships to provide meaningful opportunities. This is particularly successful in Germany through the [Schule Plus initiative](#). The programme is best described as a “unique social online-network connecting schools with external partners, who offer various external offers to enrich the schooling curriculum.” It is free of charge for schools and helps them to connect with a range of organisations, including from the third sector, to “enhance the learning of students”.

⁷⁶⁶ J. Birdwell, R. Scott, D. Koninckx (2015) Learning by Doing, Demos.
<https://www.demos.co.uk/project/learning-by-doing/>

4.14. There is a real opportunity for the Committee to make bold recommendations that the government revisit its priority on Character Education, particularly the expansion and renewal of the Character Grant, Sugar Tax and the after-school activity funding, which the current Government discontinued.

5. 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 involve a more public citizenship ceremony? Are they good value for money? What other routes exist for creating active citizens

5.1. We believe that NCS is a positive addition to the current list of citizenship programmes available to young people. It produces positive outcomes in young people, has the right ambitions, is well led and reaches young people who may not have had any prior experience of social action. We have examples of young people in Scouting who have taken part in NCS reflecting how positive an experience it was.

5.2. Scouting is very comparable to NCS in terms of stated outcomes and activities used to reach those outcomes. Where the two programmes differentiate is in volume of contact, length of involvement and intensity, in that Scouting has a much higher volume of contact, over a longer period of time but in a less intense way.

5.3. The Scout Association has eleven Programme Objectives across five domains (namely physical, intellectual, emotional, social and spiritual. These objectives explicitly cover the NCS stated outcomes of teamwork, communication and leadership skills, transition to adulthood and engagement with the community.

5.4. Considering that the majority of sections within Scouting will have young people from three or more different schools, and that they regularly mix with young people on a District, County, national or international level through Scouting, we also facilitate the last of NCS stated outcomes, social mixing.

5.5. In terms of how these outcomes are reached, NCS uses a mixture of residential (two weeks) and a local community project (60 hours). Scouting uses a balanced programme that spans practical, character and employability skills through programme evenings (weekly during term time), regular camps and residential (weekends, often around once every two months, and school holidays) and with social

action projects embedded across our award scheme. All of these activities involve care and supervision by fully trained adults.

5.6. Considering the substantial cost associated with running NCS compared to other civic engagement programmes like Scouting, it is essential that NCS funding also go towards supporting less expensive programs with similar outcomes.

5.7. We are delighted to be working in partnership with the NCS Trust to test different NCS models that will allow us to deliver NCS whilst bolstering our own, complimentary, capacity.

6. 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 Government and Parliament do to support civil society initiatives to increase civic engagement?

Building a cross-departmental approach

6.1. Government and Parliament can best aid this by providing the framework and the support required to help deliver programmes. This includes core funding, common efficient impact measurement, brokering partnerships with formal education, in both delivery and use of facilities, and supportive policies on volunteering and employment

6.2. There needs to be a real cross government department focus on youth policy that identifies new streams of funding, such as utilising dormant assets, and building sustainability in the programmes required.

6.3. Providing organisations with core funding is an essential part of building sustainability in projects. Core funding allows organisations to experiment with new funding models, foster new partnerships, and develop new approaches of delivery, whilst being agile and responsive to the needs of young people.

6.4. We would also suggest the committee urge government to provide incentives for schools to allow community use of space out of school hours which is focussed on active citizenship. With the cost and availability of community facilities rising in recent years, schools can provided much needed space for the delivery of social civic engagement programmes.

6.5. TSA is entirely volunteer-led with support from a small number of paid staff. Scouting for young people relies on the efforts of over 150,000 adult volunteers in both front-

line and support roles. Currently nearly 51,000 young people are on waiting lists to take part in Scouting because we lack the adults to run local Groups.

6.6. We are not alone and recruitment and retention of volunteers challenges organisations throughout the UK of all sizes and interests. Our experience is that many of the barriers to volunteering are not to do with legislation or motivation, but more simple factors such as time and the willingness of employers to accommodate volunteer commitments.

6.7. Although employers agree on the positive impact of volunteering on their business, with 94% recognising that volunteering can add to personal skill sets, the reality for Scout volunteers is very different, with many employers reacting negatively to their involvement.

6.8. Employers should be encouraged to take volunteerism into account in performance reviews. In fact, 50 percent of companies on Points of Light's 2014 Civic 50 list include community engagement work in performance reviews for at least some employees.

7. 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?

7.1. As an organisation TSA have established shared values that we promote to all our members and young people. These values underpin the fundamentals of Scouting and set out the expectations of everyone involved.

7.2. These values are:

7.2.1. Integrity - We act with integrity; we are honest, trustworthy and loyal.

7.2.2. Respect - We have self-respect and respect for others.

7.2.3. Care - We support others and take care of the world in which we live.

7.2.4. Belief - We explore our faiths, beliefs and attitudes.

7.2.5. Cooperation - We make a positive difference; we cooperate with others and make friends.

7.3. Our values are a uniting force within the Scouting community, giving young people a sense of purpose and a feeling that they are a part of a much bigger community connected by a shared way of thinking.

7.4. They also help to foster positive character traits within our young people. Young people involved in Scouting scored 15.6% higher on Responsibility and trustworthiness than non-scouts.

8. 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?

Facilitating opportunities for social mixing

8.1. There is increasing evidence that structured and institutional segregation is on the rise – particularly amongst young people. Findings from the Social Integration Commission proved that young people under 17 years old have 53% fewer interactions with other ethnicities than would be expected if there was no social segregation⁷⁶⁷.

8.2. It is this social segregation which fuels mistrust between communities and promotes further segregation amongst the younger generations.

8.3. There are already real costs to our economy and society of not taking sufficient action to promote social integration. According to a study by the Independent Social Integration Commission, this lack of social integration is costing the British economy £6bn a year and failure to tackle the issue threatens to create a nation of segregated schools, thwarted careers and gated communities.

8.4. We believe that Scout Groups have an important and unique role to play in facilitating social mixing and providing opportunities for young people and adults to build friendships based on common interests rather than differences.

8.5. Dame Louise Casey’s review of [Opportunity and Social Integration](#) recognised this, and drew particular attention to the potential of Scouting and other uniform groups in improving positive social interactions between young people.

8.6. Furthermore in 2014 Amir Cheema, a Muslim national Scout volunteer [won the Points of Light award](#), for his role in bringing young people from different backgrounds together through the use of Scouting. Mr Cheema was praised by former Prime

⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁷ Social Integration Commission, How Integrated is modern Britain?
http://socialintegrationcommission.org.uk/SIC_Report_WEB.pdf

Minister David Cameron, for improving community cohesion in his role as a Group Scout leader.

- 8.7. In keeping with our strategic goal of bringing Scouting to more deprived communities, we have been setting up groups in most deprived areas of Sheffield. One of the groups chosen was based at Owler Brook Primary School in Page Hall. The Page Hall was chosen because of tensions since the arrival of large numbers of Slovakian Roma families.
- 8.8. In setting up the group we identified several cultural barriers to civic participation from the Roma community including:
- 8.8.1. Mistrust and a distorted understanding of “outsiders”. The community’s long standing history of discrimination and persecution meant that there was an initial lack of trust from the community towards TSA volunteers. Local TSA groups were able to tackle this through networking and building links with partners already working within the community.
 - 8.8.2. Familial responsibilities and obligations. Roma are a very family centred ethnic group and some children and young people may have never spent a night away from home without parents/carers – this could be due to financial restrictions in addition to traditional family rules but it also meant that the residential element of Scouting had the potential to cause anxiety and stress. To combat this TSA volunteers were encouraged to invite elders from the family to join the young people at the residential.
- 8.9. The new Scout group provided a much needed safe space for different communities in Sheffield to get together and explore the commonalities of their identity, and understand their differences.
- 8.10. We are driven by the belief Scouting can be used to help facilitate social mixing and help young people from marginalised communities become pivotal members of their local communities. However we need support from government and supportive infrastructure to expand our activities into the communities which need it the most.
- 8.11. Without government funding from the Youth United Fund and the supportive local infrastructure which existed (Owler Brook Primary School and local volunteers), we would not have been able to achieve our outcomes in Page Hall.

Scout Association – supplementary written evidence (CCE0272)

- 8.12. We strongly urge government to utilise money from dormant assets to support programmes such as Scouting boost social integration across the most segregated communities in the UK.

Scout Association – supplementary written evidence (CCE0272)

I would like to further take this opportunity to provide the committee with information on some of the points raised during the evidence session.

The University of Edinburgh study on Scouting and mental health referenced by Matt is called, *Be(ing) prepared: Guide and Scout participation, childhood social position and mental health at age 50—a prospective birth cohort study*. The study was conducted by researchers at the Universities of Edinburgh and the University of Glasgow, and has been published in the *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*. The findings were drawn from a lifelong study of almost 10,000 people from across the UK who were born in November 1958, known as the National Child Development Study.

On the number of female Muslim Scouts, our census does not currently record the religion of young people within the Movement. However of the young people in the Muslim Scout Fellowship we know that 57% are girls.

During the oral evidence session the committee also touched upon the issue of full time volunteering. To reiterate we believe that full-time volunteers should be legally recognised. For more information on how legal recognition can help further promote civic engagement and citizenship, we would urge the committee to contact City Year UK.

As mentioned during the session The Scout Association has embarked on a pilot partnership with the 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.

The partnership will:

- Open up new opportunities for The Scout Association to deliver innovative NCS programmes, enhancing the impact and quality of the Explorer Scout and Young Leader experience by integrating the NCS experience within Scouting. This will support the growth of both organisations and offer new opportunities for social mixing

- Offer unique social action and personal development opportunities for NCS graduates to support Explorer Scouts, Scout Network, the Young Leaders Scheme and adult volunteering in Scouting. This will help extend the reach of NCS beyond its core programme and support sustainable growth for Scouting
- Offer new roles for NCS graduates to support the growth of Scouting in disadvantaged communities, increasing the reach to communities that stand to benefit most
- Allow both organisations to test and learn new approaches that will improve outcomes for young people and deliver good value for money

Liam Burns

Head of Policy, Innovation and Strategy
The Scout Association

SENSE – written evidence (CCE0102)

Sense is a national charity that supports people with complex communication needs to enjoy more independent lives. Our expertise in supporting individuals with complex communication needs benefits people of all ages, as well as families and carers. We provide information and advice, offer a wide range of flexible services and campaign passionately for the rights of the people we serve.

At Sense we believe that everyone, no matter how complex their communication needs, deserves the right to be connected and part of society. It's why we strive to unlock barriers to communication so everyone can enjoy meaningful lives – be it through speech, sign, touch, movement, gesture, sound, or art.

To respond to this consultation, Sense has drawn on a wide range of evidence from key areas of our public policy work (health, social care, education, employment welfare and benefits), practice knowledge from Sense services, and our contribution to Jo Cox's Commission on Loneliness.

Question 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? How might these barriers be overcome?

Those with complex communication needs can include wide range of people. From people who are deafblind, to those with multi-sensory impairments, complex needs, or autism. We all need to be connected yet we all connect differently. As we currently live in a context where communicating through hearing and sight is heavily relied upon, for those who do not there can be significant barriers to engaging equally and fully in everyday life – including civic engagement and citizenship.

Loneliness, isolation, and exclusion

Recently, Sense produced [a report and led a one-month campaign on tackling loneliness and isolation in relation to disability](#) as part of Jox Cox's Commission on Loneliness. Increased civic engagement and citizenship can contribute to tackling loneliness. However to do this it's necessary for central government, devolved and local governments, with the support of third sector organisations, to address underlying contributors to loneliness across a wide range of public policy areas, such as:

1.1 Disability awareness and discrimination

Throughout Senses' public policy work, we have found that a lack of disability awareness has been a key contributor to barriers across a range of areas. Unfortunately, much more still needs to be done to increase understanding of disability across public life; from greater awareness of how to make things accessible and the importance of doing so, to understanding what disability is and how the way we understand it then affects how we address barriers. It also includes having more positive and diverse representations of disabled people to directly challenge the common underestimation of disabled people. This is vital in preventing both direct and indirect discrimination so that people can fully participate, engage with, and contribute to society.

1.2 Accessibility (including public spaces, local services, the workplace, leisure or transport)

A lack of accessibility across public life such as leisure activities, the workplace, or public transport can act as a barrier to civic engagement. Featured in [Sense's report on loneliness](#), Ian explains how "Simple things like going to the pub can be a stressful experience when you have both sight and hearing impairments. I have to try hard to hear in noisy places and even walking to the bar can be a challenge because of my tunnel vision. There aren't many venues for young people that are accessible to someone like me. Meeting friends is difficult."

Sense's report on loneliness also highlights that inaccessible transport can be a significant barrier - preventing people to live independently and engage in public life. Understandably, being restricted in when you can leave your house can result in isolation.

Another example was highlighted in the [Sense Case for Play](#) report which found that many families with disabled children could not use their local parks, outdoor play areas, or attend local leisure activities as they were not suitable.

To address this point, it is important for understanding of accessibility to be further increased across a variety of sectors and for accompanied training to be developed where needed. One way in which Sense has been doing this is by providing specialised toolkits for specific environments and professional roles such as for [play settings](#) or [employers](#).

1.3 Information and communication

Accessible information is vital to any informed participation and good communication is fundamental to meaningful engagement in relationships, social groups, and public life. For those with complex communication needs accessible information and communication means making sure information and communication is provided and translated into a format that is accessible to the individual. What is accessible for each person can vary greatly. It can include British Sign Language (BSL), hands on signing, deafblind manual, braille, large print, speech to text, audio, or easy read.

A lack of accessible information and communication can often be a significant barrier in civic engagement and citizenship. Some examples include: continued issues around information, communication and voting. Another example recently highlighted in the concluding observations on the UK government's progress in meeting United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) is the provision of interpreters for those with hearing impairments and jury duty.

Sense has been a leading organisation on the importance of accessible information, reflected by our involvement in the development of the [Accessible Information Standard](#) and consultations with disabled people relating to its implementation. Many of the learnings from the Standard and accompanied processes can be applied across a variety of the other sectors.

Accessible information needs to incorporate technology in an increasingly digitally-focused world. More awareness-raising is needed around what technology is available to support people's access to information (and communication). Sense has been involved in the Heritage Lottery Funded Online Today project aiming to get more people with complex communication needs online.

Barriers can be further overcome by drawing on the expertise and guidance of long standing specialist organisations like Sense, especially when it comes to [meeting communication needs](#) across a variety of sectors.

Question 10: 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?

Sense has a number of initiatives which address barriers, leading to more meaningful civic engagement and citizenship by bringing communities together. These are suitable and accessible services that are embedded within local communities. Initiatives such as these should be highlighted as good practice, signposted to those in need, promoted to local communities, properly funded and supported. Below are a few examples:

1.1 Sense TouchBase Pears

[TouchBase Pears](#) is a pioneering, multi-purpose centre which offers a range of [day service opportunities](#) for people with complex communication needs. Also open for the local community and the general public, it is a space that brings people together in a welcoming environment where everyone can feel connected, included and part of the community.

Developed and designed by Sense with a focus on sustainability and creating value for the whole community, the aim of TouchBase Pears is to promote social inclusion and help meet our vision of disabled and non-disabled people enjoying activities and our facilities side by side. We consulted with all sectors of the community to ensure we created a facility that will benefit everyone.

The centre has a family-friendly café, a sensory garden, art exhibitions and performances, children's activities, a wide range of rooms and facilities for hire, and a community library. Sense are incorporating much needed employment and training opportunities for disabled people and designing services (around sports) directly in response to what those using services have expressed interest in.

1.2 Sense Buddying Project

Sense has over 40 years of experience developing short breaks for children and young people with complex needs where volunteers provide primary care and facilitate activities. Buddying is a supportive friendship between two people living in the same community who share common interests. Young disabled people 'buddy up' with their non-disabled peers who enjoy similar leisure activities and hobbies.

A buddy is not a relative or a paid worker but rather is someone who offers a young person who has complex sensory and communication difficulties a supportive friendship. The voluntary nature of a buddying arrangement, and the fact that time spent together is mutually negotiated, offers a different kind of a relationship than with family members or paid professionals. Relationships are characterised by greater perceived equality, sincerity, and are often more long-lasting.

A volunteer buddying scheme can fill the social and emotional gap that may not be met by existing statutory provision. The child or young person can follow their preferred interests, gain increased confidence, get out and about in their local community, develop vital skills towards independence and above all, socialise and make friends.

Buddying provides an opportunity for like-minded disabled and non-disabled peers to come together and develop friendships through a shared interest and hobby. In this regard, though the scheme is primarily for disabled people, it is providing civic engagement opportunities for the volunteer as well by building equal relationships, friendships, and closer communities.

1.3 Sense shops as local community hubs

Sense has around one hundred charity shops across the country. Increasingly the aim of these shops is to become community hubs to bring people together, volunteering (such as the National Citizens Service), and campaigning. For example, as part of Sense’s month-long campaign with Jo Cox’s Commission on Loneliness, Sense shops hosted a number of events and activities.

Conclusion

This consultation response has outlined barriers to civic engagement and citizenship faced by disabled people (in particular those with complex communication needs). In a society that heavily depends on communication via sight and hearing, it is vital to address how this can marginalise those who do not communicate in this way. In particular, this means increasing disability awareness, ensuring accessible information and communication, and improving accessibility in general across public life. What central, devolved, and local governments can do is support suitable and accessible services that are embedded within communities, and draw upon the expertise of organisations like Sense.

7 September 2017

John Shaddock – written evidence (CCE0182)

Topic 4 Political engagement and the voting process

4.1 In 1944, a review of Parliamentary Boundaries led to a change to the current position where the voting system serves the needs of the politicians, not the citizens. Politicians are interested in **electors**, not **citizens**, so the boundaries have been drawn to suit the politicians (i.e. equalising the number of electors in a constituency). In a representative democracy, MPs should represent all those in the constituency, of whatever age, whether registered to vote or not. The voting franchise determines who can choose the representative, not who should be represented. Children, the homeless, Members of the House of Lords etc. should all be in the compass of an area's MP. To equalise MPs' workloads, boundaries should be drawn on the basis of population, not electorate.

4.2 The current adversarial system created by 'first past the post' elections has certain merits. Citizen engagement is not one of them. Not only are 'non-winning' votes wasted and so not fully reflected in democratic debate, but any engagement tends to be of the 'stop the other lot' variety – dialogue, nuance, balance are all casualties. A form of proportional representation would encourage citizens to see that, even when unsuccessful overall, their votes do carry weight. In a system where the government has only 35%-45% of the popular vote, the majority of citizens will feel their views have been ignored.

Topic 7 Supporting civic engagement

7.1.1 These comments are based on the broad assumption that 'civic engagement' largely takes place at the local level. The history of the development of local services was to meet the needs of the town or city - initially health, sanitation, public order etc. - with the advent of industrialisation. There has been a problem in local affairs that the recent emphasis has been on 'service provision'. The internet-enabling of public services has further pushed the concept that local services are services in the market sense, provided in response to public demand. Despite this, at local levels there are very few universal services to *individuals*. Services like housing, social services, income support, aids for independent living, literacy programmes etc. are usually received by only a small proportion of the population of an area.

7.1.2 At the local level, government has been concerned not merely with providing services to individuals, important though that is. Education is a service not only for the direct recipients, but also for those who want to live in an educated society. The local level has been a focus for the management of issues of sustainability, community cohesion, economic and social development, local vitality etc. The functions government has used to address these issues include physical planning, economic strategy, environmental management, promotion and events, tourism support; there has been input on crime management, transport, waste disposal, air and water quality, health priorities etc. These are universal services; they are, arguably, the most important local services. They tend to have long-term impact. But they are not services to individuals and they are not particularly amenable to market solutions. They usually require the political balancing of competing interests.

7.1.3 Often, a solution will only be as good as its level of public acceptability and that is dependent on a number of factors including leadership, trust, communication, mode of coercion, perceived importance. All these require some degree of dialogue between citizens

themselves and between citizens and government. At the community level the particular strengths include:

- Citizens have shared experience of public policy in practice (as it affects their area)
- Ability to form a common understanding of issues and causality
- Experience of interaction of different public policies on, for example, education, social care and crime
- Capacity to bring volunteer strengths to address community issues (i.e. solutions not necessarily resource-dependent)
- Long-term relationships
- Opportunities to engage with decision-making processes

7.1.4 The weakening of the role of local democracy, including the outsourcing of functions to private sector organisations operating behind the curtain of ‘commercial confidentiality’, has distanced local citizens (and local representatives) from the capacity to influence the nature of their lived environment. Local authorities now very rarely identify new functions to address emerging needs; civic responsibility – from the perspective of both leaders and citizens – has been profoundly weakened.

7.1.5 To address these issues, power needs to be given to cities, towns and villages to be able to address local issues comprehensively. The fragmentation of local services needs to be addressed and corrective action properly resourced; subsidiarity should be the order – if it can be done at the local level, it should be done at the local level. Citizens should be trusted. Central Government tends to operate in silos – the joining up needs to be done at the local level and in response to local experience. Infantilisation by centrally-imposed solutions leads to disempowerment. If people feel like citizens, they will act like citizens.

7.2 An important dimension is information. This is a vital role for central government. Citizens need information to act meaningfully at a local level. Providing tools, education, support etc. for the development of local information systems – without seeking to control the data – is an intervention which is seriously lacking in civic life. This is an area where central government could have a very significant impact on civic engagement.

8 September 2017

Sheffield for Democracy – written evidence (CCE0065)

“Sheffield for Democracy” is an informal group set up by local campaigners, many of whom were involved in the “Yes” Campaign in the May 2011 referendum. It is a non-partisan campaign group for greater transparency, accountability and representation in both local and national democracy. It is linked to national organisations such as the Electoral Reform Society and Unlock Democracy. These campaign for greater democracy, an informed populace, citizens rights, a fairer voting system and more accurate representation of the public will in Parliament; we support them in these aims and work with them.

In addition, locally, we are campaigning for

- better scrutiny arrangements in public bodies: Sheffield City Council; the City Region Combined Authority; the Police authority including the Police and Crime Commissioner for S.Yorkshire, and associated Police & Crime Panel
- better community engagement and citizen involvement in locality management
- better engagement with our MPs and City councillors, including providing opportunities for interchange of perspectives including through public forums
- more transparency and more mechanisms to enable people to be better informed about the work of our elected representatives (for example, web-casting of public meetings)
- better understanding of when, if, and how referendums should be used

1. Citizenship is usually expressed as the status of a person recognised as being a legal member of a sovereign state or multiple states. It enables us to feel part of the community; to be able to express our wishes and needs in that community. However citizenship & Identity are now fluid concepts in the 21st Century. The flood of Britons applying for dual citizenship after the Brexit referendum is a symptom of a weaker link between individuals and the ideas of Nationality. The UK has many citizens living and working here who do not hold official papers as UK Nationals but have been part of the fabric of our society for tens of years. Similarly we have many UK Nationals living and working abroad who retain only their UK citizenship despite many years passing since their emigration.

The most important part of this is the idea of Civic Engagement, which should not be bounded by rules on Nationality or citizenship. All people living and or working in the boundary of the state and connected to the state through taxes, familial ties and access to services should have access to civic engagement. Identity changes depending on the context of the question being asked. In this way, the means by which people engage with citizenship need to be similarly flexible, with different contributions recognised

2. Citizenship should be about membership & belonging but that is not how it is perceived. It is seen as conferring special rights to one set of people in a community, and excluding others, and is therefore as often divisive as it is collective in nature. There should certainly be a framework for outlining the rights & responsibilities of citizens (and Governments) in the form of a written constitution. We are currently citizens both of a Nation state and a conglomerate European state, though this is being removed from people irrespective of their own choice in the matter. The aim should be not to encourage “Britishness” but to affirm a welcome to those who are here and wish to be part of this community, which may be expressed by an individual as identifying with one of the many different communities that form our nation.

Education is the key role in the encouragement of citizenship & for fostering engagement. Pride in a single citizenship (British for instance) should not be encouraged to the detriment of other citizenships; putting one form of identity above others is divisive and would discourage people who see that citizenship as just another aspect of their overall identity (French, Irish, Pakistani, Scottish) from being as engaged as they might otherwise be. (Of course this is not to minimise other important sources of identity: e.g. gender/sexuality/religion/ideology)

3. Civic Engagement, i.e. voting, political participation, writing to MPs, getting involved in the community, organising protests, etc is important. Social media, used responsibly facilitates this. It is about sharing values and rights and obligations.

How the relationship between citizenship & engagement is defined is a question that requires more exacting consideration than is possible here. The principles of that relationship should be defined by a binding written constitution that is widely debated and widely consulted upon, taking the best from our own Parliamentary & legal frameworks and adding lessons from other systems around the world.

4. Current governance arrangements deter political engagement. In particular we draw attention to the over-centralisation of powers including what are local responsibilities and requirements; and crucially, fiscal arrangements. The relationship between the citizen and their local, county/regional & national governance structures are overly complex and misunderstood. Too many laws are created centrally and simply delivered by lower tier government and this is confusing and therefore a deterrent to engagement.

Most importantly, representation should reflect the way people vote. First Past the Post is a broken system that delivers contrary and therefore divisive results at both National & local levels. It contributes to apathy as many feel their vote will not count. The age, method of voting and the registration process should reflect a more direct correlation approach to representation, Proportional Representation being the obvious preference in that respect. Registration should certainly be automatic, linked to achievement of majority (or citizenship) through something like the NI Number. We need this fair proportionate voting system for all state and civic elections. If you can work and pay taxes, marry, serve in the

armed forces at 16, you should also be able to express your views in elections. The future of this age cohort is significantly affected by political decision making.

Proportional Representation works for regional assemblies in Scotland and Wales so why is it not available for national government in the whole of the UK

5. Citizenship should be part of the curriculum throughout a person's full time education. The content may be different as age progresses but the process should focus more on the roles and responsibilities of citizens & governments (at all levels) including how to be a part of that governing process; how to take part effectively in those processes; if necessary, how to effectively challenge the status quo. Current coverage in schools seem to be open to being sponsored by outside agencies and to press their own agendas rather than an agreed broad understanding of the citizenship relationship. (i.e. Banks teaching money issues, aiming to create good consumers and encourage debt spending).

Schools and colleges should have systems that educate students in the democratic systems of government and offer the opportunity to reflect on that experience. A significant and effective method of doing so is to involve students routinely in the governance of their own institutions, and to have opportunities to reflect on those processes.

Faith schools mustn't be allowed to override the basic tenets of freedom, justice and human rights which are taken as a given in this country.

6. Having very little knowledge of the National Citizen Service, suggests to us (as relatively engaged citizens) that their profile is not very significant. Without safeguards, it is likely that such programmes can and will become politicised, either by the organisations delivering the programme or the government sponsoring them. The dangers of this should therefore bring into question whether they should have formal or statutory support from government.
7. Society can support civic engagement through the approach of Governments at all levels being more transparent, accountable and public facing. Rules for governance meetings should be outlined more rigorously and always aim to favour public scrutiny and accessibility above party political, privacy or corporate commercial confidentiality.

The webcasting (broadcasting live via the internet) of meetings should be standard at all levels of Government and appropriately funded from the centre. Archiving of such broadcasts should also be normal practice for all levels of government.

The encouragement to ensure that decision making and consultation is pushed to the lowest feasible level of society is also vital; funding (from the Centre) should be a part of that solution. Neighbourhood meetings and albeit small spending budgets at this level can make a significant difference to people's engagement.

There should be more citizens panels to look at complex issues that face us. (e.g. the 2 assemblies run by the Electoral Reform Society etc on local devolution in 2016). Less formal

events such as MP Paul Blomfield's 'Big Conversation' can help engagement with voters
<https://www.facebook.com/events/361426474277364>

8. We should all be more aware of our rights under the Human Rights Act and these base rights should be the values we are expected to share. Beyond that we run the risk of creating values that are desirable rather than necessary or, even worse, politically motivated by whichever party is ruling at the time.

Current threats to these values are increasingly from the devaluing of local control (cuts to local budgets & services) and the dilution of local control through privatisation and outsourcing. The democratic deficit these practices create is well documented and the supposed economic benefits are lacking evidence. Any service being delivered by the lowest cost contractor cannot be the best service and politicians are poor contract experts.

The idea that majorities are always right needs to be challenged: constitutional changes need substantial majorities; rights and interests and issues of concern to minorities need to be intertwined in our thinking, and their protection to be part of our approach to democracy. We must also be wary of the concentration of power in too few hands. For instance mayoral and police and crime commissioner positions need adequate democratic accountability.

9. Communities & Groups are feeling 'left behind' as they fail to see any benefit from new legislation or supposed economic growth. The welfare state has moved from being supportive and inclusive to seeming punitive and denigrating. Unemployment figures are widely seen as unsound statistics and many 'new' jobs are both precarious and uncertain in earnings ability. Those in extremis of poverty or perceived discrimination are unable to engage in the basics of society, never mind become engaged in political activity. Because of lack of these social and economic rights, there is poor involvement through our vaunted but hugely deficient "democracy". This will only be overcome with a system of support that allows even the most vulnerable in society to live with respect and dignity. The idea of Universal Basic Income is gaining ground as a potential solution for this very reason.

A considerable amount of money from EU regional policy will cease to be available to many poorer parts of the UK when Brexit kicks in. Government must bear that in mind when developing policy post Brexit. Responsibility doesn't just lie with the individual, it lies with government as well.

10. Programmes aimed at improving citizenship & engagement are often at odds with attempts to improve integration. A much more sophisticated approach is needed. The promotion of 'so called' British values and the imposition of divisive measures like 'Prevent' emphasise difference and promote ideas of 'right thinking' ways of being. Social cohesion and to some extent integration is a long term process, often over generations. If we look at how second and third generation migrants live, it often bears little resemblance to their forebears. Knowledge and understanding of each other is the most effective measure to oppose

alleged extremism on all sides. We are unaware of any forced integration policies which actually work to generate a happy and stable population.

11. Whilst proficiency in English is a desirable skill for all UK citizens it should not be a prerequisite for residence or citizenship. It is however important that institutions & employers in the UK who benefit from foreign staff, students or employees be responsible for providing the training they may need to adapt to living here.

However, to encourage and enable integration, it is essential that English language classes (English as a second language ESL) are available to children and adults, free and locally based. This is not currently the case. These classes should be tailored to the communities served.

12. See our comment above (para 7) re MP Paul Blomfield's efforts as an example of good practice in engagement with elected representatives

5 September 2017

Dr Mark Shephard, Senior Lecturer in Politics, University of Strathclyde – written evidence (CCE0023)

My submission addresses sections 5 through 9 and my briefing paper and Ted talk do address ways to engage online that could facilitate a more tolerant and cohesive society (point 12).

Introduction/Overview

Following ESRC/AQMeN funded research* on the content of Twitter and BBC Have Your Say discussion threads in the run-up to the Scottish Independence Referendum (2014) I identified 5 'F's' to avoid doing online (foul; false; foggy; flannel; and flaming) as well as 5 'F's' to think about before engaging online (followers; facts; fashion; filtering; and fallout). Education Scotland already use my [TEDx talk](#) as a component in classroom teaching (5 F's to avoid). The policy brief below extends this Ted talk and is of salience to your points 5 through 9 and also point 12 It focuses on simple alliterative exercises that should help build better online (and offline) behaviours, so contributing to better citizenship. Given the heated online discussions over issues such as Scottish independence and Brexit, it also makes sense for this brief to be disseminated and used by teachers in secondary schools in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as part of citizenship education (for example, the citizenship component of the National Curriculum, the National Citizenship Service, and Politics A and AS...).

*This brief was derived from a wider social media project on Scottish independence funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) in conjunction with the Applied Quantitative Methods Network (AQMeN) as part of the 'Future of the UK and Scotland' research programme (www.esrc.ac.uk/major-investments/future-of-uk-and-scotland).

Improving online political literacy for effective public engagement

This Policy Brief draws on the author's research of online social media discourse during the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. It aims to stimulate classroom discussion and awareness of how to improve online literacy for effective political and public engagement. Using examples from research of online discussions of the Scottish independence referendum, it identifies online behaviours that undermine effective public and political engagement (5 F's to avoid), as well as things to be aware of when reading and/or entering into debate with others online (5 F's to consider). This IPPI Policy Brief is aimed at those who teach social media in the classroom as well as for any citizen who reads and/or engages in debate online.

I Introduction and background

Social media use has gone from a small minority activity to a majority activity within a relatively short space of time (Ofcom, 2015) and is particularly popular with younger people (Langford and Baldwin, 2013). Even if you do not use social media you are likely to indirectly consume it as traditional media not only responds to stories that start on social media, but often include extracts in their coverage. As well as the opportunities to share information and to interact with others using social media, the Youth Citizenship Commission (2009) identified a number of concerns with the use and consumption of social media including: selective consumption and interaction; inadequate representation of sides; limited characters with which to communicate; and the capacity of users to know what is valid. Of course, this is not just a problem for youth. The concerns raised by the Citizenship Commission have resonance for anybody directly and/or indirectly trying to make sense of the world around them through online interaction.

Unlike driving a car, there is no licence required for online social media engagement. This means that lots can go wrong that need not, provided that citizens are made aware of a few core behaviours to avoid and things to look out for when engaging online. This is arguably important across all domains of life from interpreting online restaurant reviews to knowing where to book your holiday. In politics this is important because political campaigns now widely employ social media (see for example, Gibson and McAllister, 2011) and we know that social media can alter participation and voter turnout (see for example, Bond et al. 2012) and can set agendas and even alter electoral outcomes (see for example, Hogan and Graham, 2013).

Although our research on social media usage during the Scottish independence referendum suggests that bad behaviour online is very much a minority activity on average (Quinlan, Shephard and Paterson, 2015), news stories illustrating bad practice online and its consequences for both recipients and those posting are commonplace. Those targeted, as well as those targeting, come from all walks of life and the whole point of this brief is to use examples from our research to illustrate some core things to avoid and some key things to look out for online. My goal is to use some of the clangers spotted in the course of our research into online behaviour during the Scottish independence referendum to help create a more informed and capable citizenry more able to effectively engage online.

From our research, I posit 5 core 'Fs' to avoid and 5 core 'Fs' to consider before engaging with online social media.

II 5 Fs to avoid

- 1) **Foul** - The first 'F' to avoid is the foul. Adding swear words or using threatening words (or even gratuitous smears such as 'Slimeball Salmond' or 'Clown Prince Cameron') against people and/or organisations and/or political viewpoints is likely to be abusive and offensive to those who are targeted, to some who are reading a thread, and even to those posting the foul should the public and/or media and/or their employer turn on them. The same is true of offensive imagery that might

accompany any post. Being foul rarely adds to a debate, and often detracts from it. In addition, too much wasted time is used challenging foul posts, thereby eroding the space and time available for serious discussions of points that are being made. Fouling can also close down debate as the side targeted ‘spirals into silence’ making it difficult to know what is the true balance of online opinion. This can then lead to all manner of misunderstandings about the online balance of opinion, and even inaccurate inferences about the state of public opinion.

- 2) **FLAMING!!!** – The second ‘F’ to avoid is flaming behaviour (of which ‘foul’ can be viewed as an extreme subset). Classic examples of flaming behaviour include angry-looking UPPER CASE usage, multiple exclamation and/or question marks (!!! ... ???). Flaming is also associated with dramatic, over-the-top posts, for example: ‘please vote YES in the #indyref and close the door on the way out!!!’ or ‘Do these damn jocks not realise the EU is the REAL problem, not the UK? smh!!! #IndyPlan...’ or ‘No-one is going to get between me and a Scotland passport - no one!! #indyref’ or ‘more pandas in the zoo than Tory MPs. LOL!!!’. Like foul posts, these kind of posts add little to the debate of the issues and too often simply serve to wind people up and so needlessly ratchet up tensions.
- 3) **False** – The third ‘F’ to avoid is starting and/or spreading false information. Even if you don’t start false information, it can be very tempting to retweet and/or share posts that you like either because they support what you believe, or more usually because they oppose views, and/or groups and/or people with whom you have no affinity. This ‘F’ can be difficult to correct as it often requires you to research a topic more thoroughly by cross-checking information from a variety of sources. If in any doubt, resist the urge to be first to circulate the information. Think about the damage you could be doing to individuals (and possibly their families and even their employees and associates) who are subsequently found to have been falsely accused. Do you want to be a false accuser?

False posts are also quite easy to commit when resorting to generalisations. For example, if a politician is caught doing something wrong, it is incorrect to infer that all politicians (or all politicians that share the party affiliation) are like this. A common example of a fallacious contribution that cropped up in the online discussions on the independence debate, is when someone claims to know what a whole nationality thinks (either because they think they know this, or they have asked a few friends, neighbours or office colleagues), for example, ‘Having a debate on Scotland's #indyref in London office. Most English here believe UK subsidises Scotland and that Scots are a drain..’. In fact this comment commits more errors, for instance, failing to spot that Scotland is part of the UK, and a further rather eye-wateringly simplistic assertion that ‘all Scots are a drain’.

Another example of generalisations and fallacious posting evident in the independence referendum online posts was when one English person or one Scottish person said

something, and that view was then aggregated up and attributed to all English or all Scottish people, for example, ‘Shows how far the English are removed from democracy when they are incapable of accepting other opinions’. Again, cross-check information, seek out representative public opinion polls and exercise extreme caution when generalising from an individual to a group, or even a group (e.g. a political party policy) to an individual (e.g. a party member who does not support their own party’s policy). False posts often overlap with foul and FLAMING!!

- 4) **Foggy** - The fourth ‘F’ to avoid is being foggy/unclear. If people do not understand what you are saying, this can negate the purpose of your post and it may cause misunderstanding and even tension escalation. Our research provided a few examples of localised phrases which caused confusion to those trying to interpret what the contributor was on about, for example, one of our researchers had no idea that ‘wee Eck’ referred to Alex Salmond. Of course, there is nothing wrong with localised phrases *per se*, and diversity of languages and dialects has many positives, but if you are communicating across regions and nations, as the person using ‘wee Eck’ was doing, then it makes sense to use words and phrases that people can more easily understand to avoid misunderstanding.
- 5) **Flannel** - The fifth ‘F’ to avoid is flannel/repetition. If you have made a point, move on otherwise you risk being ignored when you do make a new point as people will associate your name with the same old view they have read over and over – a bit like the ‘cry wolf’ fable. Some of the contributors in our data sets repeated points that they had already made and some indeed promised to not repeat themselves and then promptly did so. The reaction from others can be indifference or even hostility.

However, as well as the 5 ‘Fs’ to avoid, my research also pointed to there being:

III 5 Fs to consider

- 1) **Followers** – The first ‘F’ to consider is followers/audience. Before you post something online, it is worth thinking about who the potential audience or ‘followers’ are likely to be. One of the online data sources I studied was the BBC’s *Have Your Say* comments sections at the end of online news stories. Assuming proportionate online news consumption (supported by BBC data on consumption patterns by nation) online contributions from those living in Scotland are likely to be outnumbered by comments from those living in England by approximately 10 to one because the population of Scotland is 5.3 million whereas the population of England is 53 million. This population asymmetry can mean that those in the minority (Scotland) can feel that they are not being given the same degree of opportunity to air their opinions as those in the majority (England), when in fact data can reveal that proportionate to population, the minority (Scotland) might actually have a bigger say on average than those in the majority (England). Indeed, we might even expect this given the nature of the news story on Scottish independence.

Dr Mark Shephard, Senior Lecturer in Politics, University of Strathclyde – written evidence (CCE0023)

This perception of bias becomes even more acute when talking about political parties that only stand in Scotland (for example, the SNP) and for whom the 10 to one ratio becomes even smaller due to levels of support versus non-support within the 5.3 million Scottish population. Assuming 50 per cent SNP support in Scotland and 0 per cent SNP support in England⁷⁶⁸ (based on the 2015 General Election result), the 10 to one ratio might become more like a 20 to one ratio of comments against versus for the SNP. This can then look biased even if it is representative of the English and Scottish publics. The point here is that the media may appear biased because of the online public commentary reflecting the hugely divergent population asymmetries in the UK, and not the views of the media outlet *per se* (although that is not to say that the media may or may not be biased as well).

At the disproportionate and unrepresentative end of the spectrum, you might be contributing to an online group pre-disposed towards one view over another (for example: *Yes Scotland*; and #yes; or *Better Together*; and #no). This can lead to dissonance between what happens in a vote and what you thought was going to happen based upon your choice of information sources that you choose to interact and side with. This lack of cross-checking of information can then lead you to more easily slip into the 5 Fs to avoid (see section above).

- 2) **'Facts'** – The second 'F' to consider is the often illusive belief in and demand for 'facts'. Critiquing the opposition for not having facts is common online (e.g. 'Salmond might as well have started his white paper with 'dear Santa' for all the facts that were in it. #indyref'), as is the capacity to believe that your side has all the facts (e.g. '...I have just ordered my #indyref white paper, so I know the facts!'). If you are a partisan, the "once people know 'the facts' they will vote for our side" becomes a lazy mantra. However, in searching for 'facts' you have to be aware of self-selection bias, for example, picking the polls and news stories that suit your argument. Of course, there is nothing wrong with taking a side *per se*, but it is important to cross-check your information across the sides before you do so.

This is not to claim that 'facts' do not exist. We can find out what the current price of oil is and we might know what the current interest rate is, for example. However, it becomes much harder to predict what 'facts' may be in the future as oil prices and interest rates might change. What we think we can achieve today may be even more possible in the future (or indeed less so) and for this we will often require a certain amount of best-case and worse-case scenario predictive modelling based upon what we know about how things work, or how things might work if we change them (drawing upon comparative research for example). Albeit mildly guilty of the foul, this tweet shows an appreciation of just how

⁷⁶⁸ Of course, we know from the TV debates that a number of voters in England liked the performance of Nicola Sturgeon and liked many of the party's policies and so the 20 to one ratio is likely to be an overestimate. The underlying point of perceived bias and under-representation is still likely to hold true though.

difficult it is to get facts about the future: ‘Don't you just love the daft tweeters seeking post #indyref facts?’. Also, the economy and economic ‘facts’ are not the whole story.

- 3) **Fashion** – The third ‘F’ to consider is fashion. Just because there is more of one view out there does not mean that this is necessarily ‘right’, ‘true’, or ‘fact’, or indeed, the view of the majority. Our aggregate data of Twitter and Facebook for the Yes and No campaigns illustrated a sharp rise in support for Yes in the closing weeks of the campaign. If you were to conclude that Twitter and Facebook were representative of public opinion, you might have predicted a ‘Yes’ victory. This is not to say that fashion is not important as it might be useful in detecting movement in polls for example, before it actually takes place as our data seemed to be quite good at doing. The other aspect to ‘fashion’ is that sometimes when one side becomes very fashionable, the other side(s) may stop questioning this ‘fashion’ and either go underground and/or become silent (‘spiral of silence’). This is not because they have been won over, it is more because they feel they have been run over to the point where contributing is pointless given the anticipated counter-barrage.
- 4) **Filtering** – The fourth ‘F’ to consider is filtering. Some social media forums like Twitter are more relaxed about what people can post online, whereas other discussion forums like the BBC *Have Your Say* comments have stricter rules and moderation. If there are rules, you might want to know what these are in the first place before you get into trouble and/or offended at being blocked/removed. Knowing about the rules (or their absence) will also help you make sense of what you are likely to come across on the particular forum you are using. There is also filtering by character length (for example, 140 characters for Twitter) which can mean that some social media forums may be more appropriate than others to convey detail and nuance.
- 5) **Fallout** - The fifth ‘F’ to consider is fallout. What are the likely implications of your post? In short, think, think, and think again before posting. Put yourself in the shoes of any opponents receiving the post. Would you like to receive it? Will there be consequences for your future and/or your family’s future? There are invariably no prizes for being first, so think before posting, or at the very least re-read it.

IV Other common sense considerations

So you know what to avoid and you know what to consider, and you still mess up! If we are honest I think we all mess up online from time to time, but there are a couple of other things we might also want to consider to help reduce this and increase our capacity to be effective in online engagement. First, it is better to be clear about what you are saying rather than to get the honour of saying it first. Think through the above ‘Fs’ before posting. Second, if you are angry, and/or under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs, then you need to think seriously about whether you should even be online. We all know about ‘don’t drink and drive’ and even ‘don’t drink and dial’, and we should probably add to this list: ‘don’t

Dr Mark Shephard, Senior Lecturer in Politics, University of Strathclyde – written evidence (CCE0023)

drink and digit’ and ‘don’t do drugs and digit’. Think of a Twitter traffic light system for your mood or state of mind, for example: Green = Tranquil Tweeting; Amber = Topsy Tweeting; and Red = Tanked Tweeting. After all, you don’t want to be known as a ‘twit on Twitter’... or indeed worse...

Policy proposals/action recommended:

Proposal 1 – Education Scotland already use my [TEDx talk](#) as a component in classroom teaching. Use my Policy Brief (original International Public Policy Institute brief available [here](#)) that illustrates and extends the number of Fs of the TEDx talk to provide more points for discussion in the classroom.

Proposal 2 - Given the heated online discussions over issues such as Scottish independence and Brexit, it also makes sense for this brief to be disseminated and used by teachers in secondary schools in England (and indeed Wales and Northern Ireland) as part of citizenship education (for example, the citizenship component of the National Curriculum, the National Citizenship Service, and Politics A and AS...).

16 August 2017

Dr Kalbir Shukra, Senior Lecturer, Goldsmiths University of London with Malcolm Ball and Katy Brown, Advisors to the Young Mayor of Lewisham – written evidence (CCE0026)

Dr Kalbir Shukra, Senior Lecturer, Goldsmiths University of London with Malcolm Ball and Katy Brown, Advisors to the Young Mayor of Lewisham – written evidence (CCE0026)

Democracy notionally assumes equal rights for its citizens, but in practice the right to vote in formal elections, engage in civic structures and participate in civil society has not always been available across the board. Despite historic extensions in suffrage, voting restrictions related to age or nationality continue to prevent many young people and UK residents without British citizenship from voting. Beyond this, there are social groups that do not participate as much as others, and may therefore feel under represented or without voice in decisions. Social and political exclusion can adversely affect social cohesion and perceptions of political legitimacy, reproducing alienation from the mainstream.

Young people are among the social groups that disproportionately engage in formal politics. Concern about the lower proportion of 18-25 year olds voting in elections has led to stronger calls for formal political education in schools as a precursor to lowering the voting age.

During the 2015 General Election, there was a growth in projects and campaigns to teach or train young people in politics. London Borough of Lewisham initiated the longest running youth democracy programme in 2002, formally launching a Young Mayor election in 2003. Since then there have been 13 young mayors elected in Lewisham and each year thousands of young people participate in these formal elections alongside related opportunities for young people across the borough. This programme allows young people to vote for their own representatives and creates opportunities for collaborations in the civic arena across generations. This programme has been emulated in other cities of the UK and interest is growing in the model across the EU.

Our submission relates to citizenship and young people and is based on an ongoing evaluation of Lewisham Young Mayor Programme (LYMP) that began in 2012. The research was conducted using mixed methods:

- a. Base line surveys of each cohort of candidates over five years
- b. An ethnographic study of participation in the annual election campaigns
- c. Interviews with adult stakeholders, programme founders as well as young candidates, alumni and advisors
- d. Exit polls over four years at a sample of schools

LYMP operates in the context of political education being offered in a number of sectors:

a. Schools

Dr Kalbir Shukra, Senior Lecturer, Goldsmiths University of London with Malcolm Ball and Katy Brown, Advisors to the Young Mayor of Lewisham – written evidence (CCE0026)

- i. Already host formal mechanisms of political education, whether through subject areas like sociology and general studies or 21st century citizenship lessons as part of a broader PSCE agenda, prompted by the work of Bernard Crick (1998). Crick had promoted ‘political literacy’, to enable young people to understand the political world around them and their role within it.
- ii. Some political science academics are calling for compulsory political education
- iii. Some practitioners who support a reduction in voting age for sixteen and seventeen year olds have called for regulated political education

c. National Citizens Service

- i. a social action programme to inculcate values of volunteering and service as part of citizenship obligations.
- ii. Now a major provider of one off short term (summer) opportunities for 16 year olds.
- iii. The NCS message to 16 year olds is that they have citizenship responsibilities. However, only some UK nations permit that age group to vote in elections
- iv. Votes at 16 campaigners, including Lewisham Young Mayors have pointed out that since under 18s can, engage in NCS, school councils and social action, they can work and pay taxes, but they can’t have the right to vote until they are 18.

c. Youth work

- i. Provides social and political education, typically through informal education and learning.
- ii. An outcome of austerity has been the dramatic closure of most local authority youth provision.
- iii. Youth workers are increasingly looking to engage with schools and non traditional sites like hospitals.

d. Religious and Faith Groups Faith groups have always offered youth services. The reduction of local authority provision has turned a variety of religious/faith based institutions into primary providers.

e. Community Projects working on specific issues, with particular disadvantaged groups or localities. In providing specialist advocacy, support or services, these organisations tend

Dr Kalbir Shukra, Senior Lecturer, Goldsmiths University of London with Malcolm Ball and Katy Brown, Advisors to the Young Mayor of Lewisham – written evidence (CCE0026)

to promote equality for social cohesion. These include Operation Black Vote, which has worked to encourage ethnic minorities and young people to register to vote.

- f. **Youth sections** of political parties operate to promote a particular political party. Traditionally, these have not been particularly successful. In 2017, Momentum, a Labour Party group, successfully engaged young people in the general election.
- g. **Youth Democracy/Youth Participation programmes** include Young Advisors, Youth Parliaments and Young Mayors. These have grown and are overseen by the British Youth Council. BYC coordinates sittings of the Youth Parliament, supports the 'Votes and 16' campaign and the Young Mayor Network. European Youth in Action and Erasmus programmes have supported strategic networks and exchanges promoting youth democracy.

Restricted suffrage

- a. Many of the educational political literacy projects and ideas outlined above are based on the idea that political issues are really questions of expertise and knowledge.
- b. This approach comes from elite theorists of democracy, such as Edmund Burke - his theory of representative democracy favoured restrictions on suffrage because it placed a premium on the wisdom and superiority of elites who were deemed to have access to a body of reliable political knowledge and political competence.
- c. From this perspective, elites are believed to know best, as those with access to key knowledge are considered best placed to represent and choose representatives.

Universal Suffrage

- a. An alternative perspective of representative democracy comes from JS Mill, who favoured universal suffrage on the basis that 'It is important that everyone of the governed have a voice in the government,'. (cited in *The Concept of Representation*, H.F. Pitkin, 1972:202)
- b. Mill saw democracy as about the representation of opinions rather than about utilising expert knowledge. From this perspective, political issues are a matter of whim and viewpoint and so subjective opinion based in own life experience trumps scientific knowledge. From this perspective, formal knowledge transmission is not key to political education but learning from lived experience is.
- c. LYMP does not assume that formal transmission of political literacy is a prerequisite to citizenship rights. For LYMP, the challenge is to encourage political participation by encouraging debate, questioning and reflection.

The Young Mayor Programme in Lewisham (LYMP)

Dr Kalbir Shukra, Senior Lecturer, Goldsmiths University of London with Malcolm Ball and Katy Brown, Advisors to the Young Mayor of Lewisham – written evidence (CCE0026)

- a. A vibrant and internationally renowned civic youth participation programme, launched in 2003 by the first directly elected Mayor of Lewisham, Sir Steve Bullock.
<https://www.lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/youngmayor/Documents/YMCommemorativeBook.pdf>
- b. The programme pivots on the annual election of a Young Mayor (aged 13-17) who represents the 11-17 year olds who live, work or go to school in Lewisham. The annual elections are run to fill four roles: Young Mayor, Deputy Young Mayor and two Youth Parliament Representatives.
- c. The Young Mayor has a budget of £25-30 000. The Young Mayor and advisors consult young people on how to spend this budget and present their proposals to the Mayor and Cabinet for approval.
- d. Unsuccessful candidates tend to stay involved as Young Advisors. The Young Advisors meet weekly, in the town hall and engage with professionals seeking advice, offering services or requesting feedback from young people.
- e. The Lewisham model purposely provides minimal formal political because it is built on the ethos that political participation is about having the opportunity to share opinions. As one young person has said 'why do I need training to have an opinion?'
- f. Bernard Crick's essay on *Politics as a Form of Rule: Politics, Citizenship and Democracy* (2004) points to the importance of promoting political literacy. In LYMP this is achieved by giving young people opportunities to become voters, campaigners and candidates. Participants grow a deep political awareness through engaging in the politics of representation and/or the politics of deliberation and social action. These are cultivated through:
- g. The model allows young people to learn about politics and elections by engaging in real, formal elections. The process of standing as a candidate encourages a strong civic identity. Deciding who to vote for provides young people with the opportunity to exercise a right to vote alongside civic responsibilities.
- h. A weekly young advisors forum develops democratic group work and is core to the programme. The Young Advisors meeting is oriented towards deliberation and social action in the form of a team that acts in support of the four elected representatives but also to collaborate with policy makers, service providers and other young people
- i. Opportunities for intercultural contact during and between elections. The election brings young people from across the borough into contact with each other on a range of sites and produces learning through those conversations. International exchanges also boost international perspectives.

LYMP - doing politics for real

Dr Kalbir Shukra, Senior Lecturer, Goldsmiths University of London with Malcolm Ball and Katy Brown, Advisors to the Young Mayor of Lewisham – written evidence (CCE0026)

- a. Offers opportunities for political engagement eg. with police, politicians
- b. Allows young people to define issues and engage in critical dialogue
- c. Creates opportunities for young people to share and contest opinions
- d. Develops spaces for young people to engage with adults in debate that respects young people's expertise
- e. Enables experiential and informal learning

How many young people have participated in the LYMP elections?

- a. 316 young candidates for Young Mayor of Lewisham between 2004-2016
- b. 50 formal positions representing young people filled through 13 Young Mayoral elections
- c. 42-56% turnout – significantly higher than in local adult elections
- d. Core supporters of each candidate engage actively campaign
- e. 25-30 Young Advisors meet weekly

LYMP Collaborations:

- a. Schools and Colleges are partners in the programme. They host polling stations and hustings for Young Mayor elections.
- b. Some schools use LYMP election period as an opportunity to run assemblies on democracy or run their own school council elections
- c. School council representatives that are elected or appointed through school-based processes meet the Young Mayor at an annual meeting. LYMP visits schools to consult on budget proposals.
- d. Primary Schools students are not eligible to vote or stand as candidates but do meet regularly with the Mayor and LYMP representatives to learn about the Young Mayor's Programme and have an opportunity to quiz a young person about what its like to be Young Mayor and what a Young Mayor does. One elected Young Mayor has highlighted how he was inspired to become involved as a result of one of these events
- e. Young Offenders Forum encourages youth voice amongst young offenders in a collaboration with the Youth Offending Team (YOT).
- f. Children in Care Council representatives are Looked After Children (LAC) supported by a dedicated participation officer. The Young Mayor collaborates with this group.

Dr Kalbir Shukra, Senior Lecturer, Goldsmiths University of London with Malcolm Ball and Katy Brown, Advisors to the Young Mayor of Lewisham – written evidence (CCE0026)

- g. Neighbourhood Assemblies allow councillors to work with Young Advisors to explore how neighbourhood forums might include more young people and as neighbourhood structures have evolved, so have the links with young people.
- h. Greater London Authority (GLA) has a Peer Mentor Scheme (young people employed by the GLA) with a Youth Participation officer, that LYMP has worked with.
- i. House of Commons visits have been arranged either as a tour or to influence policy. The most high profile of these was when the Young Mayor and Advisors joined Gordon Brown round his table at Downing Street to discuss plans for youth policy at the time. More recently there has been significant engagement with the Votes at 16 lobby.
- j. 10 000 Hands and Safe Havens Campaign led by Jimmy Mizen Foundation in partnership with LYMP
- k. British Youth Council (BYC) Votes at 16 campaign has been actively supported by LYMP.
- l. Erasmus exchanges enable young people to exchange ideas and engage in international debate

Minority engagement: The programme has been notably successful at involving candidates who are young women, from BME backgrounds and/or have a disability.

Social Media: An online presence matters

- a. Online visibility of candidates has been reflected in recent year results, with those with the most interactive, diverse and entertaining online presence also attracting strong voting numbers.
- b. As digital technology, community radio and social network sites have diversified, so has their usage in young mayoral elections.

Why Young People Become Candidates

- a. Young people are motivated to stand for election for a combination of altruistic and personal development reasons and hold the position of Young Mayor in high regard. Candidates say they want to make a change in Lewisham, want to help or speak for others and hope the experience of standing will provide them with significant personal development.
- b. Candidates treat the positions as of higher significance than anything else they may have been engaged in before and sometimes candidates stand several times before being successful. Candidates' previous experience is primarily gained from school, though in 2014, a larger proportion of the candidates had previous experience as Young Advisors

Youth Democracy as a Youth Work process

Dr Kalbir Shukra, Senior Lecturer, Goldsmiths University of London with Malcolm Ball and Katy Brown, Advisors to the Young Mayor of Lewisham – written evidence (CCE0026)

- a. LYMP is facilitated by professionally qualified youth workers based in the town hall offices
- b. The youth workers offer young people opportunities for civic and political engagement that is consistent with traditional youth work ethos and methods
 - i. allowing young people to define issues based on their lived experience
 - ii. engaging young people in conversation and critical dialogue
 - iii. creating opportunities for young people to share and contest opinions
 - iv. developing spaces for young people to engage with adults in debate, respecting young people's expertise

Voting Age

- a. Lewisham Young Mayor elections are important for testing the arguments that:
 - i. young people under 18 aren't mature enough to make an informed decision
 - ii. that young people wouldn't turn out to vote if the voting age were to be lowered
 - iii. under 18s wouldn't make a mature decision.
 - iv. These arguments are examined in the 2017 article 'Extending democracy to young people: is it time for youth suffrage?' by Kalbir Shukra. It can be read on <http://research.gold.ac.uk/20166/> or <http://www.youthandpolicy.org/y-and-p-archive/issue-116/>

Recommendations

- a. That voting age is reviewed and lowered to include more young people
- b. That programmes be developed to support young people to stand for election as councillors
- c. That youth work be envisioned to support young people (outside of school) in developing their opinions through active engagement as citizens. On this basis the youth worker's role in citizenship would be to offer opportunities for young people to engage in conversation, opinion formation and deliberation, value lived experience but be open to hearing other perspectives
- d. That local authority programmes engage young people in local democracy, build intercultural communication and social solidarities for community cohesion.

18 August 2017

Mr Michal Siewniak – written evidence (CCE0201)

Polish national living in Welwyn Garden City (Hertfordshire)

Submission is in my personal capacity. All my responses are based mainly on my experience of working in the Community & Voluntary Sector as well as time in which I served as a local Councillor.

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?

I am an EU migrant from Poland, a local 'community activist'. I was brought up under communism in Poland, and when I watched the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 I never dreamt that Europe could change so much in such a relatively short period of time. Growing up in Poland in 1980's was an interesting experience! From time to time, I have to "pinch" myself as I still can't believe that until 1989 Poland as well as many other Eastern European countries were separated and we were not able to travel freely abroad, express openly our views, practise our religion or even watch foreign TV. I still remember queuing and trying to get basic items in order to bake a Christmas cake. We were also not allowed to learn English so I was taught Russian. Overall, our freedom in those days was hugely limited. This is why I feel that citizenship and civic engagement matter so much! My childhood has most definitely shaped me (which I only understood when I migrated to the UK) and helped me to understand how important it is to be actively part of the process.

I do feel that we in Britain take for granted our 'freedoms' also when it comes to voting and being aware of the political & democratic processes. This is also why I think this exercise, led by the Houses of Lords, is so important, practically today when we are experiencing an 'identity crisis'.

We all have different experience when it comes to 'identity'. I am from Poland, but I also identify myself as a Christian and 'Global Citizen'. We are 'wearers of multiply hats' which in many ways reflect the society we live in; diverse and very multicultural.

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?

I will try to respond to first part of the question. I feel that despite many success stories there are still gaps in relation to civic engagement. Understanding the

benefits of democracy increases people's confidence in terms of engaging with Government and Statutory Institutions. It increases their opportunities to improve job prospects, living conditions and health. Understanding democracy or what citizenship is & means build a sense of ownership over our own circumstances. I do believe that it hugely helps in becoming proactive members of our communities and move away from feeling a victim of our own circumstances.

I have mentioned below many projects which I've been running to strengthen and promote the citizenship. Organising social outings (trip to the Houses of Parliament) could have wide range of benefits to our people. Many of us have seen the Houses of Parliament but have no physical sense of its history and current work. Visiting the Parliament would enable people to see "Parliament in action". Meeting e.g. local MP will give participants an opportunity to ask relevant question and it will raise their aspirations.

Irrespective of cultural, social and economical barriers, encouraging people (maybe in particular from minority backgrounds) and develop a sense of inclusion and belonging. All these planned activities would help to build new networks, partnerships and most importantly they would put our residents at the heart of civic activism.

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?

I don't think that laws encourage active political engagement. I had a privilege to stand and win a seat in Welwyn Hatfield. I took huge pride and responsibility in representing my residents. Having said that, less than 35% voted when I was elected. People are disconnected, there is a lot of distrust and confusion.

It is now more than 12 since the EU referendum. I have lived in a number of European countries but I don't remember seeing anything like the effect of the vote. It seems to have resulted in a complete lack of ability to have a mature debate on issues which affect us all, like globalization, migration and the refugee crisis. I truly feel that we've lost an ability to listen to each other. We are no longer able to build a space for a real dialogue. 'Cheap journalism', sensationalism do not help. Instead of projecting a balanced and matured debate, many of the newspapers try to divide us. This also discourages people and very often those who have no voice, became even more isolated and disadvantaged.

As a councillor, I have suggested to reduce the number of local elections (from each year to every other year) so protect public finances (in our area that cost is £100,000) but also to reduce the number of elected members. Some of my ideas didn't go down very well and at times I felt discouraged and disheartened.

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?

I think that schools and educational authorities play a vital part in promoting the 'citizenship agenda'. I also think that a lot more needs to be done to encourage students from a very young age to learn how to debate and discuss many important issues. I have been involved in number of initiatives (see question 7). I have recently attended a meeting which took place in the Netherlands (June 2017). It was so refreshing and uplifting to see many people who believe in united world. It was a really important experience for me which once more demonstrated that we have a huge responsibility to bring unity where there is disunity or bring and understanding where there is hate and divisions. Maybe because we are in difficult, uncertain and turbulent times, we should try a bit harder to become, wherever we are and whatever we do, 'Champions and Ambassadors' for Unity. We all have a huge part to play in being builders of bridges not walls. We all should, in every single environment, to take every risk and use every opportunity to each person we encounter that there is so much more than unites us than divides us. I've tried always to do my part. As an employee of a local secondary school, I've set up a 'debating club' which brought together many students from a lot of different backgrounds. The school itself has a bad reputation however this small initiative enabled me to interact with students and discuss with them many topics which at that time were relevant (e.g. first talks of Scottish Independence Referendum etc.)

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?

I think that community and voluntary sector has a hugely significant role to play. As a Service Manager for a local charity, I am in 'position of influence' to promote 'citizenship and volunteering'. Only last weekend (2 September), I've run a really successful Volunteering Fair which brought together almost 20 local providers which were trying to recruit new volunteers. Each of these organisations is a real champion for their organisation and we all need to create an environment where volunteering (which is so strongly linked with the citizenship agenda) is recognised as a way to

address some of the issues which your inquiry is trying to resolve. I am so proud to be working in such a vibrant 'industry'! It is evolving, no doubt, we have to be smart. Since I started in the sector nine years ago it's changed incredibly, and now with tightening of budgets and resources, we are adapting by learning new techniques, adopting new technologies and collaborating even better. We have to use every opportunity to make a difference and serve our communities. This means in fact – creating active citizens!

Very often charities are perceived as fluffy - this is wrong, each charity is essentially a business, a social business and we're accountable to our funders so we have to show that we are making an impact - every single day.

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?

I have been involved in running number of initiatives which promote civic & community activism. The 'Parliament Week' is one of my favourite campaigns in the UK. The Parliament Week is a UK-wide programme of events and activities that inspire, engage and connect people with parliamentary democracy and processes. I have helped to organise 8 trips to the Houses of Parliament (via the Houses of Parliament Tour Office and local MP's) as well as many debates which encourage people to debate & learn e.g. "European Elections – why would I bother to vote" (Hoddesdon, March 2014), or "Youth and Democracy Debate" with a local secondary schools (Hatfield, November 2016).

The aim of each of these projects is to increase civic participation within residents. These projects, which are always delivered in partnership other agencies, help to address the issue of civic engagement and build a platform for "community activism". My main objective is always to enthuse people to get involved in democratic processes and intensify the dialogue between institutions and their citizens. I absolutely love them and I think that are critically important! The next trip takes in November 2017.

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?

I watched the collapse of the Berlin Wall but I would have never dreamt that Europe and Poland will change so much in such a relatively short period of time.

I think that recent turbulent times have created a lot of problems and divisions. It is 'us against them'. In a way, I don't want Europe to be divided again. I went through that experience and I want us to work together to address the global issues. I don't want us to take a step back. I would like us all to recognise and champion diversity and challenge prejudice, in any way and form.

From my point of view re - building trust, so damaged during this campaign, may take a lot of time. I hope it won't affect building the cohesive society which I want to be part of.

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?

I've always tried to demonstrate that even though I come from a minority background, I can be a 'net contributor' (not only in financial terms). One of the things which I've learnt in Britain is not to stigmatise people. Only because you come from an ethnic background, it doesn't necessarily mean that you are 'hard to reach (or as I prefer to call these groups 'EASY TO IGNORE!)). Do we do enough to effectively interact with these, very often distinctive groups? It really doesn't often has to be a sophisticated project. A smile or a nod or any other act of kindness can help to build bridges. And that is a lot of truth in saying that even though we have the greatest technology, there is so much which keeps us apart. We all need to take some responsibility and actions and demonstrate each and every single day, with new 'pair of eyes' and seek opportunities to create a platform for engagement and dialogue. Barriers and walls will fall down (as they did in 1989) and I hope that having a 'BME or any other label' won't stop us from making this lovely planet a better place.

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?

In my case, the whole experience of living in the UK enabled me to improve my life chances and my language skills. It has also helped me to break down various barriers and recognise the importance of diversity. Settling in the UK, trying to be part of the local community, encouraged me to get to know other cultures and people of other faith groups. The whole experience has broadened my horizons and it made me more tolerant and rounded person.

I have been always proud to be from Poland but I also knew that I had to do my part to integrate. That didn't of course losing my 'Polish identity'. I've also tried to use other campaigns to bring the recent migrants and the local community together (e.g. Hatfield Polish Day in September 2009) or even 'utilise' national tragedies (e.g. plane crash with Polish MP's) which enabled me to introduce Poland to many people who came along to our commemorating events.

Today, in a current political debate, I also think that the UK's ability to demonstrate modern and forward thinking society where people from all sorts of walks of life are treated the same, have been affected.

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? This is very important issue. I don't think that you can effectively become an active citizen when your language skills are not good enough. Unfortunately with poor ESOL provision, that is not always easy. I like the Danish model which almost enforces people to learn the language as soon as they arrive into the country. The initial emphasis is on the language and upskilling e.g. refugees so that they become independent and 'self – sufficient' as soon as possible. A lot of resources are put in place which long term helps to break down barriers and smooth the integration process. Also, many residents are encourage to volunteer as quickly as possible in order to boost their job prospects.

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?

Lech Wałęsa, was the leader of the Polish Solidarity Movement, a guy who helped to bring down communism in Poland. The reason I think he was an impressive guy is because he was just an electrician, and he didn't have impressive qualifications, but he led a movement that helped free my country. He had faith, believed in something and was able to mobilise a nation.

More locally, a true British hero – Jo Cox who said that a lot more unites us than divides us. I love the 'Great Together Campaign' which was set up in her memory of Jo Cox. Local communities were invited to get together with their neighbours to share food and celebrate all that we hold in common. There were more than 100,000 events organized across the UK e.g. street party, shared barbecue or a picnic. What mattered was that people had fun and opportunity to bring communities closer together. Jo was a true 'Ambassador for Citizenship'.

Dr Michael Skey, Lecturer in Communication & Media, Department of Social Sciences, Loughborough University – written evidence (CCE0031)

Research on questions of nationality, belonging and civic engagement in Britain has exploded in recent times as policy makers, academics and media commentators have looked to make sense of an increasingly diverse, and sometimes divided, population. My own research⁷⁶⁹ has focused on the attitudes and experiences of what I have labelled the ethnic majority, those who position themselves at the centre of national life and articulate a more secure sense of belonging to the nation *in relation* to ethnic minorities. I want to make two points in my submission. First, to argue that too much of the discussion of this topic tends to focus on minorities and what they should or shouldn't do to better integrate into British society. Such an approach is deeply problematic for a number of reasons. First, it emphasizes ethnicity, rather than say class, region or gender, when it comes to thinking about integration. It is arguable that the 'distance' between working and middle class groups in Britain is a major stumbling block to wider social integration but few, if any, government proposals address this issue, preferring to focus on ethnicity or culture. Second, it generally ends up stigmatizing some of the poorest and most vulnerable groups in British society. Third, it fails to acknowledge the extent to which claims to belonging (I am British, I am part of this community) need to be also recognized by other more dominant members of a given group. In the case of Britain, there are countless examples of ethnic majority members refusing to acknowledge the claims of minorities to belong in this country.

Therefore, in trying to make sense of these debates, it is absolutely imperative that we begin to explore the attitudes and experiences of members of the ethnic majority; where are they situated within these debates, what is at stake for them and why might such issues be of particular significance at the current time? What my research has shown is that many members of the ethnic majority are feeling increasingly anxious and insecure about some of the wider socio-economic transformations they are witnessing and, as a result, believe that their own privileged status within the nation is being undermined. In other words, they feel that they are losing out. Now, we might not like some of the ways in which such anxieties are expressed but simply dismissing them as backward or uncivilized or racist, doesn't enable us to engage people or offer more effective means for building bridges between different groups.

The second point I want to make concerns the English question, which again often tends to be overlooked when policy makers are discussing Britain and Britishness. Devolution in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland has meant that the situation of the English has also shifted and the possible consequences of this need to be addressed.

⁷⁶⁹ [National Belonging & Everyday Life](#), Palgrave MacMillan

Put simply, making a claim to be British is quite different to making a claim to be English. For instance, when it comes to defining belonging *in Britain* the terms of the debate are changing; that is, the distinction between non-whites as the interlopers and whites as the hosts is beginning to unravel. Furthermore, attitudes among both ethnic majority and minority Britons are also shifting. In the former case, there is a general tendency towards greater acceptance of ethnic diversity and a willingness to recognise non-whites as British.⁷⁷⁰ In the latter case, there is growing anecdotal evidence that second and third-generation ethnic minorities are increasingly willing to assert their own sense of belonging and entitlement in relation to more recent arrivals.⁷⁷¹ In other words, they increasingly view Britain as ‘their’ country and, as a result, lay claim to the benefits (economic and social) that flow from this. This is borne out by much of the survey evidence which notes that the majority of ethnic minorities are more than willing to identify themselves as British. This is an interesting development, and indicates the extent to which ‘British’ has become a marker of civic rather than ethnic identity for increasing numbers.

But what about England and Englishness? It is worth noting that in all the discussions of devolution, relatively little has been said of the consequences this might have for minority groups in England. This is because ‘English’ remains a far more exclusionary identity category than ‘British’, and one that is often rejected by ethnic minorities and increasingly embraced by members of the majority as a way of distinguishing themselves (in both senses of the term). In other words, debates on devolution are having a major impact on how ethnic minorities, who have so long struggled to be recognised as belonging to Britain, define themselves and are defined by the majority. This is something that few people have acknowledged even as the signs of a tentative debate around Englishness have emerged over the past few years. It may yet become another fault line in the ongoing and shifting debates around what it means to belong in Britain, and England, in the contemporary era and, as such, should be addressed by policy makers when they are looking to build programmes for improving civic engagement and community cohesion.

22 August 2017

⁷⁷⁰ <http://www.britishfuture.org/articles/reports/new-report-the-melting-pot-generation/>, accessed 9 August 2014.

⁷⁷¹ <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/video/2013/mar/18/ukip-immigration-eu-toilets-video>, accessed 9 August 2014.

Nigel Slack – written evidence (CCE0109)

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?

1 Citizenship & Identity are now fluid concepts in the 21st Century. The flood of Britons applying for dual citizenship after the Brexit referendum is a symptom of a weaker link between individuals and the ideas of Nationality. The UK has many citizens living and working here that do not hold official papers as UK citizens but have been part of the fabric of our society for tens of years. Similarly we have many UK Nationals living and working abroad who retain only their UK citizenship despite many years passing since their emigration.

2 I would therefore argue that the most important part of this inquiry is the idea of Civic Engagement, which should not be bounded by rules on Nationality or citizenship. All people living and or working in the boundary of the state and connected to the state through taxes, familial ties and access to services should have access to civic engagement. Identity changes depending on the context of the question being asked. Am I British? Am I Christian? Am I unemployed? Am I a Team supporter? In this way, the means by which people engage with citizenship need to be similarly flexible.

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 Citizenship is not about membership & belonging but that is how it is used by state institutions. It is seen as conferring special rights to one set of people in a community and is therefore as often divisive as it is collective in nature. There should certainly be a framework for outlining the rights & responsibilities of citizens (and Governments) in the form of a written constitution. We are currently citizens both of a Nation state and a conglomerate European state, though this is being removed from people irrespective of their own choice in the matter.

4 Education is the key role in the encouragement of citizenship & for fostering engagement. Pride in a single citizenship (British for instance) should not be encouraged, putting one form of identity above others is divisive and would discourage people who see that citizenship as just another aspect of their overall identity (French, Irish, Pakistani, Scottish) from being as engaged as they might otherwise be.

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?

5 The conversation about how the relationship between citizenship & engagement is defined that is a question that requires more exacting consideration than possible here. The principles of that relationship should be defined by a binding written constitution that is widely debated and widely consulted upon, taking the best from our own Parliamentary & legal frameworks and adding lessons from other systems around the world.

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?

6 Current laws deter political engagement. The relationship between the citizen and their local, county/regional & national governance structures are overly complex and misunderstood. Too many laws are created centrally and simply delivered by lower tier government and this is confusing and therefore a deterrent to engagement.

7 Most importantly representation should reflect the way people vote. First Past the Post is a broken system that delivers contrary and therefore divisive results at both National & local levels. The age, method of voting and the registration process should reflect a more direct correlation to representation, PR being the obvious preference in that respect. Registration should certainly be automatic, linked to achievement of majority (or citizenship) through something like the NI Number

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?

8 Citizenship should be part of the curriculum throughout a persons full time education. The content may be different as age progresses but the process should focus more on the roles and responsibilities of citizens & governments (at all levels) including how to be a part of that governing process and how to effectively challenge the status quo. Current coverage in schools seem to be sponsored by outside agencies and to press their agenda rather than an agreed broad understanding of the citizenship relationship. (ie. Banks teaching money issues, aiming to create good consumers and encourage debt spending)

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?

9 Having very little knowledge of the National Citizen Service, suggests, as I am a well engaged citizen, that their profile is not very significant. Inevitably such programmes can and will become politicised, either by the organisations delivering the programme or the governments sponsoring them. They should therefore have no formal or statutory support from government.

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?

10 Society can support civic engagement through the approach of Governments at all levels being more transparent, accountable and public facing. Rules for governance meetings should be outlined more rigorously and always aim to favour public scrutiny and accessibility above party political privacy or corporate commercial confidentiality.

11 The webcasting (broadcasting live via the internet) of meetings should be ubiquitous in all levels of Government and appropriately funded from the centre. Archiving of such broadcasts should also be normal practice for all levels of government.

12 The encouragement to ensure that decision making and consultation is pushed to the lowest feasible level of society is also vital and funding (from Centre) should be a part of that solution. Neighbourhood meetings and albeit small spending budgets at this level can make a significant difference to people's 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?

13 We should all be more aware of our rights under the Human Rights Act and these base rights should be the values we are expected to share. Beyond that we run the risk of creating values that are desirable rather than necessary or, even worse, politically motivated by whichever party is ruling at the time.

14 Current threats to these values are increasingly from the devaluing of local control (cuts to local budgets & services) and the dilution of local control through privatisation and outsourcing. The democratic deficit these practices create is well documented and the supposed economic benefits are lacking evidence. Any service being delivered by the lowest cost contractor cannot be the best service and politicians are poor contract experts.

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?

15 Communities & Groups are feeling 'left behind' as they fail to see any benefit from new legislation or supposed economic growth. The welfare state has moved from supportive and inclusive to punitive and denigrating. Unemployment figures are widely seen as unsound statistics and many 'new' jobs are both precarious and uncertain in earnings ability. Those in extremes of poverty or perceived discrimination are unable to engage in the basics of society never mind become engaged in political society. This will only be overcome with a system of support that allows even the most vulnerable in society to live with respect and dignity. Universal Basic Income is gaining ground as a potential solution for this very reason.

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?

16 Programmes aimed at improving citizenship & engagement are often at odds with attempts to improve integration. The promotion of 'so called' British values and the imposition of divisive measures like 'Prevent' emphasise difference and promote ideas of 'right thinking' ways of being. Social cohesion and to some extent integration is a long term process, often over generations. If we look at how second and third generation migrants live it often bears little resemblance to their forebears. Knowledge and understanding of each other is the most effective measure to oppose alleged extremism on all sides. I am unaware of any forced integration policies actually working to generate a happy and stable population.

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?

17 Whilst proficiency in English is a desirable skill for all UK citizens it should not be a prerequisite for residence or citizenship. If that hurdle were to be applied throughout the world most UK born people would be unable to live anywhere else but in the UK and we would see a mass return of UK emigrants (mostly pensioners) in places like Spain and France. It is however important that institutions & employers in the UK who benefit from foreign staff, students or employees be responsible for providing the training they may need to adapt to living here.

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?

18 Can't think of one.

Nigel Slack – written evidence (CCE0109)

19 Whilst this may not be the most academic or detailed of responses it should be noted that it originates from a member of the public that deals with the issues around engagement on a regular basis, an an active and engaged citizen in my own right.

7 September 2017

Smartmatic – written evidence (CCE0232)

Introduction

This document is a response to Question 4 in the Call for Evidence document, with particular focus on the impact of changes to the voting and voter registration process.

Smartmatic is the global leader in the provision of election technology. Smartmatic is a multinational company headquartered in London that designs, engineers and deploys technological solutions aimed at helping central, regional and local governments to fulfil their commitments to their citizens to deliver safe, secure and transparent elections and to increase accessibility for all voters.

Smartmatic regularly contribute to international research and think tanks exploring the benefits of automation in elections. An increasing number of governments are introducing tools that allow citizens to vote electronically (in polling stations or other physical locations) and remotely, via the internet. Why? Because technology based elections increase election integrity and improve security and transparency whilst making voting more accessible. More people can vote, in an easier and more convenient way, increasing the mandate of elected representatives and bringing individuals closer to those who are responsible for delivering the services upon which they rely in their everyday lives. Election technology is also able to drive down the costs of elections - at a time where local authorities are seeing less budget year on year and election administration teams are being asked to deliver more for less.

This submission provides further information on the use of electoral modernisation technology to encourage participation and improve accessibility for all voters.

Why do we need technology in 21st century elections?

Governments, who are committed to delivering fraud-free, open, transparent and fair elections, must continue to ensure that the procedures and practices that govern them are balanced with accessible processes that encourage engagement and participation from all voters, including those in hard-to-reach groups.

This is a challenge now being met by an increasing number of governments worldwide by the introduction of technology to the voting process. This includes two key channels of technology deployment:

Remote on-line voting - casting a vote using the internet from an unsupervised voting location; and

Electronic voting - using technology in a polling station or polling locations to facilitate the casting and recording of the vote, often with a retained verifiable paper audit trail.

However, in reality technology is now being used to improve almost every stage of the electoral cycle (see *Figure 1* below); from the administration of the electoral register through the auditing of political parties expenses, right through to the manner in which those voters are authenticated at polling stations and how they subsequently cast and record their vote.

Voting technology improves all the variables by which an election can be measured including accuracy, transparency, security, accessibility and cost. Technology allows local authorities to:

Increase the speed of all processes (voting, verification, counting, result publication, etc.);

Improve the accuracy of election counts by eliminating human error (intentional or involuntary)

Eliminate subjectivity in the adjudication process

Well-designed election technology also creates mechanisms to allow voters themselves to audit election results and offers unprecedented levels of transparency which are absent from traditional paper based voting processes.

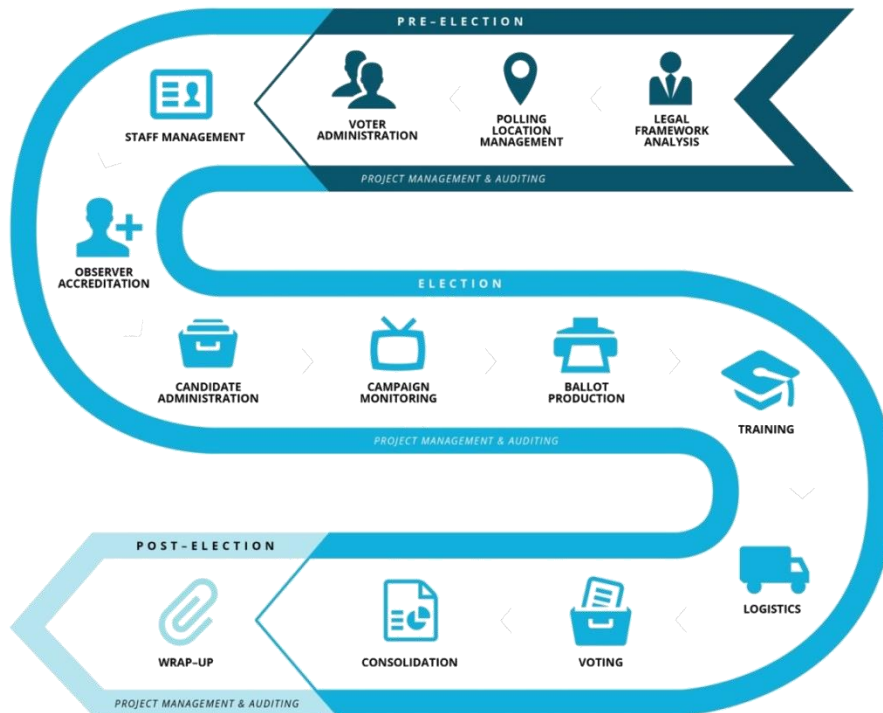


Figure 1
Participation

In the UK, there has been a dramatic and ongoing decline in participation of elections over the last 20 years, with the exception of a small number of electoral events, such as the Scotland Independence and the EU Referendum, which saw participation levels that buck this downward trend.

Whilst the 2017 General Election saw an increase in turnout of 2.6% from the 2015 polls, overall General Election turnout has fallen by 13% percentage points in the last century. Of the 46.9 million eligible voters in 2017, only 32.2 million voted.

Of the UK's 19k elected officials, over 95% are elected on a less than 50% turnout. Average turnout in the local elections is 36% and average turnout in PCC elections drops to a sorrowful 15%.

In addition to poor turnouts, closer analysis of those voters participating in UK elections shows a concerning growing inequality in participation, with very low turnouts amounts certain voting groups. Unequal turnout matter because it reduces the incentives for government to respond to the interests of non-voters and threatens the central claim of democracy which is that every citizen's preference or vote is of equal value.

Youth turnout did increase in the 2017 general election, increasing from 43% to 54%. However this still means that 46% of young voters play no part in electing our government. Of the estimated two million blind or visually impaired voters, it is estimated that less than 30% vote.

The Electoral Commission have confirmed that the electoral register is under represented in a number of key areas which include:

- Students and younger people (under 35);
- People living in the private rented sector;
- Certain Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) groups;
- British citizens living abroad;
- Commonwealth and EU citizens

Despite various costly government promotional drives, of estimated 5 million British citizens living overseas, only a tiny fraction of 300 thousand are registered to vote. Of those registered, a significantly small percentage actually vote.

Challenges

There are many varied reasons for participatory decline. Yet technology that is being deployed today, by many governments around the world, seeks to meet some of the participation and accessibility challenges.

More than ever before, voters travel temporarily or relocate permanently. Citizens are travelling greater distances to work, working longer hours and having to balance an

increasing number of personal and professional responsibilities, such that the challenge of voting at a particular location on a particular day is ever growing. Yet the electoral administration processes that support them, for both registration and voting, are rooted in the 19th century.

Voters now demand and receive an ever-increasing availability of online services both for government and commercial transactions. The digital service for voter registration, whilst successful, has raised voters expectations. Voters assume that online registration leads to online voting, and the realisation that this is where the digital interaction stops, and that their only voting option is a purely paper process, is leading to voter dissatisfaction. 82% (41 million) adults in the UK access the internet every day. In 2016, 70% of adults accessed the internet on-the-go, from mobile devices. 89% of households in the UK have internet access. Whilst we bank, date, submit our taxes, renew our TV and driving licences and apply for passport updates online, we cannot vote online. The proliferation of internet enabled personal devices mean that voters from all backgrounds are more connected than they have ever been. The internet, smartphones and social media have dramatically increased citizen engagement. These tools have given everyone a level playing field to express their opinions.

Elections are becoming increasingly complex and more frequent. Historically the UK electoral system was dominated by first past the post elections. The UK now sees regular use of Supplementary Voting for Directly Elected Mayors and Police and Crime Commissioners, STV in Scotland and Northern Ireland and Closed Party List systems for the GLA. In the Greater London Authority elections, there are 5.4 million voters, with three ballot papers, and three different voting systems. Ballot papers and supporting materials are only provided in English. Over 2.9 million Londoners were not born in the UK, over 1.4 million Londoners only speak English as a second language and London has over 20 commonly spoken languages. At the last GLA elections, just under half a million votes were rejected and whilst some of these may have been intended, the vast majority would undoubtedly have been through voter confusion and unintended mistakes. With an average turnout of less than 50%, this means that the for future elections rejected ballot papers could exceed the winning margins.

It is increasingly likely that we will see changes to the voting methods available in the devolved regions of Scotland and Wales in the coming years, with both the Scottish and Welsh Governments expressing a desire to reform elections in their regions to increase democratic participation and accessibility. These are regions that, geographically, are more isolated from the current paper based system with Highland and Island authorities. This could result in a two-tier system where alternative voting methods are available to voters

for local and regional electoral contests, but with those same voters being required to revert to paper based systems for national elections and polls.

Voters with disabilities face a significant challenge when trying to exercise their democratic right to vote. Whilst wheelchair access to polling stations had improved in recent years, there are still a large number of voters with disabilities who are unable to visit polling stations and are required the use of a proxy vote or, if visually impaired, a plastic template that provides extremely limited assistance. Not only is this undermining voter privacy but it also directly contravenes the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Person with Disabilities that the UK has signed and ratified. The RNIB 2017 Turned Out Report highlights how the current voting system is failing to insure the rights of all voters to vote independently and in secret, with only 1 in 4 of those blind or partially sighted members surveyed saying that the current system is fit for purpose. Voters with visual impairments are quite rightly asking government to consider how they access voting in a way that allows them to vote unaided.

Technology Solutions

Online Voting

Online voting provides a far greater opportunity for voters to participate in the election process by offering a more convenient, yet secure, channel for voting and potentially, an extended voting period – a methodology used in Estonia. Online voting can be particularly effective in driving up the levels of participation in traditionally underrepresented groups such as military voters, overseas voters and voters with disabilities.

Online voting can offer the perfect platform to bring the ballot to the voter in a more accessible and secure way than other remote voting methods. Online voting provides a secure platform for voters with disabilities to cast their vote from home without having to attempt to visit a polling station, or rely on other trusted companions or assistants to vote in proxy or assist them during their in-person voting. Online voting integrates seamlessly with accessibility tools such as braille keypads, sip and puff tubes and screen readers (e.g. JAWS) to ensure that blind/low vision voters and voters with motor/physical disabilities are afforded the same democratic rights as able bodied voters.

Cases in the USA, Estonia and Australia have all seen increases in participation. In the New South Wales State Election in 2011, online voting was made available for voters with

disabilities and those who lived a defined distance from a polling station. The post-election report summarised that “usage of iVote greatly exceeded expectations by threefold, with almost 50,000 electors using it. We estimate that access to iVote enfranchised around 30,000 electors who were unlikely to vote had iVote not been available”.

One of the most underrepresented voting groups is young voters. Research has shown that online voting could boost youth voter turnout to 70% in a general election. Tech savvy Post-Millennials and Generation Z voters have grown up knowing nothing but an internet enabled life-style. Their social lives and increasingly their education, work and professional lives are conducted online. The decision in Scotland for 16 and 17 year olds to be enfranchised saw over 109,000 voters added to the electoral register and of this amount, over 75% voted. Yet it seems unlikely that this level of turnout can be maintained for other election events, where the need to visit a polling station or complete a complex postal voting pack will provide sufficient relevance to these voters and the way in which they engage in all other aspects of their lives.

Whilst a permanent online voting option could see a significant impact on the engagement of young voters, in Estonia, far from creating a digital divide between young and old, the take up of online voting has actually been age, sex and politically neutral, with all voter profiles choosing to cast their vote in this way.

Electronic Voting

Despite paper and pencil being the way in which voters in the UK have been casting their votes in secret ballots since 1872, many mistakes are still made by voters. This is increased in elections where there are combined polls or more complex voting systems such as supplementary voting, where voters cast a 1st and 2nd choice, or the single transferable voting method, where voters rank candidates in the order of preference.

eVoting technology can be used to assist the voter, in the privacy of the voting booth, to correctly cast their vote in different election types, minimising inadvertent marking errors and flagging if voters have over / under voted. It is also possible to swap instructions easily from one language set to another, to ensure that eligible voters, of all backgrounds and needs are met. The friendliness of user interfaces – to which we are now accustomed via our phones and computers – can make voting more accessible. Large screens and large fonts can be used to assist those with limited sight. In automated elections voters from all age groups consistently report that it is easier to vote electronically than with pen and paper. In addition, it has been widely demonstrated that it facilitates voting for those with lower

Smartmatic – written evidence (CCE0232)

literacy levels, because they can simply touch a screen that shows the logo, face or colour of the political party that they wish to vote for.

eVoting technology, such as touch-screens, provides significantly higher levels of accessibility and usability for voters with disabilities, than traditional paper methods. eVoting technology can be integrated with audio voting, sip and puff technology for navigating around the ballot paper, and touch/braille pads.

Other Electoral Modernisation Technologies and Process Changes

In addition to online voting and eVoting in polling stations, there are many other technologies and process changes that are being used specifically to increase participation and improve accessibility to the democratic process of both electoral registration and voting. Some examples include:

Voting on additional days polling days – facilitated with early online voting

Voting in any polling station/mobile polling stations – facilitated with centralised electoral registers and poll-book technology, for the electronic marking of the register

Mobile Device Identity Authentication – allowing voters to use their mobile phones to assure Electoral Registration Officers of their identify rather than the complex, costly and time consuming process of sending, receiving and processing paper based copies of identification documents.

Estonian Elections – Additional Information

The Estonian internet voting solution is the longest standing, most technologically advanced, and highly trusted internet voting solution in existence. It has been used to support binding government elections since 2005, and to date has delivered eight nationwide elections. Such is the level of public trust in the system that during the last two elections held, 31% of the participating voters chose to cast their vote online.

Estonia is one of the most connected countries in the world and is ranked 15th in the UN e-Government Readiness Index (EDGI). Over time the Estonian Government have developed a citizen-orientated culture, and the physical and digital infrastructure to make best use of it. As an example, more than 90% of Estonians declare their taxes online.

There are a number of key principals upon which the Estonian i-Voting system is based. These are:

i-Voting is optional – voters may also cast their ballot by post, or in person at a polling station

Multiple voting – voters may cast their vote as many times as they like, and only the last vote to be cast will be included in the count.

Soroptimist International Durham – written evidence (CCE0064)

Paper dominance – voters may choose, after voting online, to visit a polling station and vote on paper. This process will nullify their digital vote and only the paper vote will be included in the count.

To follow is a link to a video showing a short introduction to the Estonian i-Voting process <https://www.facebook.com/SmartmaticTechnology/videos/vb.397107633694904/814290911976572/?type=2&theater>

Soroptimist International Durham – written evidence (CCE0064)

The meaning of citizenship and civic engagement in the 21st Century

1. We need to ask ourselves, “What does it mean to be British, what are our values, beliefs, and recognise cultural and ethnic diversity?”
2. Society has undergone significant change in the last 60 years which has led to a far more inclusive and enriched social profile.
3. Each of us needs to have understanding of how the law works, so we can recognise what is legal/illegal and the purpose of the law.
4. British society offers everybody the means to engage in a wide range of inclusive opportunities and active participation, both at local level and wider national and international engagement for the benefit of the individual of wider society and the global dimension.
5. As Soroptimists we have become involved with local members of the Guiding movement in County Durham and developed a joint challenge badge with Rainbows, Brownies, Guides and their leaders all taking part in civic engagement activities including raising funds for the charity MND.
6. We have also enabled a local school for children with a variety of physical and mental issues to visit the Prince Bishop Alpacca Farm. This has made a significant difference to their ability to relate to one another, our members, the animals and the wider community. Children who rarely spoke of their experiences outside of school were talking to teachers and their families about a simple visit which had proved to be a life changing experience. 7 Citizenship is about making sense of the society in which we live leading to respect, engagement, empowerment and support for others irrespective of race, belief and gender. 8 There are various ways to be a good neighbour some of which are outlined above.
7. We all need to engage in the processes of democracy as it enables each of us to have a voice. We’re concerned that the electoral process seems to be less relevant to young people and wondered if the way to improve that would be to look for example, at greater use of social media, electronic voting, systems designed to be

relevant to the way in which particularly young people live and experience the world around them.

8. Several of us answered practice citizenship test papers. Whilst relieved that we all achieved at least the necessary 75% required to pass we felt that the certain questions were of little relevance in modern day Britain. They seemed rather to test the ability to read and retain information from a handbook rather than true citizenship. How many born and bred in this country, without reading that handbook, would know when the Romans succeeded in conquering Britain, the date of the Union flag and when the Tower of London was built? All of these were questions to be found in the citizenship tests

The rights and responsibilities attached to citizenship

1. All citizens need to be aware of their rights under law, both criminal and civic.
2. We are concerned that we live in a society which is dominated by the rights of the individual rather than a recognition that each of us has responsibilities to each other and the wider society. A “rights” dominated society is very selfish, self-centred and unhealthy.
3. Rights as a global citizen are equally important, such as awareness of the ecological threats to the environment
4. We need an awareness of global issues directly and indirectly impacting on society
5. The right to a good education is essential if each of us to make a positive contribution to our society
6. The right to have one’s individual needs respected is essential.
7. We felt, that whilst the needs of the individual were important they should not exclude the needs of others. In the past, the community took responsibility for the children living within its boundaries and this offered safety and protection for young people, a respect for authority and a recognition that bad behaviour would be challenged and have consequences. Members felt that this had been badly eroded to the point where challenging the behaviour of a child or young person could lead to violent, or at the very least unpleasant, consequences for the adult raising concerns.
8. Responsibilities as a good citizen at, local, national and international level is a cornerstone of good citizenship
9. Understanding that one’s actions will impact on the lives and wellbeing of others is the mark of a good and responsible citizen

The state of citizenship education and the role that it plays in creating active citizens

1. Citizenship should be compulsory at least until the age of 16. In real terms it remains subject to the constraints imposed by the nature of school curriculum choices. It needs to form an active part of the national curriculum. Post 16 it is more likely to be reflected in choices made in relation to further education. It features within programmes such as the D of E Award Scheme, (but members expressed concern at the cost of undertaking such a scheme due to the nature of the challenges required of young people). It is embedded into alternative qualifications such as the International Baccalaureate where a key element is active citizenship and voluntary work.
2. Schools have always promoted active citizenship and engaged young people in issues, charities, community project, global crises.
3. The current national curriculum covers a wide range of relevant issues one of the key elements reflects the increasingly diverse and inclusive nature of British society within local, national and European context.
4. The importance of beliefs that reassure, challenge bigotry and Insularity are an important part of each child and young person's education.

The role of voluntary citizenship schemes such as the National Citizen Service

1. Members felt that the National Citizenship Service had great merit and understood that it had been difficult to obtain wide recognition and support for the scheme across the country whilst noting the concerns of the National Audit Office Report.
2. The inclusivity of the Scouting and Guide movements which transcends religious belief, encourages diversity, promotes friendship and encourages gender equality and volunteering at a local, national and international level in working on community projects.
3. The Duke of Edinburgh Award encourages active participation. Raleigh International encourages fund raising through events to finance the projects undertaken globally.

The ways society can support civic engagement and the role of Government and Parliament in supporting that

1. Greater education creating the personal belief that individuals can make a real difference is vital.

2. Funding targeted appropriately at relevant groups. The Princes Trust is a good example of this on a national scale.
3. Each regional MP could create a clear organisation within the respective constituencies funded directly through Government funding.
4. Members noted the effectiveness of past campaigns such as “Keep Britain Tidy” which were remembered by all ages, not just those who were adults at the time it was initiated. Government should look for similar relevant eye-catching campaigns which would benefit society as a whole.

The values that all of us who live in Britain should share and support

1. Members felt that above all the word RESPECT should apply in our everyday lives. This would include matters listed below and this isn’t an exclusive list.
2. The freedom to worship and a respect for individual beliefs and faiths.
3. Respect for diversity has long been a feature of British society and has enabled many citizens of other countries to settle and live a peaceful life within our country
4. To respect and seek to help vulnerable members of society such as those with special needs, the financially constrained and the old person who lives on their own. Being a good neighbour, on the street, in the tower block, in the town and internationally is at the core of being British
5. The law of our country is respected internationally due to fairness and justice being at its core.
6. Respecting others and understanding the consequences of one’s actions on others.
7. Concern was expressed at the bullying culture which seems to have developed as a result of social networking. An incident which, in the past, would have been over and forgotten in a day is replayed over and over whilst watched by many others. This needs to be tackled at all levels of society and seen to be completely unacceptable.

The relationship between civic engagement and social cohesion

1. There is a duty on all of us to make sure that British society is inclusive so that all can benefit from the rich diversity of cultural integration, sharing, embracing and celebrating the best of the contribution all can bring.
2. There are such connections, significantly Notting Hill Carnival, Chinese New Year, the Asian celebrations (Melas) of cultural engagement across the North East.

South Tyneside Council – written evidence (CCE0148)

3. Civic engagement when achieved for the benefit of a community creates a sense of civic and community pride, a feeling of personal contribution, active participation and respect for and understanding of all British citizens.
4. Concern was expressed that life is now lived at a hectic pace and the opportunities taken up in the past to volunteer have become rarer. Members spoke of having several years at home with children which enabled them to volunteer at school, nursery and youth groups. Parents now are often both working full-time a short time after their children are born. This may be for financial and/or personal reasons, but it reduces their capacity to volunteer in their local communities. Whilst recognising the positive social aspects of nurseries it can also lead to children being institutionalised from a very young age.

5 September 2017

South Tyneside Council – written evidence (CCE0148)

Area of Interest: The ways society can support civic engagement and the role of Government and Parliament in supporting that

1. South Tyneside Council welcomes the opportunity to contribute to the Select Committee's work to identify ways to promote civic engagement. In particular, we hope that by describing an engagement mechanism we recently developed and employed to considerable success, we can help to encourage and enable more local authorities to leverage existing networks or develop new networks to facilitate the engagement of broad communities in both small- and large-scale policy change.
2. South Tyneside Council began our Brexploration initiative in June 2017. This initiative has been an effective exercise in supporting civic engagement, facilitating targeted cooperation between society and local government, and establishing communicative pathways between society and wider Government and Parliament.
3. Brexploration is a proactive, collaboration engagement vehicle, aimed at gathering local stakeholder perspectives, needs and priorities which relate to Brexit. It has been a particularly effective mechanism for soliciting views and perspectives which will inform future Council responses to changes in policy and circumstance that Brexit may bring, as well as shape proactive actions taken by the Council to limit negative repercussions and maximise benefits of Brexit for our area.
4. Brexit is a change which has impacted and has the potential to impact so many aspects of public and private life that it would be impossible for the Council (or indeed any individual organisation) to claim to understand or attempt to respond to

the situation without consulting widely. Effective civic engagement around this issue is therefore essential. In developing Brexploration, the council established an effective mechanism for itself (and indeed wider regional partners) to be able to listen to and learn from community leaders and stakeholders.

5. The Council already undertakes a range of general and specific community engagement and consultation activities, including land development consultations, regular community area forums for residents and partnership boards which facilitate close working with local business, health and third sector communities. The Brexploration project is a new and flexible consultation vehicle which has been set up in response to Brexit, with the understanding that findings have the potential to shape a number of current and future council activities.
6. Brexploration was originally conceived as an Overview and Scrutiny People's Select Committee exercise which sought to gather evidence from representatives of different major local sectors. However, the initiative quickly evolved into a wider, more collaborative engagement framework relevant to stakeholders across the wider North East region.
7. The regional aspect of the exercise has been important in supporting civic engagement in other local government structures, including the North East Combined Authority.
8. The Brexploration launch event took place on June 30th. The 4-hour event consisted of a scene-setting plenary with national and international context provided by hosts Alan Donnelly (former North East MEP) and Mark Easton (BBC News Editor), a series of themed roundtable discussions inviting delegates for their thoughts and contributions, and a plenary which allowed for full-group summaries of roundtable discussions and cross-theme questions and answers.
9. Approximately 350 individuals and organisation representatives from across the private, public and third sector were identified and approximately 80 of these delegates were able to attend the event. Invitees were selected for their knowledge and experience of and capacity to speak for different parts of local society and the economy. The invitee list included organisations the Council already has strong working relationships with, as well as a wide range of organisations new to the Council. The objectives of and reasons for the exercise were made clear, and invitees were encouraged to bring ideas and evidence that would help to shape a collective local response to Brexit. By pitching the event at a high-level, emphasising the collaborative element of the event and reaching out to and inviting major business and community leaders, the Council ensured that, at this critical stage, the consultation was relevant and appealing to invitees, and therefore was successful in bringing together a sufficiently diverse range of those important community

stakeholders with pertinent and detailed insights into different parts of the community and the economy.

10. Delegates were invited to choose one of three roundtables to attend and contribute to. The Increasing Prosperity discussion was led by Alan Donnelly, and examined considerations such as the region's needs and concerns in terms of trade and international direct investment. The Workforce and Skills roundtable, guided by Caroline Theobald CBE, of FIRST Face to Face, looked at current and anticipated shortages in skills across different sectors, considered options for immigration and training solutions and identified specific asks of the government relating to priority sectors. The Community Collaboration discussion, guided by Collaborate CIC CEO Dr Henry Kippin, gave close consideration to community strengths and needs and how successful devolved services and former-EU powers could function.
11. The event was significant in that it not only facilitated useful discussion and engagement between Councillors and Officers and the public and business community, but also supported collaborative dialogue between representations of different parts of the community. For example, the Collaborative Communities roundtable brought together trade union representatives, the Police and Crime Commissioner, and the leader of a local international community organisation, among others, allowing them to listen to each other's perspectives, identify shared priorities and build working relationships. The event also gave an opportunity for representatives such as MEP Jude Kirton-Darling to share their insights and research. Councils have an important role to play in forging these inter-community connections which are foundational to a health civic society.
12. Following on from the launch event, Brexploration has split into two tracks: 1) a local process, which will be driven forward by the People's Select Committee, and will inform local policy responses to Brexit –related changes, and 2) a regional/national process, wherein a report is under development, based on initial discussion content and built upon through a wider consultation process, which will be championed and delivered to national government with the aim of shaping Brexit negotiations.
13. Delegates expressed appreciation of and satisfaction about the initial event, and it was suggested and broadly agreed upon by the wider group that the initial event should be followed up by a series of further discussions which could allow more in-depth look into specific issues. The Council and those involved are looking into how these potential continued discussion opportunities could be best facilitated.
14. The collaborative aspect of the Brexploration project has been central to its success. The Council have been flexible and open to partner involvement throughout, and anticipate future elements of the project to be taken forward by interested partners as much as by the Council itself. It is also notable that individuals from a range of political parties were invited the event, and the event was not limited by existing

associations or memberships of particular structures. This afforded broad-ranging, meaningful discussion which transcended traditional political fault lines and facilitated genuine cross-engagement and collaboration.

15. South Tyneside Council recommends that this style of engagement exercise, which leverages and grows networks, could be employed by other local authorities as a means of developing policy which satisfies the needs and concerns of a wide range of constituents and stakeholders.

8 September 2017

Professor Hugh Starkey, Professor of Citizenship and Human Rights Education

Dr. Tania de St Croix, In Defence of Youth Work – written evidence (CCE0218)

1. Introduction

1.1 I am submitting this evidence on behalf of In Defence of Youth Work, a forum for critical debate that was formed in 2009 and organises seminars, conferences, and substantial online discussion amongst youth workers and other youth practitioners.

1.2 In this response, we mainly address questions 5 and 6.

2. Citizenship education (Q5)

2.1 We would like to remind the committee that education is wider than schooling and universities (formal education). While it is undoubtedly important for schools and universities to focus on political participation, it is also important to create conditions where a wider education sector – in our case, informal education, youth work, and community education – can flourish. This is particularly pertinent when we are discussing citizenship and political education. Political participation is best exercised in ‘real’ political situations, rather than only as role play; in other words, education through citizenship rather than only education about citizenship.

2.2 Youth and community work have a long history of being conceptualised as personal, social and political education. However, our political education role has not always been at the forefront, depending (ironically) on the policy priorities of the time. At times, political education has been envisioned in its more formal aspects even in youth work – e.g. youth parliaments, youth councils and young mayor projects. Such projects are valuable where they actively engage with a range of young people including many from marginalised backgrounds and communities (see for example the Lewisham Young Mayor project), rather than simply mirroring the demographics of Westminster.

2.3 The wider political education role of everyday grassroots youth work (e.g. youth clubs and street-based youth work) is intrinsic to an approach that treats young people as ‘creators, not consumers’ (Smith, 1982). While this has perhaps been neglected in recent

youth policy and funding streams, mainstream youth work has a vital role to play, particularly in engaging with young people on issues that schools would struggle to deal with (such as young people who would like to campaign on education and schooling itself), and in engaging young people who are marginalised both in the schooling system and in having a say on political issues. Young people who do not feel comfortable or successful in school may not be inspired if political education is only, or mainly, associated with school.

3. National Citizen Service (Q6)

3.1 Youth and community work has a long history of engaging young people over the long term – and particularly in working class and ethnically diverse communities, as well as with marginalised groups such as young LGBT people and young disabled people’s groups, and groups of young carers and young people undergoing particular challenges. While these groups have been closed down or lost funding, the National Citizen Service has been funded extremely well. There is no evidence that the National Citizen Service is more effective than year-round, community-based provision with a wider age group (youth work engages with young people aged 8-25, particularly 13-19, whereas NCS works with young people aged 16-17).

3.2 As youth workers we know that many young people enjoy NCS and get a lot out of it. We also know many young people who say it is not for them, for various reasons; these young people are never mentioned, however, and there has been a lack of research into why some young people are not interested. It is hardly surprising to youth workers that NCS is enjoyed by many young people and has some positive impact; NCS uses various methods long established in youth work (residential, social action projects, learning in groups, life skills, reflective discussions). However, it is aimed at young people of a narrow age range, is a ‘one size fits all’ model, is short-term, and appeals to certain kinds of young people who are already engaged in their communities and ambitious to go to university. Youth work has a history of engaging more widely, for a longer time period.

3.3 Lengthening the NCS is not the answer. While a short programme is able to achieve certain outcomes, only community-based longer-term provision that ‘starts from where young people are starting from’ is likely to engage young people who are not interested in NCS.

3.4 Making NCS (or any similar scheme) compulsory would lead to resentment and many practical issues. Telling young people they ‘must’ do citizenship activities or volunteering would be authoritarian, hypocritical, and contradictory to the nature of these activities.

3.5 The ‘value for money’ of NCS has been the subject of ongoing scrutiny (National Audit Office, 2017; Public Accounts Committee, 2017). £1,863 per participant (NAO, 2017, p.4) is a high cost for what is effectively a short summer scheme for 16 year olds in comparison to year-round provision for a wider age range. The Education Select Committee’s (2011) Services for Young People inquiry recommended that NCS was not continued in its current form in the light of ‘concerns about the scheme’s cost and practical implementation’ (p.60). ‘Value for money’ concerns have re-emerged in recent months, as official bodies have criticised the high cost per place, the money wasted on unfilled spaces, the lack of financial accountability, and the need for evidence on longer term impact (NAO, 2017; Public Accounts Committee, 2017). Its costs have risen steeply each year as it has

been scaled up for increased participation: the government has committed to the rather striking figure of £1.26 billion over the 2016-2020 period (NAO, 2017, p.4).

3.6 At a time when young people are calling for renewed investment in youth work (UK Youth Voice, 2017), we would like to suggest that the NCS spending is reviewed – not only on its own merits in terms of ‘value for money’ but in comparison to what has been lost in the time when NCS has been funded. It cannot be right that the government cannot afford to fund youth work, but can afford NCS, which costs a great deal more per space. At least some of the resources used for NCS should be diverted to community-based youth work, and to free training and education for youth and community workers (including volunteers) in political and citizenship education.

3.7 While its per-person costs have risen, NCS has gradually been reduced from a two month scheme to a three or four week project. Costs are rising but the provision is becoming shorter. Rather than emerging from what young people in local areas say they want, NCS takes similar – sometimes identical - forms in every region of England and, more recently, Northern Ireland. It is closely controlled and prescribed: its programme, timings, outcomes, and evaluation are embedded in the contracts that providers are required to adhere to – this does not tend to promote active citizenship and reduces the potential role of young people in shaping what they do on NCS.

3.8 Even in the ‘social action’ element of the scheme, which is specifically intended to be designed and carried out by young people, the need for a ‘social action experience’ to take place within a tight timescale militates against genuine involvement at young people’s pace and starting from their concerns. For example, the group observed as part of an independent research project was tasked with painting a ‘community room’ in a college, a project that was pre-designed by regional staff (Mills & Waite, 2017).

3.9 Whereas political and citizenship education is a skilled role, most NCS ‘leaders’ are employed on temporary contracts for a few weeks or months each year. Poor pay – even for senior roles – is endemic, and is likely to become worse in the light of recent pressures on NCS providers to lower their costs.

3.10 Currently, there are 9 regional NCS providers, of which three are profit-making companies (NAO, 2017); others have ostensibly non-profit but have well paid senior staff and are reliant on NCS for their income. There should be no room for profit-making (or very high salaries) in the political and citizenship education of young people.

3.11 Below the layer of regional providers running NCS, other organisations (mostly small specialist providers) are subcontracted to deliver the scheme in local areas. It is well established that small, local organisations can lose out in subcontracting relationships: they are asked to share the risk of the larger organisations but have smaller reserves, and suffer disproportionately when targets are not met. This risk will be intensified now that the NCS Trust has been directed to recoup money from ‘unfilled spaces’ - any youth provider will know that an unfilled space does not mean that money was not spent (for example, a residential venue will not refund the cost for a young person who does not turn up). As well as the risk to smaller youth providers, there is presumably a risk to the reliability of evaluations. The ‘payment by results’ arrangements that incentivises recruitment will also,

inevitably, incentivise organisations to exaggerate the number of young people who have signed up to and ‘completed’ NCS.

3.12 A particular orientation of NCS towards citizenship is suggested by the way in which it is evaluated. Since early pilots of the scheme, young people have been asked to agree or disagree with various statements at the beginning of NCS and after taking part. Their results are compared with a ‘control group’ of young people who did not participate. In past versions of the evaluation, young people have been asked whether they agree that ‘In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world’, and ‘If you don’t succeed in life it’s your own fault’ (see de St Croix, 2011; 2016). These statements reproduce the message that failure is our own fault, and that social context or structural disadvantage does not matter. The agree/disagree statements in more recent iterations of the evaluation have been less obviously crude, but the vast majority of the changes measured by NCS remain fundamentally individualist and neglect the role of social inequalities.

3.13 NCS is fundamentally based on product rather than process; on consumption rather than creativity; on the quickest possible throughput of both young people and youth workers for maximum profit. However, an immediate closure of NCS – even if it is replaced by neighbourhood youth work - may not be the best way ahead. If politics is to become more decentralised and participatory, it is vital that policy changes must not be imposed on people – particularly marginalised groups of young people and precariously employed workers.

3.14 Therefore, we suggest that serious consideration is given to reviewing NCS and, in the shorter term, redirecting some of its future expansion-oriented funding towards community-based youth provision. NCS should be reviewed holistically alongside youth work provision and resourcing, both nationally and locally. Ideally, after a period of transition, the resources currently allocated to NCS should be devolved to local communities for participatory budgeting by young people, youth workers and community members. Certain principles must underpin this budgeting: for example, money should be ring-fenced for young people’s informal leisure-time services that they attend by choice; young people and youth workers should have a say on how programmes are carried out; and youth workers must be trained, valued, and supported. In making these decisions, local committees may well build on some of the positive aspects of NCS, that themselves draw on many decades of youth work history and practice: the residentials, the emphasis on groups, and on young people’s action and political education. Other elements might be rethought: the layers of profit-slicing, the restriction to 16 year olds, the short-term nature of the project, and the ‘packaged product’ orientation that militates against genuine youth participation. Any change should not be sudden or imposed; time must be taken to discuss the possibilities with young people and youth workers, to think about how we can learn from the successes and limitations of various forms of youth provision, and how we can best use resources to benefit young people – taking into account the need for specific attention to potentially marginalised social groups.

3.15 The way that youth citizenship programmes are run must be congruent with the message of those programmes. Therefore, localised versions of NCS can be considered, yet

only alongside other forms of youth work. Local, participative decision-making means that, in some local areas, the idea of keeping a ‘summer’ or ‘school leaver’ element could be retained. The point is that such decisions must be made locally, primarily involving those most affected and most knowledgeable – young people and youth workers.

References

de St Croix, T. (2011) ‘Struggles and silences: Policy, youth work and the National Citizen Service’, *Youth and Policy*, 106: 43-59

de St Croix, T. (2016) *Grassroots youth work: Policy, passion and resistance in practice*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Education Select Committee (2011) *Services for young people*, London: The Stationary Office.

Mill, S. and Waite, C. (2017) Brands of youth citizenship and the politics of scale: National Citizen Service in the United Kingdom, *Political Geography*, 56: 66-76.

NAO (National Audit Office) (2017) *National Citizen Service: Report by the comptroller and auditor general*, January, London: Cabinet Office and Department for Culture, Media and Sport.

Public Accounts Committee (2017) *National Citizen Service: 46th report of session 2016-17*, March, London: House of Commons.

Smith, M. (1982) *Creators not consumers: Rediscovering social education (2nd Edn)*, NAYC Publications.

UK Youth Voice (2017) *Youth Voice manifesto: Dear Prime Minister*, London: UK Youth.

Tania de St Croix, 8th September 2017

Biography: Tania de St Croix has been a youth worker for over twenty years, and is now a Lecturer in the Sociology of Youth and Childhood at King's College London. Her recent research explored how part-time and volunteer youth workers are affected by policy in their everyday practice: see 'Grassroots youth work: Policy, passion and resistance in practice', published in July 2016 by Policy Press.

Step Up To Serve – written evidence (CCE0210)

Submitted by: Dr Rania Marandos (Step Up to Serve), on behalf of the #iwill campaign on September 8th, 2017.

Introduction: The #iwill campaign is focused on making meaningful social action part of life for 10-20 year olds across the UK, irrespective of their socio-economic background or geography.

Our response to the select committee draws on thinking shared with us by many of our partner organisations who have made #iwill pledges to support the campaign's work. By ensuring social action is embedded into the lives of young people, the UK can become a more socially conscious society where civic engagement is the norm for people of all ages and from all backgrounds.

We are answering questions 1,5,6,7,9,10, &12 to recommend that youth social action is recognised and celebrated as a significant meaningful means of developing active citizens from a young age, thus creating a habit for life.

Throughout our submission, we recommend that recognition and celebration of youth social action and its benefits should be embedded into the education system and other non-formal education settings, as well as by government, businesses, voluntary and public sector organisations.

We also recommend clearer support for earlier entry points to participation in social action, with continued investment through the #iwill fund, and ensure that more social action opportunities are available to all young people, including those from the most disadvantaged backgrounds.

We recommend engaging with the Full-time Social Action Review to encourage new and alternative forms of long-term quality social action projects as a means of developing active citizens.

We recommend that Government work to make it easier and more rewarding for people to volunteer, enabling charities and volunteers to support our public services (especially our health and social care services).

We recommend that Government strengthen volunteer development and management across organisations that are primarily focused on areas and communities where groups feel 'left behind'.

We recommend that Government supports a greater call for young trustees on charity boards, or for young people to be consulted on decisions that directly impact them and wider society.

We recommend that Government act upon the findings of the *Casey Review into Opportunity and Integration* by developing and embedding a framework of social action opportunities for young people.

“SELECT COMMITTEE ON CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT”

Written Response from Step Up To Serve, the charity coordinating the #iwill campaign

Submitted by: Dr Rania Marandos (Step Up to Serve) on behalf of the #iwill campaign on September 8th, 2017. This represents collective views and is not the perspective of any one

organisation. Please also note that some #iwill partners will be submitting individual responses.

Introduction

The #iwill campaign is a UK-wide initiative that aims to make social action, which includes activities such as campaigning, fundraising and volunteering, part of life for as many 10 to 20 year olds as possible by the end of 2020. Through cross-sector partnerships, the campaign is evidencing and communicating the benefits of youth social action, working to embed it in the journey of young people and collaborating with organisations to create more high quality opportunities for participation. The campaign is focused on ensuring that young people have the opportunity to engage in meaningful social action irrespective of their socio-economic background or geography.

The campaign was launched in 2013 by HRH The Prince of Wales with cross-party support and has since received endorsement from the Prime Minister, during her speech⁷⁷² on the ‘shared society’ at the Charity Commission in January 2017. The campaign is coordinated by the charity Step Up To Serve and led by over 730 cross-sector organisations across the UK.

The campaign is working with the business, education, health and social care, and voluntary sectors to embed youth social action into all areas of society in order to increase the likelihood of it becoming the norm for young people. Participation in youth social action has what we term ‘a *double* benefit’ – a benefit to the wider community through helping others and contributing to social inclusion and cohesion, as well as to the individual themselves, through the development of qualities⁷⁷³ and skills⁷⁷⁴ for life that improve employability. There is evidence⁷⁷⁵⁷⁷⁶ that regular social action is also linked to improved emotional wellbeing and reduced anxiety. As such, we believe youth social action should be strongly considered when discussing citizenship and civic engagement in UK society.

Our response draws on thinking shared with us by many of our partner organisations who have made #iwill pledges to support the #iwill campaign’s work. A full list of pledging organisations is available on our website here.⁷⁷⁷

Questions:

- 1. What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century?**
 - a. Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?**

⁷⁷²The Prime Minister’s speech at the Charity Commission, 2017 (<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/the-shared-society-prime-ministers-speech-at-the-charity-commission-annual-meeting>)

⁷⁷³ Behavioural Insights Team (2016). *Evaluating Youth Social Action*. (<http://www.behaviouralinsights.co.uk/education-and-skills/does-social-action-help-develop-the-skills-young-people-need-to-succeed-in-adult-life/>)

⁷⁷⁴ Ipsos MORI (2017). *National Citizen Service 2015 Evaluation*. (<http://www.ncsyes.co.uk/sites/default/files/NCS%202015%20Evaluation%20Report%20FINAL.pdf>)

⁷⁷⁵ Ipsos MORI (2016). *The National Youth Social Action Survey, 2016*. (<http://www.iwill.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/download-manager-files/2016%2520National%2520Youth%2520Social%2520Action%2520Survey%2520-%2520Headline%2520findings.pdf>)

⁷⁷⁶ Ipsos MORI (2017). *National Citizen Service 2013 Evaluation - Two years on*. (<http://www.ncsyes.co.uk/sites/default/files/NCS%202013%20YO%20Evaluation%20Report%20FINAL.pdf>)

⁷⁷⁷ #iwill pledges (www.iwill.org.uk/iwill-pledges)

The UK is currently faced with many challenges and there are uncertainties and divisions in communities up and down our country. We are clear that supporting young people to change their communities and themselves through civic engagement (or social action), is a uniquely powerful way to build a more integrated, socially mobile and healthier society, showing that there is more in common than that which divides us.

We believe developing opportunities for young people from all backgrounds to get involved in activities that make a positive difference to themselves and to those around them will have a long-term, unifying impact on the future of our country, and becoming an active citizen at a young age helps this to become embedded - a habit for life.

It has been said that ‘volunteering is the ultimate exercise in democracy ... when you volunteer, you vote every day about the kind of community you want to live in’. We also believe that by ensuring social action is embedded into the lives of young people, the UK can become a more socially conscious society where civic engagement is the norm for people of all ages and from all backgrounds.

There is already evidence suggesting that many young people value social action, with c. 40% taking part regularly and recognising the double benefit⁷⁷⁸, which is an indication of the appetite among younger people to become active citizens. This is particularly of note in comparison to the adult levels of formal volunteering, at around 25%.⁷⁷⁹ Through social action, young people can also play a vital role in facilitating others to engage with their civic duty, i.e. through campaigning, organising rallies, designing petitions, or leading student councils. Taking part in social action can also lead to answering questions of identity, perhaps through minority rights campaigning, LGBTQI groups, or supporting immigrants within their communities. A greater understanding of identity, and how it manifests in civic engagement, is an important outcome of participating in social action and learning more about the communities in which you live.

For the #iwill campaign, citizenship and civic engagement in the 21st century is about developing a habit of social action for life, with an early commitment seeded in primary school continuing throughout the education system and into early working life.

However, there is a persistent socio-economic gap in participation in social action, and we need to ensure that young people in all areas of society are able to participate, and to benefit from doing so. This would ensure that civic engagement is more representative of UK citizens. It matters because through participating in social action to become active citizens, young people gain skills and qualities essential for employment and active citizenship in adulthood. A CIPD survey⁷⁸⁰ reported 67% of employers say candidates with social action experience demonstrate better employability skills. As well as this, getting involved in social action that

⁷⁷⁸ Ipsos MORI (2016). *The National Youth Social Action Survey, 2016*. (<http://www.iwill.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/download-manager-files/2016%2520National%2520Youth%2520Social%2520Action%2520Survey%2520-%2520Headline%2520findings.pdf>)

⁷⁷⁹ Cabinet Office (2016) Community Life Survey 2015-16 (<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/community-life-survey-2015-to-2016-data>)

⁷⁸⁰ CIPD and YouGov (2015). Learning to Work Survey. (<https://www.cipd.co.uk/knowledge/strategy/volunteering/social-action-guide>)

embeds the 6 quality principles⁷⁸¹ led to robust improvements in character qualities like empathy, cooperation, resilience, problem-solving and sense of community.⁷⁸²

It also leads to improved levels of well-being:

- Average life satisfaction score (out of 10) for those participating in youth social action is 8.6, compared to 8.1 for those not. Similar to the difference between permanent employees who are happy with their job and those who don't have a job and are seeking work.⁷⁸³
- Sustained increases in personal resilience and marked decrease in levels of anxiety, two years following participation in a social action programme.^{784,785}
- Links to improved levels of feeling that life is worthwhile.⁷⁸⁶

Recommendations

Ensure youth social action is recognised and celebrated as a significant means of developing active citizens from a young age, thus creating a habit for life. Recognition and celebration should be embedded into the education system and also into other non-formal education settings.

Create new, and build on existing, social action opportunities to ensure that they are available to all young people, including those from the most disadvantaged backgrounds.⁷⁸⁷

Government could incentivise businesses to help create more opportunities, so that growth in the number, range and accessibility of good quality youth social action opportunities becomes self-sustaining for the longer-term.

2. What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship?

- a. At what stages, from primary school through to university, should it be (a) available, and (b) compulsory?**
- b. Should there be any exemptions?**
- c. Should there be more emphasis on political participation, both inside and outside classes?**
- d. How effective is current teaching?**

⁷⁸¹ <http://www.iwill.org.uk/about-us/principles/>

⁷⁸² Behavioural Insights Team (2016). *Evaluating Youth Social Action* (<http://www.behaviouralinsights.co.uk/education-and-skills/does-social-action-help-develop-the-skills-young-people-need-to-succeed-in-adult-life/>)

⁷⁸³ Ipsos MORI. (2016) *The National Youth Social Action Survey*, (<http://www.iwill.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/download-manager-files/2016%2520National%2520Youth%2520Social%2520Action%2520Survey%2520-%2520Headline%2520findings.pdf>)

⁷⁸⁴ Ipsos MORI (2017). *National Citizen Service 2015 Evaluation* (<http://www.ncsyes.co.uk/sites/default/files/NCS%202015%20Evaluation%20Report%20FINAL.pdf>)

⁷⁸⁵ Ipsos MORI (2017). *National Citizen Service 2013 Evaluation - Two years on* (<http://www.ncsyes.co.uk/sites/default/files/NCS%202013%20YO%20Evaluation%20Report%20FINAL.pdf>)

⁷⁸⁶ Behavioural Insights Team (2016). *Evaluating Youth Social Action*. (<http://www.behaviouralinsights.co.uk/education-and-skills/does-social-action-help-develop-the-skills-young-people-need-to-succeed-in-adult-life/>)

⁷⁸⁷ The Department for Education's #iwill pledge (<http://www.iwill.org.uk/pledge/department-education/>)

e. Do the curriculum and the qualifications that are currently offered need amending?

Education has a pivotal role in teaching and encouraging good citizenship given its reach into communities and to young people across the UK. Of particular note is the fact that young people from lower socio-economic groups are more likely to be supported into social action by a teacher or college leader, rather than parents.⁷⁸⁸

Education should not, however, be viewed as the only sector that has a contribution to make. We believe that educational establishments themselves will also benefit from embedding a whole-school or college approach that engages community partners in social action, with good citizenship and better connectedness to the local community being amongst a long list of likely positive outcomes. There is an opportunity to raise the profile of citizenship studies by connecting the practical application to other activities and subjects young people are doing.

A summary from a 2007 report⁷⁸⁹ looking into civic engagement across 13 OECD countries states that:

Merely offering more schooling or more citizenship studies is a limited and partial response. More promising is to address the quality of learning experiences and approaches to learning both inside and outside formal school settings ... Some forms of learning seem to work better than others in fostering Civic and Social Engagement – learning environments that stress responsibility, open dialogue, respect and application of theory and ideas in practical and group-orientated work seem to work better than just “civic education” on its own.

There should be greater emphasis and stronger curriculum recommendations for social action as a tool for developing good citizens. This should be included from as early as possible in the education journey, as evidence⁷⁹⁰ suggests that starting social action from a young age is a key determinant in forming a habit of social action.

We would advocate that this emphasis begins at least from Key Stage 2, and continues right the way through into apprenticeships, university, and employment. A recent NUS report⁷⁹¹ showed that students agree, and that they made their own recommendation that Government should improve and expand the provision of Citizenship Education at Key Stages 3 & 4. Types of activity are currently referenced in the Citizenship curriculum for Key Stages 1

⁷⁸⁸ Ipsos MORI (2016). *The National Youth Social Action Survey, 2016*. (<http://www.iwill.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/download-manager-files/2016%2520National%2520Youth%2520Social%2520Action%2520Survey%2520-%2520Headline%2520findings.pdf>)

⁷⁸⁹ OECD (2007) *Understanding Social Outcomes of Learning* (<http://www.oecd.org/edu/ceri/understandingthesocialoutcomesoflearning.htm>)

⁷⁹⁰ Ipsos MORI (2016). *The National Youth Social Action Survey, 2016*. (<http://www.iwill.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/download-manager-files/2016%2520National%2520Youth%2520Social%2520Action%2520Survey%2520-%2520Headline%2520findings.pdf>)

⁷⁹¹ NUS (2017). *Students Shaping the Post 16 Skills Plan*. (<https://www.nusconnect.org.uk/articles/students-shaping-the-post-16-skills-plan>)

& 2⁷⁹² but there should include a more explicit ask, with a wider range of examples of activity, and emphasis on the value placed on this by the Department for Education.

Citizenship and civic engagement should be a golden thread in education, taught within the context of different subjects. A recent education survey⁷⁹³ found that there was an increase in teachers citing lack of education system recognition as a barrier to embedding social action within their schools (5% in 2016, 11% in 2017). Interestingly, this gap is seen most starkly between teachers in schools with the highest proportion of pupils eligible for Free School Meals (15%) compared to schools with the lowest proportion (8%)

There should also be a commitment to ensuring *all* young people, across the whole school, or college, have access to opportunities to participate in social action.

In discussing the types of leaders that are most effective in leading schools, this *Harvard Business Review* report⁷⁹⁴ shows that their favoured type of leader

collaborate[s] with local organizations to bring students' attention to the opportunities around them and arrange trips abroad to open their eyes to other cultures ... In short, they take a holistic, 360-degree view of the school, its stakeholders, the community it serves, and its role in society.

We would assert that embedding social action into the culture of the school follows this model, and would provide not only a generation of active citizens, but improve education systems as the below quotes from partners demonstrate. There are further quotes and recommendations available from the #iwill campaign's 50 champion headteachers and principals⁷⁹⁵.

"Our interest in youth social action began when staff noticed that some students not only struggled to acknowledge the positive aspects of their lives but had developed a sense of materialistic entitlement for their contributions. We took inspiration from other schools ... then researched and tested theories on looking at life positively. The result was 'Steps to Awesomeness', which celebrates appreciation, positivity, kindness, setting goals, courage, participation, exercise and community service... We believe it's really important for schools to recognise the value of social action and character education alongside academic achievement." – Alison Wyld, Headteacher, All Saints Church of England Junior School

"Over the past three years, the grades of the school have dramatically improved and social action has a huge part to play in this. It encouraged the students to be interested and hard working in all aspects of life, including academic work" Andrew Day, Executive Director, Northumberland CofE Academy.

"Youth social action is a great way for young people to develop key character strengths and life skills whilst transforming their communities. I pledge to celebrate school leaders who embed social action in their vision and practices and promote best practice sharing through the NAHT networks, so that all young people can fully participate, irrespective of background or need." Russell Hobby, former General Secretary, NAHT.

⁷⁹² Curriculum recommendations for KS1 & 2 programme of study: Citizenship

(https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/402173/Programme_of_Study_KS1_and_2.pdf)

⁷⁹³ NFER Survey into Teacher's Attitudes 2017 (as yet unpublished)

⁷⁹⁴ Harvard Business Review (2016). (<https://hbr.org/2016/10/the-one-type-of-leader-who-can-turn-around-a-failing-school>)

⁷⁹⁵ 50 Champion Headteachers and Principals (education.iwill.org.uk)

“It was a wonderful feeling for the whole College to have social action highlighted in [our recent Ofsted] inspection report, and fantastic to see recognition of the value of social action for our students from Ofsted. It is this kind of promotion of social action which will mean more College leadership teams are willing to say #iwill and develop opportunities like these for their students, benefitting not just the learners, but also their communities for years to come.”
Graham Razey, Principal, Canterbury College and East Kent College.

There are more examples of Ofsted demonstrating how social action is being applied to good effect in a selection of schools and colleges here⁷⁹⁶.

Recommendations

Put more emphasis on a whole-school/college approach to embedding social action into guidance documents and communications, with a particular focus on primary ages. A recent example of a guidance document emphasizing social action is the Department of Education’s guidance on embedding social action into study programmes⁷⁹⁷.

Apprenticeship Trailblazers should be encouraged to consider how they can embed social action into new apprenticeship standards and end of apprenticeship assessments. Over time, we would hope that positive examples, properly evaluated, would lead to Government committing to include social action elements in all apprenticeships.

Local authorities to provide guidance on reliable youth social action providers and help connecting schools and local organisations with each other.

- 3. Do voluntary citizenship programmes such as the National Citizen Service do a good job of creating active citizens?**
 - a. Are they the right length?**
 - b. Should they be compulsory, and if so, when?**
 - c. Should they include a greater political element?**
 - d. Should they lead to a more public citizenship ceremony?**
 - e. Are they good value for money?**
 - f. What other routes exist for creating active citizens?**

Quality⁷⁹⁸ social action programmes can develop active citizens through engaging volunteers with their communities. NCS has been a very high profile indication of the support of government for social action, and active citizenship. They have provided much in the way of evidence for the benefits of participation, not least in the context of evidencing social cohesion and integration as a consequence of taking part through greater community awareness.⁷⁹⁹

In terms of length of programme, we would recommend that the wider journey is taken into consideration, and how social action could be encouraged from earlier, and across a longer period of time. By engaging younger people from an earlier age, NCS would no longer be seen as the *gateway* to social action, but rather another stepping stone, or another route, into creating active citizens.

⁷⁹⁶ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/social-action-good-examples-from-schools-and-colleges>

⁷⁹⁷ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/16-to-19-study-programmes-guide-for-providers>

⁷⁹⁸ <http://www.iwill.org.uk/about-us/principles/>

⁷⁹⁹ <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmpubacc/955/955.pdf>

We would also welcome (and are actively supporting) greater collaboration with voluntary sector partners, similar to the recent partnership demonstrated by NCS and Scout Association⁸⁰⁰ to help support young people continue their journey between opportunities. Examples include the Challenge's HeadStart⁸⁰¹ programme that allows young people to continue their social action journeys, linking it to skills development ahead of employment. When considering the length of programmes, it is important to take into account the needs of young people. Young people, especially those from less affluent communities, often require flexibility to combine social action with existing commitments, such as jobs or caring responsibilities. For example, one of our young #iwill Ambassadors⁸⁰² said "NCS seemed too long for me as straight after GCSEs, I had a job and having 4 weeks off would not have been acceptable however I know people that did it and loved it."

In regard to other routes for creating active citizens, we welcome the current Government Review into Full Time Social Action⁸⁰³, which will look at the opportunities and the barriers associated with taking part in full time social action. Experiences noted from other countries with legal status for full time volunteers, suggest that the UK could expect greater levels of participation if similar policies were adopted here. Young people, including NCS graduates, who are keen to continue their social action journey, would be incentivised to do so.

As part of the #iwill campaign, the #iwill Fund has been established, with £20 million investment from Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport and £20 million investment from Big Lottery Fund. The #iwill fund has attracted 12 additional match funders to date who have matched a further £20 million of those funds – a total of £60 million investment committed to date. This will invest in opportunities for 10-20 year olds to support their social action journey and is another way that government and wider funders are investing in this area alongside NCS.

Recommendations

Ensure that there is clearer support for earlier entry points to participation in social action, with continued investment through the #iwill Fund.

Encourage collaboration with the wider sector to: a) increase the quality of social action; b) improve the signposting to and from citizenship programmes to new opportunities in order to support young people's social action 'journey' from 10 - 20; c) ensure value for money from learning from best practice; and d) connecting with smaller local organisations to strengthen communities, particularly in areas of low social mobility.

Engage with the Full Time Social Action Review to encourage new and alternative forms of long-term quality social action projects as a means of developing active citizens.

4. How can society support civic engagement?

a. What responsibility should central government, devolved and local governments, third sector organisations and the individual have for encouraging civic engagement?

b. What can the Government and Parliament do to support civil society initiatives to increase civic engagement?

⁸⁰⁰ [Scout Association and NCS announce exciting new partnership](#)

⁸⁰¹ <https://www.headstart-thechallenge.org>

⁸⁰² <http://www.iwill.org.uk/iwill-ambassadors/>

⁸⁰³ <http://www.iwill.org.uk/government-announces-review-into-the-legal-status-of-full-time-volunteers/>

It is in the interests of government at every level to develop pathways for people of all ages and from all backgrounds to become engaged in community activity. It is our view that government should lead by example, creating and facilitating projects and opportunities for people to get involved in making a positive difference, in partnership with third sector organisations and wider civil society.

As mentioned above, supporting this kind of culture from an early age, through formal and non-formal education, is something government should prioritise in order to develop lifelong civic habits.

Innovative and collaborative funding models should be explored that take a strategic approach to investment in communities where there is the greatest level of need. This is the model that the #iwill Fund⁸⁰⁴ follows, which is a joint investment by DCMS and The Big Lottery Fund, along with a growing number of match-funders. It supports a wide range of youth social action projects across England. We are currently exploring, with governments and funders in the devolved nations, scope for extending this investment to ensure it becomes UK-wide with an aspiration to further increase total investment into opportunities for young people to make a difference in their communities throughout the life of the Fund.

Third sector organisations have a special interest in developing active citizens. However, many charities unintentionally put up barriers to participation, especially for young people. We are calling on third sector and public sector organisations to consider lowering age restrictions, to develop flexible, youth-friendly social action opportunities, to celebrate the role young people can play through social action, and to ensure young people have a voice and are represented in decision-making processes.

All employers, including businesses of all sizes and in all industries, and including public sector employers, have a role to play in supporting youth social action and civic engagement among young people. Many employers already recognise the value this brings to their talent pipelines and the broader development of skills, behaviours and attitudes that are valuable in the world of work. But many are not yet embracing this agenda. We believe there would be value in strong messaging from central and local Government, from trade bodies and other umbrella organisations working with businesses and employers, in support of employers who are actively working with their local communities to support youth social action. Incentivising businesses would drive a culture change.

Research⁸⁰⁵ confirms that parents, as well as teachers, have a significant impact on whether or not their children are likely to be active in their local community. We are therefore keen to ensure that parents are given the flexibility to become civic role models by volunteering themselves as well as actively encouraging and supporting their children to take part.

Recommendations

⁸⁰⁴ <http://www.iwill.org.uk/about-us/iwill-fund/>

⁸⁰⁵ Ipsos MORI. (2016) The National Youth Social Action Survey, 2016 (<http://www.iwill.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/download-manager-files/2016%20National%20Youth%20Social%20Action%20Survey%20-%20Headline%20findings.pdf>)

We support the recommendations from the National Council for Voluntary Organisations⁸⁰⁶ to make it easier and more rewarding for people to volunteer, enabling charities and volunteers to support our public services (especially our health and social care services).

Promote the idea that supporting people to access social action will build their skills and help them to find work, and message consistently about the skills, behaviours and attitudes built by social action that are valuable to employers.

Policy-makers, across departments and political parties, should proactively recognise the difference volunteers make and show continued support for the work our partners are engaged in to enable young people to take practical action in the service of others.

Government should encourage and support more employers to recognise the value of volunteering and social action in their business processes, for example during recruitment. Consideration should be given to incentivising businesses to create more social action opportunities for young people from all backgrounds to build their skills for employability, linked to making a positive difference in local communities.

Similarly, education providers should be encouraged by Government to embed more widely opportunities for students to make a difference through volunteering and social action as they learn.

We recommend the development and use of the data platform Horizon⁸⁰⁷ to better understand the gaps in provision and enable strategic investment.

5. Why do so many communities and groups feel “left behind”?

- a. Are there any specific factors which act as barriers to active citizenship faced by different communities or groups - white, BME, young, old, rural, urban?**
- b. How might these barriers be overcome?**

Those that already feel ‘left behind’ by society may do so for a variety of market, social, or political reasons. Yet these groups may have the most to gain from becoming active citizens through participation in social action, for example in the development of key skills, qualities and networks.

Some families have negative perceptions of social action, which, in turn, influences how young people see it. Affluent families are more likely to understand the concept of social action and its links to personal development and employability and therefore encourage their children to get involved, whilst less affluent families can either have more pressing concerns (e.g. financial issues), do not see the benefits of social action, or have a negative perception of it: “Why should my child work for free?”⁸⁰⁸

Evidence from the latest National Youth Social Action Survey⁸⁰⁹ shows that only 40% of the least affluent young people regularly participate in meaningful social action as opposed to 49% of the most affluent.

⁸⁰⁶ NCVO General Manifesto document 2017 (<https://www.ncvo.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/1830-charities-and-volunteering-make-britain-great>)

⁸⁰⁷ <http://horizondata.net/>

⁸⁰⁸ Bamburova, (2017) MBA: ‘An exploration of the drivers and potential barriers for schools in England embedding youth social action in their culture and practice’ Henley Business School, University of Reading

⁸⁰⁹ Ipsos MORI. (2016) The National Youth Social Action Survey, 2016 (<http://www.iwill.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/download-manager-files/2016%20National%20Youth%20Social%20Action%20Survey%20-%20Headline%20findings.pdf>)

There is a need to ensure that those that do feel ‘left behind’ have a voice in designing the programmes and activities that concern them. One such way is to ensure that trustee boards are representative, for example by including youth voice⁸¹⁰ and BAME candidates⁸¹¹.

There is, however, some evidence that young people who feel excluded or ‘left behind’ may themselves be more motivated to take action and, armed with a recognition of the injustice of their disadvantage, are empowered to become active citizens. Once such example comes from one of our #iwill Ambassadors, who set up a project as a consequence of negative media coverage of young people.⁸¹² In this case, funding and business support for social action empowered him to become an active citizen, an approach which should be supported in overcoming barriers to participation.

Recommendations:

When focusing on the 12 opportunity areas as identified by the Department for Education, consider how embedding youth social action as a cross-sector activity could be a solution to addressing the disparity in participation across economic divides, as well as ensuring that youth voice is encouraged.

Ensure that local organisations are consulted and empowered to share best practice and experience.

Strengthen volunteer development and management across organisations that are primarily focused on areas and communities where groups feel ‘left behind’.

Work with funders and foundations to ensure a collaborative approach to addressing issues regarding civic engagement and participation in social action. Work with the #iwill Fund as it supports those young people not currently engaged with social action, who are often from the ‘left behind’ groups.

Support a greater call for young trustees on charity boards, or for young people to be consulted on decisions that directly impact them and wider society.

6. How do you see the relationship between citizenship and civic engagement on the one hand and social cohesion and integration on the other?

a. What effect does the level of diversity in schools and workplaces have on integration in society as a whole?

b. How can diversity and integration be increased concurrently?

We asked our young #iwill Ambassadors this question, and one responded with: “There is no social cohesion without civic engagement”.

In December 2016 Dame Louise Casey published her Review⁸¹³ report into social integration in Great Britain, calling for more to be done to bridge divides between people and bind communities together. Among the key themes running through The Casey Review, is the assertion that involving young people in social action can make a significant contribution to

⁸¹⁰ https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-publications/youngtrusteesreport_1682a_web_080915.pdf

⁸¹¹ <https://nfpsynergy.net/blog/twenty-things-we-learned-our-national-trustee-survey>

⁸¹² <http://saeedatcha.co.uk/story/>

⁸¹³ DCLG (2016). The Casey Review: a review into opportunity and integration.

(<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-casey-review-a-review-into-opportunity-and-integration>)

enhanced integration. The Review also welcomed the cross-sector approach of the #iwill campaign.

Young people and youth social action are presented as key to bridging divides in a section entitled ‘Social Interactions’ which finds that ‘interactions between people from different backgrounds play a significant part in enabling integration and social mobility’. The review goes on to say that ‘many groups in society remain relatively segregated’ and that ‘we have fewer social interactions than our population mix would suggest we should across ethnicity, age and social grade. This places a premium on **social mixing among young people** in schools and in wider youth social action initiatives’.

The Casey Review acknowledges the value of the work being done by #iwill campaign partners in driving the growth of youth social action, specifically referencing the impact of work by Youth United, The Prince’s Trust, NCS and Duke of Edinburgh’s Award.

Following the year-long review, Dame Louise Casey called on the Government to support activity that will: empower all communities to take advantage of modern Britain’s economic opportunities; provide more English language classes for isolated groups; encourage young people to mix in schools and across communities; and secure women’s emancipation in communities where they are being held back by regressive cultural practices.

The review also makes a clear call to action for developing and embedding a framework of social action opportunities for young people, stating that while youth social action programmes are generally ‘best provided by voluntary sector organisations, we would like to see more Government support for guiding them into the areas of most need and an onus on public sector bodies to support participation’.

Recommendations

We wholeheartedly support this position and would recommend that any future Integration Strategy from government has youth social action at its heart.

7. 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?

730 organisations have pledged to support youth social action and the #iwill campaign. In doing so, we believe they exemplify a tolerant and cohesive society. Examples include School Diversity Week, set up by Just Like Us⁸¹⁴, which empowers young people to encourage a more socially aware, cohesive, and caring school environment through social action. Other initiatives designed to celebrate and reward youth social action as positive visions of civic engagement include the Young Scot Awards⁸¹⁵, the Year of Young People⁸¹⁶, or the vInspired Awards⁸¹⁷, to name a few.

Below are some examples of young people that some of our other partners have supported. Thanks to a small grant from the charity vInspired, Rand (22) from Manchester set up an art therapy social action project for child refugees from Syria living in Manchester. Artful Children gives young Syrians a safe space to be creative at the same time as making friends and

⁸¹⁴ <http://www.justlikeus.org>

⁸¹⁵ Young Scot Awards – Celebrating Scotland's Young People (<https://youngscotawards.com>)

⁸¹⁶ <http://yoyp2018.scot>

⁸¹⁷ <https://vinspired.com/get-awards>

improving their English. Rand had great support from the local community and gained an award for her efforts.

“I was motivated to after hearing about the Syrian refugee crisis on the news. My dad is Syrian and I knew lots of the refugees would be coming to Manchester. I spoke to others in the community and we decided that it would be best to do something for the children who would be coming over, starting at new schools and trying to learn the language.”

Gen, 22, from London, was supported to undertake a full-time year of social action in a school by the charity City Year UK. Here is how she describes her experience:

"Full-time social action changes your perspective on life. My family have never been hugely well-off, but I wouldn't say I grew up in a deprived area either. Coming to work in Hackney and seeing the hardships that many of the students suffer was a real eye-opener for me. Now when I hear about young people being excluded from school, or even arrested, I don't make the same kind of negative assumptions and judgements as I would have done a year ago. Being a City Year volunteer has made me a more compassionate, conscientious and forgiving person."

Mohammad came to the UK as a refugee. He was introduced to The Duke of Edinburgh's Award (DofE) as part of a course college course. He achieved his Bronze Award and then showed commitment by progressing on to complete his Gold. During the programme he volunteered for the Red Cross (which he continues to do now) helping other refugees by showing them around their new community, introducing them to British culture and helping them with their English. Originally, Mo signed up to do a DofE programme to help improve his English, meet friends and experience new things. Alongside this he developed teamwork, communication and leadership skills, which supported his university application. "I believe that my Gold Award helped me to get an interview to study at the University of Southampton, and I have met some of my best friends throughout my DofE journey. I would definitely recommend the DofE to other young people."

These are just some of the partners the #iwill campaign has brought together. There are many more who work to develop young social leaders.

Recommendations

Celebrate and reward private, public and voluntary sector organisations that demonstrate how social action is improving the situation of young people across the UK as well as the communities in which they serve.

Celebrate and reward young people who demonstrate the power of youth social action in transforming lives, and building positive communities (e.g. Points of Light). Existing awards could be developed to have more of a youth focus.

Learn from Scotland's example with the Young Scot Awards, or the Year of Young People, that celebrate citizenship and civic engagement by young people across Scotland.

The Student View – written evidence (CCE0122)

Introduction

1. The Student View (TSV) is an education and media charity founded in 2015. The Student View aims to create a newsroom in every school and our site offers young people a platform to share their world through words. We combat three social malaises: youth alienation; a narrow national conversation and low literacy levels. Our work would not be possible without the commitment of over 40 leading journalists from more than 20 media organisations, who co-deliver workshops alongside The Student View team, training secondary school pupils, particularly from low-income backgrounds with weak literacy skills as journalists.

2. The Student View welcomes the opportunity to share its thinking and evidence with the House of Lords Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement in 2017. The evidence we are presenting will draw on our experiences of working with hundreds of secondary school children across Inner London since June 2015.

The Student View's recommendations to HMG Government:

- (i) Introduce a mandatory voting system including active abstention to transform civic engagement levels.
- (ii) Reduce the voting age to 16 for local and national elections to kickstart a lifetime of democratic action.
- (iii) Trial online voting with a small section of the electorate.
- (iv) Place voter registration responsibilities for first time 16-year-old voters with schools or alternative education providers.
- (v) Incorporate a practical element to the GCSE Citizenship specification within which pupils enact 'real-life' actions to benefit society. This should involve local and national politicians either in a mentoring or assessment capacity.
- (vi) Implement an equality levy paid by large employers to boost the diversity of organisations across all sectors.

What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

3. Political scientists John Baylis and Steve Smith term citizenship as "the status of having the right to participate in and to be represented in politics."⁸¹⁸ With voter turnout at 68.8% at the last general election, over thirty percent of voting age citizens did not act on their

⁸¹⁸ Baylis, J & Smith, S. 2001. *The Globalisation of World Politics. An Introduction to International Relations.* Oxford University Press.

right to participate in the electoral process, an essential part of civic engagement.⁸¹⁹ The Student View feels that this stubborn disengagement is partly due to the lack of diversity among current MPs. The House of Commons Library reported in July 2017 that only 8% of MPs in the House of Commons and around 6% of Members of the House of Lords were from an ethnic minority background. The result is a percentage gap of 5.6% and 7.6% respectively, based on the Office for National Statistics (ONS) Annual Population Survey 2016 which calculated the non-white population of the UK to be 13.6%.⁸²⁰ Unequal representation also exists in the sphere of gender presently only 32% of MPs are female.⁸²¹ If the makeup of MPs, who work at the highest level of civic engagement in British politics does not reflect the society it represents, our elected representatives will always find it difficult to generate widespread confidence in the political system.

4. Mass civic engagement is essential for a prosperous democracy but this is inhibited by a lack of basic citizenship knowledge. The young people we train initially do not possess an adequate understanding of their rights, responsibilities and position as a citizen within modern British society. It is not uncommon when we first meet our TSV journalists to not know who their constituency MP is or in some cases the current Prime Minister. This alarming reality suggests a bold approach to encourage civic engagement in the UK is necessary. With one-third of UK citizens describing themselves as solely English or more English than British, 'Britishness' is under unprecedented pressure and needs more opportunities for practical expression to create a more united nation.⁸²² This report outlines that 'Britishness' does not exclude modern Britain's diverse identities. We must emphasise and celebrate the fluid property of 'Britishness' and accept its openness to constant evaluation and evolution. It is important to note that a robust British identity must be underpinned by the fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect for and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs and for those without faith.

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. Our current system of voluntary voting does not encourage mass political engagement. The voluntary principle that has existed for close to a century allows citizens to easily relinquish their responsibility to participate in the political process. British citizens who have religious or any other objections should be allowed to abstain but must register their

⁸¹⁹ House of Commons Library (2017). Online, Available at:

<http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7979#fullreport>

⁸²⁰ ONS, Annual Population Survey, 2016.

⁸²¹ House of Commons Library (2017). Online, Available at:

<http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN01156>

⁸²² YouGov (2017). Online, Available at: <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2017/01/24/what-makes-person-english-according-english/>

decision to abstain by informing their electoral office before polling day or in person at their respective polling station. The Student View recommends HMG adopts a mandatory voting system to involve traditionally disengaged sections of the electorate.

6. The Student View also recommends changing the franchise for local and national elections by lowering the voting age to 16. Since 1924, Australia has employed compulsory voting in national and local elections. Supporters of the system say Australia boasts some of the highest civic participation levels in the world, with a reported 95% voter turnout in the last federal election in 2016, compared to 68.8% in the UK's 2017 general election.^{823 824} Critics argue this does not lead to a genuinely engaged electorate. The [Political and Constitutional Reform Committee reported](#) in 2014 that a mandatory voting system "would be politically very difficult to introduce in a country where it has no precedent".⁸²⁵ Yet, adopting a mandatory voting system will make elected representatives formulate policies to serve a more diverse electorate. Mandatory voting alongside reducing the voting age to 16 could alter disengaged citizens' perception of voting by viewing it as a worthwhile civic duty.

7. In the 2016 Australian federal elections there was an 86.7% participation rate among 18-24-year-olds compared to 59% of 20-24-year-olds during the last UK general election.^{826 827} Rather than seeing compulsory voting as antithetical to a western liberal democracy and contradictory to living in a free and fair society, it should be regarded as a progressive step, empowering marginalised citizens to exercise their right to vote thus increasing the intensity of their civic engagement. This view is supported by the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) who suggested in 2013 that first-time voters should "be required go to the polling station to vote and fined if they didn't. But they would they would be given a "none of the above" option so they were not forced to vote for a party."⁸²⁸ Currently, 16-year-olds can work full time, pay taxes, leave home, get married and join the armed forces. These responsibilities require a high level of maturity – extending the franchise to 16-year-olds should be included in this list of adult rights.

8. To accommodate a significantly larger electorate, a mandatory voting system must exist digitally. Estonia is the only nation to use online voting permanently in national elections. Criticism has been raised particularly about the security of the system. To ensure a smooth transition to online voting in the UK, the Digital Democracy Commission recommended in

⁸²³ Australian Electoral Commission (2016). Online, Available at:

http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/Federal_Elections/2016/key-facts.htm

⁸²⁴ House of Commons Library (2017). Online, Available at:

<http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7979#fullreport>

⁸²⁵ The Political and Constitutional Reform Committee (2014). Online, Available at:

<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmselect/cmpolcon/232/23202.htm>

⁸²⁶ Australian Electoral Commission (2016). Online, Available at:

http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/Federal_Elections/2016/key-facts.htm

⁸²⁷ YouGov (2017). Online, Available at: <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2017/06/13/how-britain-voted-2017-general-election/>

⁸²⁸ IPPR (2013). Online, Available at: <https://www.ippr.org/news-and-media/press-releases/young-voters-should-be-required-to-vote-first-time-round>

2015 to begin this process “with a manageable segment of the electorate” such as “people with disabilities and those who live a long way from a polling station.”⁸²⁹ We recommend that HMG pilot this innovation previously outlined by the Digital Democracy Commission, doing so would represent a radical attempt to re-energise our democracy.

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?

9. The Student View’s journalists are trained how to interview, decide what makes a news story, write headlines, spot fake news and create feature and opinion articles. We use the medium of journalism to nurture a community of online writers and develop their critical literacy skills. The Student View’s work complements the Department for Education’s approach to promote British Values as part of pupils’ spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) development and the UN’s Sustainable Development Goal 4 by placing inclusion at the centre of our practice. The Student View also promotes fundamental British values through our values of community, truth, open-mindedness, balance and purpose. We welcome Andreas Schleicher’s, Director for the Directorate of Education and Skills at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) decision to introduce written tests on global competencies in 2018 to determine whether the young people examined are prepared for an “interconnected world”.⁸³⁰ Highlighting our interdependence as members of a wider network of online and offline citizens with local, national and global responsibilities is essential to creating a modernised citizenry.

10. While the teaching of citizenship is effective across all Key stages, the subject should be made statutory at Key stages 1 and 2 to offer a continuous civic pathway up until registering to vote at 16.

11. The Student View recommends that HMG via the Department for Education compile a public database of approved civic engagement organisations for schools to collaborate with to complement their respective SMSC strategies.

12. The Student View recommends that the GCSE Citizenship specification must be extended to include a practical ‘real-life’ component rather than the current planning task to deliver a citizenship action to benefit society. Matching local and national politicians to a local partner school to take part in this process either in an assessment or mentoring capacity would add a captivating dimension to the present GCSE Citizenship specification.

⁸²⁹ Digital Democracy Commission (2015). Online, Available at:

<http://www.digitaldemocracy.parliament.uk/documents/Open-Up-Digital-Democracy-Report.pdf>

⁸³⁰ OECD (2016). Online, Available at: <https://www.oecd.org/education/Global-competency-for-an-inclusive-world.pdf>

With around 20,000 councillors in England and 553 English MPs, there are a plethora of elected representatives for England's 3,268 state-funded mainstream secondary schools to join this powerful non-partisan project. This exciting innovation alongside voter registration, being overseen by schools or alternative education providers for Year 11 pupils could end civic apathy and alienation within a generation.

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?

13. In the wake of the London Bridge and Manchester terror atrocities, Theresa May declared: "We need to live our lives not in a series of separated, segregated communities but as one truly United Kingdom." These abominable acts of cowardice once again displayed the need to promote unity over division and challenge inflammatory rhetoric legitimising the latter. Dame Louise Casey's damning verdict of successive central government attempts to promote integration as 'saris, samosas and steel drums for the well-intentioned' stressed the urgency to introduce an active and muscular integration policy.⁸³¹ Diversity and integration can be increased concurrently but to work it must be a collaborative process between native and newcomer. The British Integration Survey 2016 conducted by The Challenge found that White Britons take up 38% of the opportunities open to them to mix with others from a different ethnicity in their local areas. There was not much difference among Black and Asian Britons who took up 42% and 41% of such opportunities.⁸³²

14. Opportunities for young people from different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds must be promoted to strengthen social bonds. The Student View has partnered with King's College School, Wimbledon and Coombe Boys' School in 2017-8. This project creates a mixed private and state school group of TSV journalists who collaborate to create joint articles. King's College School's Community Projects Programme repeats this cross-sector collaboration with several other state school partners. Projects bringing together pupils from the private and state sector could combat the pervasiveness of ethnic segregation in schools. A 2013 Demos study found in that year, over 50% of ethnic minority students were in schools where ethnic minorities were the majority.⁸³³

15. Diversity and integration could be catalysed at the same time further through an equality levy paid by large employers to boost the diversity of organisations across all

⁸³¹ The Casey Review (2016). Online, Available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/575973/The_Casey_Review_Report.pdf

⁸³² The Challenge (2016). Online, Available at: <http://the-challenge.org/uploads/documents/TCN-British-Integration-Study.pdf>

⁸³³ Demos Integration Hub, Education (2014). Online, Available at: <http://www.integrationhub.net/module/education/>

sectors. The revenue generated could increase the funds available to current diversity departments or initiatives working towards the aim of a workforce that is truly reflective of modern Britain at all leadership levels. The harm caused by a lack of diversity was outlined by the McGregor-Smith Review of 2017 which suggested black and minority ethnic individuals could contribute £24 billion to the UK economy each year if members from those groups were allowed to fulfil their full potential.⁸³⁴ The Student View recommends introducing an equality levy to ensure central government and civil society combine purposefully, championing inclusivity through action. Such a move could disrupt perennial problems such as the gender executive crisis. Currently, less than 10% of executive positions in FTSE 100 companies are held by women.

16. Overall, social integration and diversity in Britain is a narrative of positivity. This viewpoint is supported by a finding in The Casey Review which found that 89% of people interviewed felt they belonged "very or fairly strongly to Britain." A rise of nine percent since 2003.⁸³⁵ This evidence supports our view that it is possible to fully belong to Britain and maintain a separate cultural or religious identity. Yet there is no room for complacency. Social integration is far too often impeded by a chronic lack of visible role models from underrepresented groups, low literacy levels and the fact that historically disenfranchised groups feel their voices do not matter. This results in apathy and alienation ultimately blocking the liberating pathway to a lifetime of constructive civic engagement.

8 September 2017

⁸³⁴ The McGregor-Smith Review (2017). Online, Available at:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/race-in-the-workplace-the-mcgregor-smith-review>

⁸³⁵ The Casey Review (2016). Online, Available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/575973/The_Casey_Review_Report.pdf

Susan Suttle – written evidence (CCE0057)

The words 'diversity', 'integration' and 'inclusiveness' by public authorities and the media in particular have become very overused, which can with so much emphasis, have the reverse effect.

In reference to Brexit, it seems likely to prove the most watered down outcome of a democratic vote in modern history. Most of us had the intelligence to realise that single market or not, Britain can not continue on its present path of increasing population unchecked. The size of the country and its infrastructure can not compete with France or Germany. In 1973, the leave vote, with as large a percentage as remain had in 2015, was forced to accept the majority vote to stay, despite seeing the EU would become more than just a common market.

Since the second world war, between the U.S and Europe Britain has become overly politically correct and a 'nanny state.' If anything is taught in our schools and colleges, it should be to see any other race for the individuals they are, not singled out as a minority for special treatment. There is often too much expected from state intervention. The stoic self reliance of the country's inhabitants of sixty or seventy years ago seems to have given way to a lack of personal responsibility. Classroom debates are also healthy and were even a part of my state education in the 50's to 60's. Certainly a necessity before school children of 16 are allowed to vote.

I recall history as a subject withdrawn from state education some years ago. As a nation we are more often apologetic of our history, traditions, faith and beliefs than proud. If Britons should not demonstrate a sense of pride in their own country without appearing xenophobic, then how can we expect others to participate in citizenship. What I saw of the citizenship question test on British life was farcical. Many white Britons do not participate in civic life, so why the necessity for others. Some I have heard consider their input ineffective in changing Government opinion or turning the tide and who can blame them.

4 September 2017

Karl Sweeney – written evidence (CCE0042)

1. Citizenship and civic engagement matter because there is currently a clear and present challenge to the cohesiveness of communities within the UK (as well as in other liberal democratic nation states) which is beginning to crystallise into an increasingly polarised and occasionally violent narrative. Whether Islamist, nationalist, far right, far left, religious fundamentalist, Europhobe/Europhile or militant environmentalist the shattering of social ‘consensus’ into multi-faceted, single issue and increasingly intolerant ‘tribalism’ is in my view the single most urgent issue of our day.

However here needs to be a distinction made between active citizenship/civic engagement/empowerment on the one hand and identity/allegiance to the nation/nationalism/patriotism on the other. This is I believe, critical to the rest of this enquiry and my responses to it below.

The first, active citizenship, has the potential to bring communities together - the second, patriotism though more superficially appealing and linked to grand institutions of power (the military, Royal Family, Departments of State) as well as sport and international prestige, has the potential to split them apart. The two concepts need to be balanced in the public/political narrative in the media, in academic study and in any legislative proposals emerging from this committee’s work.

The concept of ‘Britain’/‘Britishness’ needs to be exemplified rather than imposed in some sort of promotional branding campaign. This was the essence of the Citizenship Education programmes originally taught in English schools as part of the revamped national curriculum in the early 2000’s. Students learned about politics and communities by actively engaging in political and community-based activities and (in the case of GCSE Cit St) were assessed on this. I use the past tense here because to an extent this element has been lost in the most recent iteration of the GCSE qualification (more on this below).

At a societal level the difference between thinking about Citizenship as empowered engagement on the one hand or integration on the other can be exemplified in the very different interpretations of nation building and patriotism adopted by say Australia and USA (integration) on one hand and Germany and Canada (engagement) on the other.

The question of **identity** is key here. We need to assess honestly the ways in which people in this country identify themselves and thus assess the extent to which ‘Britishness’ as opposed to say, ‘Welshness’ or ‘being Black/minority/Ethnic’ or ‘European’ or ‘Muslim/Christian/Hindu’ is more prominent in people’s view of themselves and thus their attitudes and values. My sense is that today this will vary according to three factors – age, urbanity/rurality and whether born and raised in England, one of the other three UK jurisdictions or another country.

2/3/4. Taking Qs 2- 4 together, my overall response is: social cohesion and engagement cannot and should not be structurally or legislatively contrived. They must, and can, emerge from structural changes to or prioritisation of the opportunities to engage with the political and legislative process at local, regional and national level. Examples of this could be:

- making more use of web-based platforms as a way of encouraging ‘direct democracy’ at all three levels across all age ranges.
- prioritising (through the schools accountability framework, increased funding , better training) and moving to the centre of the educational process Citizenship Education as well as PSHE (Personal Social Health and Economic) education
- making local government more relevant and effective by returning some powers surrendered to Westminster and requiring a much greater degree of local civic engagement by residents if they want a say in how funds are spent in their communities.

5. The centrality of Citizenship Education and PSHE 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.** It is my view that many of the social, personal and health problems faced by young people and indeed entire communities today are the consequence of our neglect of these two areas of the curriculum over many decades. It is also my clear view that the present epidemic of on-line exploitation of children and young people be it sexual or radicalising, could have been ameliorated - and could yet be - if the central importance of Citizenship (and PSHE) had not been lost/written out of the educational agenda after 2010.

Citizenship and PSHE – like-minded colleagues and I refer to these collectively as the Curriculum for Life (C4L) – should be at the core of the curriculum at every key stage and into FE and HE also - albeit via different, stage-appropriate delivery models. **It is pleasing to see progress being made in this respect with Relationships and Sex Education/PSHE, and a similar if not speedier rethink is now needed for Citizenship Education.**

There should be no exemptions – and I think herein lies the single greatest challenge to this entire enquiry. This is because the educational landscape in England now is a highly complex free market comprising among others, local authority maintained schools, academies old and new, free schools, studio schools, UTC’s, faith schools of varying levels of orthodoxy and supplementary schools such as Sunday schools and madrassas. To require that Citizenship Education be made compulsory in all these would require an act of political will not seen since the ‘comprehensivisation’ programme of the early 1960’s. This is precisely why I believe it should be undertaken. The message would be crystal clear – we need to completely re-think what schools are for in this country, how we measure their

performance, how we train our teachers and what we value most as educational outcomes for our children and young people.

Because of the focus on English and Maths as the key performance indicators over the last twenty five years or so and the consequent allocation of resources, training places, funding and time to these two subjects by school leaders and policy makers, current delivery of Citizenship Education is 'patchy'. This means that there are examples (two quoted below) of excellent practice with clearly positive outcomes for pupils/students, but overall delivery is a matter of 'hit and miss' in terms of whether a particular school leadership team chooses to prioritise Citizenship Education in its curriculum and thus nationally delivery of the subject is well short of the mark.

The Citizenship KS3 and 4 syllabus/programme of study needs to be refocussed on active engagement and empowerment as it was in 2007. The current, dry, 'civics' based approach – despite some positive amendments being made following discussions with ACT (the Association for Citizenship Teaching - with which organisation I have worked for over ten years). The course lacks appeal and most importantly the method by which this will be assessed from next year – ie a single written terminal exam, is entirely inappropriate for a subject of this nature and importance. If we want children and young people to model the democratic and engaged behaviours we want to see in them as adults, then credit should be given to them for doing so as part of the assessment process in schools.

Of equal significance is the current use of the Ofsted framework and its requirement that schools evidence the extent to which they prepare pupils for life in 'modern Britain' as part of SMSC (social moral spiritual and cultural) development. However, inspections are brief, often pressured events which do not always show 'typicality'. They are also infrequent and seen as a 'threat' by many schools. A more useful and productive approach would be to reintroduce Ofsted subject surveys or something very similar. These were less formal and voluntary (though I would suggest they should be a level of compulsion now), focussed on one element of the school's delivery, resulted in a letter not an inspection report (which could only be published with the school's consent) outlining the survey findings and were more collegiate in nature than inspections. This is what HMI used to do more of twenty five years ago, often in collaboration with local authority advisers and school leaders, and it could be a way of more positively engaging with school leaders and governing bodies in helping them reframe their thinking about Citizenship Education.

I would re-emphasise though that this process would have to occur once the above mentioned national level rethink had taken place and was being implemented, funded and properly managed.

6. The NCS as it stands is – a. patchy in its management and delivery at local level, b. apparently focussed on an interpretation of 'good citizenship as chiefly volunteering and team building. , c. often confused therefore with 'Character Education' which is an entirely separate concept. d. highly selectively offered.

It seems to be a youth service based offering rather than an educational one and as such I think is misnamed. The offer is valuable but it is not 'Citizenship' as defined above. NCS should thus either be re sold as a national youth service or redesigned as 'active Citizenship post 16' and delivered by teachers and/or specifically trained youth workers.

7/8. The combination of a greater focus on Citizenship as an academic subject and also Citizenship as an active process in the school and community should be enough to begin to shift attitudes and values 'on the ground' at local , regional and national level. This assumes that the above mentioned recommendations have been implemented and that there is a clear and consistent message from government at both national and local level, that 'what you think and what you do matter to us all'. The learning taking place in schools can and should be cascaded out into the local communities in which they are located. **There should be such a level of communication, collaboration and coordination between school and community that the distinction between the two effectively disappears.**

(Third sector organisations have an important supporting role to play but cannot be the lead bodies as this approach is fraught with problems of consistency, quality of delivery and the negative associations with the now failed 'Big Society' approach.)

The values which schools promote (often as 'British Values') are those of any liberal, democratic, inclusive, respectful and just society. Thus heads often tell me that the 'British Values' which I am training their teachers to discuss in class are those of their entire school community. **The term can therefore be defined as 'those values to which British society subscribes' as opposed to values to which are uniquely British - which they are not.** They are exemplified in legislation such as the Single Equalities Act and the various laws regarding hate speech and discriminatory behaviour as well as in the existence of a free press, an independent judiciary and devolved legislative bodies across the UK

Some of these values can be a challenge to some religious and 'sub-cultural' perspectives and this is where much highly focussed and well-resourced groundwork will have to be done if the approach described above is to gain any traction. **This is particularly important when we consider the challenge to radicalising narratives implicit in these values.** For example, equality of treatment before the law in terms of gender, race and sexual identity in particular presents an existential threat to the values held by some religious fundamentalists as well as those on the far right.

9/10. Taking 9 and 10 together, communities and groups feel left behind because there are left behind. Acknowledging this needs to be our starting point if any meaningful progress is to be made.

The present political process at local and national level is not a. accessible to many of communities and b. is not seen as relevant or receptive to their concerns.

In part both of these obstacles could be overcome in the medium to long term by implementing the re-think of Citizenship education both in and out of the school

environment already described. More needs to happen in terms of adult education for what might be called ‘political and economic literacy’. When adult or community education was a part of local authority provision it was in general well accessed and competently delivered, especially when this was done by trained teachers. Losing it has come at a cost.

All voices need to be heard but this needs to happen in safe spaces, in properly managed discussions, in local groups in which it becomes self-evident to all that even at local level a democratic process is the only fair and equitable way of ‘pleasing most of the people most of the time’. The key challenge here will be getting results on the ground that matter to the groups around the table – again at both local and national level. With results will come buy-in. Without them, the status quo and societal fragmentation will prevail.

The reconciliation of ‘diversity’ with ‘integration’ will come from this process as more people realise that in a pluralist liberal democracy there need be no contradiction between the two. A strong democracy can accommodate both respect for difference and a sense of belonging to a larger whole – but only if all people have access to the decision making process and see evidence of progress on the ground.

11. Free ESOL classes for adults and, crucially, high quality, fully funded ESOL support in classrooms, is vital if newcomers are to have any real access to all of what has been described above.

The so called ‘Citizenship Test’ would be largely redundant if the measures described in my responses above were to be properly implemented.

12. ACT/Home Office ‘Building Resilience’ projects (in which I was involved in an advisory capacity) for example - <https://www.teachingcitizenship.org.uk/resource/immigration-and-protest-case-study-dover-2016-act-building-resilience-project>

<https://www.teachingcitizenship.org.uk/resource/extremism-and-terrorism-reported-media-act-building-resilience-project>

Stoke Damerel Community College, Plymouth (‘Modern Britain’ as a curriculum area) - <https://www.sdcc.net/2-uncategorised/1081-modern-britain-council-meets-for-first-time>

The Five Nations Network (for which I am England Lead) - see especially St Eunan’s primary school, Glasgow – Pupil Voice in a deprived area: <http://www.fivenations.net/workshop-and-seminar-resources-2017.html>

‘No More Boys’ and Girls’ (BBC TV August 2017) showing the power of a coherent, properly planned and resourced teaching programme to change fundamental attitudes and values in a relatively short time frame. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/proginfo/2017/33/no-more-boys-and-girls>

These examples show that the seeds of the changes we want to see are already present - but they are thinly scattered across random parts of the country in an ad hoc manner.

Karl Sweeney – written evidence (CCE0042)

We need a national rethink of how we broadcast them more widely and a thought-through preparation of the ground in which we wish them to take root.

Placing citizenship education in schools and communities at the very centre of what we see as the purpose of education is the key to making this happen.

30 August 2017

Taking Yourself Seriously – written evidence (CCE0144)

Contributors:

Kate Pahl, Professor and Principle Investigator of the ‘Taking Yourself Seriously’ Project, University of Sheffield

Zanib Rasool, Co-investigator and Chair of Rotherham independent hate crime scrutiny panel

Mike Fitter, Co-Chair of the City of Sheffield Cohesion advisory group and also on the management committee of ‘Whose Your Neighbour’ a voluntary organisation that promotes social cohesion across different divides.

Katy Goldstraw, Research Associate, Edge Hill University

Panni Loh, Member of the Critical Thinking Group for the ‘Taking Yourself Seriously’ Project.

Summary

The ‘Taking Yourself Seriously’ project is funded through the Arts and Humanities Research Council’s Connected Communities programme and runs from 2017-18. We are exploring artistic approaches to social cohesion in Rotherham and Sheffield, working with social cohesion community workers and artists from both areas. We use artistic methodologies to explore: the hidden histories of three generations of Muslim women; how young people can discover shared interests and passions through the arts; and the role of an adventure playground as a hub for social cohesion.

Key findings

1. *History is important.* People need to identify with their past in order to be responsible British citizens. Civic engagement and identity are tied to one’s history, roots, the journey of migration and things of value that migrants bring with them, their language, social practices, faith and way of being, they are all important to them.
2. *Artistic approaches are important.* These include approaches such as drawings, poetry, paintings and writing that open up a door to a different kind of lens, a different ‘way of knowing’ and articulating the voice of people often on the margins. Artists have a role to play in capturing events and moments in the lives of hidden communities through visual narratives, poetry and writing, and performing arts, so that we can understand better the everyday lived experience of different people. Artistic approaches allow us to consider our layered identities; they allow us to see

the world through alternative lens, to view questions of identity in visual, poetic and narrativised ways that offer an alternative view of identity.

3. Dialogue and collective action are important. Society can support civic engagement by collective participatory action. Arts methodologies for social cohesion are complex, integrated and emotional. Arts methodologies empower the process of social cohesion through an alternative lens, they offer an opportunity to build dialogue and reflect alternative knowledges.
4. Social cohesion and integration do not mean the same thing. Much would be lost if we all became the same. When integration is advocated, what is frequently meant is assimilation: “They need to learn to be more like us”. Integration means we (different social groups) bring different things to the table and we each change as a result of contact. We are strengthened by diversity and must be careful that integration does not mean assimilation.
5. Lived values and valuing the unexpected are important. A school or a workplace that values the diversity and the contribution of all those present, and welcomes the unexpected guest, because of what they might bring, can create and achieve and thrive. In schools and workplaces if there is a lack of diversity then a quest should be made to gain this exposure by external visits or invitations to seek the opportunity to be enriched by the experience of mixing with those different to us, to achieve social cohesion which would not necessarily mean integration.
6. Shared values are linked to trust. Trust and notions of shared belonging and identity are threatened when inequalities or perceived inequalities persist. Recognising and taking steps to rectify inequalities within society, creates opportunities for citizenship to be nurtured.
7. Deprivation is a real threat. The Sheffield Cohesion Strategic framework has a key principle: “cohesion is not threatened by diversity it is threatened by deprivation” (Ratcliffe & Newman, 2011). Deprivation is strongly linked to inequality, especially in times of austerity.
8. Social cohesion involves co-production. This also involves acknowledging a diversity of voices. Partnerships are at their most effective when all opposing voices at the table can be heard. There is a need to be diverse, to have conflicted conversations.
9. Social cohesion is a process. Building social cohesion involves spending time with people, face to face contact, having mentoring systems in place, working in partnership, listening to people, and acknowledging inequalities
10. Place is important, as is valuing where you live. Framing communities within a variety of geographically anchored reference points offers an understanding of why

communities feel 'left behind.' It does not help to describe communities as 'deprived'; instead it is important to find out what people know.

11. Citizenship, civic engagement and social cohesion, integration are linked concepts yet hold their own definitions. Perhaps the link between citizenship, diversity and integration itself should be questioned. Our research suggests that valuing diversity, multiple and layered identities and complexity offers an alternative approach to integration. By embracing diversity and acknowledging peaceful conflicted ideologies, animated dialogue in schools and workplaces can be nurtured to recognise diversity and create a mosaic image of cohesive society.

8 September 2017

Dr Henry Tam – written evidence (CCE0012)

Dr. Henry Tam, author of ‘Communitarianism: a new agenda for politics and citizenship’ (Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), and ‘Time to Save Democracy’ (Policy Press, forthcoming – 2018); Director (2011-2015), Forum for Youth Participation & Democracy, Faculty of Education, University of Cambridge; and Head of Civil Renewal (2003-2010), Home Office/Dept of Communities & Local Government.

1. ‘Civic engagement’ is sometimes taken to mean involving citizens in doing good work in their communities, when its use should be focused on engaging citizens in democratic political processes. In the former sense (incorporating cash giving, volunteering and helping strangers), the UK already performs better than other European countries according to the annual survey commissioned by the Charities Aid Foundation (2016 figures). However, in the latter sense of democratic participation, the UK lags behind most other European countries (e.g., France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, and all the Scandinavian countries. Source: ‘The End of Voters in Europe? Electoral Turnout in Europe since WWII’ by Pascal Delwit, published in The Open Journal of Political Science, 2013, Vol. 3, No.1, Table 3). The civic engagement that needs most urgent attention in the UK is that which is concerned with connecting more citizens with their own democratic governance.
2. There is a vital difference between socio-cultural identity on the one hand, and civic-political identity on the other. In the UK, people have multiple social and cultural identities – they are at the same time English (or Welsh or Scottish); Humanist (or Catholic or Church of England or Jewish or Muslim or Buddhist); of Anglo-Saxon/Norman/African/Asian/Slavic descent; a Mancunian (or Londoner or Geordie); traditionalist/progressive; devoted to some sports team; and dedicated to one or more causes. They rarely view themselves as being attached to just one of these to the exclusion of others, and governments should not assume that one of these should be their prime identity. By contrast, from a political point of view, there is no question that the civic identity of a British citizen, whose rights are protected by the UK government, and who is responsible to that government and his/her fellow citizens in relation to a defined set of obligations, is of the utmost importance. Some commentators have conflated the need to remind citizens of what it means to be a British citizen, with the desire in some quarters to champion particular social and cultural identities as the defining features of being British. That is a mistake that lawmakers must avoid. The role of civic engagement is to connect citizens with their political identity, as codified by the system of democracy under which they live. (There is a further dimension of European citizenship which should not be ignored).

3. Political citizenship commands support and respect when the government provides stability and security (in military, legal, social and economic terms) to people who then feel that the reciprocal package of rights and responsibilities that binds them to the state merits their commitment. Genuine pride and allegiance cannot be encouraged except through the state setting out and honouring its promises as a fair and effective governing institution for its citizens. Citizenship education, civic ceremonies, lifelong learning, all have a part to play, so long as they relate to relevant policies and practices, and not to rhetorical gestures or hollow symbolism.
4. Military service, unpaid service to local communities, voting, have all been discussed in relation to whether or not they should be made compulsory for all citizens. The one form of civic engagement that should be top of the list for consideration is action learning in democratic governance processes and policy making. All citizens should engage in participatory deliberations where they can learn about what are being put forward, what are their implications according to their advocates and their critics, what they think are the pros and cons in the light of discussing them with others likely to be affected, and expressing their preference. Such participatory events, at the local, regional or national level, require expert organisation and facilitation, and can only work with the full support of the relevant government bodies. Once they are effectively set up, participation in them can be made a condition for casting a vote in elections or referendum, as that would reduce the likelihood of people voting in ignorance of what they are voting for or against. People are required to learn to drive before they are allowed to drive; perhaps they should have to learn to vote before they can cast their ballot.
5. Both the rights and responsibilities for political engagement should be strengthened. In terms of rights, it ought to be made much easier for people to register to vote and turnout to vote with polling stations at close proximity to their home. The voting age ought to be lowered to include those aged 16-18 since there is no evidence that they would be less able than people of a higher age to judge how they should vote. (It should be noted that although there is much talk about bringing in electronic voting, the increasing risk of hacking, especially by foreign regimes, suggests caution is needed before electronic voting supersedes physical voting). In terms of responsibilities, the suggestion made in paragraph 4 above outlines the need for citizens to engage in action learning about policy deliberation and informed voting before they are ready to vote.
6. As the development of awareness and understanding of how public decisions can affect one's life, and how one can play a part in shaping those decisions, education has a critical role in enabling citizens to engage effectively with their government. It means that education should cultivate reasoning skills, aptitudes in interrogating the veracity of information, and practical know-how in taking part in deliberating with others as to what policy options or possible candidates would be the optimal choice. Whatever is taught inside a classroom should be connected to action learning activities outside the

classroom, through giving democratic input into local authorities and other public bodies. Greater attention should be given to, not so much the curriculum, as the status of citizenship classes (which ought to be recognised as key to securing participatory rights for students) and the competence of teachers in engaging students (which need to be improved through specific training).

7. There is a long standing misconception that encouraging people to be ‘good/active citizens’ in the sense of initiating/organising/helping out with worthy community projects, is equivalent to developing citizens who will be engaged in the political governance of their country. While voluntary activities, promoted by agencies such as the National Citizen Service and others, are socially commendable, those activities teach little about how to participate in public policy evaluation, analysis of electoral contest arguments, or conflict resolution in tackling polarised assumptions about political options. And there is no evidence that they lead to any notable increase in political engagement among people who did not previously engage. It would be far better to value programmes that are designed to promote voluntary good work for what they are, and not invoke tenuous links to civic engagement (in the political sense) as justification for them. In order to raise civic engagement in democratic political processes, what is needed is a substantial increase in the number of action learning activities that are tailor-made to expand citizens’ understanding, skills, and experience in shaping public policies (see paragraph 4 above).
8. If we focus on civic engagement in democratic politics (as opposed to the promotion of good work by citizens), 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. Specific projects included community hubs for ‘Active Learning for Active Citizenship’; ‘Guide Neighbourhoods’ that help communities learn from each other regarding how to engage with public bodies; ‘Civic Pioneers’ that promote tried and tested engagement techniques across local authority areas; resources to expand the use of participatory budgeting in deciding how to allocate public resources; and use of community audits to target local problems. More details can be found from:
 - ‘Together We Can’ action plan (outline of the cross-government plan):
<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919132719/http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/151933.pdf>
 - Annex to ‘Together We Can’ action plan (a summary of the proposed initiatives):

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919132719/http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/152822.pdf>

• ‘Together We Can’ 2005/2006 review (reports from the Secretaries of State and Ministers on progress in 12 Government Departments):

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919132719/http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/151402.pdf>

9. Any discussion of values should bear in mind the distinction between socio-cultural identity and civic-political identity (set out in paragraph 2 above). People with diverse socio-cultural identities will have a range of values, some overlapping, some clearly distinct. There is no inherent reason why they must all have the same socio-cultural values (e.g., how they worship, what they eat, the music they like). But under their civic-political identity as British citizens they are all bound by the values of an inclusive democratic state that oversees the reciprocal granting of protective rights and enforcing of compliance responsibilities. On the threat to these values of citizenship, two things should be noted. First, the freedom to pursue diverse socio-cultural values does not extend beyond the point where the pursuit of any such value undermines the rights and responsibilities of a democratic citizen. In other words, no one can claim that their beliefs, customs, traditions entitle them to treat any individual or group (e.g., women, ethnic or religious minorities) in a harmful or disrespectful manner contrary to the standards and expectations set under the banner of democratic citizenship as guaranteed by the British rule of law. Anyone at risk from such harm or disrespect should be assured by the government that no concession will be made to people seeking to invoke values that are incompatible with the equal protection accorded to all British citizens. Secondly, the values of democratic citizenship are derived from the civic ideal that has evolved in Britain. They ought to be honoured by the state, but does not depend on the state for their legitimacy. In other words, the government cannot arbitrarily declare what those values are, even if it commands a majority in the House of Commons. Indeed, if any British government should bring in policies that go against the values of democratic citizenship (e.g., targeting disabled people or ethnic minorities for ill treatment, withdrawing protection for women from abuse or attack), the upholding of the values of citizenship may require active protest and civil disobedience.
10. There are at least three main factors that cause groups to feel they have been left behind. First, the wealth gap between the superrich and those barely coping has led many who are daily struggling to feel that the system is not only rigged against them, but that nobody is seriously trying to change things to give them a fairer chance to get by. Richard Wilkinson and others have meticulously documented the severe negative effects of wide income inequalities on those at the bottom end of society. Secondly, planning and development policies have for decades created structurally deprived areas where low wage job opportunities, poor housing, higher than average crime levels routinely go together to give local residents a sense that they are of little concern to the

wider society. This is compounded by regeneration schemes that break up neighbourhood community networks, bring in new housing and facilities that push house prices/rents up beyond what local people can afford, and push more low income people into other deprived areas where they can find an affordable place to live. Thirdly, anti-immigrant and anti-benefit claimant propaganda has proliferated to encourage UK residents with low standards of living to feel that undeserving foreigners with jobs and native Britons without jobs are getting special treatment that in effect pushes hard working families to the margins of society. To overcome these barriers, the government should consider measures to moderate the wealth gap, improve deprived areas for local people, and clamp down on hate speech and scapegoat-targeted propaganda, respectively.

11. 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. For example, according to the findings by Rose Meleady, Charles R Seger and Marieke Vermue ('Examining the role of positive and negative intergroup contact and anti-immigrant prejudice in Brexit', published in the British Journal of Social Psychology, June 2017), individuals who come into contact with immigrants more often are less likely to have anti-immigrant prejudice, and more likely to be among those who voted 'Remain' in the EU referendum. So instead of pandering to the prejudiced calls to cut diversity in order to increase integration, the government should ensure there are more opportunities for people to interact with others from diverse backgrounds so that there is less misunderstanding, less alienation, and a greater sense of togetherness. This would also suggest that policies to segregate schools by faith or allow selection by religion within a school are likely to be inimical to civic integration (Note: in existing Church of England free schools that are bound by the 50% cap on religious selection, 63% of pupils are classified as 'of white origin', but in Church of England secondaries that religiously select all of their places, 78% are white [source: government's figures as reported by the British Humanist Association, 2016]).
12. The ability to communicate in English is a vital dimension of being a British citizen, and every encouragement and support should be given to all citizens to be reasonably proficient in English. Refusal to try to learn or get help to understand English should not be sanctified as an emblem of diversity, but discouraged as a hindrance to civic solidarity. However, we must bear in mind that, just as some UK citizens have to rely on sign language or cannot read English because of their visual impairment, 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.

As for naturalisation and arrangements such as the citizenship test, again 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).

13. The 'Together We Can' programme for civil renewal (mentioned in paragraph 8 above) included support for projects that brought people with diverse backgrounds to learn from each other (e.g., ex-miners and asylum seekers in Yorkshire discussing their perspectives of local challenges; young and the elderly learning more about each other's needs and experiences that are of interest to others; people with learning disability and public service providers discovering more about what works and what doesn't), or to work together to tackle common problems (e.g., identifying problems of crime in local neighbourhoods and supporting each other with the help of the police and other agencies in increasing the sense of community safety; engaging in community health initiatives that get people to share information about key threats and how to detect and seek help to minimise health risk; involving pupils in schools in administering restorative justice that build confidence and cut disruptive behaviour). If these projects can be supported, sustained and spread to more parts of the UK, they would very likely help to promote a positive and engaging vision of British Citizenship.

6 August 2017

Rona Topaz, Disabled People Against Cuts – written evidence (CCE0019)

My name is Rona Topaz. After almost 3 decades of living in the UK as an indefinite resident, I finally decided to apply for naturalisation as a British Citizen, in order to stand for public office, and engage in the voting process. It is as a result of undertaking this momentous decision that I felt encumbered to submit an evidence paper on the theme of civic engagement for those left behind by modern UK society.

As a differently abled woman, I have consistently felt on the fringes of society, as life is geared towards the able bodied on a daily basis. Evidence of this being found in everything from ancient railway stations that can only be accessed via stairwells, to parties and concert halls with no seats provided. Disabled people are marginalised and made to be almost invisible. This has gradually improved with slightly greater visibility in the entertainment industry, but even after two decades of concerted efforts on the part of casting directors, the end results still appear tokenistic, as it is rare to see a disabled person cast in a role in which their disability is not alluded to in the script. This has long ceased to be the case with BAME actors and entertainers.

I have chosen to address the question: 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 those barriers be overcome?

Linguistically for starters. I began this paper by discussing disabled people- one of the most marginalised groups in 21st century society-and yet you fail to mention us in your question about marginalised groups....!

I will be focusing my evidence around disabled people, non-native English speakers and those who identify as LGBTI.

Civic engagement discouragement for disabled people starts at a practical level. My local political party, for example, only allows canvassing on foot, and discontinued phone canvassing. They barred someone on the autism spectrum from attending meetings. They have a profoundly deaf member who cannot attend meetings as they meet in a room with no induction loop. There is a society affiliated to my chosen political party run for and by disabled people, yet they refused to Livestream their AGM for disabled people unable to attend the meeting. This of course also excluded them from standing as an executive committee candidate.

People with learning disabilities can engage with civic life via a course run by Parliament’s Outreach. However, few people know that Parliament has an outreach service, it is very poorly publicised. I only discovered it after being invited on to the mailing list by a Member of Parliament. It is generally understood that people with learning difficulties receive a poorer standard of education, and with the welfare reforms employed by the incumbent

The Rev. Robin Griffith-Jones, D. Litt, Master of the Temple at the Temple Church, Senior Lecturer, King's College London – written evidence (CCE0123)

government removing the Independent Living Fund and making benefits such as ESA almost impossible to claim, the standard of living for disabled people in general has significantly worsened, as they are ill prepared for the job market and pushed further into poverty and suicidal despair.

There are no additional provisions, such as support workers trained in behaviour therapy-for people with mental ill health, dementia, or those on the autism spectrum, who would like to attend a rally or visit Parliament. It is only recently that signers have been involved in large civic gatherings.

Similar principles apply for people for whom English is a second language. Translators are not freely available in many shops, cafes, libraries or doctor's surgeries. There is little to no support given in certain communities, as immigrants are stigmatised by a hostile right wing media given to jingoistic, xenophobic mind-sets which fuel their own agenda and create a less than welcoming and supportive environment for the non-English speaker fleeing war and terror in their own country.

Compared to countries such as Russia and Uganda, the LGBTI community has it relatively easy in the UK. However, although there have been great strides forward, it is still difficult to a degree for the transgendered, for example, to engage in civic life, owing to the same issue that plagues disabled people- a lack of a public role model, a lack of visibility. It is no longer an issue in this this country to have an alternative sexual nature, but it remains more of an issue to have had a change in gender. This can only be overcome by a shift in society's mind-set towards even greater inclusion and tolerance. We are as a country, further along this path which is one of many reasons why I personally will be proud to eventually become a UK citizen.

12 August 2017

The Rev. Robin Griffith-Jones, D. Litt, Master of the Temple at the Temple Church, Senior Lecturer, King's College London – written evidence (CCE0123)

I write as the Joint Principal Investigator of a collaborative project involving (i) The Temple and the Temple Church and (ii) the Theology and Law departments of King's College London: *21st century Britain: Moral Sources of the Common Good*. We are taking up the challenge laid down by the Woolf Commission, *Living with Difference*, 2015, and *The Casey Review: a Review into Opportunity and Integration*, 2016: to mount and sustain a national conversation on British ideals and aspirations and the ways to realise them. These notes

The Rev. Robin Griffith-Jones, D. Litt, Master of the Temple at the Temple Church, Senior Lecturer, King's College London – written evidence (CCE0123)

come from myself and from my colleague, Joint Principal Investigator Dr Daniel DeHanas, Lecturer in Political Science and Religion at KCL.

The project's Steering Group at the Temple is chaired by Baroness Butler-Sloss. Our Co-Investigators at KCL include Lord Judge.

We respond here to the Committee's questions only where we believe we can add most value: at Questions 7, 8 and 9.

Dr DeHanas and I will be glad to elaborate any of our points to the Committee, and are willing and ready to offer oral evidence if that would be helpful.

[Question 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?]

1. A central challenge underlies these questions. Only central government can conceive, design, realise and sustain the genuinely nationwide promotion of citizenship and civic engagement. To be practicable, such a campaign must be centralised and, at least to some extent, 'top-down'. On the other hand, it is widely suggested that distrust of our political, economic and cultural élites – and not least, of government itself – is discouraging ordinary people from civic engagement: it seems impossible to have any influence upon or make any difference to these élites, their perceived remoteness, indifference and self-seeking. The distance in power between different groups in British society has been on view this summer, with totemic clarity, in the relationship between Council and tenants in Grenfell Tower. In the promotion of civic engagement, then, central government needs to encourage a decentralised, 'bottom up' movement.
2. Westminster naturally and rightly thinks on a capacious, national scale. Most ordinary people are energised by local issues, of personal concern to themselves, in which they can imagine having some palpable effect.
3. There is a widespread impression that our civic life has been hollowed out: that the organisations which once provided local cohesion and a shared sense of belonging have faded away, leaving no intermediate civic layer between the individual and the state. Our own consultations have testified to this: in our interlocutors' concern not just that they live in fractured communities but that within each there is often no 'community' at all, just isolated individuals and families.
4. It is in this context that our élites – not least, in Parliament – have been calling for a 'national conversation': a conversation that will bridge both (i) the lateral and (ii) the vertical divisions that seem to threaten the unity represented by the very structure

of the House of Commons and by the responsibility of national government for a whole nation.

5. It is symptomatic of these divisions that our nation's leaders more often speak precisely about such divisions to each other than to those on the other side of the divides. Cumberland Lodge and The St Paul's Institute organised an important evening at St Paul's Cathedral this spring. The principal speakers were Lord (Rowan) Williams, Baroness Butler-Sloss and Lord Stern. The audience was 700 leaders: peers, judges, politicians, clergy. The *Leitmotif* of the evening was the alienation of ordinary people from our national élites – precisely the élites represented there in the Cathedral. Asked how this alienation was to be overcome, the speakers admitted candidly that they did not know.
6. The Woolf Commission, chaired by Baroness Butler-Sloss, published its report, *Living with Difference*, in 2015. The Commission called for such a conversation:

At a time when so much is dominated by the sole value of individual choice, faith leaders and other opinion leaders need to initiate discussions on the values, political and personal, they have in common with each other and with the humanist values of the Enlightenment. A national conversation should be launched across the UK by leaders of faith communities and opinion leaders in other ethical traditions to create a shared understanding of the fundamental values underlying public life. It would take place at all levels and in all regions. The outcome might well be, within the tradition of Magna Carta and other such declarations of rights over the centuries, a statement of principles to guide the development and evaluation of policies relating to the common good.

- *Living with Difference*, 3.14

7. The pleas for such a conversation have become a chorus: in the Casey Review, 2016; and again in the House of Lords in December 2016. A fine recent book was actually subtitled, 'Towards a National Conversation' (N. Sagovsky and P. McGrail, *Together for the Common Good: Towards a National Conversation*, 2015).
8. In all this we are heirs of the great political theorists of our time. Any conversation concerned with policies will soon seek the ear of Government, and so – even without any party-political affiliation or agenda – will become a small part of John Rawls' vast 'deliberative democracy' and Amartya Sen's 'government by discussion' (A. Sen, *The Idea of Justice*, 2009, pp. 321ff, refining J. Rawls, *The Theory of Justice*, 1971, 1975, 1991).
9. We might go further. Many of us are likely to value the conviction that our polity is indeed a 'deliberative democracy', run through 'government by discussion'. Without some such sustained conversation, it is not clear that ours is in fact such a polity at all. There are moments of intense and widespread public involvement: in the Scottish Referendum, 2014 (turnout 84.6%); in the Brexit Referendum, 2016 (turnout

72.2%); and in the General Election, 2017 (turnout 68.7%). But such campaigns are intermittent and almost febrile. Voters may seem susceptible to wild claims on all sides, and elections to be, in consequence, unworthy of a 'mature democracy'. More sustained, local conversations will better equip us, as a nation, both to address the major issues that will continue to face us as voters and to listen respectfully to – and even to learn from – those with whom we disagree.

10. At issue, ultimately, is the character of the democracy that we wish to sustain. Post-Brexit, we do well to acknowledge that there are two honourable but divergent principles on which a democratic polity can be built. In 2004 a Constitution for the European Union was drafted. It included a Preamble, which was headed by a quotation from Thucydides, from Pericles' great Funeral Speech: *Onoma men dia to mē es oligous all' es pleionas oikein dēmokratia keklētai* (2.37.1) This was mistranslated in the Constitution's English version: 'Our constitution is called a democracy because power is not in the hands not of a minority but of the greatest number' (https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/5872.pdf, at p. 14). But Pericles in fact says that the constitution is called a democracy 'because it is run for the benefit not of a few, but of a greater number.' Pericles' definition is consistent with a benevolent oligarchy or bureaucracy.⁸³⁶ There has forever been an ambiguity in the conception of power within European 'democracies'. We need local devolution and engagement, to ensure that power in Britain is to be both (i) more robustly and responsibly placed 'in the hands of the greatest number' and (ii) used for their benefit.
11. We return at the end (para 21) to some of the challenges that will face those mounting such a conversation. It will be no surprise that so many groups have called for a national conversation and so few, it seems, have launched one. At this point we suggest one refinement to the proposal of the Woolf Commission: that we do better to propose a large number of locally generated 'mini-Cartas', which it may never be possible or desirable to redact into a single, nationally endorsed 'statement of principles'.
12. It will already be clear to the Committee that the process of such conversation is as important as the outcome.
13. To mount such a conversation will be to survey at the outset the inspiring wealth of civic engagement already locally under way. Here we can adduce just two examples well known within the Church of England: the – sometimes confrontational – broad-based community organising undertaken by Citizens UK; and the quieter but equally sustained promotion of neighbourliness by Near Neighbours. Civic engagement typically grows from success in addressing one small local cause into addressing a second, larger but still local cause; and so on. The capacities, confidence and

⁸³⁶ The German translation was, of course, accurate.

dedication of a small core-group, often including professional and/or experienced field-workers in such engagement, can be essential to success. (Among the divergent agencies and models available for community action, the Government appears to have been comfortable working with Re:generate and its methods known as *Root Solution – Listening Matters*. Saul Alinsky's approach, made famous in Chicago and beyond by President Obama, may have seemed too combative for the UK, see L. Bretherton, *Resurrecting Democracy*, 2015.)

14. We believe that there are many organisations of various and sometimes unexpected kinds that could be acknowledged, encouraged, brought together and fortified in the civic engagement that they already undertake. Schools and faith-bodies are ubiquitous and already do extraordinary work 'on the ground'. For the responses of local faith-bodies to the Grenfell fire, see e.g., *The Guardian*, 19 July 2017. We might fruitfully look around at less obvious 'mediating' structures which will also rise to such a challenge. One of the big five supermarkets had food-vans on the Tower's estate by 3.30 a.m. on the night of the fire. Brentford, Chelsea, Fulham and QPR Football Clubs came together over the summer to provide football for the children of the estate (*The Times*, 15 Aug. 2017). There are depths of concern and goodwill to be tapped without any challenge to the commercial priorities driving such organisations.
15. We take a particular personal interest in the contribution of local churches and other faith institutions. We acknowledge the care with which their engagement must be sought. They are already stretched, in their promotion of a devotional life within their (sometimes small and aging) congregations. Bretherton reports the reluctance of some activists to engage with bodies so appreciably religious (*Resurrecting Democracy*, pp 99-105). Lord (Jonathan) Sacks has recently delivered a powerful speech invoking the classic Jewish emphasis on belonging over believing (<http://standpointmag.co.uk/node/6938/full>). We note, by contrast, that Protestantism has over centuries stressed believing as the condition necessary to belonging; 'unbelievers' do not find it easy to feel at home in such a setting. One of us remembers the churches in East Germany, before and after 1988-9: empty for years; suddenly vital to the protesters, and offering shelter and brave witness; within days of the Wall's destruction, empty again. Our own churches and other religious communities would need to be more fully resourced and enabled, in order to sustain, medium- to long-term, the wide-based conversations needed.
16. We believe that such existing local engagement can be the basis for the reflective articulation, by its participants, of their own ideals and aspirations for their neighbourhood; and can become thereby the template for a scaled-up, aspirational and articulate 'neighbourhood nationalism'. (The term coined by Les Back, *New Ethnicities*, 1996.) This is not to underestimate the difficulties in generating and sustaining such reflection even where there already an impressive pattern of local

engagement: there will be no discernible *point* in devoting yet more time and energy to such engagement on anything abstract and seemingly ineffective.

17. One example will suffice here, of local engagement that can already exhaust – as well as inspire – its protagonists: Credit Unions. It is in the areas of greatest need that Credit Unions find it hardest to recruit the necessary 22 sponsors; and such sponsors can then find themselves trapped into an involvement longer – and over time, more wearingly – than they had ever expected. (Policy Studies Institute, *Credit Unions in the UK*, 1989, 'Running a Credit Union'; CUs have been more easily sustained when the common bond is a large-scale and supportive employer.) It would be hard to imagine, in such areas, engaging such volunteers in yet more and seemingly less practical work.
18. It is within Government's power to make such reflective articulation of ideals a standard component of education and of local government: by its introduction into the National Curriculum and into the relationship between local government and localities' residents, businesses and the third sector.
19. It is also within the Government's power to promote such reflective articulation of ideals through existing patterns of civic engagement. The Coalition Government allocated £20 million to the admirable *Community Organisers Programme in England*. It was known from the outset that the 500 Trainee Community Officers would be in post only for one year. One year's engagement with a community, however, was – as experienced community-workers will no doubt have told the Government – never going to be enough to generate long-term momentum. It remains to be seen whether the 4,500 Volunteer Community Officers will have acquired sufficient confidence and dedication to sustain their work without their TCOs' tutelage and support. (Evaluation at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/488520/Community_Organisers_Programme_Evaluation.pdf; cf. [R. Fisher](#) and [K. Dimberg](#), *Journal of Community Practice*, 24 (2016), 94-108. The Government has a wealth of experience on which to draw, with other such initiatives and their evaluation: such as the £80 million Community First project (evaluated at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/community-first-neighbourhood-matched-fund-evaluation>); or indeed, in a more robust localising intervention, the Neighbourhood Planning policy.
20. We live, however, in straitened times. Any initiative dependent on Government support must not rely upon its permanence.
21. Tight budgets put a strain on all involved: there is too much already to be done, for statutory bodies to be burdened with new requirements from Government or for the third sector to load yet more upon their paid workers or dedicated volunteers. Any

proposal must show local benefit within the existing remit of all those organisations ordered or invited to be involved.

22. We endorse, then, the recent calls for a national conversation, in order (i) to acknowledge, promote and enhance the civic engagement already under way and (ii) to help local communities to articulate their own ideals for themselves and indirectly for the nation at large. We acknowledge that large questions loom unanswered here. What constitutes a national conversation? Who takes part in it? Not just with a single submission and extracted sound-bites but with sustained personal engagement in the discussion. Who is going to moderate, minute and condense all the actual conversations into some final manageable form? Who will have the right to redact those conversations if some of them turn out in ways that seem unpalatable to those managing the conversations? In the terms of the Woolf Commission, who will assume the authority to formulate and disseminate any future 'statement of principles' and in whose name? Who, lacking any democratic mandate themselves or any political machinery, will try to persuade parliamentarians of both Houses, Government, Whitehall, agencies, churches and others to take note of these deliberations and of any such document, and to act on them? In Rawlsian terms, who will do the deliberating, and to what effect? In Sen's, who will be part of the discussion, and who in Government will care?
23. We should also be braced in any such conversation for the emergence of deep differences in outlook and aspiration. Not everyone in Britain, we suspect, would welcome the tolerant and cohesive society which we might hope that the conversation would adumbrate and help to realise; nor that those who would welcome it will ever agree how to define or attain it. The very passion for local change that is likely to energise such conversation may sometimes also be the passion that clouds judgement with suspicion and anger. And if such conversation ever gains traction, it is certainly possible that politically motivated activists will try to hijack it.
24. In summary, we suspect that top-down initiatives to promote citizenship and civic engagement are no longer likely to be effective. There may have been a time when large-scale reports on our national life, seeking consensus on broad directions (the 'middle axiom' approach) would percolate in detail or outline or by osmosis through central and local government, and via the broadsheets to policy-makers in all fields, and so in time affect the lives of millions who had not heard of the report, let alone read it. (William Temple's *Christianity and Social Order*, 1942, has been described as 'one of the foundation piers of the welfare state', D. Munby, *God and the Rich Society*, 1960, p. 157. *Faith in the City*, 1985, was perhaps met with more anger than approbation; but it did stir a lasting reflection, both within and beyond the Church of England, on our nation's ideals and a patent failure to realise them.) We fear that even the most authoritative and thoughtful 'middle axiom' report, submitted to a

Government and to other agencies each burdened with its own pressing priorities for action, now sinks too readily from view.

25. We suggest, therefore, that the Committee will make an immensely valuable contribution to civic engagement by recommending to Government the ongoing 'national conversation' sought by successive reports, to be engendered and sustained through DfE (in the National Curriculum), DCLG (in the relationship between local government and its constituents) and other Departments; and to be fostered *locally*, within and around *agencies that are already active*, with *local* issues and concerns to the fore.

[Question 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?]

26. We recommend less emphasis on values (which can seem retrospective and defensive) than on ideals and aspirations. Crudely phrased: what will make Britain the best Britain that Britain can be? We do not assume that everyone in Britain would welcome the tolerant and cohesive society that we hope our project will help, in a modest way, to realise; nor do we expect that those who would welcome such a society will fully agree how to define or attain it.

27. However, we do expect that holding a locally-led national conversation on ideals and aspirations can leave us changed as a nation – even if only subtly – in ways that will bring us closer to the aims of cohesion and tolerance.

[Question 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?]

28. We hear on all sides that poverty undermines engagement. Few people can commit energy to civic concerns, even at a local level, if their daily lives are dominated by the urgent demands of providing for their families.
29. Poverty itself is not to be divorced from poverty of education, experience, skills and confidence. Inequalities tend to persist in durable, inter-linked structural forms (see C. Tilly, 1998, *Durable Inequality*).
30. We all know of divisions between neighbouring communities which are remote from each other in culture, ethnicity and first-language. We have heard, however even greater regret that there is no longer any meaningful 'community' at all, and that ever more people are isolated in consequence.

The Rev. Robin Griffith-Jones, D. Litt, Master of the Temple at the Temple Church, Senior Lecturer, King's College London – written evidence (CCE0123)

8 September 2017

Think Global – written evidence (CCE0109)

[Think Global](#) is an education charity. Our Mission is to enable people to understand and critically think about global issues, motivating and encouraging us to act for a more just and sustainable world. We do this by bringing together resources and expertise in global learning and skills development, developing policy focused activity and strengthening the global learning sector in England.

Think Global was established in 1983 as a national network for local Development Education Centres. During the 1990s we became the Development Education Association, when we included within our coalition major development NGOs including Oxfam, ActionAid, Save the Children, Christian Aid and CAFOD, as well as other organisations such as businesses, trade unions, schools and universities. In the 2000s, when we changed our name to Think Global, we expanded our network further to include individual educators.

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?

In recent decades, as increasing globalisation has shifted and softened the boundaries between people living in diverse countries and communities, ‘understanding the world around us’ has come to involve knowledge not only about our own local neighbourhoods and situations, but also about communities, peoples, ideas, cultures, beliefs and practices far beyond our own national borders. It is in this context that Think Global believes that ‘global citizenship education’, or ‘global learning’ as it is more often called in the UK, is relevant to understanding questions of identity.

Britain today exists within a complex and volatile global system. That system is changing and evolving more rapidly than ever before, and the world in which our young people are growing up is being shaped not only by changes within our own cities and communities, but by massive and uncontrolled forces that cross borders and continents with impunity. Preparing our young people to live and work within this global system is a major challenge confronting our society.

Climate change, international competitiveness, terrorism, large-scale migration and rapid technological advances are all having an increasing effect on how young people experience their lives, and help determine the quality of life they will have in the future. In such a turbulent and unstable world, there has never been such opportunity but with it comes real and substantial threats. Our young people need both the skills and knowledge to succeed and to understand their place in this exciting but turbulent global environment.

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?

Learning about the world around us has always been a key purpose of education. Understanding how we fit into that world, and how our own actions can affect and influence the experiences of others, is a founding preoccupation for teachers and educators across the spectrum, from early childhood learning, through to high school and beyond.

We believe that all people, not just young people in formal education, should have opportunities to understand, critically think about and act on global issues, so that they are motivated to take action for a more just and sustainable world as citizens. The role of education is key to developing good global citizenship and encouraging young people to take informed action; it is our view that a good education prepares young people to play an active role in their communities (local and global), engage meaningfully in a political process, and understand their democratic rights.

There is a growing need to promote the shared values and informed understandings that can help the UK to build a safe, tolerant, cohesive and outward-looking society. Think Global believes that ‘global learning’ can play a significant role in educating people in the UK towards this goal. As part of their education, people need to be offered the opportunities to gain the knowledge, skills and values to equip them to succeed in and make a positive contribution to our own society and a globalised world. Global learning emphasises the concepts of equity, interdependence and respect for diversity.

Global learning (critical and creative learning about the wider world) enables people to develop knowledge about the challenges we face and skills to make decisions for themselves. Equipped with these global capabilities, people can help to make a more just and sustainable world.

Think Global defines global learning as education that puts learning in a global context, fostering:

- critical and creative thinking;
- self-awareness and open-mindedness towards difference;
- understanding of global issues and power relationships; and
- optimism and action for a better world.

Global learning is a key element to achieving implementation of SDG ([Sustainable Development Goals](#)) 4: Quality Education for All, which includes as one of its subsections Target 4.7: ‘Promote education for sustainable development and global citizenship’, which is particularly relevant to implementation in the UK. The [Sustainable Development Goals](#) (SDGs) are 17 goals defined by the United Nations to tackle the world's biggest problems by 2030. The UK is one of the 193 signatories, which means it has a

responsibility to implement the SDGs and to ensure that the goals relate to what is happening here as well as in other countries. The wording of SDG Target 4.7 states:

“By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development”.

As shown through the DFID-funded [Global Learning Programme](#) (GLP), it is possible to embed these opportunities in the curriculum and ethos of thousands of primary and secondary schools if a global learning approach is adopted. It is vital that this important contribution is recognised and that the benefits are understood throughout the country and by all ages. The essential role of global learning within education is both timely and necessary.

Beyond the classroom, there are some excellent initiatives encouraging good global citizenship. For example, [Y Care International](#) is the leading champion of global youth work, a discipline that engages young people to make sense of our complex world and take positive action for change. With partners in the YMCA movement and other youth work organisations, Y Care International engages young people in the UK and Ireland living in deprivation or who experience discrimination in global youth work, “enabling marginalised young people to explore the global dimension of issues affecting their lives... All too often these young people are not reached through the formal education sector and denied opportunities to influence decision making”. However, lack of funding too often means that provision is patchy resulting in these opportunities not being available to enough people who could benefit from them.

Some issues with current provision around citizenship education in schools were raised by one of our members: “Education is absolutely critical and cannot start early enough in an appropriate manner. However the narrowing of the curriculum, teacher workload and time pressure has a detrimental effect on active citizenship education. The approach is too piecemeal and superficial in many schools. Citizenship is often taught by non-specialists with poor subject knowledge and inadequate training.”

We believe every school should deliver effective teaching of global learning, where global learning is a regular practice at whole school, curriculum and classroom level. All school staff should have an understanding of what global learning is and what makes a good global learner, and should be able to critically evaluate and assess teaching and learning according to global learning principles. It is our view that global learning should be a key element to everyone’s education, not one that relies on the motivation and determination of individual schools or teachers.

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?

Think Global is an education charity working to help people to understand global issues. We think it's important for people to understand how we are all interconnected and interdependent on a global scale, and to be empowered to make informed decisions in our personal and professional lives. In an increasingly connected world, national interests cannot be separated from global interests; the values that all of us who live in Britain should share and support are the same for people across the world – “values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs” (Department for Education guidelines on promoting ‘British Values’). We would also add that our common values should be based on social justice, cultural understanding and a sense of social responsibility.

The UK's decision to leave the European Union presents both challenges and opportunities when considering British values. On the one hand, the rise of racism and xenophobia and retreats to a narrow form of nationalism and patriotism present a threat to such values; on the other, opportunities can be created to help people have a better understanding of Britain's role in a global society, including our responsibilities to create a more just and sustainable world.

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?

[Global Learning Programme](#): Think Global is a partner in this major DFID-funded programme, which is helping teachers in Primary, Secondary and Special schools deliver effective teaching and learning about development and global issues at Key Stages 2 and 3. Building a national network of like-minded schools committed to equipping their students to make a positive contribution to a globalised world, the GLP gives teachers the tools to help pupils learn how to live in a diverse society and develop an ethos of tolerance, fairness and respect. Global Schools across the UK are also seeing the positive impact that the Global Learning Programme is having on pupils' engagement, knowledge, skills and values. In this article, Clive Belgeonne (a GLP practitioner based in Sheffield) explains [How the Global Learning Programme \(GLP\) supports current school priorities such as 'British values'](#). For example, the Pupil Learning Outcomes (PLOs) of the GLP “include understanding the actions of governments and actions of citizens. It promotes skills such as enquiry, discussion, reflection, taking appropriate action and evaluation. Pupils consider values such as respect for diversity and rights. The GLP provides an opportunity for schools to work alongside others to engage in dialogue around the introduction of ‘British values’.” Belgeonne goes on to argue that “Sharing and understanding multiple perspectives on global issues makes it less likely that young people will subscribe to one fundamentalist view of the world. The GLP helps schools develop an ethos promoting tolerance, fairness and respect”.

Other national programmes promoting global citizenship include the work of British Council with [Connecting Classrooms](#), [E-twinning](#), [International School Award](#), which along with the GLP provide excellent frameworks and resources to promote teacher education and student engagement with difference.

[Think Global and 'Start the Change' project](#): This Erasmus+ project aims to promote understanding and ownership of democratic values and fundamental rights through the core project elements of research, resource production, teacher training and the promotion of a model of active citizenship for young people. In collaboration with European partners, Think Global is working with teachers and school students to understand young people's views on identity and extremism. Working in two hubs in north-east England and London we have conducted research with groups of students and their teachers exploring issues of identity, diversity, extremism and key issues that affect the lives of young people. The project develops an active citizenship model that will enable young people to take informed action to develop safe spaces, have agency at a community level and promote peace. It supports the young people participating in the project to develop into critical thinkers with an awareness of global issues, developing their capacity to make informed decisions and take action to develop and promote a more cohesive society.

Below are some other examples of work by Think Global network partners that we believe have helped promote a positive vision of British Citizenship within a tolerant and cohesive society:

[The Linking Network](#): “supports schools and communities to develop a positive, cohesive ethos by helping children, young people and adults to explore identity, celebrate diversity, champion equality and promote community. We directly deliver a linking programme in Bradford and support local linking programmes in other areas across the country by providing guidance for facilitators, training for teachers and tried and tested classroom resources to enable linking.

We research into best practice in developing school culture and ethos supporting schools to develop the spiritual, moral, social and cultural learning of their pupils that can form a lever for positive whole school change. We do this by providing courses for leading SMSC, staff meetings on SMSC, bespoke direct support to schools to review their work and by providing extensive curriculum resources available on this website. Our primary and secondary classroom and assembly resources support teachers to promote and celebrate identity, diversity, equality and community.”

[Global Link \(Lancaster\)](#)

“Global Link's commitment to tackling extremism through the PREVENT agenda began in 2008 through our partnership with Lancashire Constabulary. Working together with Superintendent Andy Pratt, our education worker delivered [Philosophy for Children](#) training with teachers across the County, in Andy Pratt's belief that the best method of preventing

Think Global – written evidence (CCE0109)

extremism in schools was to develop the critical thinking and multiple perspectives required to resist radical ideologies.”

[Devon Development Education’s Cultural Champions \[Devon\]](#)

“A Cultural Champion (CC) is a Devon resident from another culture or religion. They come into the classroom, workplace or community group to give an authentic, personal view of their culture or faith. We started a training programme in 2006 and have run 4 training courses altogether.

On a notable visit by a Kenyan Muslim to a secondary school, the planned material was set aside so that the pupils could ask questions about being a Muslim and Islam. A very valuable experience for the pupils, and a valuable insight into the myths about Islam and Muslims for the Cultural Champion.

Recognising the quality of our CCs’ work, as professional educators from BME backgrounds, CCs have been asked to assist with other work:

- The Youth Offending Team has asked them on 3 occasions to work with individual young people accused of hate crimes.
- On 2 occasions, after racist incidents in school, CCs were invited in to discuss what could be done.
- A large secondary school asked CCs to devise and run anti-racist training for the whole staff.

CCs offer training for teachers in diversity and British Values from a Muslim or Hindu perspective, which is provided through the government’s Global Learning Programme.”

[Gender Respect Education Project](#) - DECSY (Development Education Centre South Yorkshire)

This project grew out of [One Billion Rising](#) which inspired women and girls, and men who love them, to come out on the streets of more than 50 different cities across the globe on 14th February 2013. Its aim was to help children and young people to understand, question and challenge gender inequality and violence in a local-global context. The 3-year project brought together teachers of pupils aged 4-14 along with creative practitioners and young people to develop engaging, participatory and creative curriculum activities and materials which equipped children and young people to:

- Question gender stereotyping (including engaging boys as well as girls)
- Understand global and historical contexts of gender relations
- Explore issues of power, freedom and human rights in the context of gender
- Feel empowered to take action (especially through the use of social media).

Think Global – written evidence (CCE0109)

7 September 2017

Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Peace Foundation– written evidence (CCE0067)

The Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Peace Foundation (Peace Foundation) was founded in memory of two boys, Tim Parry and Johnathan Ball, who were tragically killed in the IRA's bombing of Warrington in March 1993. The Peace Foundation is an independent charity with no political or religious affiliations and works nationally and internationally to support those affected by terrorism and violent conflict.

The Peace Foundation's work and reach has grown significantly in recent years and our experience in the field of conflict resolution and peacebuilding means we are well placed to respond to some of the contemporary challenges facing our society. We work with those who have been impacted by war, terrorism and politically motivated violence and our wide range of programmes bring us into contact with individuals ranging from young people susceptible to extremism, women in diverse communities, veterans of conflict and their families as well as survivors and witnesses to acts of terrorism and violent conflict. As well as working closely with the Home Office, we work with the Ministry of Justice, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Metropolitan Police, local and city authorities, the Irish Government and other Non-Governmental organisations.

Introduction

1. The Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Peace Foundation is a registered charity, in operation since 1995. The Peace Foundation was founded in memory of two boys, Tim Parry and Johnathan Ball, who were tragically killed in an IRA bomb in March 1993. The IRA exploded two bombs, without warning, on a busy Saturday in a shopping street in the town of Warrington in the North-West of England. The bombs in bins created shrapnel that killed three-year-old Johnathan Ball and five days later, 12 year old Tim Parry lost his life. 54 others were seriously injured. The incident shocked the nation and gained worldwide publicity.
2. After the bombing, the parents of Tim Parry, supported by Johnathan's parents (Johnathan's parents have since passed away) wanted to gain an understanding of why they lost their children. Colin and Wendy Parry were taken by BBC Panorama to Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and the USA. During these visits, they witnessed work efforts aimed at creating and sustaining peace. They returned inspired, like many other victims, to try and make sure nobody ever experienced what they had gone through. Funded largely by donations they had received in the aftermath of the bombing, they formed a charitable trust.
3. A scholarship commenced in Tim's name, bringing together young people from different sides of the conflict to try to understand their differences and also share their commonalities. Wendy Parry had the idea to create a location to house the scholarship and together, they set a vision to build a centre as a living memorial to

the boys. The project became a millennium goal and with the involvement of Government and the NSPCC, grew substantially. The iconic Peace Centre opened in 2000. It is a multi-purpose building based in Warrington, and houses facilities ranging from residential quarters to a café, sport and art areas to special spaces for conferences and project work.

4. Early work started by undertaking a huge and diverse number of projects and activities ranging from community youth clubs to residential programmes. In 2001 the Foundation undertook a study looking at the specific needs of GB domiciled victims of the Northern Ireland conflict and from this report work began to provide a series of activities to assist those victims. At the same time, conflict was changing, with terrorist attacks in New York on September 11th 2001 and London on July 7th 2005 (the latter remaining the biggest loss of life in a terrorist attack on mainland Britain). In addition, a gradual move to peace in Northern Ireland meant that the Peace Foundation began to develop its capabilities working not only with young people but communities generally in building peace and conflict resolution skills. The Peace Foundation is independent and funded as a charity. We do not take sides, we are not aligned to any conflict, we are not faith or political based and we do not pursue causes such as justice or truth. There is no other organisation that takes such a stance.
5. The nature of our work and programmes mean we are well placed to respond to the Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement's call for evidence. The Peace Foundation's broad range of educational programmes are designed to equip participants with skills to use their experiences positively and to effect change for themselves and their communities. Our approach to conflict resolution tackles the root causes before, during and after violent conflict. Our portfolio of programmes and projects therefore deal with the prevention, resolution and response to violent conflict. Our projects are tried and tested, and supported by over 20 years of experience in the field. We retain the intellectual capital gained over these years, and continue to deploy it to counter the risks facing society today.

What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship? How effective is current teaching? Do the curriculum and the qualifications that are currently offered need amending?

6. Through our programmes, the Peace Foundation encourages people to learn about citizenship through experience, using techniques to help participants develop critical thinking abilities and explore what it means to behave compassionately towards others. We believe that education has a huge role to play in strengthening people's identity as citizens and that this type of education should not be confined to the classroom. From encouraging individuals to think about how their beliefs and values motivate behaviour, to exploring and confronting conflict, recognising prejudice and

engaging in dialogue, our projects are aimed at educating, training and influencing individuals and communities so that they can prevent, resolve and respond to conflict in ways that work for them. Our stakeholders include teachers, school leaders and community leaders as well as young people.

7. Enabling people to make their own decisions and to take responsibility for their own lives and communities cuts across a broad range of areas and subjects. As such, from an educational perspective, we believe it is sensible for citizenship to be integrated into existing subjects. We are aware that as well as the statutory citizenship curriculum, elements of citizenship education appear in many subjects - such as English, history and maths - as well as in a school's spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) development outcomes. Any extension of this approach and further integration of citizenship education into existing subjects should be encouraged.

What other routes exist for creating active citizens?

8. Contemporary challenges mean that citizenship education and giving people the knowledge and skills to understand, challenge and engage in issues crosses into new and uncharted territory. For example, questions of social, moral and legal awareness come into force when considering how to equip young people with the skills to navigate themselves safely online.
9. Young people today are no different than young people of previous generations in that they may be searching for their identity, they may feel isolated, under pressure or that the challenge of navigating their transformation from child to adult is beyond their reach. The Peace Foundation's *Think* programmes, aimed at 14-19 year olds, Key Stage 4 and above, encourage young people to think critically and consequentially about content they interact with online and understand how to engage safely and constructively in this space. The modules help participants develop an understanding of the role of social media in how young people can positively contribute and participate in these spaces and ultimately, aim to empower young people to become responsible citizens online.

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?

10. In the family environment, women can play a crucial part in providing important interventions that can alter a path towards violence. Women's active participation in democracy and peacebuilding is critical. The Peace Foundation's programmes aimed at women and young women, encourage leadership and explore conflict and extremism at a local, national and international level. Our *Women For Peace* programmes train and support marginalised women to become more active citizens,

who lead the way in preventing and resolving violent conflict through intercultural dialogue and challenging narratives.

11. For many women we work with, English is spoken as a second language. Our programmes help them develop their English speaking through public speaking and interaction with other women from their local communities. In addition, they gain enhanced skills in conflict resolution and problem solving and increased understanding to respond to local issues and participate in social action.

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?

12. Mother of three, Ahlam Hassan completed our *Women for Peace* programme in 2015. A refugee from Syria who came to the UK with her husband and children in 2013, Ahlam spoke of how the course gave her increased confidence and inspired her to help others who have faced similar struggles including those affected by recent terrorist incidents.

“I am one of the survivors of conflict and I can understand the situation with the family of the victims. I have these experiences and I can feel what they feel. I learned a lot from the course. It has equipped me with the tools, courage and confidence.”⁸³⁷

Ahlam Hassan, Women for Peace alumnus

Conclusion

13. Citizenship has to involve learning through experience and active participation. Teaching methods should not be confined to the classroom. Encouraging and helping individuals develop critical thinking abilities, building confidence and experience of thinking critically about one’s self and ‘the other’ are building blocks for becoming a responsible citizen. Online communities and participation is increasingly important in the lives of young people today and this should be addressed in citizenship education. Equipping young people with the skills to navigate themselves safely online, encouraging young people to think critically and consequentially about content they interact with online and understand how to engage safely and constructively in this space is essential. In order to do this, we must develop a greater understanding of the role of social media in how young people can positively contribute and participate in these spaces and ultimately, empower young people to become responsible citizens online.

837

http://www.warringtonguardian.co.uk/news/15202670.Women_honoured_at_Peace_Centre_for_their_work_to_tackle_violence/?ref=fbpg

6 September 2017

Mira Turnsek supplementary evidence – CCE0270

Regarding Question 142 from Baroness Redfern concerning the reasons why civic engagement and volunteering is more prevalent in the west than in the east, there are various possible explanations (as laid down in the ‘Deutsche Freiwilligensurvey’, the German Survey on Volunteering from 2014):

- weaker ties to church and religion in the eastern Länder and therefore worse infrastructure for correspondent civic engagement;
- economic factors influence the infrastructure for civic engagement (in the east there are fewer associations, less money for the funding of projects, less facilities and contact points for potential volunteers to turn to, etc.);
- socioeconomic differences in the population in the east and west of Germany, which have an impact on volunteer rates;
- different territorial structures: rural areas, which are more prevalent in eastern Germany, often register a stronger decline in population (also due to the ageing of society). This in turn also correlates with worse infrastructure for correspondent civic engagement.

Further key findings of the Fourth German Survey on Volunteering, also concerning the civic engagement of people with a migrant background, are to be found here: <https://www.bmfsfj.de/blob/115604/2606f2c77c632efddd61b274644c2f06/vierter-deutscher-freiwilligensurvey---englisch-data.pdf>

On the question on the naturalisation programme and in particular on a citizenship ceremony, I can confirm that the process of naturalisation is only formally completed with the delivery of a certificate of naturalisation. In most cities and municipalities the delivery of such certificate is done within the framework of a ceremony, where the naturalized person gets the certificate handed over by an administrator, the head of the district authority or the mayor.

More information on naturalisation can be found on the following website: <http://www.make-it-in-germany.com/en/for-qualified-professionals/visa/living-permanently-in-germany/naturalisation#who-is-entitled-to-naturalisation>

Should you need more information on the work of the Federal Agency for Civic Education (BpB), these are two useful links to the English website:

<http://www.bpb.de/die-bpb/138852/federal-agency-for-civic-education>

<http://www.bpb.de/die-bpb/138867/key-activities>

In addition, the colleagues from the BpB wanted to draw your attention to their English publication called “Beyond Us versus Them: Citizenship Education with Hard to Reach Learners in Europe” (<http://www.bpb.de/shop/buecher/schriftenreihe/236777/beyond-us-versus-them>). This volume contains a broad variety of insights, both from practitioners’ reports and academic research, on how citizenship education can reach out to socially marginalised and politically hard to reach groups, including in Great Britain and Germany.

Lastly I wanted to draw your attention again to the Federal Government Strategy to Prevent Extremism and Promote Democracy, which is available under the following link: <https://www.bmfsfj.de/bmfsfj/meta/en/en/publications-en/federal-government-strategy-to-prevent-extremism-and-promote-democracy/115450>.

UK Parliament – written evidence (CCE0126)

The Houses of Parliament’s bicameral Participation Team welcomes the opportunity to contribute to the committee’s inquiry into citizenship and civic engagement in the twenty-first century.

This written evidence highlights the range of activities undertaken by the Houses of Parliament’s Participation Team to involve and inspire the public, and to promote public understanding of the House of Lords and engagement with its work.

This evidence relates specifically to the terms of reference which cover:

- The role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship
- The role of voluntary citizenship programmes such as the National Citizen Service
- What the UK Parliament can do to support civil society initiatives to increase civic engagement.

Inspiring and engaging young people

The Houses of Parliament plays an active role in educating young people about British democracy with the aim of supporting their growth into politically engaged citizens.

A key way in which this is done is by facilitating inward visits to the Houses of Parliament for groups of young people from across the United Kingdom.

In 2016-17, **92,221** children visited the Houses of Parliament’s Education Centre. These groups came from each area and nation of the UK and received free interactive workshops,

tours and talks with parliamentarians. State schools from outside London and the South-East also received a travel grant.

The Education Centre runs a weekly *Skype the Speaker* session, during which time House of Commons Speaker John Bercow MP participates in a live question and answer session. **1844** children took part in 2016-17. Similarly *Lords Live* is a new initiative which runs along similar lines and involves a member of the Lords speaking with secondary school students over Skype.

The wider Education Service runs the *Speaker's School Council Awards*. This engages students with the work of the Houses of Parliament and rewards excellence in school council projects. **415** schools applied in 2017 with the number of students taking part in associated projects reaching **31,838**.

This engagement with young people is in addition to the estimated **230,000** visitors expected to go on a commercial tour of the Houses of Parliament in 2017-18 and the over **98,000** people expected to join Democratic Access Tours (facilitated directly by Members of both Houses).

Educational outreach

The Participation Team runs a programme of educational outreach for those unable to visit the Parliamentary Estate. This involves visiting schools and communities across the country and running free interactive workshops for students aged 7-18.

In 2016-17, **482** workshops were delivered across the UK with **48,710** students involved.

A training programme is provided for teachers to engage students in learning about the British political system. **3,157** teachers were trained by the Education Outreach Team in 2016-17. The impact of this work is magnified as these teachers go on to deliver lessons themselves, reaching ever more people.

Our Universities Team works to engage students in higher education by delivering the *Parliamentary Studies Module* at **20** universities in 2017-18. This involves the delivery of up to 100 seminars to students and 20 visits to the Houses of Parliament with at least **550** students taking part.

The Universities Team also delivers separate student workshops, reaching over **750** students every year and is developing a new *Student Leaders' Programme*.

Separately, the Lords Speaker's Office runs a *Peers in Schools* programme which launched in September 2007.

Educational resources

As well as direct engagement with young people, the Houses of Parliament produces an extensive range of free learning resources accessed via our website⁸³⁸ and partner websites over **100,000** times in the last full reporting year. Printed resources including booklets and an election toolkit are also available to order. In addition, over **500,000** views of our videos were made via our 'Learning' YouTube channel in 2016-17⁸³⁹.

The targets in the current year for these learning resources are **80,000** downloads, **40,000** game plays and **750,000** video views. We further increase our reach via partnership resources, such as the award -winning Magna Carta digital resource produced with the National Archives in 2015, and the *Your Voice Matters* Girl Guide badge.

The Houses of Parliament's *Massive Open Online Courses* (MOOCs) for adults launched in 2016 when over **10,000** participants took part. Around double this number are expected to take part in 2017-18. This is available on the FutureLearn platform⁸⁴⁰.

Involvement with voluntary citizenship schemes

The UK Parliament participates in the National Citizenship Service (NCS) programme, and in 2017 delivered **182** sessions with the number of children booked to attend reaching **8,018**.

Our tailored NCS workshops involve encouraging young people to think about issues they care about, and writing postcards to their local MP setting out their views. These are then delivered to the MPs parliamentary offices along with an address for reply.

A review of attendee feedback from July 2017 shows that out of 658 attendees, 511 (**77%**) rated the workshops as good or excellent.

Engaging with civil society

UK Parliament Week

The Participation Team runs the annual UK Parliament Week festival (November 2017) that engages people from across the UK with the work of the Houses of Parliament and empowers them to get involved.

In 2017 the number of registered organisations participating, including schools, uniformed groups, and religious organisations has risen to around **4000** involving an estimated **300,000** people from almost every parliamentary constituency of the UK.

Youth Parliament and Youth Select Committee

The Participation Team works with the British Youth Council to run the annual Youth Parliament sitting in the House of Commons. In 2016, **300** Members of the Youth Parliament

⁸³⁸ <http://www.parliament.uk/education/>

⁸³⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/user/UKParliament>

⁸⁴⁰ <https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/introduction-uk-parliament>

(MYP) took part with the topics debated chosen by **978,216** young people following the Make Your Mark campaign.

The Youth Select Committee⁸⁴¹ (YSC) is a British Youth Council initiative, supported by the Participation Team. The eleven committee members include Members of the UK Youth Parliament, Youth Councillors, a Young Mayor, and reserved seats and representatives from each of the devolved nations.

Engaging communities and civil society

The Participation Team works directly with organisations and communities across the UK to increase understanding of, and engagement with, the Houses of Parliament.

The focus of this engagement are those identified from House of Commons Library research⁸⁴² which outlines the extent to which certain groups – such as women, BAME communities, young and older people, long term-unemployed and people with disabilities – are likely to be less politically engaged than others.

The programme of community engagement involves delivering community engagement sessions across the UK, with **455** workshops and **20,000** individuals set to be reached in 2017-18.

In 2016-17 an average of **95%** of those who attended these events agreed their knowledge of the UK Parliament increased, and over **90%** agreed their knowledge of how the UK Parliament holds the UK Government to account improved. Just 45% of the public claim⁸⁴³ to know at least ‘a fair amount’ about Parliament, indicating a marked improvement as a result of attending participative events.

This work engaging communities also includes tailored *Women in Parliament Workshops* (**20** in 2017-18) and events designed specifically for people with learning disabilities (reaching **550** adults in 2017-18).

A network of community engagement officers deliver these events across the country, with each responsible for specific regions and able to build and maintain longstanding relationships with communities and organisations.

Train the trainer

⁸⁴¹ <https://www.parliament.uk/education/outreach-in-your-school/annual-events/youth-select-committee-2016/>

⁸⁴² Political disengagement in the UK: who is disengaged?
<http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7501>

⁸⁴³ Hansard Audit of Political Engagement 2017 <https://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/research/audit-of-political-engagement>

This programme involves providing training to enable individuals to deliver engaging sessions about the work of the Houses of Parliament in their own communities or organisations.

Around **350** trainers have been through the programme since its launch who have themselves gone on to train approximately **2,500** people in 2016-17. Specific strands have also been launched: *Empower!* designed for adults with learning disabilities and *Women in Parliament* geared specifically towards women. Just under **1000** people have been trained so far in 2017-18 with each given resources to help with their subsequent engagement.

Involving the public in select committee inquiries

The Select Committee Engagement Team works to increase the range and diversity of witnesses engaged in select committee inquiry sessions. They do this by publicising select committee inquiries via a contacts database, which includes upwards of **20,000** contacts.

They also run face-to-face participative events to support committee inquiries, and enable the committee to hear from audiences they want to hear from, but can't reach. In 2017-8, over **30** participative inquiry events are due to be held and **80,000** people contacted about relevant committee inquiries.

Digital engagement

The Participation Team also run the House of Commons *Digital Debate Programme* connecting MPs with the opinions and experiences of interested groups and the broader public through online debates held in advance of Parliamentary business.

Public contributions collected via the debate are shared with all Members through the debate pack to help inform the debate in the Chamber. **Twenty-six** digital debates have been held since the programme launched in June 2015. These are hosted on the most suitable platform for the topic and target audience, including Twitter and Facebook or within forums such as Money Saving Expert or Mumsnet.

For the reporting year 2016-17, **41,606** contributions were made by the public through this programme. This reporting year (2017-18) **20** debates will be hosted and the number of people involved is expected to exceed the previous year's reach.

The House of Commons Twitter account⁸⁴⁴ provides unique real-time coverage of the activity from the House of Commons Chamber, as well as explanatory content on the work and role of the House of Commons. **200,000** people follow the account, with users predominantly based in the UK and with an existing interest in the work of the House. The reach of the account is far wider than the followers, as shares and comments from this core group spread messages through their networks. The monthly impressions for the account far exceeded the 1 million target in 2016-17, averaging **3.5 million**.

⁸⁴⁴ <https://twitter.com/HouseofCommons>

Public enquiry service

The House of Commons Public Enquiry Service responds to questions from the public on the work, role and history of the House of Commons via a telephone line, email and post service. In 2016-17 they responded to **14,655** enquiries and similar levels are anticipated in 2017-18. This service is of particular importance to audiences without online access.

The team also provides simple fold-out guides and posters explaining the work of the House of Commons with over **50,000** distributed each year through visitors to the House of Parliament, direct orders by groups and organisations, and partnerships such as a selection of regional libraries in 2016-17.

Please note the House of Lords also runs an enquiry service but this is not based in the Participation Team.

Future strategy

This evidence outlines the ways in which the Houses of Parliament Participation Team seeks to inform and engage the public and help create politically engaged citizens.

The Participation Team is currently engaged in updating its strategy leading up to 2021 and intends to continue to increase both the delivery and reach of this work, capitalising on new methods to engage and continuing to play an active role in creating a thriving parliamentary democracy.

8 September 2017

Understanding Everyday Participation – Articulating Cultural Values Project – written evidence (CCE0186)

Summary and recommendations

[Understanding Everyday Participation – Articulating Cultural Values](#) (UEP) is a five-year research project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council part of their Connected Communities: Cultures and Creative Economies programme. (For more information on the UEP project and response authors, see final page).

We thank the Committee for identifying the extent to which technological and social change is presenting new challenges and opportunities for the definition and practice of citizenship and civic engagement in the UK today, and for opening this inquiry.

Our response to this inquiry is based around **four central recommendations**:

1. We must recognise that citizenship, civic engagement, participation, and social cohesion involve *collective obligations* on the part of public authorities and wider society. It is essential not to individualise the responsibility to ‘integrate’ onto marginalised individuals or groups; the responsibility must be shared. **We recommend guarding against this exclusionary tendency, and for ensuring all policy proposals stemming from this work are framed as state or collective actions, rather than coercively expressed individual duties.**
2. To successfully foster a new sense of citizenship or civic engagement there must be *shared experience* between individuals, particularly children as part of their education. **We recommend a substantial investment in and facilitation of initiatives that give young people the opportunity to connect with their peers and the wider civic communities of which they will ultimately become members as part of every child’s school-age education.**
3. The values that will underpin a renewed concept of citizenship must be derived in *conversation* with the diverse groups, communities, and individuals who together constitute British society. This will require new means of investigation, and negotiation, as the voices we need to hear from the most are unlikely to be present among responses to this inquiry. **We recommend a new exercise in outreach that dispenses with current methodologies and audiences, in an attempt to create a wide-ranging conversation about the values and commitments that underpin life in Britain’s traditionally under- and un-represented communities.**

4. It is impossible to practise citizenship and civic engagement when the institutions and spaces within which civic participation can be realised are under threat or no longer exist. We use the term '*civic infrastructure*' to describe this connected network of places, buildings, and services that enable modern citizenship to be realised. **We recommend that the concept of 'civic infrastructure' be recognised as an essential precondition for effectively practising citizenship and civic engagement, and that this recognition informs the approach of local and national governments to protecting and extending these vital spaces.**

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?

1.1

Citizenship has gained in prominence in recent years, after a long time off the political agenda. The primary drivers for this interest appear to be the post-2001 rise of immigration, integration, and community cohesion as issues of significant public concern.

1.2

We note also that ‘identity politics’ has played a role in destabilising some of the elements that formed the ‘modern’ (i.e. post-war British) conception of citizenship. While on the one hand a positive expression of freedom and choice, the trend towards individualisation that it represents and reinforces has also had negative effects on social cohesion and the potential to build shared visions of the future.

1.3

This modern model of citizenship has also been proven self-limiting, insofar as its construction has been almost exclusively legal and centred on a discourse of ‘rights’ that has failed to affirm the reciprocity of social obligations (each right we enjoy is also a responsibility to respect that right for all others) and the wider, non-legal elements of civic engagement and participation that equally constitute an individual’s membership of a political community.

1.4

The Understanding Everyday Participation project’s work has demonstrated that people still take membership of a collective seriously. [We have found that positive feelings of collective, communal identity remain](#), that could form the basis for a renewed concept of citizenship.

1.5

Any discussion of the relationship between citizenship and identity must recognise and set out to address the ongoing stigmatisation of many groups within Britain, targeted by ethnic, cultural, and economic difference. In addition to moving beyond paying lip-service to diversity, a substantive concept of citizenship must be capable of overcoming such stigma in a positive and constructive, rather than combative, way.

1.6

National identity proves a problematic anchor for a concept of citizenship because individuals and communities do not live or participate ‘nationally’. On these bases, we believe it makes sense to attempt to disentangle the concept of citizenship from those of identity.

1.7

[Research in Glasgow](#) by Kye Askins has recently argued that a move away from *citizenship* toward a concept of *citizenry*, equipping citizens for effective participation and interaction in an age of ‘super diversity’, is necessary. In this alternative model, the complexities of citizenship are accounted for and seen instead as a process which exceeds 'any fixed status of citizenship to be achieved in the formal political sphere'.

1.8

We must also further acknowledge the significant longitudinal variation in relationships to citizenship. When approaching the subject, we are forced to ask the question “*citizenship, for whom?*” and address the fact that disparities of wealth and opportunities between generations have introduced substantial variance into the experience of citizenship between age cohorts.

1.9

Finally, it must also be noted that the UK’s lack of a written constitution has played a role in the states of ambiguity and ambivalence that characterises the contemporary reception of citizenship. Serious consideration must be given to the formal codification our constitution and citizens’ rights and responsibilities.

8 September 2017

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (Usdaw) – written evidence (CCE0163)

The Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (Usdaw) is the UK's fifth biggest trade Union with over 435,000 members. Membership has increased by more than 17% in the last five years and by nearly a third in the last decade. Most Usdaw members work in the retail sector, but the Union also has many members in transport, distribution, food manufacturing, chemicals and other trades.

As a democratic, membership organisation, Usdaw seeks to develop and support its diverse membership to be engaged in their workplaces and wider communities. Usdaw operates a Political Fund which was endorsed by a 93% yes vote from our members in our most recent Political Fund ballot in 2013, which gives the Union a strong mandate for political campaigning to help support our industrial objectives.

The following response has been compiled to reflect the views and concerns of Usdaw members. The response is in line with policy set at our Annual Delegate Meeting (ADM) which is the Union's sovereign body. All Usdaw members have the opportunity to put forward proposed policies to the ADM, and these policies are then voted on by representatives from workplaces around the country. Usdaw works hard to ensure that our members and representatives are engaged in the work we do.

Questions

Civic engagement can be seen as both a responsibility and a right of citizenship. Beyond the existing legal framework, should citizens have 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 enforced/monitored?

Any moves to further build reciprocity into the relationship between citizen and state should be approached carefully. In terms of welfare, for example, so-called 'workfare' initiatives have in the past displaced retail workers and undermined terms and conditions for existing staff, where they could be replaced with cheap labour.

Usdaw believes that all citizens, or permanent residents with leave to remain for two or more years, should have the same formal rights. Further, asylum seekers should not be held in prisons or detention centres, as such treatment falls short of human rights conventions and does not provide the groundwork for a positive relationship with the state. Asylum seekers should have the right to work if able to do so, with temporary work permits provided for those able to work whilst awaiting processing or appeals against deportation.

Rights and responsibilities should apply not only to private individuals, but to businesses also, including multinationals trading in the UK. These companies benefit from the National Health

Service that keeps their employees healthy, from the infrastructure like roads and rail that allows them to ship their goods, from the education provided by the state to all children, and statutory maternity and paternity pay to name a few examples. Tax avoidance, that allows businesses to take all this from the national pot while not putting anything back in, must be clamped down on. Employers who do more than meeting the basic minimum of paying their full tax, should be eligible for incentives such as tax relief for things such as providing on-site childcare facilities and educational opportunities for their employees.

Do current laws encourage 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?

The Government should be doing all it can to encourage lawful voting and ensure a high turnout.

There is certainly a case to be made for lowering the voting age, which should be explored further. The Scottish Independence Referendum allowed 16 and 17 year olds to vote, with turnout among those voting for the first time at the age of 16 and 17 at around 75 percent. Following this, the Scottish Parliament voted to lower the voting age to 16 in Scottish parliamentary and local elections. In the 2017 General Election, a far higher youth turnout was seen than in previous years.

Following the move from household to individual voter registration, Usdaw is concerned about the current complexity of the registration process and the number of people who have dropped off the electoral register. Further, manifesto proposals from the Conservative Party commit to an increased tightening of the registration process which will mean ID will need to be taken to the polling station. Usdaw believes these measures are not a proportionate response to the very low levels of electoral fraud reported by the Electoral Commission and is concerned that this will disproportionately impact our lowest paid members who may not have or be able to afford a passport or driving license.

There is concern about whether EU nationals currently living in the UK will lose their right to vote in local elections following Brexit. We believe this needs to be looked into urgently to ensure that as many people as possible are able to have their say on local services that affect them.

Finally, Usdaw believes that First Past The Post (FPTP) is the fairest and most transparent process of voting and would be opposed to any move towards changing the electoral system to proportional representation in local or Westminster elections.

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 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?

It is the responsibility of the Government to ensure a socially inclusive curriculum for all. There should be no exemptions under the curriculum for any school-type, including faith schools, academies, free schools, foundation schools, grammar schools, grant-maintained or private schools.

Citizenship classes should be compulsory, and provide young people with the framework to be responsible and engaged citizens. This should include information on practical matters such as taxes, mortgages, how to vote and rights at work. The national curriculum should include political education, including trade union studies and/or history. This would equip young people with the skills and knowledge to be active citizens and encourage them to become engaged in workplace and civic democracy.

Religious Education in schools can combat misunderstanding, discrimination and prejudice, including Islamophobia and antisemitism, and may help foster greater understanding and sensitivity between communities where there is considerable diversity and difference. Further, Usdaw supports British Sign Language becoming part of the curriculum and available to study for GCSE. This would support integration between the hearing and Deaf communities and allow Deaf people a greater space in public life. The curriculum should also include first aid education, which would benefit the whole of society and give people the skills and confidence to act as effective 'good Samaritans' in an emergency. Sex and Relationship Education (SRE) should be statutory and LGBT inclusive to ensure education on LGBT equality starts early and tackles homophobia, biphobia and transphobia.

Usdaw believes, however, that education does not end when someone leaves school, and that far greater emphasis should be placed on lifelong learning, adult and workplace education. Government should actively listen to the needs of employers and trade unions to provide more funding for lifelong learning, allowing employees the opportunity to gain recognised qualifications.

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?

Civil society organisations, including trade unions, are in many respects constrained by The Transparency of Lobbying, Non-party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration Act 2014. This limits the ability to promote civic engagement by placing onerous restrictions on matters such as spending and campaigning on political issues - including non-partisan causes - which is a particular burden in relation to staff spending and constituency regulations. Further, Section 11 of the Trade Union Act 2016, which relates to trade union political funds, is likely to severely curtail unions' abilities to politically campaign due to overly restrictive rules on opting-in to the fund. Usdaw believes Parliament should seek to repeal or heavily amend this legislation to allow unions and charities to campaign, and support member campaigns, on political issues.

Governmental institutions should, as far as possible, give people a stake in their own communities. There should be greater awareness of, and appropriate funding for, Credit Unions to be set up in local communities. These initiatives provide ethical and democratically accountable financial support for groups which may otherwise struggle to fund their projects or get them off the ground. Ring-fenced funding should be available to local councils to allow them to keep open community spaces which can be rented for free, or a nominal fee, for community groups and campaigns.

Finally, Usdaw believes that the Patron Saint days should be made additional statutory Bank Holidays by the Government. The UK has some of the lowest levels of public holidays in Europe. These extra days would allow people more time to spend with their families and communities. Volunteering in the community could be particularly encouraged as a Government and charitable sector joint initiative on these extra days, from people who might not ordinarily be able to find the time.

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 status be strengthened?

The values all of us who live in Britain should share and support are diversity, equality, respect, and justice.

Diversity means celebrating that which makes people different - be it food, music, cultural traditions and so on - and finding areas of common ground. Interfaith and intercommunity organisations are already doing important work here which should be commended and supported. Local and national government should invest in, and support, initiatives which promote dialogue and understanding between different groups in society to prevent tensions and promote co-operation and events which allow people to learn about the traditions of others.

Justice means the public being able to have faith in institutions, support for victims, and no-one being priced out of seeking justice. The Supreme Court judgement in *R (Unison) v Lord Chancellor* makes plain that 'Access to the courts is not, therefore, of value only to the particular individuals involved [...] the idea that bringing a claim before a court or a tribunal is a purely private activity, and the related idea that such claims provide no broader social benefit, are demonstrably untenable'. If rights cannot be enforced, those rights are rendered meaningless. This is particularly pertinent with regards to the changes to judicial reviews, which is the legal measure for private citizens to hold the Government to account, as part of the Criminal Justice and Courts Act 2015 - including changes to the cost capping orders. Further changes to small claims court fees are expected as part of the Civil Liability Bill, which are not encouraging and are potentially unlawful in light of the tribunal fees judgement in that they may similarly be considered to restrict access to justice. Usdaw opposes any measures which make justice saleable, including the cuts to Legal Aid, and the fees to lodge a

claim in the Small Claims courts which can be as high as £10,000. Such measures put justice out of the reach of ordinary people.

Police cuts have meant that community police have fewer links to the communities they serve, and the police are less visible 'on the beat'. Usdaw's research as part of the 'Respect for Shopworkers' campaign clearly shows that far too many people do not report incidents of violence or abuse from customers, and there is concern that when people do report it, that the police may be struggling to respond effectively to incidents that take place in store.

Equality means everyone being able to participate in society. There are a number of threats to equality, particularly in relation to internet harassment and a resurgence of violent white-supremacist groups. The Government should work much more closely with internet service providers to tackle the problem of targeted harassment online, which particularly affects women, LGBT people (transgender people especially), and black, Asian and minority ethnic people, with the intention of driving them out of online spaces.

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?

One of the biggest barriers to active citizenship is insecure, low paid work, particularly where there are no fixed hours to allow people to plan their lives outside of work. This cuts across different groups, and is particularly acute for parents and carers, and those doing shift work which alternates between days and nights. The so-called 'gig economy' is exacerbating this issue. This could be addressed by the introduction of a right to guaranteed hours representing 'normal' hours over a 12 week reference period, and asking the Low Pay Commission to review the implementation of the recommendation from Matthew Taylor's Review of Modern Employment Practices for an increased rate of the National Minimum Wage for non-guaranteed hours. Further, Usdaw is clear that the 'Swedish Derogation' loophole in the Agency Workers Regulations needs to be closed in line with the recommendations of the Taylor review.

Austerity has meant that many community spaces, not seen as a funding priority by local councils when compared to, for example, social care and local transport, have closed. This includes facilities such as youth clubs, sports facilities and libraries where the public have been able to interact. Further, community pubs have been closing at an alarming rate. The closure of these facilities in their community, or reduction in available programmes, provides fewer opportunities for people to get involved. This has had a particularly big impact in rural areas, with the slow withdrawal of services such as local banks and pubs, corner shops and post offices etc, being compounded by the loss of publically owned facilities. The Government should provide greater support to community interest companies and co-operatives, which allow many of these facilities to not only remain open, but provide a greater democratic input by the communities they serve.

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?

17. Outside of the home, work is one of the places that people are likely to spend the most of their time and therefore diversity in the workplace is a hugely important factor in normalising relations between different communities and allowing negative stereotypes to be dispelled through experience. This is particularly vital since the European Referendum, which saw a large spike in hate-crimes arguably as a result of negative portrayals of migrants and refugees in the media and overall tone of the debate.

18.

The Government should abandon the philosophy of voluntarism being adequate to counteract labour market discrimination and introduce legislation that places public and private sector employers under a duty to promote equality and to monitor the impact of such a duty. In practical terms, this requires the amendment of the Equality Act 2010 to introduce a private sector equality duty equivalent to the public sector equality duty. The Government should also legislate to make employers responsible for third party harassment of their workers, by customers, clients and contractors, following the recommendations of the TUC's ['The Cost of Being Out at Work'](#) and ['Let's Talk About Racism'](#) reports.

19.

20. The effectiveness of workplace equality policies is dependent upon employers collecting and analysing data about the composition of their workforce and the effect their policies and practices have on different groups of employees. The Equality and Human Rights Commission and Acas advise that employer equality policies should be regularly monitored and reviewed to ensure effectiveness. Usdaw proposes that the Gender Pay Gap Reporting regulations 2017 are extended to determine the nature and degree of discrimination at work suffered by Black, disabled, LGBT and women workers. Following the recommendations of the TUC 'Let's Talk About Racism' report, employers should work with trade unions to establish targets and develop positive action measures to address racial inequalities in the workplace. Aspirational targets should be set for diversity within organisations, with progress measured against these targets annually.

21.

22. Employers should promote a culture of respect for diversity, including reasonable accommodation of individuals' rights to wear religious symbols, to allow employees to bring their 'whole selves' to work. For those who celebrate festivals and cultural events which are not recognised by statutory Bank Holidays (including Christmas and Easter), there should be greater awareness of the significance of these days and the importance of flexible working patterns to accommodate them where appropriate. Guidance should be issued to all employers about accommodating the religious and cultural practices of employees, such as observance of Ramadan, without negatively impacting those not taking part in these observances.

23.

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?

The ability to communicate with others is one of the most important elements of treating social isolation of first and second generation immigrants and promoting cohesion. It affects the ability to access services, such as the NHS, and to meet others outside of their own home and cultural community. Funding cuts from the Skills and Funding Agency for ESOL provision have meant long waiting lists in many areas to access courses. Eligibility is a further issue, with people in work denied the opportunity to take part in Government funded courses - all too often this work, due to language barriers, is precarious and low-skilled employment which does not allow for the disposable income necessary to self-fund the course and escape this poverty trap. The problem then becomes generational, with parents unable to pass on English skills to their children, leaving their children further behind their peers when they start school.

Surviving funding for functional skills such as English and Maths is currently being cannibalised by apprenticeships, with little support available for other standalone qualifications. The need and the demand is clearly there, but the funding is not. For Usdaw training courses in functional skills, consistently 20-25% of learners speak English as a second language. Usdaw has 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. A return of Government funding for ESOL to pre-2009 levels should be considered an urgent priority.

In the workplace, 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. Employers should have a duty to identify and support employees whose English skills need improvement with specific ESOL training and paid release to attend classes where necessary.

Summary

Nurturing civic engagement requires a holistic approach from the Government to empower citizens to become engaged in their communities. Swinging cuts across the public sector and in local government have meant fewer opportunities for people to become engaged citizens, if they do not have the skills, knowledge and motivation to try to establish their own independent networks. In some areas, this means activity is duplicated at a low level by various groups, without support to link their activities together, pool resources and have a greater impact. Restrictions introduced by Parliament on civic society organisations such as charities and trade unions have constrained the ability of these organisations to educate and empower their members and supporters to become engaged citizens. The labour market can

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (Usdaw) – written evidence (CCE0163)

also act as a demotivating factor in civic participation, by not allowing the flexibility with regards to time and finances to get involved.

8 September 2017

United Nations Association UK (ANA-UK) – written evidence (CCE0135)

UNA-UK's evidence submission offers answers to eight of the questions put forward by the Committee. If you require further information regarding any aspect of this submission please do not hesitate to get in touch.

What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

1. UNA-UK is Britain's only charity dedicated to building support for an effective United Nations. Over the past 70 years we have built a network of members, local branches, youth groups and partner organisations in all four nations of the UK. This network is diverse, encompassing people from all walks of life who believe that the major challenges we face can only be solved through international cooperation; and who subscribe to the values of the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. While our supporters' interests vary greatly – from famine to nuclear weapons, climate change to cyber security – they share a sense of global citizenship, which they see as an integral part of their identity and value system, as well as a responsibility to discharge.⁸⁴⁵
2. Citizenship in the 21st century does not stop at our borders. We can no longer say what happens “over there” does not affect us. Challenges such as climate change do not respect borders and require international cooperation. The same can be said of traditionally domestic issues like employment, thanks to our global supply chain. Today, a civil war can have consequences far beyond the country's shores, by fostering extremism and organised crime, by forcing people to flee their homes, or by disrupting economic production in the surrounding region. Disasters like floods can affect people across the globe, through food shortages and price hikes for instance.
3. The line between national and international interests is disappearing. At an event hosted by UNA-UK in May, UN Secretary-General António Guterres said: *“We see more and more irrational behaviours and nationalism is one of those irrational behaviours in the sense that it's not through nationalism that we are going to solve our problems. We are going to solve our problems through dialogue, mutual understanding and international cooperation”*⁸⁴⁶

⁸⁴⁵ See the findings of a survey carried out as part of UNA-UK's *Stand For* campaign on British values: www.una.org.uk/news/britons-tell-una-uk-what-they-stand. The survey sought to determine the extent to which people expected the government to abide by their personal values. It was conducted twice – once with our supporters and once by the pollster ComRes on a representative sample of the British public.

⁸⁴⁶ Excerpt of Secretary-General Antonio Guterres' London speech, 10 May 2017, hosted by UNA-UK. Mr Guterres' full remarks on citizenship and identity have been included as Annex A

4. The ease by which information, people and ideas cross political boundaries has enabled disparate communities to campaign together for progress. 21st century citizenship needs an open civic space to facilitate such engagement, as well as governments that recognise its value. This should include opportunities for genuine public consultation on global issues alongside efforts to improve the global literacy, including understanding of institutions like the UN, which offer our best hope of solving problems that transcend borders.
5. Identity is a question of personal choice. Many of our supporters see the label “global citizen” as empowering and unifying when raising their voices on global issues or seeking support for causes they hold dear. The concept of global citizenship is important because it acknowledges our shared responsibility to address challenges in our increasingly interconnected world.

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?

6. Providing a supportive and enabling environment for global citizens is vital. It is equally important to recognise that the role of government is not to be prescriptive when it comes to identity – an individual’s identity can be multiple, complex and overlapping. Public figures, particularly politicians speaking on behalf of the Government, should take special care to acknowledge the complexity of individuals’ system of identities. Our supporters were deeply concerned by the Prime Minister’s remarks to the Conservative Party Conference in September 2016: “If you believe you are a citizen of the world, you are a citizen of nowhere.”⁸⁴⁷ Whatever her intentions, these comments were interpreted as an expression of insularity. Instead, ministers should make vigorously the patriotic case for internationalism.
7. In December 2016, UNA-UK commissioned a poll which demonstrated that the British public have internationalist instincts, but that recent political trends have made them wary of an explicitly ‘global’ political agenda.⁸⁴⁸ The results showed that British values are closely aligned with those enshrined in the UN Charter. However, people’s views on international issues do not always reflect these values. Moreover, they do not expect their government to act in line with them. This implies a failure to articulate a vision of Britishness compatible with the positive internationalist role Britain seeks for itself on the world stage.

⁸⁴⁷ Prime Minister Teresa May, 5 October 2016. See: www.standard.co.uk/news/politics/theresa-may-sparks-twitter-backlash-over-citizen-of-the-world-remark-in-conservative-party-a3361701.html

⁸⁴⁸ UNA-UK worked with professional pollsters, ComRes, on research into the personal values of the British public. See: www.una.org.uk/news/britons-tell-una-uk-what-they-stand

8. The Government should seek to set out such a vision. An important first step would be to signal the importance of global citizenship, global cooperation and global institutions, in particular the United Nations. The UN should be a source of national pride, as an exemplar of British international leadership and of British pragmatism in creating a mechanism to advance national and global interests in tandem.
9. Civil society, educators and the Government can all play a role in supporting an outward-looking patriotism that takes pride in the UK playing by the rules on the world stage and investing in the international system the UK did so much to create – a British Prime Minister was at the forefront of establishing the UN; a Briton served as its first Acting Secretary-General; and British lawyers helped write the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Celebrating our contribution to the international system, and recognising how vital that system is to our security and prosperity, would promote understanding that our national interest lies in a multilateral future.

Do current laws encourage active political engagement?

10. We will focus our answer on the Transparency of Lobbying, Non-party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration Act 2014 (“Lobbying Act”), which we believe has discouraged active political engagement and which, as we set out in a letter with civil society partners,⁸⁴⁹ has had a chilling effect on civil society’s ability to engage in the national political debate. This view was echoed by the UN Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association. In a statement on 21 April 2016, he noted: *“The Lobbying Act has had a chilling effect on the work of charities during election periods, with many opting for silence on issues they work on.”*⁸⁵⁰
11. Civil society has a crucial role to play in political engagement. It informs and deepens the debate, it mobilises the public on matters of substance, and it provides for a free exchange of ideas between policy makers and the public. UNA-UK recommends that the Lobbying Act is repealed or amended to ensure that civil society can provide this vital public service.

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?

⁸⁴⁹ Guardian article on charity sector concern over Lobbying Act, 6 June 2017:

www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/06/chilling-lobbying-act-stifles-democracy-write-charities-party-chiefs

⁸⁵⁰ Statement by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association, 21 April 2016. See:

www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=19854&LangID=E

12. UNA-UK was a strong supporter of the inclusion of citizenship education in national curricula in the UK. At the time, we made the case that teaching about the UN should form part of this education, and we have since lobbied twice – successfully – against the removal of references to the UN in national curriculum for England and Wales.⁸⁵¹
13. We feel that this provides a good starting point for helping young people to understand that in our modern world, with its increasingly porous national borders, the role and function of international organisations is increasingly relevant to our lives. We would like to see the curriculum further developed to explore the role of the UN, and the UK within it, in tackling issues such as trade, migration and cyber security.
14. Our UN teaching materials provide further information and ideas for developing the curriculum, including through practical exercises like Model United Nations and local action.⁸⁵²

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?

15. One of the primary ways in which the Government and Parliament can support civic engagement is by making it more worthwhile. This could be achieved through more, and more meaningful public consultation exercises, particularly when it comes to foreign policy, as well as support for greater public engagement with international organisations, particularly by young people. UNA-UK's April 2017 report "Keeping Britain Global" contains recommendations for Government action to deepen public understanding on international issues⁸⁵³, and a second report, published in January 2017, details practical steps for strengthening civil society engagement with the United Nations.⁸⁵⁴
16. The Government can also support civil society organisations through the language it uses. Referring to the work of civil society organisations working in areas such as human rights and international development in terms of civic engagement, national pride and British values would help create greater support for these organisations.

⁸⁵¹ In 2014, the updated version of the National Curriculum in 2014 included teaching about the UN. In earlier drafts of the curriculum, the UN was omitted. See: www.democraticlife.org.uk/2013/09/18/citizenship-is-here-to-stay-reactions-to-the-dfe-final-national-curriculum-for-2014/

⁸⁵² See: www.una.org.uk/get-involved/learn-and-teach/un-matters-teaching-pack

⁸⁵³ UNA-UK's Keeping Britain Global report was released in April 2017. Top-level recommendations have been included as Annex B. For a full copy of the report, see: www.una.org.uk/file/11726/download?token=Dm3ArkGS

⁸⁵⁴ See: www.una.org.uk/file/11621/download?token=agw75Vy5

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?

17. UNA-UK champions the principles that underpin the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and believe these principles provide inspiration and common ground to all people, whether or not they have a British passport. Our research has demonstrated that these values are broadly shared by people in the UK (see footnote 2).
18. These values are coming under threat from the increasingly negative debate on human rights protections in the UK, which should be considered against the backdrop of a sharp increase in the number of racially or religiously aggravated crimes recorded following the EU referendum.⁸⁵⁵ Widespread misinformation and damaging rhetoric on issues such as immigration, [in the media](#)⁸⁵⁶ and from political parties is undermining the ability of communities to engage in the debate about the future of their own rights.^{857 858 859} There has also been a rise in inflammatory language used by sections of the media to attack individuals and institutions that represent what are generally held to be quintessentially British values, such as the rule of law.
19. UNESCO's Promoting Tolerance initiative makes clear the link between teaching on universal human rights and combatting intolerance, reinforcing the need to tackle this issue through education as well as advocacy work at a national level.⁸⁶⁰
20. More joined-up government thinking on citizenship could help avoid pronouncements that represent a clear threat to British values and which could lead to disengagement with UK politics.⁸⁶¹ Over time, disengagement can become a security risk by leading to alienation, polarisation or, more simply, widespread public disaffection and apathy. Conversely, an informed and engaged public is a security asset that can support resilience at the community level and activity participate in decisions put to them on the UK's future prosperity and security.

⁸⁵⁵ See: www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/brexit-hate-crimes-racism-eu-referendum-vote-attacks-increase-police-figures-official-a7358866.html

⁸⁵⁶ See: www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2016/sep/16/the-new-european-on-the-brainwashing-of-britain-over-immigration

⁸⁵⁷ See: www.thetimes.co.uk/article/anti-migration-rhetoric-hurt-uk-reputation-f2tv6v83q

⁸⁵⁸ See: www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/ukip-accused-of-scare-mongering-in-anti-immigration-poster-campaign-ahead-of-european-elections-9273100.html

⁸⁵⁹ See: newsocialist.org.uk/labour-immigration/

⁸⁶⁰ See: www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/fight-against-discrimination/promoting-tolerance/

⁸⁶¹ Recent examples of government spokespeople engaging in rhetoric which undermines the value placed on the rules-based international order, and thus undermining the notion of Britishness are contained in ANNEX C

21. The Government could also send a powerful signal by ensuring its conduct reflects British values. This is a central theme of our reports “Leading by example” (on human rights)⁸⁶² and “Keeping Britain Global”⁸⁶³. In brief, we would like to see the Cabinet Office take a greater responsibility for ensuring that the words and actions of all ministers and all departments work to strengthen the UK’s commitment to the international system of rules and norms that are so important for the continued health of the country.

How do you see the relationship between citizenship and civic engagement on the one hand and social cohesion and integration on the other?

22. Civic engagement leads to better-informed citizens and encourages them to have more diverse networks and experiences. This, in turn, promotes social cohesion. This is one of the aims of UNA-UK’s “global citizens” programme, which uses a common interest in global issues to bring people together and stimulate action in schools, workplaces and communities around the country.

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?

23. Promoting a positive, internationalist vision of British citizenship – and translating this into action – is one of UNA-UK’s core objectives. To further this objective, we have run a number of initiatives, including events bringing together young people and policy-makers, teaching materials on global issues⁸⁶⁴ and outreach to encourage public participation in UN and Government consultations. UNA-UK also used to support British youth delegates to the United Nations, by running the selection process, providing training and mentoring, facilitating national youth consultations and organising post-trip activities.

ANNEX A: UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres’ full remarks on the subject of citizenship and identity, speaking in London on 10 May at an event organised by UNA-UK. (For a film of the event, see: <https://youtu.be/r03uZJtmP30>)

“The most important contribution that Europe has given to the to the world civilization has been the values of the Enlightenment but unfortunately these values are being put into question today; tolerance the primacy of reason; we see more and more irrational behaviours and nationalism is one of those irrational behaviours in the sense that it's not through nationalism that we are going to solve our problems. We are going to solve our problems through dialogue, mutual understanding and international cooperation.

⁸⁶² See: www.una.org.uk/leading-example-practical-proposals-uk-action-bolster-un-human-rights-pillar

⁸⁶³ The top-level recommendations of UNA-UK’s April 2017 report “Keeping Britain Global” have been included as Annex B. For the full report, see: www.una.org.uk/keeping-britain-global

⁸⁶⁴ See footnote 9

“But it's not probably nationalism is nationalistic xenophobia, it's anti-semitism it's anti-muslim hatred. We are seeing the development of these kind of feelings in our society and it's something we need to fight but it's not enough to fight it ideologically. It's not enough to say this is wrong. We need to look into the root causes of that and many of those root causes are in the fact that I mentioned when I was speaking a few minutes ago the fact that many people felt left behind, many people felt that globalization has undermined their interests then an irrational approach to what we have witnessed in recent times in relation to the massive movements of population to the idea that we can be threatening our identity that foreigners are coming and I going to change earth and the only way to solve this problem is investing in societies investing in the social cohesion of society the inclusiveness of societies making in society are all multi-ethnic multi-religious multicultural and the British society is a fantastic example of this I mean you have in this room we can see that expression in a very eloquent way

“But it would be a mistake to think that harmony can happen spontaneously and naturally. An investment is necessary to make each group feel that its identity is respected but to make also each group feels that they belong to the community they are part of the community and are bound by the values of the community as a whole. So I think that in our societies there is still a lot to be done in order to make sure that we address the root causes of these kind of behaviours with aggressive nationalism, different forms of radicalization against these or that group, this is something in which we need to think in the way the software of our society is organized and in the way you create the conditions for difference to be understood the difference to be respected and also those that are different to respect it to each other”

ANNEX B: Top-line recommendations from UNA-UK's April 2017 report: “Keeping Britain Global”. (For a full copy of the report, see:

www.una.org.uk/file/11726/download?token=Dm3ArkGS)

The UK should:

- Develop a cross-departmental strategy for strengthening the UN and the rules-based international system that it serves, with a current focus on supporting the new Secretary-General – including by championing UN effectiveness through merit-based senior appointments, and on seeking to keep British allies engaged, active and coordinated at the Organisation
- Acknowledge the extent to which Britain's own conduct affects the health of the international system and the standing of international law. The Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary and senior civil servants should take responsibility across Government for ensuring that statements and policies that could undermine the international system are prevented, including by ensuring spokespeople refrain from inflammatory, anti-internationalist rhetoric

- Deepen public and civil society engagement on foreign policy issues, including by enhancing the Global Britain Fund, to support educational and outreach programmes that demonstrate the value of international organisations to UK citizens
- Recognise the central role that must be played by UK diplomatic networks if Britain is to sustain or expand its influence on the world stage. This should include maintaining its 0.7 per cent GNI on Official Development Assistance, and increasing funding to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office with an emphasis on operations that support work at the UN-level as the UK seeks to justify its continued place on the Security Council and operate outside of the European Union

ANNEX C: Recent examples of government spokespeople and back-bench politicians engaging in rhetoric which undermines the value placed on the rules-based international order, and thus undermining the notion of Britishness

- Prime Minister Theresa May’s promise to abolish human rights laws if they “[get in the way](#)” of attempts to combat terrorism.
- Work and Pensions secretary Damian Green dismissing a report of the UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) as “[patronising and offensive](#)”.
- Prime Minister [Theresa May](#) characterising attempts to apply international laws to British military actions as “activist, left-wing human rights lawyers [who] harangue and harass the bravest of the brave”.
- [Comments](#) on the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention (WGAD), with former Foreign Secretary (now Chancellor) saying they had made "a ridiculous finding", and attacking the credibility of the experts involved, and former Foreign Minister Hugo Swire mocking the Working Group on twitter.
- Philip Davies MP’s [racially charged attack](#) on the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights to Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association in which he said (of the Kenyan Special Rapporteur), “this lecture on human rights by somebody from Africa is staggering. He should clear off back to his own continent to look at some of the grotesque abuses of human rights that take place on a daily basis led by people like Robert Mugabe.” The Government failed to defend the rapporteur in an official response.
- Stewart Jackson MP [describing the UN's special rapporteur on housing](#) as a "loopy Brazilian leftie with no evidence masquerading as a serious UN official". She was also referred to in the media as a "Brazil nut" and "a dabbler in witchcraft who offered an animal sacrifice to Marx”, yet the official Government response was not to defend the rapporteur but to state that they found her conclusions “staggering”.

- The [rhetoric](#) from the Government on the European Convention on Human Rights.

8 September 2017

Universal Peace Federation – written evidence (CCE0177)

- 1) At Universal Peace Federation (UPF) we have various projects and programmes spanning across many areas of peace-building and making concerted efforts of bringing people together from various backgrounds, cultures, religions and coming from different walks of life and professions. The idea being that once we get to know one another, we find that we have a lot in common. We then provide an equal platform for all to discuss topics of common interest.
- 2) One of the major areas of interest is “Youth Empowerment & Involvement in Society and Politics”. For a decade we have been holding an important annual event, the “Young Achievers Award”.
- 3) Young adults are recommended by UPF's UPF Ambassador for Peace network from its interfaith and other contacts from diverse backgrounds. We then select 10 - 12 young people who have contributed greatly to their communities and uphold them as role models. They have a chance to speak at the Houses of Parliament about their project before their Member of Parliament presents them with a UPF “Young Achievers Award”. This introduces them to Parliament and their constituency Member of Parliament as well as encouraging them to continue their efforts.
- 4) A couple of years ago, young achievers, who were so inspired by each other, approached us to ask if they could meet regularly at UPF offices. We started by having ad-hoc meetings about 18 months ago which were very well received by the young achievers as well as other young people wishing to join the group.
- 5) The young achievers, several times, come to learn from each other and become inspired/encouraged to campaign and lobby for things that interest them (e.g. human rights, climate change, helping refugees, etc.). This has resulted in a group of young people who we support to work together for the development of an altruistic attitude and foster public mindedness. Some who regularly visited the refugee camp in Calais inspired others in that group to go with them.
- 6) This developing group meets fairly regularly (at least six times a year) with a focus on providing activities for other young people and they share their experiences with friends thereby educating them about politics and Parliament.
- 7) Universal Peace Federation, as a Partner of Parliament Week, will be taking this engagement further **during this year's Parliament Week** on 14th November at the Houses of Parliament. The idea is to have a form of “Speed Pitching” by the young people to a pair of Parliamentarians from different parties who will answer the questions raised based on topics of interest (e.g. housing, taxation, NHS, education, etc.). Groups of five young people (20 in total) will rotate through pairs of Parliamentarians (4 pairs in total) grouped by topic in order to ask questions with 10 minutes per rotation - giving each Parliamentarian around 3 minutes to reply. This will allow for at least two questions per rotation. One group representative of the young people (four in total) will later give a response of their impressions from the answers given by the Parliamentarians. Afterwards, Q&A and comments will be welcome from

the audience. In this manner, they are introduced to more Parliamentarians and have some experience of the democratic process.

- 8) A few years ago, the topic of Parliament Week given to us was “Youth Engagement in Politics”. Since then we have carried on with events discussing this whereby young people and Parliamentarians discuss various ways of furthering youth engagement in Politics. Furthermore we have **partnered** with and continue to support an organisation led by young people, who directly teach political literacy to youth in schools. We are always encouraging young adults to learn how to teach political literacy to help our partners.
- 9) As partners to Parliament Week, every year we are taking part and bringing more numbers of people, including youth, to Parliament and our success has been recognised. **We were awarded a Certificate of Achievement** last December by the speaker of both Houses of Parliament regarding Parliament Week.
- 10) Our planned activity for Parliament Week this year is in collaboration with the International Association of Parliamentarians for Peace (IAPP). UPF together with IAPP also holds events on the theme of **Prevention of Radicalisation** in which we invite parliamentarians, religious leaders, experts on radicalisation and young leaders to debate this topic. We aim to get 50% youth participation as young people are so very important regarding prevention of radicalisation.
- 11) Regarding minimising the isolation and exclusion of youth in general, we have worked on putting together a major programme, for over a year now. We formed a Consortium of people of diverse backgrounds and multi-faith in nature as well as representing people young and old of various abilities and coming from different professions. The idea is for young people to learn to get on with one another appreciating each other’s culture and faith and understand what we mean by British Values. The challenge of getting to know understand and even like one another is based requires a tried and tested Residential programme of around 10 days, when young people work together on a service project – this will help them to see the good in one another and see the value of sharing a common cause. Full details of the project can be sent to you. We are seeking funding in the coming months. We have given the name of ITLAS, Integration through Learning and Service.
- 12) We also offer courses of Good Governance & Character Education, periodically & Youth Leadership workshops/seminar annually.
- 13) We would very much like to have an opportunity of meeting you in person and attempt to reply some of the questions raised in your link, based in our experience and we would very much like to explain further the details of the *ITLAS* Project, besides other programmes like the Youth leadership one.
- 14) Universal Peace Federation has a set of principles to promote greater harmony and positive contributions among the different communities that make the fabric of living in the UK. A slogan of UPF is that humankind is one family of races, nations and religions etc.. It implies that we are an interconnected human family with familial obligations to each other. We endeavour to make partnerships with diverse groups of faith, nationality and culture. Thus we have had a large number of meetings in Parliament or in our Headquarters with those partners.

- 15) These included celebrating several religious holy festivals together that occurred at a similar time. Black History Month, the 60th Anniversary of signing the ANC Charter, Africa Day and hosting former President of Malawi, Dr. Joyce Banda, or Yvonne Chaka Chaka are some of the African diaspora events that have been convened under UPP's and our partner's banners.
- 16) Another was the gathering of the representatives of Chinese groups based in the UK in a Parliament Committee Room hosted by our Patron Virendra Sharma MP in order to form an umbrella body that could reflect Chinese community in the UK views and concerns to the Government or to UK political parties. As a partner we could support by arranging a venue that assisted the meeting while the substance of the discussions was led by our partner group.
- 17) A Mongolian Professional Women's group, Mothers of Congo, Roadworks Media, Justina Mutale Foundation and groups that highlighted the Prevention of Sexual Violence in Conflict for example were all partners with whom we worked to raise awareness of issues that were not our speciality. The long term result of these varied activities is that when we convene a United Nation's Day programme such as International Day of Women, Holocaust Day, Human Rights Day etc. we can gather a diverse group of ethnicities and backgrounds. This makes a wide dialogue of perspectives possible that is valuable for mutual inter-community understanding. This is important given the influence that international tensions have on the relevant diaspora groups here in the UK.
- 18) By inviting people to participate in a consideration of an issue in Parliament it enables them to change their thinking about the political process and realise that those who are involved in politics are not so different from themselves. At least one young lady told the Baroness who was hosting an event on Women's Empowerment that she was going to think about a career in politics after her experience speaking at one of our events.

8 September 2017

University of Hertfordshire – written evidence (CCE0248)

Introduction

Academic and professional staff at the University of Hertfordshire have grouped together to submit the evidence below. A list of contributors is included at the end of this document.

The evidence reflects opinions formed through academic research and personal experience. Their expertise covers a range of issues, including research into well-being and housing, experience working in education in citizenship engagement and experience as an elected official. They also have personal experience of engaging in local government and the National Citizen Service. All contributors to this evidence share a belief in the importance of civic engagement.

The range of their expertise demonstrates the wide variety of different circumstances that can impact on active citizenship. If the Committee would like more information on any aspect of the evidence below, we will be happy to provide more detail.

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?

For members of the University involved in civic activities outside of their work, citizenship and civic engagement reflected being engaged in society, whether that was acted through your work, your personal life or in wider civic activities such as voting, volunteering or campaigning. It was felt to reflect connection and active engagement.

For researchers whose work is focused on communities, there was concern that the move to frame people as ‘consumers’ in their engagement with public services has led to the concept of the citizen has been largely expunged from policy discourse. The danger of this is in undermining the role of the active citizen, which necessitates involvement in – or the capacity to be involved in – the framing of public policy and services, and not just feeding back, as a ‘customer’, on the quality of goods/services on offer by administrators on behalf of politicians. So citizenship does matter, if people are to be empowered to influence public life, and identity matters also, as the consumer-citizen dilemma highlights.

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?

There was a general agreement among members of the University that citizenship ceremonies can be a positive marker of belonging. This is reinforced by the research that

has been carried out by one group of academics at the University on how experiences can help create memories which have the potential to transform relationships. Their studies, suggesting that social events and festivals have a positive impact on individuals and relations with others, would seem to indicate that we should not underestimate the importance of ceremonies and events for the people involved if we are concerned with their positive recollections.

There was less universal agreement on encouraging pride in being or becoming British. It was recognised that there are many different aspects to being British that might make an individual proud of their citizenship. For some people this may be the monarchy, for others the achievements of sportspeople, the reactions of ordinary people to national events, or public institutions such as the NHS or BBC. But that one of the freedoms of British citizenship is that there is no requirement or expectation to be ‘proud’ of your nationality, and that this freedom is also something to value and consider carefully when we look to encourage national identity.

- 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?**

There was no broad agreement on this questions, but members of the University did consider if there was a place for civic responsibility to be developed among young people in different ways, through education and encouraging volunteering.

- 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?**

While there was disagreement on some aspects of this question, such as whether to lower the voting age, there was strong agreement that measures should be introduced to make voting easier, whether this was technological developments towards e-voting, making it easier to turn up and vote at any polling station, or moving election days to the weekend. There was also some support for making voting compulsory, as long as there is a ‘none of the above’ option.

- 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?

Given that these respondents all work in a university, it should not come as a surprise that they all regard education as vital to encouraging citizenship, although there are differences of opinion as to how 'formal' this education needs to be. There was discomfort with the idea of 'good' citizenship, with 'active' being seen as a term that better expresses the desire for engagement, without pre-judging what form that engagement should take.

A researcher with experience of working with inner-city communities in a civic engagement context suggests that, in terms of citizenship education, too much attention is paid to formal schooling, teaching and learning. Research suggests that learning from experience as an active citizen, through non-formal, community-centred, collective processes of critical reflection on manifestations of active citizenship, are key to learning the skills required to be an effectively active citizen. However, opportunities for this type of learning are limited, as community activists (e.g. parent governors, tenant association representatives, patient consultative committee members) are often denied the time, space and resources to engage in such reflection.

Within formal education, it was pointed out that the principles of inclusivity and equality needed to be established within the practice of education (and other public institutions). If citizens are valued and supported in their education then they are more likely to succeed, making them more likely to become active citizens. For example, there are indications, including poor levels of literacy and numeracy, that certain learners are not being supported or equipped to develop fully and productively. If a society wishes to benefit from engaged citizens, then it needs to engage with them first.

With regards to civic education within school, it was felt that this should focus more on society than politics, giving young people the information they need to become engaged and be heard.

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?

Those members of the University who have had interactions with the National Citizen Service are very positive about it. The young people who have taken part have grown in confidence, independence, acceptance and understanding and participants have gone on to remain active citizens, engaging in volunteering. But there were frustrations that there is no continuation within the programme, such as former participants who wanted to return and

mentor or support current participants but found themselves unable to do so. They wanted to be able to capture the intense four-week programme into something ongoing, and were frustrated by the organisation.

As the research previously mentioned indicates, memory creation can be positive for the well-being of individuals. A NCS citizenship ceremony, that acted as a rite of passage, could be a powerful and positive signal of belonging that stays with people.

However, it is important to note that formal programmes are not the only, or even the most effective forums for encouraging citizenship. Research suggests that citizenship, if it is learnt at all, is learnt in later life, informally, and through experience. For this reason, we need to be looking at how we can capitalise on the experiences of active citizens to inform and educate others (including younger people) on the realities of active citizenship/civic engagement. Work has previously been carried out by a researcher on residents groups working with schools to provide real-life case studies of citizenship in action. In translating their activities into the language and discourse of the Citizenship curriculum, the resident representatives began to see themselves, and talk about themselves, in terms of 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?

Members of staff who hold elected office in local government reflected that people can be excluded from attending formal civic events as they often fall during “office hours” which has in part contributed to the stereotype of civic leaders being of retirement age. Employers can help by allowing flexible working where possible but local governments need to be taking the lead on this by being mindful of the timing of their meetings. This applies not just to being a councillor on a committee, but also to any members of the public who are interested in the content of the meeting or indeed wish to make a representation in person.

Reflecting on technological changes within society, there was concern that people need to be better educated on the use of their data to ensure that trust between individuals and government is maintained. Ongoing education about what ‘consent’ means, how to exercise it, and on the rights and responsibilities of individuals and organisations will be critical to developing and maintaining relationships of trust between the individual as citizen and those collecting data, including government and government sponsored agencies. As a matter of course, individuals and communities should be seen as co-constructing and collaborating in designing the evolving digital society in which we increasingly live and act as citizens.

Researchers within the University wanted to emphasise that encouraging civic engagement cannot be undertaken lightly. Their research suggests that facilitating the engagement of disenfranchised or marginalised groups takes active, sustained and skilled communication, it cannot be enough to talk at people and tell them what is available. Instead, groups need to be brought into a conversation around society and their involvement in it.

- 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?**

Our researchers who looked at the positive impact of events to create memories, have also carried out research with older people aiming to tackle social isolation. When working with this group, they found that one of the key problems was tackling issues around public transport in rural areas. While keen to engage with events in their communities, this group felt isolated and that their independence was compromised by the lack of transport, which left them dependent on others to be able to take part in events.

One researcher at the University has highlighted the extent to which tenants in social housing are left behind, ignored, marginalised, stigmatised, under-valued. They highlight that ahead of the tragedy at Grenfell Tower the tenants, functioning as active citizens, had warned local policymakers and service providers of the very real danger of catastrophic fire. Their warning was ignored: they were left behind, in spite of their attempts at being active citizens. The emphasis placed on the housing and property market in the UK, and the pivotal role of homeownership in political campaigning, reinforces the marginalisation of tenants in social housing. For tenants to be empowered as citizens, the relationships between property/home ownership, social inequality, social values, and political interests will need to be examined.

Those within the University who had experience as representatives within local government highlighted that the use of the term ‘left behind’ was emotive and not always helpful, often linked to communities reaching for reasons why they had not received services or opportunities that they felt others were able to access. Using the term reinforces and increases the sense of separation between groups, not a good first step towards bringing them together.

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?

In approaching this question, members of the University were keen to reflect on how to allow individuals their own views while also approaching a sense of community. There was reflection on the suggestion by philosopher John Rawls of ‘overlapping consensus’, which involves citizens not having to put their personal identity on the back burner but finding ways of developing a broad consensus that draws upon their identity.

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?

There was consensus among members that some English language proficiency was important to be able to navigate and interact in society. But that this could only be expected if ESOL classes are well-funded and widely available.

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?

Members of the University reached for a number of role models from Malala to sports teams (such as the 100m relay team who have Nigerian, Jamaican, Trinidadian and Iranian/Moroccan heritage). It was also highlighted that there are active cross-community projects within Northern Ireland which aim to integrate communities and promote cohesion.

Contributors

Dr John McCormack, Centre for Sustainable Communities

Denise Homes, Academic Registry

Kathleen Fetigan, Development and Alumni Relations

James Broach, Careers and Enterprise

Monica Kanwar, Occupational Health and Safety

Dr Allan Jepson, Hertfordshire Business School

Dr Paul Wernick, School of Computer Science

Adam Huntley, School of Health and Social Work

University of Kent Centre for Philanthropy – written evidence (CCE0006)

Overview

The Centre for Philanthropy at the University of Kent has conducted a number of research projects since our founding in 2008 that contribute to the study of active citizenship and civic engagement. There are four areas of the Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement's focus in which our research and teaching can make a contribution, and we consider these in turn.

3. Freedom of philanthropic action – time and money – is an essential part of its nature and should never be enforced. In a report we contributed to, *Motivations of Sports Volunteers in England: A Review for Sport England* (2016), co-authored by Dr Eddy Hogg, we found that the best way to encourage long-term commitment to civic participation is to adopt an approach which seeks to develop 'volunteer capital' through ongoing flexible support and encouragement for those who wish to engage. Rather than seeing civic engagement as a transaction where service is provided in the expectation of some immediate reward, we argue in this report that engagement should be seen as a process where life circumstances mean that taking part is more straightforward at some times during the life-course than others. We argue that good volunteer management, provided by paid staff or other volunteers, can support people to maintain their involvement even in times when engagement is less easy.

This argument – that we need to see civic engagement as a process and not something which can be seen as immediately transactional and must certainly never be enforced – is supported by evidence presented in the article *Constant, serial and trigger volunteers: volunteering across the lifecourse and into older age* (2016) by Dr Eddy Hogg. In this paper it is argued that lifelong commitment to civic engagement can be fostered through supportive organisations that have flexible ways of engaging and allow people to maintain a relationship with the organisation even when life circumstances prohibit them from volunteering much time.

Evidence:

Motivations of Sports Volunteers in England: A Review for Sport England is available at <http://tinyurl.com/y7okhndn>

Constant, serial and trigger volunteers: volunteering across the lifecourse and into older age was published in *Voluntary Sector Review* in 2016 (vol 7, no 2, pp 169-190). Copy available on request to e.hogg@kent.ac.uk

5. Previous research suggests that encouraging, but not forcing, active citizenship is the best approach. We do that through our teaching on two undergraduate modules:

Kent Student Certificate in Volunteering Platinum Award – this module, delivered at our Canterbury campus by Dr Eddy Hogg in partnership with Kent Union, supports students in undertaking 100 hours of volunteering across three different placements. One of these must be off-campus in the wider community and another must involve some form of leadership. Supported by a short series of lectures exploring the nature of volunteering and active citizenship, students are encouraged to critically reflect on their experiences of volunteering and the impact it has had on themselves as individuals, the organisations they have helped and on wider society.

Social Justice Practice – this module, delivered at our Medway Campus by Dr Eddy Hogg, supports students in undertaking 100 hours of volunteering in charities of their choosing in the Medway area. In addition students attend a series of weekly lectures over the academic year in which they learn theoretical and practical knowledge, and explore debates about volunteering, active citizenship and the third sector. Through academic essays and reflective diaries, students assess the impact that their volunteering has had on themselves as individuals and use their academic learning to explore the issues addressed and impact made by the charities with whom their volunteer.

We also believe that a charity workforce that understands the importance of active citizenship and is skilled in supporting active citizens is essential. This is why we launched the United Kingdom's first Masters Degree in Philanthropic Studies in 2016. This degree programme, delivered online and aimed at existing charity sector professionals, meets a gap in social science teaching provision for those working in, or seeking careers in, the sector. We are clear that the best way to support active citizenship and civic engagement is to have a highly skilled and professional workforce able to support the endeavours of those keen to donate their time and money. Our MA seeks to deliver on this goal and to help to develop an even more skilled and knowledgeable charity sector workforce for the future.

Evidence:

Module handbooks and other documents relating to all of this teaching is available on request to philanthropy@kent.ac.uk

6. Our research shows that engagement in active citizenship by young people is a key way of ensuring civic engagement in adulthood. It teaches young people the value of civic engagement and the ways in which it can be done, but perhaps more importantly it gives them the confidence that they can and will make a difference by getting involved. This is evidenced in our report *Side by Side: A case study report of the experiences of young people supported by West Kent Extra* (2015), by Dr Alison Body and Dr Eddy Hogg. In this report, we explain how the relationships between young people and the professional staff and adult volunteers who support civic engagement are crucial. Through these positive relationships, young people are able to experience – often for the first time – having a voice and feeling that they can influence decision making processes which affect them. We found that youth service provision which focuses on giving young people a voice has clear lasting impacts for

creating strong communities. Our findings suggest that young people engaged in youth social action programmes are more likely to volunteer, have a strong desire to ‘give back’, are more likely to engage in community participation and advocacy, and have an increased sense of social responsibility and supporting others.

This report makes three key recommendations, each of which are relevant when planning active citizenship programmes for young people:

1. There is a clear case for the continuation of open access provision built on lasting relationships, which has a proven impact in reaching marginalised and disadvantaged young people.
2. Voluntary sector organisations and in particular the paid staff and volunteers who are their public face have a real strength in their ability to form long term relationships with beneficiaries. It is important that such organisations and schemes have a plan to harness or move forwards those young people who wish to ‘give back’ and develop sustainable models of volunteering and social responsibility.
3. There are many examples of youth participation good practice; however youth focused organisations need to focus on how young people can continue and increasingly set the participation agenda.

Evidence:

Side by Side: A case study report of the experiences of young people supported by West Kent Extra is available at <http://tinyurl.com/y8uwkodw>

9. Barriers to engagement in civic engagement do not just exist for traditionally marginalised groups, as our report *Philanthropic Journeys: new insights into the triggers and barriers for long-term giving and volunteering* (2014) by Dr Beth Breeze finds. Looking at the civic engagement of London-based senior professionals, we found they faced five main barriers when seeking to get involved in civic engagement:

1. A lack of confidence that skills and experiences gained in the private sector would be useful to charities
2. A lack of belief that engaging with charities would benefit them in their personal and professional lives
3. Lack of time due to commitments at home and at work
4. Lack of awareness of appropriate opportunities to get involved
5. Concerns that charities would be badly managed

We found that with good management and with the right opportunities made available, these barriers can be overcome. In particular, policymakers need to understand that active

citizenship is better conceived as a lifelong journey than as a series of unrelated acts. This is more likely to achieve the overall goal of a stronger civil society.

Evidence:

Philanthropic Journeys: new insights into the triggers and barriers for long-term giving and volunteering is available online at <http://tinyurl.com/y8srzhvu>

Final Comments

Three things are clear from our research:

1. Civic engagement needs to be understood as a lifelong process, not as a moment in time or a series of unrelated acts. Joining up different types of engagement at different life stages means people can be supported to give their time and talents in the long term.
2. There is a clear need for well-trained and knowledgeable professionals to manage civic engagement and to ensure that those who want to volunteer their time can do so, and be properly supported in their efforts. Management and support are especially important for those who have not been socialised into civic engagement or considered it as being the kind of thing people like them do.
3. The support needed to enable good citizenship and civic engagement to take place has a cost. Professionals need to be trained and resourced, and volunteers need to be facilitated and supported. The target of increased civic engagement is clearly reliant on a properly resourced infrastructure, from both government and the third sector.

3 August 2017

University of Reading, Institute of Education and the Citizenship Foundation – written evidence (CCE0222)

Summary

Introduction, Experience and Expertise

David Kerr is leading expert on Citizenship education and civic engagement with unique experience in terms of policy, research and practice. He is Consultant Director of Education at the Citizenship Foundation in London and Head of Initial Teacher Training at the University of Reading. David was Professional Officer to the Citizenship Advisory Group chaired by Professor (Sir) Bernard Crick. He was seconded to Department for Education (DfE) and QCA in London in support of the citizenship education initiative in England.

He was Chair of the PISA advisory group developing a framework and test on Global Competence for PISA2018. He has led major research studies in citizenship education at national, European and international level. He was Associate Research Director for the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) with responsibility for the study's European module and for the EU study of Participatory Citizenship in Europe. He directed the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) in England and co-directed the ESRC funded Citizens in Transition (CiT) study.

He has worked closely with the Council of Europe since 1999 on its Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education project (EDC/HRE) and is currently the EDC/HRE National Co-ordinator for the United Kingdom (UK). He is also an ACT Council member.

Recommendations

The meaning and purpose of Citizenship and Civic Engagement in the 21st Century

Q1 What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st Century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

Q5 What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship?

- 1. The meaning and purpose of Citizenship and civic engagement in the 21st Century must be clearly defined and understood across society. Above all, it must proactively set out to empower all people, and particularly young people, to learn, live and work with confidence in a rapidly changing world.**

- 2. The definition and understanding of Citizenship and civic engagement must recognise the reality of the central challenge facing all societies of how to educate people in democratic contexts which are very different from what has come before. It must take note of and contribute to international efforts to collectively address this challenge.**
- 3. All political parties, including the Government, must collectively agree on the meaning and purpose of Citizenship education and civic engagement. They must recognise the central role of education and curriculum in helping young people understand why civic engagement matters and how they can participate actively, responsibly and confidently.**
- 4. The meaning and purpose of Citizenship education and civic engagement will need to be constantly reviewed and updated if it is to remain relevant to the needs of people in a fast-paced, intercultural, interconnected and interdependent world. It must prepare people with the requisite capabilities for engagement both in the UK and beyond.**

Strengthening Citizenship and Civic Engagement

Q2. Are there ways of strengthening 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?

Q4. 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. The deficit model of citizenship and civic engagement in the UK needs to be urgently addressed by the Government with recognition of the crucial role that education can play in repairing this deficit.**
- 6. The Government should ensure that young people understand their legal rights and responsibilities through the distribution of Young People's Passport and have opportunities to record and publicly celebrate their civic engagement in relation to learning, living and working in society through a Citizenship Record of Engagement.**
- 7. Consideration should be given to setting up a Commission to revisit lowering voting age from 18 to 16, through a gradual approach that would allow 16 year olds to vote in local and devolved elections in the first instance.**

Educating for Citizenship

Q5 What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship? At what stages? How effective is current teaching? Do the curriculum and the qualifications that are currently offered need amending?

Q8 What are the values that all of us who live in Britain should share and support? How can these values be strengthened?

8. The Government and public authorities should recognise that building a lasting culture of Citizenship and civic engagement must be founded on a strong foundation of effective Citizenship education and that this must be a key goal and aim for education and curriculum.
9. DfE must encourage all education institutions to consider what their civic mission is and how they educate young people to understand and actively participate in realising it.
10. DfE must urgently replace the current Citizenship National Curriculum with one that is fit for purpose for the 21st Century. The design of the new curriculum should be overseen by a new Citizenship Advisory Group representing all relevant groups in society.
11. DfE should consider placing the education of young people to address controversial issues at the heart of the new education for citizenship at curriculum and whole-school level.
12. There is an urgent need to rebuild a robust evidence base on the state of Citizenship education and to continue to contribute to and learn from education and Citizenship best practice in other countries in Europe and internationally in order to remain relevant and effective.

A Joined up Approach to Citizenship and Civic Engagement

Q7 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 and increase civic engagement?

13. **Government needs to be seen to be valuing and promoting Citizenship education and civic engagement across Government and society. A Minister and a Senior Civil servant should be given the remit to develop coherent policy and positive communication for Citizenship education and civic engagement and coordinate with other government departments and local and devolved governments working on citizenship policy.**

- 14.** Government and political parties must ensure that the promotion of Citizenship and civic engagement is built on cross-party support and consensus to prevent it falling prey to the whims and ideologies of particular Ministers and political parties.
- 15.** The DfE should follow up the Crick Report recommendation for the setting up of a Standing Commission on Citizenship education and civic engagement in order to monitor its progress and make recommendations for continued improvements going forward.

For further information about this submission, please contact David Kerr

University of Reading, Institute of Education and the Citizenship Foundation – written evidence (CCE0222)

This submission is made to the House of Lords Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement by David Kerr representing the University of Reading, Institute of Education and the Citizenship Foundation (CF).

8 September 2017

1. Introduction, Experience and Expertise

1.1 This submission is from David Kerr in a professional capacity. It is based on my relevant experience in the field of Citizenship and Civic Engagement and unique expertise developed in linking policy, research and practice in the UK, as well at European and international level. I was closely involved in the introduction of Citizenship as a statutory subject in the National Curriculum in England in 2002 and have continued to monitor and assess its progress from that point as well as that of Citizenship education and civic engagement developments across the globe.

1.2 In terms of policy expertise, I was Principal Officer to the Citizenship Advisory Group, chaired by Professor, Sir Bernard Crick. I brought evidence of Citizenship and civic engagement developments in other countries for consideration by the Crick Group. Alongside Bernard, I coordinated the writing of the Group's Final Report, particularly the sections on how the new Citizenship curriculum should be delivered in schools. I was then seconded to the Department for Education (DfE) from 1999 to 2006 to help to turn the vision for statutory Citizenship in schools into a reality through the creation of a network of support. This included the setting up of the professional subject association (Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT)), creation of the new one-year ITT PGCE Citizenship course, development of new Citizenship GCSE and A level qualification and engagement with government agencies such as Ofsted and QCDA. I was also involved in liaising between DfE and other Government Departments that delivered aspects of Citizenship and civic engagement policy such as the Ministry for Justice, Home Office, Department for Communities and Local Government and Foreign Office.

1.2 In terms of research expertise, I was Research Director at NFER of the DfE commissioned Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) from 2001 to 2010. This was a ground-breaking study that evaluated the progress and effectiveness of the new statutory Citizenship subject in schools in England. I also co-directed the follow-up ESRC study that followed that cohort as they moved from schools into adulthood. I was also Research Director for England's participation in the large IEA comparative study on civic and citizenship education – CIVED – from 1996 to 1999 and became Research Director from 2006 to 2009, with responsibility for the European module, of the follow-up 2009 IEA International Civic and Citizenship Study, in which England also participated. I have also directed research studies for the Council of Europe and European Commission on active citizenship and liaised with Eurydice on surveys of citizenship education across European countries.

1.3 In terms of practice expertise, I was the subject lead for the first ITT PGCE Citizenship programmes at University College London and the University of Bristol

1480

The Committee has, in places, redacted the names of individuals to prevent them from being identified.

and am currently Head of Initial Teacher Training (ITT) at the University of Reading. I was a Trustee of ACT and the Citizenship Foundation (CF) and am currently a member of the ACT Teaching Council, Consultant Director of Education at CF and Deputy Chair of the Citizenship Subject Expert Group. I am also the UK coordinator for the Council of Europe large-scale Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Project (EDC/HRE) and have helped to develop Citizenship education practice and policies in a number of countries including Turkey, Chile, Colombia, Norway, Sweden and Hungary. I was Chair of the Expert Group that has helped to develop the new Global Competency framework for OECD as part of PISA 2018.

1.4 I have contributed to the submissions to the Select Committee from the Citizenship Foundation and ACT. However, I believe that my unique experience and expertise built up in relation to research, policy and practice in Citizenship education and civic engagement, in the UK and more widely, puts me a strong position to offer further insights and recommendations in relation to a number of the Committee's questions. My evidence addresses parts of questions 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9 and all of question 5. I am particularly keen to ensure that policy, research and practice remain connected in relation to Citizenship and civic engagement both in education and across Government, and that the UK continues to contribute to and learn from developments in Europe and internationally. This connectivity is vital if Citizenship education and civic engagement is to remain relevant for the challenges of modern society and fit for purpose, particularly for our young people. I would be happy to give oral evidence to the Committee in support of my insights and recommendations.

2. The meaning and purpose of Citizenship and Civic Engagement in the 21st Century

Q1 What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st Century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?

Q5 What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship?

2.1 The Crick Report in 1998 recommended *'that citizenship and the teaching of democracy is so important both for schools and the life of the nation that there must be a statutory requirement on schools to ensure that is it part of the entitlement of all pupils'*. This was based on a concern that approaches at the time were uncoordinated and inadequate for *'animating the idea of a common citizenship with democratic values'*. The Report further cited the words of warning of the then Lord Chancellor concerning democratic society in the UK: *'We should not, must not, dare not, be complacent about the health and future of British democracy. Unless we become a nation of engaged citizens, our democracy is not secure.'*⁸⁶⁵ Almost 20 years later, sadly, similar warnings and concerns ring true. This is, in part, because the actions taken by the Government in addressing the Crick Report have not proved

⁸⁶⁵ See

https://www.teachingcitizenship.org.uk/sites/teachingcitizenship.org.uk/files/6123_crick_report_1998_0.pdf

'lasting and effective' as the Group hoped. It is also because the challenges faced in defining what citizenship and civic engagement means in the 21st Century have become more complex, wide-ranging and fast moving.

2.2 The root cause of the challenge of defining what Citizenship and civic engagement now mean and why it matters is the rapid pace of change in 21st society and the wide-ranging, fast moving, irreversible impacts that is bringing to societies. Governments and cross-national agencies across the world are struggling with the question of how to educate people for Citizenship and civic engagement in democratic contexts that are very different from what have come before, in terms of aims, purposes and approaches. There is no full scale answer to this question as yet. However, what is clear from emerging thinking is that the answer will involve encompassing new capacities and approaches that emerge from a number of common trends and needs. These include recognising and addressing that the meaning and purpose of Citizenship and civic engagement must:

- Emphasise a strong global dimension alongside national and regional (e.g. European) dimensions;
- Contain changed conceptions of identity that accept the notion of people having multiple identities – often termed 'cosmopolitan citizenship' – that range from the local to the global;
- Accept the complexity and cultural diversity of society brought about by the growing movement of peoples within and across countries and continents;
- Recognise the growing power and reach of automation and of information and communication technologies (ICTs):
- Recognise the potential for division, conflict, controversy, violence and non-democratic attitudes and actions to develop and spread;
- Promote the importance of and need for people to interact respectfully with others within and across communities and borders;
- Promote the importance of dissolving tensions and (re)building social capital and community cohesion as a defence against the negative impacts of change;
- Encourage the development among people, particularly young people, of open and flexible attitudes and values that aim to unite and bond a common citizenship across communities, countries and continents;
- Inculcate the need for quick and constant creative, collaborative and ethical decision-making and actions if society is to prosper in the face of the challenges to 21st society and democracy.

What is abundantly clear from this context and emerging thinking is that:

- The meaning of Citizenship and civic engagement in the 21st century is more complex and challenging than at any time in society
- Getting the meaning right – in terms of definition, tone, aims and approaches – will be critical for the future survival of democracy and democratic society in the UK and across the world

- The meaning will need to be constantly reviewed and updated in order to be both reactive and proactive in the face of rapidly changing societal contexts
- There will be a need to develop globally competent citizens who can actively engage for the good of humanity
- Education and curriculum will have a crucial role to play in meeting these challenges for current and future generations of young people
- The contribution of education and curriculum will need to be comprehensive across all sectors, ages and parts of society, interdisciplinary across all subjects and responsive to current and future developments in society.

2.3 The work that I have been leading with OECD and PISA 2018 in drawing up a definition of and framework for Global Competence is a step in the right direction. It is helping to proactively address the question of how education and society can rise to the challenge of educating for citizenship and civic engagement in the 21st Century. The definition of Global Competence proposed by OECD for PISA 2018 is instructive and worthy of consideration in terms of its implications for the meaning of citizenship and civic engagement in the UK in the 21st Century and the role of education and the curriculum in educating for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in and beyond schools.⁸⁶⁶

Global competence is the capacity to analyse global and intercultural issues critically and from multiple perspectives, to understand how differences affect perceptions, judgments, and ideas of self and others, and to engage in open, appropriate and effective interactions with others from different backgrounds on the basis of a shared respect for human dignity. (OECD, 2016)

2.4 I fully support the ACT and CF submissions that if we want a vibrant and healthy democracy where every citizen feels their voice matters and they can play an active part in democratic decision-making and public life, then every young person must have access to an entitlement to high-quality Citizenship education. Citizenship education cannot be left to chance. The Government and all political parties have a collective duty to prepare people to properly understand and participate actively and responsibly within it. However, I would add that the meaning, conception and approach to such Citizenship education and citizen participation must take account of the realities, emerging thinking and responses that I have outlined above. Without this it is doomed to be ineffectual, short-term and out of step with global developments. In 21st Century society we have to prepare all our young people for the realities and possibilities arising from learning, living and working in a fast-paced, intercultural, interconnected and interdependent world. To do otherwise will be to fail in our duty to educate them properly, leave them unprepared and vulnerable and further threaten the security of democracy in the UK. Addressing citizenship and civic engagement is even more important now than it was in 1998 when the Crick Report was published. There is still time to take action that is '*lasting and effective*' as Professor, Sir Bernard Crick put it but we must act quickly, purposefully and collectively.

⁸⁶⁶ See <https://www.oecd.org/education/Global-competency-for-an-inclusive-world.pdf>

Recommendations:

- 1. The meaning and purpose of Citizenship and civic engagement in the 21st Century must be clearly defined and understood across society. Above all, it must proactively set out to empower all people, and particularly young people, to learn, live and work with confidence in a rapidly changing world.**
- 2. The definition and understanding of Citizenship and civic engagement must recognise the reality of the central challenge facing all societies of how to educate people in democratic contexts which are very different from what has come before. It must take note of and contribute to international efforts to collectively address this challenge.**
- 3. All political parties, including the Government, must collectively agree on the meaning and purpose of Citizenship education and civic engagement. They must recognise the central role of education and curriculum in helping young people understand why civic engagement matters and how they can participate actively, responsibly and confidently.**
- 4. The meaning and purpose of Citizenship education and civic engagement will need to be constantly reviewed and updated if it is to remain relevant to the needs of people in a fast-paced, intercultural, interconnected and interdependent world. It must prepare people with the requisite capabilities for engagement both in the UK and also beyond.**

3. Strengthening Citizenship and Civic Engagement

Q2. Are there ways of strengthening 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?

Q4. 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?

3.1 The identity of people in the UK as citizens is currently almost non-existent beyond holding a passport by citizens of birth and possibly taking part in Citizenship ceremonies to celebrate citizenship through naturalisation. Beyond this there is little that formally and proactively makes people feel that they are citizens of the UK united by common membership and bonds of belonging. This deficit model of citizenship and civic engagement needs to be urgently and centrally addressed by Government if people are to understand what citizenship and civic engagement means in the UK and why their participation matters. There is a crucial role for education of citizens for citizenship and for this to be a critical part of the educational process. The Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) which I

directed found that attitudes to citizenship and civic engagement are formed by young people by the time they are adolescents (age 14 to 16) and that these inform their actions and level of participation as they move into adulthood.⁸⁶⁷ This underlines the key role of education and schools in this process. The submissions from the Citizenship Foundation and ACT make strong recommendations in this respect. I would like to add to these by drawing attention to the need, as part of this educational process, for the provision of up-to-date information for citizens, particularly young people, in the UK concerning how the political, legal, social and economic system in the nation works. This should include balanced information on the key issues facing society such as Brexit and devolved government, in order to provide young people with strong foundations on which to base their participation and engagement. Alongside this there needs to be careful consideration given as to how the key milestones and experiences in being a UK citizen can be publicly identified, recorded and celebrated.

3.2 In terms of up-to-date information for citizens on how the UK system two initiatives from the Citizenship Foundation are worthy of consideration as exemplars of what it required in a more consistent and systematic form. The first is the *Young Citizens Passport*, which is in its 16th edition, and provides a succinct and accessible overall guide to young citizens' legal rights and responsibilities. The YCP has previously been distributed to generations of young people for free via DfE and the Home Office, though this is no longer the case.⁸⁶⁸ Such distribution would be a simple way of ensuring that all young people have instant access about their political, legal, social and economic rights and responsibilities. The second is the *Brexit for Young People* pack, which is an attempt to help young people decide what is important for them from the Brexit negotiations, so they can articulate these as citizens.⁸⁶⁹ This is an example of a balanced, practical resource which sets out simply and clearly the key issues on a common topical issue. Such balanced knowledge and information is often difficult to find by citizens but is critical to underpin their responsible participation.

3.3 Alongside the production of knowledge guides that help people understand their rights and responsibilities as citizens is a need to agree on the key milestones that mark the development of active citizens over time and consider how these can be publicly recorded and celebrated. What I am calling for is the development of a Citizenship Record of Engagement (CROE). This is an active on-line document which actively records and publicly celebrates at crucial milestones the citizenship experiences of young people and citizens as they learn, live and work in modern society. It could include learning experiences in school, acquiring a (new) passport, participation in voluntary activities such as National Citizen Service, participation in community activities, getting to the age of voting, being available for jury service, voting in elections etc. It would be a personal record that could be publicly celebrated at public ceremonies such as school assemblies, University graduation, and Citizenship ceremonies. Such a process would considerably raise the profile of being a UK

⁸⁶⁷ See <https://www.nfer.ac.uk/research/projects/cels/>

⁸⁶⁸ See <http://www.citizenshipfoundation.org.uk/main/resource.php?s418>

⁸⁶⁹ See <http://blog.citizenshipfoundation.org.uk/downloads/who-has-the-power-to-brexit/>

citizen and would help to strengthen a sense of common membership, citizen efficacy (the sense that participation has an impact) and belonging.

3.4 Consideration should also be given to regular public education initiatives that encourage and provide opportunities for citizens to work together for the common good of communities and societies. The example of annual Citizen Action Days in Austria run by the Polis organisation provides an interesting model of such an approach.⁸⁷⁰ In Austria, each year, from May to June the Austrian Government encourages and funds a scheme for schools, civic organisations, public authorities and communities to work together, through Citizen Action Days, on projects at local and regional level that promote citizen engagement and participation and bring different generations together. These projects are then celebrated at regional and national level.

3.5 In terms of laws concerning active political engagement evidence and recent developments suggest that the time is ripe to review the current laws concerning the franchise and in particular revisit the question as to whether the voting age should be lowered from 18 to 16. Recent political engagement through the votes on Brexit, the General Election and the Scottish Referendum have underlined the huge appetite of young people and young voters (age 18 to 24) to understand and have a say on the key political issues of the day. This appetite is further fuelled when they are well-informed and feel that their voice matters and will make a difference. The Brexit vote may have had a different outcome if more 18 to 24 year olds had participated in the numbers that they did in the recent General Election. Furthermore, the granting of the vote to 16 year olds in the Scottish Referendum showed that young people could be trusted to use their vote sensibly and responsibly. It also energised the teaching and learning of Citizenship education in schools in helping young people to use their votes wisely. Developments in other countries should also be considered here in providing answers as to how citizens can feel more connected and engaged and how young people can be successfully inducted into the political process. The Nordic countries continue to lead the way in terms of democratic engagement in society, while Austria has successfully lowered the voting age to 16, firstly through local municipal elections and then to general elections and Serbia, Bosnia and Montenegro have permitted voting between the ages of 16 to 18. This gradual approach is one that should be considered in relation to the UK and UK countries via local and devolved elections in the first instance. There is also scope to register voters when they are at school and when they enrol at university to increase voter registration numbers.

Recommendations:

- 5. The deficit model of citizenship and civic engagement in the UK needs to be urgently addressed by the Government with recognition of the crucial role that education can play in repairing this deficit.**

⁸⁷⁰ See <http://www.politik-lernen.at/site/aktionstage>

- 6. The Government should ensure that young people understand their legal rights and responsibilities through the distribution of Young People’s Passport and have opportunities to record and publicly celebrate their civic engagement in relation to learning, living and working in society through a Citizenship Record of Engagement.**
- 7. Consideration should be given to setting up a Commission to revisit lowering the voting age from 18 to 16, through a gradual approach that would allow 16 year olds to vote in local and devolved elections in the first instance.**

4. Educating for Citizenship

Q5 What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship? At what stages? How effective is current teaching? Do the curriculum and the qualifications that are currently offered need amending?

Q8 What are the values that all of us who live in Britain should share and support? How can these values be strengthened?

4.1 A number of submissions, including those from the Citizenship Foundation and ACT, have presented evidence underpinning recommendations to recognise the critical role of effective education for citizenship in underpinning attempts to raise the profile and status of Citizenship and Civic Engagement in the UK. Effective education for citizenship provides the crucial foundations for building a culture of citizenship and civic engagement in the UK. I strongly support this assertion based on my experience and expertise in promoting Citizenship education in England and in other contexts. Education, particularly effective Citizenship education, is essential if teaching and encouraging good citizenship is to take root across society and reach all people, particularly young people. Building a common sense of Citizenship that encourages civic engagement should to be a key goal of education and an underpinning aim of the curriculum, including the National Curriculum. This goal and aim needs to be shared, understood and acted upon by all those working in education.

4.2 There is strong support for making Citizenship a compulsory statutory subject not just for 11 to 16 years olds (Key Stages 3 and 4) but also extending that statutory status for 7 to 11 year olds (Key Stage 2) and including it in post-16 education and training as young people get access to their adult citizenship roles and responsibilities. There is also a strong argument for including it in higher education. I believe that that all education institutions – schools, colleges, universities – should consider what their civic mission is and how they seek to educate young people to understand and actively participate in realising this mission. This involves learning not just through the curriculum but also contributing to the wider culture of the institution as well as connecting to the communities associated with the institution, what have been defined as the 3 contexts or Cs of effective citizenship education – curriculum, culture and community(ies).

4.3 Given the imperative to promote effective education for citizenship as an underpinning foundation for Citizenship and Civic Engagement, it is clear to those involved with Citizenship education that the current arrangements for and approaches to teaching and learning Citizenship in schools are not fit for purpose. This includes the framing and content of the Citizenship National Curriculum programmes of study, the nature of the Citizenship qualifications, the training provided to teachers and senior managers in schools and the identification and evaluation of best practice. Education for Citizenship in England, and much of the UK, is currently severely lacking in all these aspects. Put simply the current arrangements are a severe impediment to making progress. They cannot provide the breadth and depth of the education and teaching required to meet the demands of preparing young people for Citizenship and Civic Engagement in the 21st Century, as I set out in Section 1 of this submission. Rather there is a need for a fundamental review of current approaches that takes account of the urgent need to prepare all young people for the realities and challenges of Citizenship and Civic Engagement in modern society.

4.4 This situation has arisen as a result of a gradual breakdown in the political consensus that lay behind Crick Report and the introduction of statutory Citizenship into schools in 2002. The Crick Report had the support of all political parties, thereby ensuring that Citizenship and Civic Engagement was viewed as a common political issue rather than a divisive party political issue. Unfortunately this political consensus has been lost as education and the National Curriculum have fallen prey to the influence and ideologies of particular political parties. The reforms of the National Curriculum that were introduced in 2014 have proved particularly damaging for education and Citizenship education in promoting the type of Citizenship and civic engagement that is required for learning, living and working in the 21st Century.

4.5 The Citizenship National Curriculum, as with the rest of the National Curriculum, has been reduced to a narrow list of knowledge, with a particular focus on the UK. Citizenship is now seen as teaching young people a core canon of knowledge about UK political, legal and economic institutions and policies and the importance of volunteering. Many aspects of the previous curriculum have been removed or downgraded including: knowledge about the role of media and ICTs, local democracy, Europe and the wider world and freedom of speech; an emphasis on balancing knowledge and understanding with the acquisition of skills and attitudes; and opportunities to engage in practical experiences of active citizenship and democratic participation both in and beyond schools. The modern broader based Citizenship education that was introduced, following Crick, in 2002 has been replaced with old-style, narrow civic education from the 1950s and 1960s. This regressive development puts the UK out of step with developments in many countries in Europe and beyond.

4.6 To compound matters, though Citizenship remains a National Curriculum subject this is in name not substance. The Government promotion of the core subjects of Maths, English and Science alongside History, Geography and languages as part of EBacc provision have made it clear to school leaders, students and parents as to where priorities lie in the education system. The result has been: a collapse in the status of Citizenship in schools; the downgrading of curriculum time in many schools, with some not teaching it at all; the

collapse in the numbers taking Citizenship qualifications and the shrinking of the numbers choosing to train to teach the subject. Though practice remains strong in many schools Citizenship can be classified as a subject in peril in many others, unless there is urgent action.

4.7 What is needed to reverse this sad decline is a return to the conditions that led to the setting up of the Crick Group in 1998. Then the concerns for Citizenship and civic engagement in society, and particularly among younger generations, were so severe that it sparked a desire among all political parties that action needed to be taken. I believe that we have to scrap the current approach to Citizenship education as it is largely unsalvageable in meeting what is needed from education to promote Citizenship and civic engagement. Rather what is required is a new Citizenship Advisory Group that represents all political parties as well as those in modern society who have a vested interest in educating young people for 21st Century democratic society and participation. This should include representatives from young people. The Group's remit needs to be updated to address the fundamental question, as posited in Section 1, as to how to educate people for citizenship and civic engagement in democratic contexts that are very different from what have come before, in terms of aims, purposes and approaches. The Group's deliberations must take account of emergent thinking and international efforts to answer this question. While Citizenship as a subject will be a key driver there will also be a need to make interdisciplinary links with other subjects as well as consider whole-school and wider community contexts and aspects linked to developing Global Competence.

4.8 I have been involved in recent developments which I believe provide some of the answers as to how education, schools and curriculum can proactively support the development of a common culture of citizenship and civic engagement. The first is the developments with OECD around Global Competence outlined in Section 1. The second is a suggestion for a reformulated curriculum for citizenship education for the 21st century that included developing a broader range of knowledge and new citizenship capabilities, which I outlined at a recent European Citizenship conference organised by NECE, the German Federal Civic Agency.⁸⁷¹ The third is a focus on helping teachers and schools to teach and manage approaches to controversial issues, developed with the Council of Europe and European Commission in partnership between the Citizenship Foundation and agencies and ministries of education in a number of European countries.⁸⁷²

4.9 The work on teaching controversial issues through education in schools offers hope that this approach can help to address the challenge for Governments of how to educate young people to be confident in a fast-paced, intercultural, interdependent, international world in

⁸⁷¹ See David Kerr Keynote Presentation <http://www.bpb.de/veranstaltungen/netzwerke/nece/227285/nece-conference-2016-zagreb>

⁸⁷² See Teaching Controversial Issues <http://pjp-eu.coe.int/en/web/charter-edc-hre-pilot-projects/teaching-controversial-issues-developing-effective-training-for-teachers-and-school-leaders>
See Managing Controversy <http://pjp-eu.coe.int/en/web/charter-edc-hre-pilot-projects/project-1-managing-controversy-a-whole-school-training-tool>

tackling challenges posed to democratic society and democratic values by terrorism, extremism, violence and xenophobia. The two training packs on addressing controversial issues in schools, the first for teachers and the second for school leaders, were demanded by European countries and have been well received in trainings carried out for the Council of Europe under the auspices of the independent European Wergeland Centre (EWC) based in Norway. Indeed, currently the Nordic Council of Ministers from the Nordic countries has commissioned a pilot training for school teams of headteachers and teachers from each country. The outcomes of the training are going to be used to help their schools and communities educate their young people to tackle the democratic challenges in the communities, country and region. It is hoped the pilot will be rolled out to all schools in the Nordic region as their response to addressing current challenges posed by terrorism, extremism (both IS and far-right), violence and discrimination. They prefer this broader approach to addressing the threats to common values in society rather than the narrower, more targeted Prevent type policy in the UK.⁸⁷³

4.10 When Citizenship was introduced in schools in 2002 DfE Ministers were keen to evaluate its effectiveness and build a robust evidence base to improve policy and practice. They commissioned NFER to undertake the Longitudinal Study (CELS) from 2001 to 2010, ensured England's participation in the two IEA international studies of civic and citizenship education (CIVED in 1999 and ICCS in 2009)⁸⁷⁴ so as to compare progress with other countries and encouraged Ofsted to carry out regular subject reviews of Citizenship. The outcome of this research and evaluation is that there is clear evidence of what constitutes effective education for citizenship. The Citizenship Longitudinal Study (CELS) which I directed from 2001 to 2010 while at NFER found that high quality Citizenship education is found in schools that see Citizenship as a priority, where it is embedded in the curriculum, where there are Citizenship trained teachers that lead and coordinate teaching, support from the Senior Leadership team and where Citizenship is also part of a whole school approach.⁸⁷⁵ CELS also shows that pupil outcomes improve in Citizenship where there is regular time for Citizenship lessons planned, in the culture and ethos of the school and in the school's relations with the wider community. However, since 2010 that evidence base for Citizenship has been allowed to wither on the vine. There has been no follow up to CELS, England did not participate in the latest IEA study (ICCS16) and Ofsted have ceased subject reviews. There is an urgent need to build a clear, coherent national picture on the impact on Citizenship education of recent curriculum and qualification reforms through research and evaluation data.

4.2 The approach to Citizenship education in England was also informed by reviewing best practice at European and international level. As one of the last countries in Europe

⁸⁷³ See <http://eng.theewc.org/Content/What-we-do/Learning-Democracy-at-Utoeya/Teaching-Controversial-Issues-in-the-Nordic-Countries>

⁸⁷⁴ See <https://www.nfer.ac.uk/research/projects/the-international-civic-and-citizenship-education-study-iccs/>

⁸⁷⁵ See <https://www.nfer.ac.uk/research/projects/cels/>

to introduce Citizenship as part of the school curriculum there was much to learn from global networks and practice in other countries. Prior to and following 2002, DfE Ministers encouraged England’s active involvement in citizenship networks in Europe involving the Council of Europe, European Commission and Eurydice as well as globally through the British Council and IEA studies⁸⁷⁶. From 2002 to 2010, England was viewed internationally as one of the leading exponents of effective Citizenship education and countries were keen to learn from our experience. However, since 2010 Citizenship practice in other countries has begun to outstrip ours, particularly in the Nordic countries, Finland and Austria to name a few. This has coincided with DfE disengagement from European and global Citizenship education networks and evaluations⁸⁷⁷ leading to a missed opportunity to continue to measure our practice against other countries and contribute to and learn from such networks. It is vital that initiatives designed at strengthening Citizenship education take account of and contribute to developments in other countries and continents across the world in order to remain relevant and effective.

Recommendations:

8. The Government and public authorities should recognise that building a lasting culture of Citizenship and civic engagement must be founded on a strong foundation of effective Citizenship education and that this must be a key goal and aim for education and curriculum.
9. DfE must encourage all education institutions to consider what their civic mission is and how they educate young people to understand and actively participate in realising it.
10. DfE must urgently replace the current Citizenship National Curriculum with one that is fit for purpose for the 21st Century. The design of the new curriculum should be overseen by a new Citizenship Advisory Group representing all relevant groups in society.
11. DfE should consider placing the education of young people to address controversial issues at the heart of the new education for citizenship at curriculum and whole-school level.
12. There is an urgent need to rebuild a robust evidence base on the state of Citizenship education and to continue to contribute to and learn from education and Citizenship

⁸⁷⁶ See <https://www.coe.int/en/web/edc/home>

⁸⁷⁷ See <http://iccs.iea.nl/>

best practice in other countries in Europe and internationally in order to remain relevant and effective.

5. A Joined up Approach to Citizenship and Civic Engagement

Q7 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 and increase civic engagement?

5.1 There is an urgent need for a more joined up approach to Citizenship and civic engagement across Government and in collaboration with local and devolved government and with third sector organisations. Currently the situation is fragmented, inconsistent and inefficient. There are a number of government departments that are involved in promoting and supporting Citizenship and civic engagement but their efforts are not mapped and connected. They include; the Department for Education which has not provided any significant support for Citizenship education since 2008 beyond some recent funding for an ACT project on British values; the Home Office which has funded ACT to work with schools on Citizenship curriculum projects to develop anti extremism education through its Prevent innovation fund; the Cabinet Office which funds work to educate young people about democracy and voting; the Office for Civil Society at the Department of Culture Media and Sport which funds social action, National Citizen Service and new training for Community Organisers; DFID has funded the Global Learning Programme including global citizenship; and the Ministry of Justice which has funded legal education projects run by the Citizenship Foundation.

5.2 The current messages coming from Government and Departments concerning Citizenship education and civic education are also weak and confusing. I support the call from ACT for the DfE to do more to clearly signal to **all** schools that Citizenship is an important curriculum subject with a clear contribution to make on wider education agendas and that Ministers should make positive references to Citizenship in their speeches. For example, Citizenship provides the curriculum location, content and knowledge for exploring British Values, Prevent and anti-extremist education and the space to engage with students on a wide range of topical and controversial issues as well as supporting greater social cohesion and social justice. Trained and experienced Citizenship teachers are adept at handling such topics and issues should be valued as education leaders and experts who can work with other members of staff who lack the confidence or expertise. The current silence on these issues is deafening.

5.3 The Crick Group and its report was successful in establishing a consensus around citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools in 1998 because it was set up with cross-party support and included representation from the major political parties and sectors of society with a vested interest in Citizenship education. This meant that there was strong support for making Citizenship a new statutory National Curriculum subject from 2002. Unfortunately, since 2002 that consensus has ebbed away and Citizenship education and

civic engagement have fallen foul of the whims and impacts of the ideologies and decisions of particular political parties and Ministers. This has undermined the progress made in promoting and embedding Citizenship education in schools that took place from 2002 to 2010 and led to a waste of experience and expertise across government departments and third sector organisations.

5.4 Professor, Sir Bernard Crick, when formulating the Crick Report, was acutely aware of the vagaries of political and educational policy and of the challenges faced in introducing a new subject into the National Curriculum. He wanted to ensure that the new Citizenship curriculum was not a flash in the pan but had a good chance of taking root across schools and society. In order to try and protect the future of Citizenship education he made a recommendation in the Crick Report that there should be a Standing Commission on Citizenship education set up to monitor its progress and when necessary recommend amendments to the curriculum, inspection arrangements, teaching and learning approaches and teacher training, as appropriate. It would have been interested to see had this recommendation been put into practice what impact it would have had. Any proposals to promote and strengthen Citizenship and civic engagement will face similar challenges to the Citizenship education initiative instigated by the Crick Group. There will be a need to ensure that such proposals are given a chance to make progress, while remaining both relevant to changing circumstances in education and society and effective in terms of policies, practices and levels of support across Government and society.

Recommendations:

- 13. Government needs to be seen to be valuing and promoting Citizenship education and civic engagement across Government and society. A Minister and a Senior Civil servant should be given the remit to develop coherent policy and positive communication for Citizenship education and civic engagement and coordinate with other government departments and local and devolved governments working on citizenship policy.**
14. Government and political parties must ensure that the promotion of Citizenship and civic engagement is built on cross-party support and consensus to prevent it falling prey to the whims and ideologies of particular Ministers and political parties.
15. The DfE should follow up the Crick Report recommendation for the setting up of a Standing Commission on Citizenship education and civic engagement in order to monitor its progress and as necessary make recommendations for improvement going forward.

For further information about this submission, please contact David Kerr

Unlock Democracy Greater Manchester – written evidence (CCE0052)

We are a local group of the national organisation Unlock Democracy. We chose to address four of the twelve questions (Qs 3, 4, 5, 7) as these involve issues that particularly pre-occupy us.

3. As things stand currently, for the vast majority of citizens, concepts of formal rights and responsibilities remain vague and untested, presumed as inalienable until individual events or circumstances conspire to confound this widely held misinterpretation.

The UK's uncodified constitution means that citizens, through no fault of their own, in general, have no basic comprehension of the scope and limits that constrain the activities of UK government administrations, central or local. Furthermore their rights are dependent on ad hoc statutory protection or upon judicial protection under common law.

The imminent passage of the European Union (Withdrawal) or Repeal Bill provides us with a golden example of the dangers inherent to this unique (amongst European Democratic States) arrangement, providing the Executive function with numerous opportunities to diminish the basic freedoms and privileges of UK citizens.

The UK should move swiftly towards establishing a succinct, modern and relevant codified constitution, preferably through the platform of a citizen focused and driven Constitutional Convention - a process in which political parties must be involved but only as equal participants amongst a wide array of actors representing all strands of civic society. Such a codified constitution should express rights and responsibilities of citizens and their reciprocal equivalences for layers of government, civic institutions, judiciary etc.

As people in other countries with codified constitutions know, knowledge of their constitution is learned in schools, can be accessed on-line or purchased in a book shop; probably their constitution states that all citizens should be provided by government with a copy of the constitution including its updates. When personal, local, national, even international issues are raised the written constitution can be a source of guidance for individuals to understand and decide on their opinions on the issue at hand and are in a better position to discuss the issue productively with others and when circumstances arise vote on matters with more confidence.

In Greater Manchester in 2016 the lead up to the election of the city region mayor was an opportunity to show the range of public interest in expressing how or whether their citizenship was adequately respected in politics, local and national government and systems of governance in general.

An independent initiative headlined the Greater Manchester People's Plan was launched. It provided opportunities for any Greater Manchester (GM) citizen to contribute ideas and opinions on what sort of GM they wanted in the advent to the Combined Authority and

elected mayoral election in May 2017 resulting from the Government's approach to regional devolution in England.

It was an independent public engagement programme, by and for citizens and civil society. It offered a website with an online survey for people's contribution of their ideas on six major themes: homes, health and care, transport, democracy, environment, jobs and economy. Volunteers organised a programme of varied public meetings (including one on democracy) around these themes and they were publicised on the website as well as through local community networks.

The report on both the online survey responses and the contributions of ideas and views in public meetings is at: <http://www.peoplesplangm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/PEOPLES-PLAN-April-2017.pdf>

It is valuable evidence of people's willingness to contribute ideas and opinions in both individual approaches online and collectively at participatory and deliberative public meetings.

In the example of responses to the theme of DEMOCRACY in both the survey and the related public meeting participants expressed how they felt democracy was getting further from their grasp. Their ideas on ways to start reversing this included interest in the use of: citizens' juries, citizens' assemblies, an elected regional assembly, re-introducing community councils, more pro-active use of local councillors surgeries including discussion sessions, defined public scrutiny roles external to the local authorities /GM Combined Authority, for instance.

The report referenced above gives qualitative and quantitative evidence on issues raised eg 60% of survey respondents favoured a directly elected assembly for GM; 69% support for changing the voting system; urgent concern that only 6% of under 25s were survey respondents; better two-way communication between local councillors and citizens; a growing readiness for more online communication eg voting registration, Council websites (as two-way platforms) and methods of voting; development of civic education programmes for democratic participation.

A codified constitution would define rights and responsibilities of citizens and reflect the evident aspirations of people for fair treatment in civic engagement. It would also clarify the extent and limitations of governance rights and responsibilities at all levels of government systems and administration.

4. 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?

As the GM People's Plan report shows there is an appetite in our city region for changes to the voting system. Respondents and participants expressed the view that (FPTP) 'first past the post is not working in GM' and wanted 'a more proportional system that would value every vote, capture the diversity of the city region and add healthy counterbalancing opposition to dominant parties in the belief that better proportionality in representation correlates with better overall outcomes for citizens.' 'Widespread disappointment among YOUTH event participants that as part of the GM devolution deals there had been no discussion about lowering the voting age to 16 as in Scotland'

Current law does not encourage active political engagement. People feel invisible but real barriers and frustrations with politics and the effects or other of voting: In GM young people feel 'invisible.' Says an older contributor: 'important that 'young people get a say. It's their future'. 'Official means of participation are very poor at drawing in the young.'

Culturally as expressed in mass culture TV and Radio for instance, through popular drama, films, soaps are mainly non-party political and usually not political at all, as if it's not appropriate to portray people spending some of their time interested in politics. There seems to be a convention that not talking about politics is the accepted nay preferred norm. This is not healthy in a self-proclaimed democracy.

At the national level the correlation between poor voting turnout and the FPTP voting system is increasingly highlighted; also growing distrust of politicians, their motivation and honesty, particularly relating to finance is cited as a factor.

Nationally, in addition to the point made above in GM, citizen-led national campaigns for proportional representation (PR) are increasing in prominence. Political parties – Liberal Democrat Party, Green Party, UKIP have stated manifesto support for proportional representation (PR). Although the Labour Party (LP) does not express support for PR in its manifesto there is now a LP growing campaign for PR.

Our view is that the current 'first past the post' electoral system for general elections inevitably discourages the participation and engagement of a great many of the electorate. In the many so-called 'safe' constituencies, voters who support the unsuccessful parties are effectively disenfranchised and discouraged from fully engaging with the political process because there is no chance of their representative being elected.

In addition, under a system of proportional representation (PR), there would be a more diverse parliament as smaller parties, eg Liberal Democrat Party, Green Party and UKIP, gained seats proportional to votes cast. This would result in the views and voices of supporters of currently under-represented parties being heard.

Decades of research from around the world has shown a correlation in countries which use systems of PR with many positive outcomes. These include: higher voter turnout, better gender balance in politics and fairer representation of black and ethnic minority groups.

Moreover, citizens are reported to be more satisfied with their democracies. More detail on these last points is fully expressed at: www.makevotesmatter.org.uk

5. As mentioned in our responses to questions 3 and 4 a codified constitution would mean universal access to knowledge of our rights and responsibilities. It would be a primary source for any learning at any age about these matters from childhood onwards and it would be the primary source for any age-related learning materials.

That a codified constitution is not yet in preparation is no reason to delay re-visiting the curriculum and learning programmes on citizenship and civic engagement for children and young people and what they should contain. Further it should be part of any apprenticeship or employment related training programme and university programmes.

The 14-19 year olds who attended the GM People's Plan event on YOUTH; and others taking part in events and activities organised by regional universities' youth and community academics and departments; the Political Studies Association funded Young Citizens' Assembly in GM in 2016 - have shown that given appropriate and energising material and leadership this age group does of course demonstrate enthusiasm and grasp of political decisions that affect them and others and how they can define politics from the perspectives of their own lives and others.

They also have ideas which would be very useful in devising and updating the curriculum. *See report: Democratic Devolution, The future of Greater Manchester by Dr Andy Mycock and Cllr Beth Knowles on the Democratic Devolution Young Citizens' Assembly especially the young people's manifesto on Education, Identity, Democracy, Health and Social Care, Transport.) Link here to:*

<https://www.psa.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Democratic%20Devolution%20-%20The%20Future%20of%20Greater%20Manchester.pdf>

Rather like our points in question 4, on this there seems to be a convention that not talking about democracy and politics with children and young people is the accepted norm. In a self-proclaimed democracy this is not healthy. Communicating the message through childhood and teenage that civic and political engagement is not an embarrassing and unfathomable minority interest but an important part of self-expression and demonstration of self-worth and the worth of others, which is vital for the health of a democratic society and the experience of being citizens.

7. One important feature of local government Statutory Duties that was scrapped in 2011 is the "Duty to Involve" at a time when the Government's stated aim was to stimulate a culture of citizen participation. Prior to this, briefly (from 2009), all local public services (councils, police and fire services and local health bodies) were all under a legal duty to inform, consult and involve local people on the exercise of their functions.

At a stroke the repeal destroyed what could have been a step in the right direction towards more citizen engagement: it would have been a legal right to citizens and service users to

have a say about their local areas and services. Changes to laws and changes to culture feed each other (eg equalities; drink-driving legislation). The re-instatement and further development of this Statutory Duty should be prioritised.

Way back in 2010 an Ipsos MORI survey about whether people wanted to be actively involved in decisions about cuts in local services, found that 76% of people wanted to have some degree of information, consultation and involvement. Surely in 2017 the appetite to have a say among citizens is at least as strong if not stronger. If the independently organised events, activities and survey responses which Greater Manchester citizens took part in, contributed to, and which lead to the Greater Manchester People's Plan publication in April 2017, is noted, motivation can be alerted. <http://www.peoplesplangm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/PEOPLES-PLAN-April-2017.pdf>

What is needed is more participatory democracy in addition to more electoral democracy; we need a shift towards local authorities becoming motivated and committed to an ongoing relationship-driven engagement of citizens in decision making, which is demonstration of the statutory Duty to Involve. Of course this needs dedicated funding but it should lead to better quality, more effective and consensual decision making. It is very much dependent on reviving, enhancing, valuing and sustaining a local government relationship with community networks.

We should also heed initiatives in participatory budgeting with its roots in Porto Alegre, Brazil and its further adoption in Cordoba, Spain and Chicago USA, for instance. There are key dimensions to the success or otherwise of such initiatives and they include: shared information and communication between groups of citizens and local government/politicians; attention to the bywords: scrutiny, accountability and partnership between citizens and politicians; and most of all citizen inclusion in deliberation and decision-making.

We recommend local authorities experiment in participatory budgeting, allocating a proportion of the local authority budget to such initiatives. As Dominic Grieve MP quipped: "Democracy costs money; lack of it costs more."

Authors: Stephen Broadhead, Jenny Cronin, Peter Davidson, Ellen Meredith, Sue Sharples, Joe Taylor.

4 September 2017

Urban Vision Enterprise CIC – written evidence (CCE0089)

Introduction

0.1 The following is a response to the House of Lords Citizenship and Civic Engagement Committee’s paper on Citizenship and Civic Engagement in the Twenty-First Century. The response concentrates on citizenship and civic engagement from a planning and urban policy perspective, which is the focus of our work.

0.2 Urban Vision Enterprise CIC is social enterprise providing professional services in planning, regeneration, economic development and third sector organisational development. We are based in Liverpool and North Staffordshire.

0.3 Our specialisms include:

- neighbourhood planning,
- community engagement and consultation,
- housing need assessment,
- heritage-led regeneration and conservation,
- urban design, including design review,
- feasibility studies and business plans,
- community-led development and projects,
- training, continuing professional development (CPD) and education,
- third sector (not-for-profit) organisational development.

0.4 Clients include UK and national professional bodies and membership organisations, local authorities, town and parish councils, neighbourhood forums and local community groups. Urban Vision Enterprise has extensive experience of dealing with urban and rural areas, including city and town centres and villages all around the country.

0.5 The response to selected questions are included in the following six pages.

Response to Questions

1. Question 1

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?

1.1 There is clearly no simple definition to citizenship. However, we would highlight potential dimensions of citizenship and civic engagement:

Everyday interaction: People live in neighbourhoods, go to work, use local shops and facilities and interact with family, friends, colleagues, and neighbours.

Democratic Processes: People can vote in elections at various levels and in referendums. Some people choose to stand as candidates for election. Others seek to scrutinise or influence elected representatives. Community engagement and consultation activities are also part of how people can influence decisions and outcomes.

Community Action: Some people choose to become actively involved in their neighbourhood and community through volunteering. This can range in scope from organising a local tea morning or helping a neighbour to developing and delivering significant community-led development, regeneration and economic development. It should be noted that community action can have a substantial impact on localities, sometimes helping to achieve substantial economic, social and environmental benefits. There are also national dimensions to volunteering, such as governance or other work for professional and membership bodies.

1.2 Citizenship and identity are intrinsically linked. We have experience of delivering projects that help build citizenship and civic engagement by developing skills, providing opportunities for volunteering, improving understanding of local areas and involving people in making improvements to their area. Such projects help to instill a sense of purpose, civic pride and belonging within a community. This reinforces the identity of both individual and community.

1.3 The planning system also involves participation. People can comment on planning applications or proposed policies and site allocations in development plans. As individuals, people may not feel empowered. But they can act as a group to promote positive change. One of the best examples of this is through the formation of Neighbourhood Forums, where local people cannot just influence local policy, but actually take a lead role in policy-making through the preparation of Neighbourhood Development Plans. These are then subject to a local referendum.

2. Questions 3 and 8

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?

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?

2.1 Rights and responsibilities are intrinsically linked. There must be a level playing field for all citizens. This includes:

- Equality of opportunity in terms of education, employment and access to facilities;
- Equality in law and also laws to protect citizens against discrimination, for example on grounds of gender, race, sexuality and disability.

2.2 For citizens, the expectation should be:

- Respect for our democratic processes;
- Respect for other citizens and avoidance of discrimination.

Much of this is already enshrined in law, though such laws continually need to adapt,

2.3 In terms of equality of opportunity, we have serious concerns over current urban policies. There are serious imbalances between different parts of the country. This is discussed in more detail under Question 9.

3. Questions 4 and 7

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?

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?

3.1 The UK's embedded democratic systems are fundamental to our way of life. However, the nature of democracy is changing. There are changing expectations. Representative democracy needs to be accompanied by more participatory forms of democracy. This needs to be built into decision-making processes.

3.2 There are various reasons why more participatory forms of democracy are important:

- National and local elections taken place at 4-5 year intervals and are based on the widest range of issues. This creates a democratic deficit in terms of opportunities to influence more detailed decision-making;

- Consultation is often a statutory requirement and this is made easier if there has been effective community engagement from the earliest stage;
- Well organised community engagement is useful in developing political consensus, maintaining public confidence and giving people a stake in their future;
- Community engagement draws on a wide pool of knowledge and expertise, leading to better informed and more realistic decisions and outcomes;
- Together, these factors help to avoid conflict, delay, and additional costs at later stages.

3.3 Consultation often takes place too late in decision-making processes. It is important to engage before detailed work is done on policy development, project development, or design of proposals.

3.4 There are various stages of community engagement and consultation. As a broad generalisation, these are:

Early Engagement (Front Loading): This takes place at the beginning of the process as a means to gathering information and evidence. This should take place before policies, strategies, masterplans, or project proposals are formulated.

Issues and Options: It is important to provide feedback on the outcomes of earlier stages of engagement. For some decisions, people can become involved in considering issues and developing options and solutions. This is the most interactive stage of engagement, potentially.

Consultation: This is a late stage where detailed proposals are tested. A failure to engage at earlier stages can result in difficulties at the consultation stage. Sometimes, consultation is a statutory requirement.

3.5 In addition to more formal methods of community engagement and consultation, participation can occur through a grass-roots approach. One example is the People's Republic of Stokes Croft (PRSC) in Bristol. The community began to 'brand' the area, which is located on the periphery of the city centre. This helped to encourage and grow a sense of civic pride and identity. This helped the area to become a hub for creative people in the city. Diverse street art on prominent gable ends and redundant buildings and also branding of street furniture (bins, benches and grit boxes) inspired a community reaction and helped create a local identity.

3.6 There is a recognised problem of trust in politics. Whilst most hold the concept of democracy in high esteem, the same can't be said with regard to those that stand for office. We have considerable sympathy for politicians who have to take difficult decisions, make compromises whilst being scrutinized by an often-hostile media. This puts many people off

standing for office. There are no simple solutions to this; media scrutiny is an essential part of democracy.

3.7 It is also critical that decision makers and those running consultations do so in a manner that encourages a diverse level of engagement. It must be clear how this informs the decision-making process. This is about engaging at all stages. It is not about developing detailed options behind closed doors and then asking which people prefer.

3.8 Other barriers to active citizenship may include the method or language used in consultation. Careful consideration should be given to develop tools and materials appropriate to the audiences and maximizing the opportunity for individuals to feel they can contribute positively to the process.

3.9 We are especially concerned over the hemorrhaging of capacity and expertise in government bodies at all levels, which means that elected representatives sometimes do not have the level of professional and technical support that is required for effective and well-informed decision making. It also means that expertise in community engagement and consultation is often not available. This may have serious consequences in the future.

4. Question 9

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?

4.1 Planning and urban policies are often London-centric. Policies to develop the north of the country (the Northern Powerhouse) focus on governance (city regions) and infrastructure, but there is little to address problems of development viability in areas with suppressed land values.

4.2 The London housing crisis dominates the agenda. However, in many parts of the country, socio-economic analysis indicates that economic development should be the priority.

4.3 For example, the Community Infrastructure Levy raises money in areas where the land economy is overheating, but raises nothing to address viability in the areas that need it most.

4.4 At the same time, a disproportionate amount of investment is going into London and the south-east (on a per head basis). The decision to invest in Crossrail 2 in London, but not the Transpennine route in the north, is clearly unbalanced and unjustified. This worsens geographical economic imbalances, rather than addressing them. This is unsustainable, socially, economically and environmentally.

4.5 Such decisions disempower citizens both in London and in the north of the country. In London, there is a relentless cycle of congestion, infrastructure building and development. Many citizens feel that they have little say or influence over the future of their area. This has resulted in acute land inflation, placing housing beyond the economic means of most people.

4.6 At the same time, there is a relative lack of economic opportunity in many other parts of the country. This limits the life opportunities of many people in those areas. There is a serious economic imbalance. Yet Government decisions on expenditure continue to exacerbate geographical economic imbalances.

4.7 Expenditure on housing also exacerbates economic imbalance. Much public money is spend to reduce the price of housing in areas where the land economy is overheating. But even with such subsidies, such housing remains beyond the means of many people. So the policy is at best a very partial success and in reality may actually make the problem worse by further stoking land inflation. The funding should be switched to focus on underperforming areas, to incentivise investment in employment related development. This would result in employment being located in areas with much more affordable house prices. This would help to address economic geographical imbalances, rather than making them worse.

4.8 It should be noted that in areas where there are development viability problems, the solution is often through community-led approaches.

4.9 For Government, we would suggest the following actions:

- To create a test to ensure that infrastructure, cultural and other expenditure is targeted to address economic imbalance, rather than making it worse;
- To create a greater consistency in expenditure per head of population across the country;
- To ensure all polices take account of the needs of the whole country and avoid exacerbating market failures, including both overheating and underperforming land economies; and
- To incentivise and enable development in areas suffering from land and development viability problems.
- To ensure that those involved in the decision making process deliver meaningful and appropriate community engagement consultation from the earliest stage;

5. Question 12

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?

5.1 A good example from our own field of work is in neighbourhood planning, where local communities can become involved in formulating policies for the future development of their area. In addition, we work with community organisations that are involved in directly delivering development and other initiatives in their area. These are examples of community leadership.

5.2 Neighbourhood planning is a significant shift to a more participatory form of planning. We would like to see this approach extended into other parts of the planning process. Advantages of neighbourhood planning include:

- A wide range of skills input into process, often including people from the business community and local community groups;
- Policies may be focused on needs of the specific neighbourhood;
- Greater stake in and commitment to the local area;
- It helps to promote community understanding of planning and buy-in to the resulting policies;
- There are examples of neighbourhood plans enabling higher levels of growth;
- The process creates dialogue between neighbourhood planning bodies, local authorities and other organisations.
- Neighbourhood plans can lead to community projects and community-led development.

5.3 Urban Vision Enterprise prepared a plain English guide to neighbourhood planning for Locality, the body leading on the national neighbourhood planning support programme. This is widely used by groups all around England. The guide is available here:

<http://mycommunity.org.uk/resources/neighbourhood-plan-roadmap-guide/>

5.4 Urban Vision Enterprise was co-author to Connections: 12 approaches to relationship-based placemaking (August 2016). In this publication, we explored the benefits and approach of alternative methods of consultation and participation to influence planning policy and encourage participation in the process from creative industries through a process we called ‘Learning Journeys’.

Authorship

This paper has been prepared by Dave Chetwyn, Managing Director of Urban Vision Enterprise, with support from Hannah Barter, Director/Partner.

Dave Chetwyn, MA, MRTPI, IHBC, FInstLM

Chetwyn is Managing Director and Partner of Urban Vision Enterprise and has 29 years' experience in planning and regeneration in the public, private and third sectors.

Other current roles include:

- Managing Director of D²H Ltd.
- Chair of the Board of Directors of the National Planning Forum.
- Design Council CABE Built Environment Expert.
- Associate of the Consultation Institute.

Former roles include:

- Head of Planning Aid England.
- Chair of the Historic Towns Forum (UK membership body).
- Consultant heritage specialist for Crossrail Thames Tunnels Section.
- Chair of the Institute of Historic Building Conservation (UK professional body).
- Team leader in local Government.

Dave has acted as a neighbourhood plan independent examiner and has appeared as a public inquiry expert witness. He is the author of the *Locality Roadmap Guide to Neighbourhood Planning* and other guidance, including guides to regeneration, community-led housing and conservation professional practice. He authored parts of BS7913.

Dave has leadership and management experience with UK, national and local organisations and a strong track record in third-sector organisational development. He has advised various Government departments, groups, reviews and Parliamentary select committees on planning, regeneration, heritage, urban design, economic development, state aid and community empowerment. He has also developed and delivered numerous projects and programmes at national and local levels.

Dave is a Chartered member of the Royal Town Planning Institute, a full member of the Institute of Historic Building Conservation and a Fellow of the Institute of Leadership and Management.

Hannah Barter, MAUD, Dip T&CP, MRTPI

Hannah Barter is a Director and Partner of Urban Vision Enterprise CIC and has 14 years' experience in planning and community development, working in the public, private and third sectors. Her experience and expertise includes planning, arboriculture, urban design, community engagement and environmental education.

Previous roles include:

- Project Development Coordinator with Urban Vision North Staffordshire (Urban Vision's charitable arm).
- Chair of the RTPI West Midlands Urban Design Forum.
- Planning Officer (development control) with Rutland County Council.
- Planning Officer (development control) with Lichfield District Council.

Hannah was awarded the Chesterton Zoe Dawson Award in 2002-03 for her work on urban green spaces with Birmingham City Council.

Hannah has successfully developed and delivered numerous planning and community projects and is currently providing direct support to various neighbourhood plan groups across England. Some of the most recent projects include:

- Local Heritage Review, Enfield Borough Council;
- Local Heritage Review, Barnet Council;
- Brown Edge Neighbourhood Plan Feasibility Study;
- Linby Masterplan on Safeguarded Land 'Top Wighay Farm';
- Derby City Council THI (Stage 1 and Stage 2 bids and Phase 3).

Hannah is experienced in addressing funders' requirements, including recording outputs and outcomes, project returns and reporting, and producing financial information (including for auditing). Funders she has worked with include ERDF, Heritage Lottery Fund, Arts Council England, Historic England, and The Design Council.

Hannah is a chartered member of the Royal Town Planning Institute.

7 September 2017

Professor Nick Vaughan-Williams and Dr Georg Löfflmann, University of Warwick – written evidence (CCE0083)

1. The evidence presented here is informed by an on-going programme of academic research funded by The Leverhulme Trust (PLP-2015-081) entitled **‘Everyday Narratives of European Border Security and Insecurity’**. The research involves in-depth qualitative interviews with 20 focus groups lasting for 90 minutes each and involving more than 150 EU citizens across 9 cities in the UK, Germany, Hungary and Greece: Miskolc (Hungary), Munich (Germany), Nottingham, and Thessaloniki (Greece) in phase one (November to December 2016); and Berlin, Budapest, Cologne, Coventry, and London in phase two (September 2017).
2. The aims of this research project are to investigate **notions of citizenship in the context of everyday experiences of the on-going ‘migration crisis’ in Europe** with an emphasis on:
 - b. how citizens see their own identity and those of their families, communities, and nations in the context of migration *into* Europe;
 - c. issues of societal integration, safety, and security, and the perceived threats and benefits of migration; and
 - d. questions of citizens’ awareness of and support for governments’ efforts to enhance border security.
3. The evidence provided here presents our findings in respect of the UK case, which shows that **notions of citizenship and belonging in the twenty-first century are threatened by an information gap** about who migrants are, where they have come from, their economic and cultural impact, and what their intentions might be; this gap is then filled with sensationalist media coverage, speculation and rumour at the level of the everyday, and this results in the emergence of cultures of hostility and suspicion.
4. While hostile, xenophobic, and sometimes racist narratives are commonplace among ‘everyday’ views on migration in European countries – including the UK – so too are volunteer and welcoming initiatives, calls for governments to do more to protect migrants and refugees, and other expressions of popular support for migrants that are otherwise denied proper representation in dominant accounts. Our research findings reveal not only a varied and heterogeneous picture, but also a **common set of demands among UK citizens for access to better sources of information, less sensationalism, greater contextualisation, and higher quality public debate**.
5. UK citizens interviewed for our project have articulated a clear need for access to **authoritative, unbiased information about what the needs of migrants are, how they can be better supported from an integration perspective, and what they need from**

citizens in order to thrive in common. Supporting integration and countering suspicion and prejudice in society requires local communities and government to enhance efforts to educate publics in the UK about the costs and benefits of migration, the local and national impact of migrants, and to facilitate an open exchange of information with citizens in the UK.

6. In the UK, net long-term international migration was estimated to be +246,000 in the year ending (YE) in March 2017, down 81,000 from +327,000 in YE March 2016 (Office for National Statistics, 2017). Existing public opinion poll data on popular attitudes towards immigration suggest that European citizens' **views have hardened since the start of the 'migration crisis' in 2015**, with mass displacements of people on a scale not seen in Europe since the end of World War II. A Eurobarometer survey in 2015 found that 25 EU Member States, including the UK, had **majority negative attitudes on migration** and 90% of all respondents said that tougher border security was required (Eurobarometer 2015). In 2016, the largest number of applications for asylum (30,603 in total) in the UK came from nationals of Iran (4,192), followed by Pakistan (2,857), Iraq (2,666), Afghanistan (2,341), Bangladesh (1,939), Albania (1,488), and India (1,488) (Office for National Statistics, 2017). **In the face of terror attacks across Europe, a Pew research poll in 2016 found that more than 50% of citizens in 8 out of 10 EU countries – including the UK – believed that incoming refugees increased the likelihood of terrorism.**
7. Our in-depth qualitative research paints a more complicated picture, which **challenges the idea that EU citizens in general and UK citizens in particular are straightforwardly hostile to migrant and refugee communities and automatically link immigration and (in)security.** Citizens' concerns and the demands that they make of the media, government, and academia are far more nuanced than existing public opinion polls suggest; these methodologies do not offer detailed insights into why people have certain views on particular issues.
8. In contrast with public opinion data found in the Eurobarometer and Pew surveys, none of our participants called for outright tougher border security either in the European or UK contexts. While UK citizens in particular rejected the notion of complete freedom of movement and agreed that the state had a right to control its borders, this was accompanied by an equally strong rejection of the use of force to defend borders and their militarisation as a political response to the issue of migration into Europe. On the whole, **we found no evidence that UK citizens felt that their personal safety and security are threatened directly by migration.**
9. When we asked participants in Nottingham what they generally thought about migration and security, **no participant made spontaneous claims about the link between irregular migration and international terrorism.** More common were concerns about having to compete with migrants for access to housing, welfare, jobs, and social

services, and thus issues of economic and societal security (Buzan et al 1998). The **impact of immigration on cultural identity and economic security in Britain was overall of far greater concern to citizens than issues of national security or fears about public safety**, which are often portrayed in tabloid media in a sensationalist fashion (*Daily Express* 2016).

10. **In the UK context specifically there was also a prevailing sense that identity, social cohesion and neighbourliness had been challenged by the pace of economic and social change.** Local communities with high immigration levels and relatively low average household incomes such as Boston (BBC 2016) feel alienated as a result of what they perceive to be a weakening of bonds between people at the level of the everyday. There were specific concerns about public spaces and the potential for anti-social behaviour such as drinking in public areas. The cultural Otherness of migrants was also debated in terms of linguistic difference, for example concerns about the ability of migrant children to follow classes in English and the potential impact on the quality of education provided in classes with high levels of migrant students.
11. However, rather than protesting the presence of migrants or their incompatibility with ‘British values’ per se, **concerns were expressed generally over the limited availability of public services for all citizens in the UK**, in particular education and healthcare. As such fears about migration were exacerbated by existing conditions of fiscal austerity, which have negatively impacted public services.
12. Many, but not all, of the UK citizens we listened to spoke also of the **positive effects of migration and diversity for the UK economy, society, and culture**. Some participants questioned whether enough efforts were being made by central and local government to promote integration between citizens and newly-arrived refugees, particularly from Syria. Others also referred to what they perceived to be an ethical obligation to support migrant communities affected by UK foreign policy decisions such as support for the NATO-led military intervention in Libya.
13. Our evidence suggests that some UK citizens are confused about how people on the move should be categorised and that this confusion also impacts on notions of British identity and citizenship. Terms such as ‘refugee’, ‘asylum-seeker’, ‘economic migrant’, and ‘illegal migrant’ are often misunderstood and used interchangeably. The distinct issues of migration *into* the EU and migration *within* the EU are a source of particular misunderstanding. In turn many participants saw this as creating opportunities for the far-right and the cultivation of public atmospheres breeding hatred, xenophobia, and racism. **Conceptual confusion means that different legal categories are bundled together and thus there is an urgent need to enhance levels of education in schools about different types of migration, their histories, and the legal status of different kinds of people seeking entry to the UK as part of the citizenship curriculum.**

14. Confusion about the categorisation of migrants is further exacerbated by a lack of authoritative and objective information about migration into Europe and the UK. Citizens we listened to did not generally know where to turn to for accurate and unbiased data about the primary causes of population displacements, how much financial support migrants and refugee communities are given and by whom, and how much access to social welfare, housing, and jobs they are offered and on what basis. There is widespread criticism of the role of the media in sensationalising issues relating to migration and perceptions of ‘fake news’. **There is a risk that such an information deficit is then filled with misinformation and fuels cultures of envy, rivalry, and distrust, leading to a further erosion of social bonds and disintegration.**
15. Citizens we met welcomed the opportunity to air their views in the form of discussion groups (Löfflmann and Vaughan-Williams 2017a). They urged greater engagement and dialogue of this kind between government, citizens, and researchers. This challenges the notion that ours is an age marked by disengagement from politics and widespread disdain of expertise (Löfflmann and Vaughan-Williams 2017b). Rather, preliminary findings support the conclusion of previous studies (Stevens and Vaughan-Williams, 2016) that **participatory forms of research where citizens can engage and feel that their voices might be heard in the policy-making process could positively reinvigorate citizenship and modes of belonging in the UK.**
16. In conclusion, our research findings suggest that many UK citizens do not know where to access objective, authoritative information about migration, which has a diverse impact on contemporary notions of UK citizenship, identity, and belonging. This creates a knowledge gap, which is in turn filled with speculation, inaccuracy, or misinformation that can contribute to everyday cultures of hostility and suspicion of migrant and refugee communities, which erodes social bonds. Our research suggests that the UK government should **provide better and more accurate public information on migration, enhance integration between citizens and migrants in local communities, and strengthen efforts to counter anti-migration sentiment and prejudice via educational programmes; these measures would support stronger citizenship and civic engagement in the UK.**

References

- B. Buzan et al, (1998) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rienner).
- EU Commission, Standard Eurobarometer 84, Autumn 2015.
- C. Cook, “How immigration changed Boston, Lincolnshire,” BBC News, 10 May 2016.

Professor Nick Vaughan-Williams and Dr Georg Löfflmann, University of Warwick – written evidence (CCE0083)

G. Löfflmann and N. Vaughan-Williams, "Narrating Identity, Border Security, and Migration: Critical Focus Groups and the Everyday as Problematic," *Critical Studies on Security*, 16 June 2017.

G. Löfflmann and N. Vaughan-Williams, "European citizens want information on migration – not higher walls," *The Conversation*, 3 August 2017.

Office for National Statistics, Migration Statistics Quarterly Report: August 2017

G. Sheldrick, "Fresh terrorism fears sparked after plan to rehome 20,000 refugees in Britain," *Daily Express*, 19 July 2016.

D. Stevens and N. Vaughan-Williams, (2016) *Everyday Security Threats: Perceptions, Experiences, Consequences* (Manchester University Press).

R Wike, B. Stokes, and K. Simmons, "Europeans Fear Wave of Refugees Will Mean More Terrorism, Fewer Jobs," Pew Research Center, 11 July 2016.

About the authors:

Professor Nick Vaughan-Williams is Professor of International Security in the Department of Politics and International Studies (PAIS) at the University of Warwick. He is the author of *Europe's Border Crisis* (Oxford University Press, 2015, 2017) and *Border Politics* (Edinburgh University Press, 2009, 2012) (Gold Winner, 2011 Association for Borderlands Studies Book Award) and co-author of *Everyday Security Threats* (Manchester University Press, 2016) and *Critical Security Studies* (Routledge, 2010, 2014).

Dr Georg Löfflman is Research and Teaching Fellow in International Security in the Department of Politics and International Studies (PAIS) at the University of Warwick. He is the author of *American Grand Strategy under Obama* (Edinburgh University Press, 2017) and has published in the journals, *Geopolitics*, *Critical Studies on Security* and *Asian Security*.

6 September 2017

Ms Julianne Viola – written evidence (CCE0103)

Reason for Submitting Evidence

- I am a doctoral researcher and civic studies scholar at the University of Oxford. The evidence presented here contains unique insight into the thoughts, experiences, and needs of the youth population related to the concerns of citizenship and civic engagement. This evidence has been taken directly from the in-depth interviews I conducted with adolescents for my Ph.D. thesis from 2015-2016 in the United States, a nation that has recently experienced similar political and technological tensions to those within the United Kingdom.

Questions to be Addressed

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?

Executive Summary

- Citizenship in the 21st century means a legal status, sense of belonging, or both, and these meanings carry weight in how people identify as citizens.
- Sense of belonging a key factor for any individual who is, or seeks to become, a citizen. Fostering a sense of belonging is critical to welcoming into Britain immigrants and naturalised British citizens alike.

Evidence

Citizenship in the 21st century constitutes a legal status, sense of belonging, or both, and these meanings carry weight in people's identities as citizens. Each person's definition of citizenship is directly related to whether and how they identify as citizens themselves: for some young people, citizenship is a legal status, while for others, it is a sense of belonging, regardless of legal status (Viola, 2017). This corroborates findings from Osler and Starkey (2006), who note, citizenship goes beyond legal status and political activity - it is also a "sense of belonging" (p. 441). Primarily, the sense of belonging in a community is a key component of feeling like a citizen – whether a natural-born citizen, a naturalized citizen, or a person living in the country and not yet a legal citizen. The ceremonial aspect of becoming a citizen may serve as a welcoming gesture to new citizens, but may not be as important to some people as the rights and responsibilities that come with this legal status of citizen.

For people living in the country but not yet naturalised citizens, there may be some frustration in feeling like a citizen through a sense of belonging, but not yet having the legal status. Several participants in my study had immigrated to the United States in infancy or early childhood, but after spending 14 – 16 years in the country, still are not yet naturalized (Viola, 2016). These young people expressed frustration for being a part of the state school system and active members of their communities, yet still unable to have same rights and privileges as their natural-born citizen peers. One participant noted that she does not take citizenship for granted, and realizes it is a legal status to be attained and worked for. It upsets her that her natural-born peers do not have to work for their citizenship, and they take it for granted (Viola, 2016). Improving the legal pathways by which individuals can become legal citizens would ease this frustration, and provide soon-to-be citizens with a greater sense of efficacy and continued contributions to British society.

To strengthen people's identity as citizens, Britain must make all people feel like they belong, regardless of religious, ethnic, or socioeconomic background. In my study, some young people, though becoming naturalized American citizens, felt a closer connection to their home country, and still wished to enjoy the cultural practices, dress, and communities of those home countries, while also embracing the new culture and traditions of America (Viola, 2017). While some naturalized citizens do feel proud to become citizens of their new country, it is also important for Britain to encourage and appreciate expression of the new citizens' home country and culture in everyday life.

Civic engagement also has different manifestations. For some peoples, civic engagement constitutes voting in elections, when one has reached the legal age to do so. For others, civic engagement means any activity that would improve the community, including picking up litter, volunteering in a soup kitchen, or petitioning against the closing of a school (Viola, 2017). As social media has become ever present in daily life in the 21st century, it has also become a means for people to interact with other people and content through social media (Viola, 2014). Many people are now learning about and coordinating protests – such as the Women's March on 21 January 2017 – through their social media networks.

Recommendations for Action by the Government

- The British Government must embrace differences among members of its population – citizens or not – and talk to the sections of society that are deemed “left behind.” Engaging with these communities directly can help to build bridges within and between communities, and support civic engagement in throughout the entire country. By directly engaging with these “left behind” communities, as I did in my research, Britain can better understand the needs of these communities and what might foster a greater sense of belonging and desire to engage civically.
- Ensuring a sense of belonging is to welcoming into Britain immigrants and new British citizens alike. At the same time, Britain should embrace naturalized citizens'

home countries and cultures that they have brought to the United Kingdom. There is great social and economic value to diversity and inclusion in society.

References

Osler, A., & Starkey, H. (2006). Education for democratic citizenship: a review of research, policy and practice 1995–2005. *Research Papers in Education*, 21 (4), 433-466.

Viola, J. (June, 2017). Civil Discourse in the Digital Age: How American youth use social media for civic engagement. Poster presented at the International Conference on Education and Democratic Citizenship, Institute of Education, University College London, United Kingdom.

Viola, J. (November, 2016). Civil Discourse in the Digital Age: How American youth use social media for civic engagement. Presented at the Learning and New Technologies Research Group, Department of Education, University of Oxford, United Kingdom.

Viola, J. (November, 2014). Teen social media use, civic engagement, and civil discourse. Presented at the Department of Education, University of Oxford, United Kingdom.

7 September 2017

Voluntary Action Leeds – written evidence (CCE0178)

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?

The citizens of Leeds create its vibrancy - a city which has an undeniably strong identity within the nation, and a great belief in itself. Citizens have created that identity, continue to contribute to its successes, and share in its limitations.

Active participation in citizenship takes many forms, from one of the longest established carnivals in Europe, celebrating its 50th anniversary, to welcoming millions of visitors to Leeds and the wider Yorkshire of which it is part. From creating jobs, to supporting incoming communities - Leeds has sufficient belief in itself to be able to showcase its successes and share them with the rest of the world.

The wider success of the city's economy, cultural and sporting life masks real differences. Whilst Leeds has amongst the highest level of business start-ups in the country, the highest growth of private sector jobs and is the strongest centre for digital growth outside London, at the same time we grapple with slow productivity growth, lower levels of 16-64 year olds with NVQ4 or higher, low levels of exports, 150,000 people living within the 10 most deprived wards in England and 80,000 people in jobs paying less than the Real Living wage. Leeds has long been recognised as having a 'twin track' economy, with communities living in close proximity having very different expectations of life and life experiences, due to their ability or otherwise to share and gain from our economic successes.

In this context, civic engagement and identity are complex and multi-layered concepts. Some people and communities may be fully engaged in their locality, or in their community of interest, but not engaged in the city as a whole. For example, some of those communities with the highest levels of poverty and poorly paid jobs, have created the vibrancy and success of the aforementioned carnival. These successes may have a life of their own, and may often be outside of, or in addition to the leadership which comes from business, from politicians, or from other sectors.

Leeds considers its multi-dimensional diversity as a strength, and we are working hard to ensure we tackle income inequality, with targeted discussions and actions on how to improve living conditions and incomes for those at the bottom of the income/wealth distribution. Consequently, we have a focus on ensuring that all parts of the community can share equally in its success and recognise that the resilience, strength and engagement of diverse communities comes in many different forms.

The citizens of Leeds already demonstrate self-reliance, and the ability to engage. Enhancing the positive influence communities have over their own lives and the lives of

those around them helps solve society's challenges and engenders a sense of being part of a greater whole. Underpinning this is civic engagement - when citizens are involved on a more practical level in the political process and in tackling local issues (or in maximising the impact of local assets). Civic partners and communities can engage with each other as contributors to the local economy and civic life.

This has increased in importance following the Brexit debate, during which substantial parts of the UK demonstrated dis-engagement from politics in general, and cynicism about civic life. The outcome has created potential for people to feel un-wanted and dis-engaged – often leading to further increases in hate crime, mental health issues and people feeling they have to leave the UK despite contributing positively to the local economy.

The Lord Chancellor in 1998 said ""We should not, must not, dare not, be complacent about the health and future of British democracy. Unless we become a nation of engaged citizens, our democracy is not secure."

It is essential to support harmony, good inter-cultural relationships and for people to feel safe and welcome. Similarly, positive interventions that reduce tensions in society, underpin collective action and support the development of shared values bring citizens together. From this work a sense of citizenship will flow.

Leeds is working proactively with local citizens on the above challenges.

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?

A measure of success is the extent to which citizens are currently engaged in wider society. This takes many forms, and whilst some engagement may be seen as 'passive', for example watching sport, following a football team can actually be one of the most highly engaged forms of self-identity and wider belonging.

Shared events are an essential part of this, however equally (or perhaps more) important are opportunities to celebrate togetherness, shared values and positive social action. In Leeds these include large- scale events such as Leeds West Indian Carnival and Leeds Pride, along with the recent 'Great Get Together' Initiative and a whole range of smaller, more localised festivals and galas in all parts of the city; examples include the Kirkstall and Chapel Allerton festivals, the Beeston, Gipton, Hunslet, Middleton and Seacroft galas, and many others. It is notable again that many of these take place in some of the most disadvantaged communities in the city. In addition the Lord Mayor has an annual event to celebrate and thank very small, volunteer led groups for helping make Leeds a better place. Identity is also closely associated, for great numbers of

people, with their religious or spiritual beliefs, , which in many forms contributes to how people engage with wider society.

People need to feel accepted and part of a shared purpose, this is vital at a local level. However, this shared purpose may not always contribute positively to society. People can be surrounded by influences that reinforce their negative perceptions of the society around them (e.g. media, extremist groups, peer groups etc.). Consequently it is essential that these negative influencers are countered by positive interactions and influences, and that this begins in early childhood, supported by communities and all service providers with which a person comes in contact (e.g. schools, social/sports groups, DWP, employers).

An example of local work is a series of Breakthrough Projects (led by Leeds City Council), focusing on tackling shared priorities, one of which is “Strong communities benefitting from a strong city”.

The aim of this work is to ensure:

“Leeds is a welcoming city, a city of sanctuary and one with a growing economy and increasingly diverse population. Whilst Leeds is one of the fastest growing cities in the UK—we know that not everyone is benefiting equally from the city’s economic success and there are high levels of deprivation in our city. This project works to deliver the Council’s strong economy, compassionate city ambition and to ensure Leeds is a welcoming city with cohesive, resilient and sustainable communities”. This project aims to:

- a. Improve resilience
- b. Sustain neighbourhoods
- c. Promote civility, mutual understanding and cohesion
- d. Promote conversations and redefine community level problem solving
- e. Develop capacity to resolve and mediate conflict
- f. Raise aspirations, particularly amongst the young
- g. Align council service delivery to community need, and
- h. Improve access to opportunities in the city.

These aims are underpinned by a range of specific projects/activities delivered by a range of partners across Leeds – more detail is available on request.

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?

Leeds City Council and partners in other sectors have set out what they see as being the key characteristics of a thriving community, amongst which the key is:

“Members of the community feel they have control over their own lives, and influence over their own futures; they understand their role, and their contribution to the common good is recognised.”

The concept of enforcement is not recognised within this document. The statement represents a compact between the citizens and the city, each holding the other to account. It does however require commitment on both sides, a commitment by civic leaders to seek engagement, and a commitment by communities to participate. Success or failure is measured by the health and sustainability of communities, by the degree to which communities are heard, by the extent to which they are asked to contribute.

Leeds Social Value charter has been developed by the local third sector and City Council and subsequently adopted by all other key strategic partners. The Charter sets out the commitment of partners in the city to promote social responsibility, deliver social, environmental, and economic value, and maximise the impact in Leeds of the “Leeds pound”. This is set within the context of a vision for Leeds as a healthy, fair, compassionate and welcoming city in which its citizens benefit from the city’s economic growth. The charter asserts that the continued success of Leeds is dependent on enterprising and thriving private, public and third sector partners that work together, alongside active citizens and local communities, for the benefit of the whole city.

Leeds also has a ‘Social Contract’ with some of its citizens which seeks to support more active engagement with communities in the delivery of local services and promotes initiatives that aim to deliver local improvements, support the common good and underpin good community relations.

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?

With the support of statutory agencies in Leeds, an extensive network of forums operates within the third sector and beyond; including a network for the organisations and activities who seek to engage children and young people in the wider life of the city. Through this work there is an ongoing broad range of activities, including a recent deputation from the Leeds Youth Parliament to a Full Council meeting which led the council to support their request for the voting age to be reduced. As a result, the Leader of Leeds City Council subsequently wrote to the Minister concerned to give support for reducing the minimum age for voting to 16.

There is a growing view that the voting age can no longer be different from that at which a person may legally marry, and the engagement of young people should include a consultation, which includes them, on how that could and should be achieved.

The annual 'Make Your Mark' youth consultation in the UK was very successful in Leeds. Schools, youth groups and Leeds Youth Councillors worked to get as many young people in Leeds to take part in the ballot. In Leeds, 14,308 young people (20% youth population) from all communities took part in choosing the issue that is most important to them. In Leeds the fourth most important issue for young people was 'Votes at 16': 1660 votes.

The rapidly growing access to digital voting may also be one of those areas which should be open to consultation, and may also be a way of involving younger and more mobile people in political processes.

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?

Education is clearly crucial, however identity seems as much influenced by issues in which people are engaged by choice outside of formal education. Where people feel they are left behind, ignored, that their views are not valued or even sought, are less likely to have a sense of belonging, and no amount of instruction will change their minds. Education can help frame the choices people make in their wider lives. Choices may be made within education which opens wider horizons for those involved, which could include volunteering; however volunteering should always remain voluntary otherwise its value is minimized. There clearly should be a place within a formal curriculum for young people to learn about the role of a citizen, and it is likely that this happens, informally at present, through various topics from history to aspects of social studies in all its forms. Mock elections have taken place within school settings over many years, and real elections are used to appoint to school positions held by students in many schools. Standardisation could come from reviewing the curriculum, but it is more likely that imaginative use of informal processes within the education system will be equally effective. It could be a measure of a good school to enquire to what extent they extend responsibility and involvement to students in constructive ways to encourage engagement and active citizenship.

Migration into the city in recent years, including from the European Union, has created a vibrant and dynamic school population, where over 190 languages are now spoken. This increase has brought both advantages in terms of the vibrancy of the school population and also challenges with pressure on some schools to cope with additional place demands and a need to ensure that all children do well at learning. Schools have developed a broad range of quality teaching techniques that are helping to improve education for all groups in our schools and to help ensure all pupils feel part of the

community.

- 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?**

When volunteering becomes compulsory it is no longer volunteering (it becomes unpaid work experience) and its value is much reduced. A national programme can provide the framework and could include learning about the political process; however delivery should be more closely associated with those who already provide volunteering programmes. Similarly, activity to support active citizenship should relate to the participant's own community/neighbourhood or city and aim to impact on local priorities. Provision should also always push beyond areas/places where we know young people will choose to get involved and into communities where they least likely to access mainstream opportunities.

Volunteering could be an option within a formal curriculum as long as it remains optional. It could have a theory and exam associated with it.

- 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?**

We need to champion the importance of civic engagement and encourage more people to be more involved as it helps create a more engaged and democratic community.

If we work on the basis that communities naturally wish to engage, then the role of elected and paid leaders is to ensure that barriers to engagement are removed. If we need to sell the idea of engagement, we should be questioning whether the right questions are being asked. In Leeds we are working to provide the resources and structures that enable citizens to take control for themselves, on the assumption that this will lead to more local people becoming involved – in the workplace, in schools and in communities.

When people see local politics as a route to take more control over their lives, they are unlikely to need further encouragement to get involved in political processes - not necessarily by taking a paid position, but by voting, getting involved in local initiatives and volunteering.

We recognise that it is people who create communities and communities which create towns and cities; that the purpose of local and central government is to meet the needs

of individuals and communities. However, once created, government (whether central or local) can take on a life and role of its own and become the focus of leadership; especially as it has the resources within its grasp to do those things which no individual or community can achieve. Central government needs to create the context in which civic engagement can happen and provide tangible support to local governments to proactively encourage it at a local level. The key risk associated with leadership, power and difficult challenges is that it can lead to being defensive; locally we strive to share information - about budgets, issues, crises and work - with stakeholders and people and then co-create solutions - aiming for it to be bottom up, not top down.

Many Third Sector Organisations are based on the concept of democracy, fairness, engagement, all of which are key values for civic engagement. It's a core part of how we work, relying on "leading without authority" and helping people to help themselves. Their responsibility is to demonstrate best practice and the benefits of this type of approach to other sectors, as well as encouraging the values and ethos of the third sector to permeate whole society. There remains, however, a risk that an over reliance on contracts leads Third Sector organisations to see funders as their primary customers and therefore to meet their needs first, however, smart approaches to (re)commissioning help tackle this. Government is also based on a formal structure of representative democracy at all levels. It is in the processes between democratic elections that "engagement" has its part to play, recognising that it is always the "detail" which has its impact, finally, on communities.

Government can support engagement as a necessary part of democracy, filling in the gaps between the formal process – removing obstacles to involvement, reducing austerity measures, looking at the true impact of decisions such as welfare benefits reform, taking time out to listen to local people and take on board their concerns, providing potential funding for local projects. For example, to support integration and involvement of migrant communities in society there needs to be a much better understanding of migrant rights, entitlements and responsibilities (by both migrants and service providers) and of the services that are available to migrants. Indeed, many services providing advice to migrants are unclear on the services that are available to meet migrant needs, including those offered by third sector providers and community based activities.

Lack of knowledge and information further compound the problems caused by the challenges highlighted above, impeding the ability of migrants to make informed choices. This reinforces the need for access to advocacy; advice; legal support; integration; navigation and informed social networks.

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?

There almost certainly is a set of values which are common to most people, but agreeing what those are may be problematic. Ultimately, people's values are strongly influenced by how the world treats them, and what society can do is develop a framework (such as the Declaration of Human Rights) but it is almost impossible to impose values on individuals. Leeds has developed a shared set of characteristics which we feel define a thriving community, on the understanding that all organisations should support the achievement of one or more of these characteristics – from this approach, shared values and understanding should follow.

Our ambition for Leeds is to be a compassionate city with a strong economy – for example, migrant communities are valuable contributors to the city's economy, culture and diversity and Leeds aspires to ensure people are welcomed and supported. Leeds has a long-held commitment to support asylum seekers and refugees and is dedicated to being a city of sanctuary. It is well known that many refugees play an active and invaluable role economically and whilst many asylum seekers are not permitted to work, many are active in their communities participating in volunteering and so make a huge contribution to the civic and cultural life of the city.

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?

When individuals and communities see a disparity between the values which we are thought to hold dear (see Qu. 8) and the way those values are implemented, they feel that they are, as the question suggests, “left behind”. Some examples:

- People and groups living and operating in the more deprived communities see some people getting richer and being more successful and feel cut off from this because of their own personal circumstances. They see the gap widening in society.
- Our ambition is for people in Leeds to be safe, feel safe and live their lives in strong cohesive communities. Being safe is a concern for all communities in Leeds. It is particularly relevant to migrant communities given increases in reported and unreported hate crime following the EU referendum, planned changes to legislation, the potential consequences of Brexit on some migrant communities and the negative perceptions of migrants in some communities which contribute to a feeling of unease in what feels to migrants, a hostile environment. Unfortunately many migrant families also live in areas of the country that are most deprived where they are often seen as being in competition with the local community, so they face issues of acceptance as well as facing poverty and disadvantage.
- Young people are more transient. They no longer grow up, study and work in the same area. They may only be in a city for the period they are at college or university and then move on and have to regularly re-create local roots. The rise of social media means

face-to-face contact and local engagement reduces so they potentially feel less connected to their local physical community.

- Older people may become more isolated as they live longer but often with health and mobility issues. The concept of looking after the extended family is breaking down, even in cultural situations where this has hitherto been a core part of their culture (e.g. Indian families).

- People living in rural communities face a reduction in local services as shops, petrol stations and pubs find it harder to be economically successful so local services are reduced.

- Many disabled people face isolation due to not being able to access appropriate public transport (wheelchair accessible taxis, trains and buses). The welfare reforms also prevent some of them from being able to afford to participate in activities that promote cohesion.

To overcome barriers we need to look at the situation that the various “excluded” groups are in and discuss, with them, how they can overcome barriers as opposed to imposing solutions that people who are not in that situation think are a good idea. We need to encourage more cross-sector/cross community interaction i.e. young and old, black and white. A local example of this where elected members and people with learning disabilities (LD) ‘swap seats’ and use the council chamber to debate issue that matter to people with LD. This has then developed into a reference group called the People’s Parliament and there is an annual meeting (using this format). This work has created a much greater understanding of the priorities for the LD community and has also created long lasting relationships between the influencers/politicians/decision makers in the city, and people with LD who, historically, struggled to be heard.

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?

Civic engagement and social cohesion are very closely inter-linked. If people don’t feel part of the local community, don’t see themselves as active, local citizens they potentially have less interest in and incentive to get more involved. This leads to isolation and the creation of ghetto-type communities. They potentially develop less respect for traditional (positive) values and laws/regulations, as they don’t see themselves as part of that local society, which can lead to civic unrest, crime and disaffection. We need to develop more mutual respect for other people’s cultures, traditions, values, religious beliefs. We need to take more time out to learn and listen. We need to embrace local diversity and see how this adds to society.

We must aim to ensure that the level of increased diversity in places like Leeds adds to

community cohesion by encouraging greater integration but we face a situation whereby we have different generations of people being involved. Some of the first-wave migrants from the Caribbean and Asia found it hard to integrate, some still have language difficulties which are a real barrier to integration. Their children are now the first generation to be born in the UK and they are now of an age when some of them are also having children. These subsequent generations often feel very British – this is their home, they have shared values, they are born and grow up in a physical space and cannot see why they are not accepted as being a citizen of this country, because that's very much how they feel.

We need to celebrate diversity, bust the myths, encourage people to learn about different cultures, find role models from all communities and highlight what they bring to society. We need to encourage people from different backgrounds to both work and play together, to create stronger local communities.

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?

The changes to population in Leeds are set against a backdrop of ongoing immigration legislative changes, uncertainty following Brexit, sustained financial challenges to public sector services and a decline in migrant third sector funding. Local research has identified four key cross cutting challenges experienced across migrant groups which need to be addressed in order to meet shared migrant need. These are:

- An improved understanding of migrant rights, entitlements and responsibilities by both migrants and service providers, in particular, a better understanding of immigration status. The research findings suggest that this understanding could be improved by services being more supportive in their approach to migrants and facilitating access to services helping migrants to feel more welcomed and supported.
- Inadequate access to available services as a consequence of a lack of knowledge amongst migrants of the services that are available to them. Indeed, many services providing advice to migrants are unclear on the services that are available to meet migrant needs, including those offered by third sector providers and community based activities.
- Language barriers contribute to ineffective communication and present a significant hurdle to migrants when accessing services. Moreover, even when English is spoken by a migrant, or, when interpreter provision is available, there can still be gaps in communication and a fuller appreciation of the context for the migrant.

- Lack of knowledge and information further compound the problems caused by the challenges articulated in points 1-3 above, impeding the ability of migrants to make informed choices. This impedance reinforces the need for access to: advocacy; advice; legal support; integration; navigation and informed social networks.

ESOL classes are a fundamental necessity and require national resourcing.

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?

Some positive examples from Leeds are:

- West Indian Carnival – is a celebration of the history of African-Caribbean people and their cultures but is fully integrated into the Leeds calendar and enjoyed by people of all colours and creeds, and ages.
- The Leeds bid for European City of Culture is an opportunity to showcase and celebrate the city's diversity.
- Leeds Pride celebrates the city's thriving LGBT+ community and is one of the last remaining free Pride events, attracting visitors from across the country.
- Light Night Leeds is an annual free multi-arts and light festival which takes over Leeds City Centre over two nights and attracts thousands of Leeds' residents. A range of volunteering opportunities places communities at the heart of the event.
- Local celebrations recognising the impact of major sporting events (e.g. the Olympics and Paralympics) and the way that this creates positive local role models (Nicola Adams, the Brownlee brothers, Kadija Khan) for people that engender a sense of civic pride and provide inspiration.
- Leeds Young Peoples Leadership Programme Leadership Days, a programme aimed to develop the leadership, confidence and influence of young people from the Muslim community, engendering a new generation of young people equipped with the skills and understanding to play a more active role in the city's success.
- Migrant Access Project Plus (MAP+) - Leeds has been successful in securing funding through the government's Controlling Migration Programme. The funding will build on the existing award-winning Leeds MAP and provide for additional MAP satellites in West and South Leeds to address issues and concerns in relation to:

Voluntary Action Leeds – written evidence (CCE0178)

- working with residents to minimise low level tensions in communities and aid integration
- ensuring migrants access services in the most efficient and effective way with a view to reducing costs and pressures on services.

8 September 2017

Volunteering Matters – written evidence (CCE0242)

Introduction

Volunteering Matters welcomes the opportunity to provide evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee. We wish to set out the existing and potential role of volunteering and social action in supporting citizenship and civil engagement.

Volunteering Matters develops and delivers volunteer-led solutions to some of the most significant challenges facing individuals and their communities today. We know, through years of successful work, that investing in people through the power of volunteering makes a tangible difference, building stronger, more cohesive communities and achieving lasting results.

We would welcome the opportunity to provide further evidence in person to the Select Committee. If the members thought this useful and interesting we would aim, as part of verbal evidence, to ask one of the young women who set up and run the WASSUP project (described in our answer to question 12) to attend alongside us.

Question 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?*

1.1 Volunteering and social action are key forms of civic engagement. For us, civic engagement means the ways in which citizens can and do play an active part in one or more of the communities they are part of. In this submission, we will focus primarily on forms of civic engagement whereby people act, individually or as part of a group, to try to enhance the way their community functions.

1.2 Volunteering becomes part of a person's identity, how they see themselves. They are no longer just defined by the music they listen to, the political or religious beliefs they have, the job they do or once did. Their volunteering, their civic engagement, is part of their identity, how they think of themselves. Once that happens, volunteering becomes a long-term, sustainable engagement and that is to the benefit of both the individual and the society they live in.

1.3 When people volunteer they do more than help the 'beneficiary' of their activities. There are significant benefits to the volunteer, which in turn has a benefit to the local community and the UK as a whole. Volunteering has a role in providing routes out of poverty through the acquisition of skills and confidence, social integration and employment. This benefits those at the margins of the labour market, such as recent migrants.

1.4 In 2016, working with University College London, Volunteering Matters delivered a comprehensive survey encompassing the views of 607 of our volunteers. The results revealed that:

62% reported increased confidence in their own abilities following volunteering (rising to 90% for volunteers aged 13 to 25 years old).

86% said their sense of making a positive contribution increased through volunteering.

59% said their sense of feeling part of the community increased through volunteering

56% said their appreciation of other people's cultures increased through volunteering – rising to 74% for people from black and minority ethnic (BAME) backgrounds.

Question 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?*

2.1 Government can play a strong role in nurturing the environment in which civic engagement can flourish and this should include supporting a continued drive to promote and support the development of volunteering amongst all UK citizens, so that it is seen more clearly by all as a valued characteristic of British citizenship.

Question 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?*

3.1 Civic engagement is at its best when it is freely chosen. Civic engagement is something people should choose to do.

Question 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?*

5.1 Education has a role in teaching and encouraging good citizenship. A key part of effective citizenship education is supporting the pupils identify challenges or problems within their communities with a view to contributing their time to make things better.

5.2 Government can better promote and facilitate volunteering amongst school age children. According to the National Youth Social Action Survey 2015:

“Young people who report starting to participate in social action at a younger age were more likely than those starting later to be classified as ‘committed’ to social action. There

may be some advantages to encouraging children younger than 10 to get involved in social action, in order to establish a habit of social action among the cohort of interest.”

5.3 Government should encourage and recognise volunteering within schools; it should become the norm – part and parcel of being a good community school. Already volunteers in schools help and support teachers in improving outcomes for the most disadvantaged pupils. For example, in 2016-17, 40 schools across the UK were supported by volunteers from the corporate sector in our Employee Volunteering schemes alone. Over 600 students were supported with literacy, numeracy, foreign languages and general mentoring. 98% of students stated they had seen an improvement in their volunteer-supported subjects.

Question 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?*

6.1 Full-time volunteering schemes such as the National Citizen Service and our own Full-Time Volunteering Programme (which has been running since 1962) can be very successful in engaging young people as active citizens. They should therefore be encouraged and supported but participation should not be made compulsory. Compulsion would undermine their ethos and could be counter-productive. Low levels of formal volunteering in most former Eastern bloc countries appear to be linked to historical suspicion of government ‘volunteering’ schemes which were not fully voluntary. Attention should also be given to what happens after a full-time volunteering placement has been completed. An understanding of other forms of ongoing volunteering opportunities should be imparted wherever appropriate.

Question 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?*

7.1 Government has a unique responsibility to lead and create an enabling environment. Its previous proposal to introduce a statutory right to volunteering leave could have been symbolically and practically important. The proposal should be brought back for further discussion. Please also see our response to Question 12 where we outline some of the projects we run that encourage greater civic participation.

Question 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?*

9.1 Disabled people often face multiple exclusions. Their potential to contribute positively to the life of their community is often overlooked by a negative focus on capacity. This is a cultural and attitudinal problem, which imaginative investment can begin to overcome. Our Choices programme offers independent living support to a wide range of people, including people with disabilities and learning difficulties, older people and families. With the support of full time volunteers from the UK and abroad, who are available for support with a wide range of tasks, including domestic tasks, companionship, supported holidays, enjoying an active social life and accessing the community, those who previously could not live alone are able to live and feel independent. Results from a recent evaluation of the project show that 79% feel more actively engaged within their community following their involvement in the programme.

9.2 Our work also supports disabled people to volunteer. Active and Supported Volunteering is a project which empowers adults with a disability, or long-term physical or health condition, to capitalise on their skills, interests and goals for the future.

For more information on barriers to volunteering please see our report <https://volunteeringmatters.org.uk/app/uploads/2017/09/Barriers-and-Benefits-1.pdf> , published September 12, 2017.

Question 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?*

12.1 WASSUP (Women Against Sexual exploitation and violence Speak UP) was set up in 2012 by a small group of young black or minority ethnic (BME) women in Ipswich working with Volunteering Matters. They felt strongly that there needed to be more support for women who have experienced sexual exploitation, honour-based violence or domestic abuse and wanted to break down cultural barriers that prevent young women from accessing support.

The WASSUP group consists of 20 young women who between them deliver 170 volunteering hours a month. They have developed an interactive toolkit comprising a workshop and training package which is designed to be delivered in schools and to professionals to raise awareness of the issues of domestic abuse, trafficking and sexual violence within communities and to help to create safer pathways for reporting these crimes and improving professional's practice.

In the last year, the toolkit was delivered to 260 children in ten schools in Suffolk as well as to young people in Belgrade, Nantes and Strasbourg and to Suffolk Police and a national conference on domestic abuse. The school sessions have been particularly aimed at young

people with English as a second language and in areas where teachers have identified child sexual exploitation (CSE) and violence as issues. The workshops can now be delivered to young males as well as females but always in a single gender group.

All young people who participated in the sessions reported that they were relevant to them and that they felt more informed about CSE and knew where to go if they needed support. WASSUP also deliver public-facing campaigns via Twitter and the use of flashmobs. They work closely with the police and other agencies to identify young people who may benefit from taking part.

12.2 LEARNING MATTERS

Learning Matters is a study programme aimed at 16-19 year olds and delivered by Volunteering Matters with funding from central government. The programme is a blend of academic study and community engagement so that the young people involved not only learn skills but also begin to participate more in their local community. The academic aspect includes ESOL, English, Maths, Employability, Business Administration and how to access independent advice and guidance. The 'enrichment', or community engagement, aspects include civic life sessions with local MPs and councillors, sessions to enable them to navigate the NHS, understanding their rights (supported by local police), money management, social action volunteering, life skills, and sport (supported by Ipswich Town FC). The blend of the two is very important as it is part of an attempt to change the narrative from not 'what I need from the state' to 'what I can contribute to my community?'

There are currently 61 learners from diverse backgrounds: 46% are in care or are 'looked after children'; 15 different nationalities are present; only 2% identify as white British; 40% are unaccompanied asylum seeking children.

The programme was established after we recognised that no-one else was doing anything like this. Ten of our students went onto to take part in the National Citizen Service (NCS) and four of them are now preparing to train as youth workers.

Following the success of the Learning Matters study programme, a number of Further Education (FE) colleges have followed what we have done and are now beginning to set up their own courses - so many of our own alumni will graduate into a formal FE college education. As the FE sector expands this area of work, Learning Matters is likely to re-focus slightly and concentrate on those young people very recently arrived in the UK where we feel the need for the programme will be greatest.

12.3 KEO

The KEO (Knowledge Equals Opportunity) project supports migrant families in Suffolk with primary school-aged children. It aims to help families new to the UK by creating the right conditions for learning. Topics discussed with parents include: dealing with mental health problems and isolation; understanding the role of a Police Community Support Officer in the community; understanding how maths is taught in school so the parents can help their children at home; highlighting school policies and practice; advice about healthy snacks for the school lunchbox; how to encourage learning through everyday activities; educational places to visit with children.

The project has seen much greater engagement of the parents with the school (one is about to start as a volunteer helper in the classroom) and more support for learning in the home for children.

12.4 GRAND MENTORS, SPORTING CHANCE and RSVP

These three projects have outlets around the country. Grand Mentors pairs volunteer mentors over the age of 50 who will spend 1-2 hours each week building a relationship with a young care leaver who needs guidance and support to realise their potential and gain new skills through education, training or employment. Sporting Chance recruits volunteers, also 50 and over, to provide others in the same age range with opportunities to improve their health and reduce social isolation through various forms of exercise including walking football, table tennis, cycling and armchair exercises. Our Retired and Senior Volunteering Programme (RSVP) which began in 1986, operates a wide range of projects in many parts of the country. Our volunteers go in to schools to help during literacy hour and numeracy hour; they run driving schools to enable less mobile citizens attend medical and other appointments; they act as lay assessors of day care centres; they run activities in sheltered housing.

12.5: Recruitment and retention: In all our projects, volunteer co-ordinators will talk with each new volunteer to understand their motivations and interests and the skills and experiences they bring. Placements that work best and last longest are those where a good match can be made with the individual's profile and the needs of the project/potential beneficiary. In general terms, from our 2016 survey (see 1.4) that the biggest motivation for people aged 50 and over, for example, to volunteer was a desire to help people, improve things and make a difference in their communities (96%) while other high-scoring motivations include: using existing skills; having the spare time and availability to do it and to meet people, make connections and build friendships. Motivations for younger age groups often gave greater emphasis to other motivations.

Volunteer Now – written evidence (CCE0173)

Volunteer Now works to promote, enhance and support volunteering across Northern Ireland. Volunteer Now is about connecting with individuals and organisations to build healthy communities and create positive change.

Volunteer Now enhances recognition for the contribution volunteers make, provides access to opportunities and encourages people to volunteer. We provide training, information, guidance and support to volunteer-involving organisations on issues of good practice and policy regarding volunteering, volunteer management, safeguarding and governance. Volunteer Now has extensive experience in recruiting volunteers for a wide variety of roles including governance based roles. For example Volunteer Now has delivered the volunteer recruitment, selection and management for a range of events such as the World Police and Fire Games, Giro D' Italia, Tall Ships and Irish Open.

Volunteer Now has compiled this response based on feedback from a group of 14 young people who are graduates of the National Citizen's Service in the Omagh area in the past two years. This feedback was provided at an event kindly hosted by Fermanagh and Omagh District Council also involving Councillor Chris Smyth and Chair of the Council, Councillor Stephen McCann.

Question One – Summary of Discussion

The young people found the language of citizenship and civic engagement difficult to relate to. Several members of the group, who were active volunteers, explained that their volunteering had helped them to develop as a person and to understand their own values. They felt that it had helped them become more confident and established and to stand up for what they believe. Prior to volunteering there had been limited opportunities for the group to engage with local elected officials and both Councillors and young people had found the engagement beneficial. The group had undertaken a social action project on young people's mental health and this had resonated with local councillors. It seemed much easier for the group to relate to this practical example of active citizenship than the abstract concept of citizenship and civic engagement.

Question Four – Summary of Discussion

The majority of the young people felt that they would like to vote at 16 but would need better education in school about voting and broader aspects of citizenship to support them in this process.

Question Five – Summary of Discussion

Without exception the young people, who had attended a range of different post primary schools, felt that education had an important part to play in teaching and encouraging good citizenship. It should be delivered pre-16 to all young people. However current teaching was not reported as good, it seemed to depend on the individual teacher and their own level of interest. It was not seen as being an important subject in comparison to more academic ones. There was discussion of the approach taken in Southern Ireland of a transition year, after GCSE where young people while still in school had a basic timetable freeing them to undertake volunteering and in some cases optional study visits. This transition year gave them time to get more experience of life before going straight into an A level course which may not be best for them. It also provided more time to develop a greater understanding of citizenship.

Question Six – Summary of Discussion

The young people in the group were all graduates of the NCS programme and had all had a very positive experience. Overall, they felt the programme should have been longer with more opportunities to continue engagement when the programme came to an end. The group had undertaken youth social action programmes when the formal NCS programme had come to an end and this was beneficial. There was some discussion as to whether NCS should be compulsory and on balance the group felt that it shouldn't be. However one participant who had not been that keen on the programme before it began explained how much she had gained from it so there should perhaps be tasters to get reluctant participants to give it a try.

Conclusion

Language is important and often people may not understand concepts such as citizenship and civic engagement. It does not mean that citizenship and civic engagement do not relate to identity but simply that people are focussed on issues and do not always think in these terms. Volunteer Now's experience shows that by focusing on meaningful local issues and through volunteering, providing a practical response to these, participants do develop a greater sense of identity and values.

Voting age could be lowered if citizenship education was more effective in schools. Citizenship education is often not given sufficient priority and really depends on one teacher taking an interest. This does not lead to effective delivery in all schools.

Programmes such as NCS were very effective and should be longer while retaining the voluntary participation element. They should be offered to a wider group of young people.

It is Volunteer Now's view that all levels of government and all third sector organisations can support civic engagement by enabling people to play an active role in their communities. This can support a greater understanding of the needs of the community and can build a greater sense of connectedness and understanding of other people. In the current climate of austerity, a greater value needs to be placed by policy makers on programmes encouraging active citizenship and volunteering. These are often the first to be threatened with cuts and yet for relatively small amounts of money can provide real community benefits.

8 September 2017

Votes for Schools – written evidence (CCE0111)

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?

The 21st Century, particularly in a post-Brexit UK, presents us with a difficult and changing landscape in which the word ‘citizenship’ can be divisive, unifying or confusing. For some, citizenship highlights grievances for its ties to nationality and national identity, whereas for others it conjures thoughts of shared values and belonging to something bigger. The division is also reflected in people’s thoughts about their own identity. Some people like to think of themselves as ‘global citizens’ rather than ‘British citizens’ and others are very much the opposite, restricting citizenship to something that comes as a birth right.

While identity amongst the adult population has become a potentially partisan issue, what VotesforSchools has seen from young people is the inclination to believe that they are part of something bigger and can have an impact on something bigger. In today’s world, there are more ways than ever to engage in your community and the world, and to spread opinion. The introduction of tech outlets like social media, blogs and open letters have given voice to the previously voiceless, a fantastic step forward in terms of increasing involvement in the democratic process, but this democratisation has also created an incubator for radical and isolated views through the development of echo chambers. As a result of this, what we are seeing is a landscape that is both divisive and democratising, that is both isolating and opening, and where questions of identity are becoming linked to different interpretations of citizenship.

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?

VotesforSchools sees classrooms and schools as the ideal space to explore what it means to belong, to have an identity and to find out what shared values are, because schools offer a microcosm of people representing different cultures, religions, backgrounds and upbringings. Questioning pupils through careful planning of lessons on global and controversial issues and encouraging pupils to challenge each other and celebrate their diversity of opinion is crucial for developing their ideas of what it means to be a citizen of a democratic country. Events in schools would be a brilliant way to develop pupils as citizens, so long as they have clear goals and outcomes that are focused on a sub-subject of citizenship rather than the broad umbrella or on “being British”. Examples of these could include joining a debate club, contributing to the political process in some way (writing to an MP, signing a petition), or engaging in a community project that brings cultures together, all of which would encourage a sense of community and belonging that celebrate diversity through a shared experiences outside the more divisive feelings of identity.

Our experience demonstrates that young people respond better to events with clear goals that they understand and are passionate about. The Youth Parliament could be seen as a good example of this as well as VfS organising a Question Time event in Autumn, and STEM girls events which are great for developing a shared identity for women interested in science. The end goal of all of these activities, being based on voluntary action, is that they can influence on-going active citizenship and encourage positive association with getting involved with others in your community. Other events based on “being British”, should not be encouraged until students understand what “being British” really means. Being British should be an open identity reliant on the very diversity that exists within it and one that newcomers can claim for themselves so long as they are willing to contribute to their community. As was seen by the mixed response to the British values agenda, people are uncomfortable with the term and it’s tendency to be used in an exclusive, dividing way in tabloid papers and political language, and time needs to be committed to ensuring this term is redefined. One way to do this is to encourage discussion of shared values and human rights, on shared behaviour and relationship building rather than individuals, in a democratic society like Britain, before moving on to allow pupils to define what it means to them to be British.

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?

We would advocate access and encouragement over formal rights and responsibilities. The state should organise positive opportunities for citizens and non-citizens that promote civic engagement in their community which assign value to the idea of citizenship for the individual and community. A legal ruling on responsibilities which is not backed up by education in this area, would do nothing to improve engagement or increase community cohesion but instead could lead to a form of aggressive populism. For the disaffected, formal rights/responsibilities could become simply another rule or force to rebel against or ignore. Our work with prisoners has demonstrated this. Instead, the state must take the lead and initiate regular engagement with its citizens that encourages contribution to the community.

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?

The common argument is that young people are not interested in politics, however feedback and experience within schools indicates the opposite. Students are curious about current affairs, particularly issues that are controversial, and show a keen interest in and concern over global issues. Through the teaching of citizenship, students debate and discuss

issues within a forum of diverse backgrounds free from entrenched political affiliation, creating informed and empathetic citizens. Arguably, current sixteen-year olds are some of the first to have experience citizenship and PSHE in schools and for this reason should be seen as better informed and more empathetic than older voters.

Teachers are frequently asked their political stance and opinions by their students and are faced with many a challenging question about the world around them. Moreover, students have shown they often have informed opinions and views on politics and current affairs. All of this points to the fact that they are in an informed position to make a vote outside of school. Our data indicates that students are not unenthused by politics, but that they are disillusioned with politicians and don't see political parties as representative of their views. We have learnt that turnout in internal school elections is much higher in schools which teach, debate and discuss current affairs and politics, which is why it is crucial to instil in them the importance of being involved in the conversation, no matter their opinion whilst they are young, in the hopes that this commitment to voting will continue in the real world. Young people are more likely to protest and participate through means outside of voting, and this plays a large role in what it means to be a citizen in a democratic society.

If the voting age were to be lowered, it could increase political engagement, but this should not happen unless accompanied by a rigorous citizenship education. As the situation currently stands, the teaching of citizenship is compulsory in KS3 but not KS4, thus is potentially allowing KS4 students to become politically disengaged before they need to register to vote at age 18. Add to this the type of deeply politically entrenched exposure students are getting to current affairs on social media, and we risk the echo chamber effect if these students are not able to also discuss what they are seeing/hearing in a safe and structured deliberative environment. An alternative would be to provide structured citizenship education where students also get to register to vote in school. This would avoid registration being overlooked in the "grey area" where students move on to higher education where they may not register to vote and become disenfranchised. If these young people are not given meaningful ways of participating in politics, they will become disillusioned. By giving the vote to 16 year olds, extending citizenship education to KS4 and allowing registration to vote at school, political participation would most likely increase and students would be informed when casting a vote.

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?

Our results suggest that citizenship education should be a) available to all young people from primary to undergraduate university and b) compulsory from primary (KS1) through to sixth forms/colleges (KS5). This should include Young Offender Institutes/Prisons and forms

of alternative provision that fall within the same age range. While there should be no exceptions, there should be flexibility within the citizenship curriculum to allow schools to explore needs and issues specific to their community and their cohorts. For example, communities that are vulnerable to gang culture would benefit from extra time focused on this, whereas an ethnically or racially homogenous community might benefit from more time exploring different cultures and their beliefs.

In terms of political participation, it should be encouraged but only when bound to the principle that political participation should be based on having the responsibility to have a good knowledge of the subject and an awareness of, and empathy towards other sides of the argument, before engaging politically. To be clear, this does not mean that only those educated to a high standard should engage with politics, but emphasises that there is a responsibility attempt to understand and learn about both sides of the debate. This can be achieved straightforwardly in schools. When debating the legalisation of drugs, higher learners could be expected to understand quantitative data and statistical evidence about such ideas as the impact of the illegal drug trade and the economic benefit to the state of legalisation. Lower learners would instead be expected to understand simplified versions of the same arguments, for example allowing people to buy drugs legally would generate money for the government rather than criminal organisations.

The current curriculum does need modifying to encourage citizenship and political participation across the age ranges. Feedback from the 220+ institutions on the VotesforSchools programme demonstrates that students are switching off from the current curriculum. To counter this, our aim is to bring the core tenets of citizenship to life through discussions about current affairs and debates that feel fresh and engaging. We believe bringing current affairs into the classroom is more likely to give someone tangible learnings that they can take away. For example, an adult who has been through the current citizenship course is unlikely to take away any real life learning about freedom of speech in their use of social media, whereas having a lesson where they debate the American President's use of Twitter is more likely to leave an impression that will last and have real life impact.

Overall, we believe a curriculum in citizenship should go for a two-pronged approach. Starting in KS1 and carrying right through to higher education, the first step should be to ensure that young people have the basic, necessary facts, such as geographical knowledge, population figures, how government works, rough government spending, so they have benchmarks from which to question and challenge what they read and hear in daily life. Once this basic knowledge is there, it can be built upon to then engage young people in current affairs and give them the sense that they have a both a voice and a role to play in the political developments of the present. Schools should also encourage as much as they can, the incorporation of the community in which they live, through inviting guest speakers in, engaging parents and carers, and having a feel for the issues that affect the local community within which they work, tailoring the curriculum to fill their gaps in knowledge

so they can get prepared to engage in the material. It is especially crucial that more time be made in Primary schools for teachers to plan cross-curricular opportunities to develop citizenship, for tight timetables and focus on core subjects often leaves it on the sidelines. There are many ways of incorporating citizenship education into lessons if teachers are given the time to plan it into other subjects, for example focusing on planning in the skillset (debate, empathy, listening, respect) that citizenship develops in their lessons, which is just as important as the knowledge in order for pupils to develop as citizens. Furthermore, if pupils are taught citizenship through current affairs and knowledge at a young age, they will be in a much better position by secondary school to apply this knowledge and think critically about the world around them, being able to focus on developing their critical thinking, empathy and debating skills to a deeper level, which in turn would contribute to their political engagement at a later age.

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?

In the confines of the program young people develop skills to enable them to be active citizens. The program is effective in giving young people the opportunity to register to vote. Allowing students the opportunity to plan and deliver a real social action project. In addition, the program introduces and nurtures skills in teamwork, leadership and communication and values; trust, responsibility and understanding and empathy.

The emphasis on active citizenship features in the 3rd phase of the program. Whilst activities in the first week are both enjoyable and character building they do not have a clear link to citizenship. As a result, citizenship can be seen to have secondary focus.

A full length and condensed version of the program is currently offered. 2 young people from each 'wave' go on to the youth board. However, the majority are not supported in developing as active citizens beyond the program.

As a voluntary program, young people must be 'active' to say 'yes' and take part. The impact of compulsory attendance can be seen on the many occasions when young people are forced to take part, having been signed up to do it by their parent or guardians or as part of a college course (Croydon College). This can have a negative impact on groups as a whole as they do not have the intrinsic motivation.

The focus of the program is on social action at a community level. Whilst young people do engage in a one hour evening session looking at voter registration, impact of low turnout and government spending, this is isolated and political engagement is not embedded in the program. Increasing the political focus requires careful thought as those students who are most disengaged may be put off by an increased political focus. There is perhaps

opportunity to broaden the options for the last phase of the program. This could take the form of a political motivated campaign or petition to the government on a particular issue. In addition, young people are allocated a social partner, which in some cases can limit engagement as oppose to letting young people campaign on an issue they are passionate about.

There appears to be a need to expand the programme beyond 15-17 years age group. The focus is on post GCSE students rather it would be beneficial to engage young people within 17-18 years age group as these are students who are the verge of political participation and active citizenship. These are also the students who do not have the option to engage in a citizenship curriculum at school or college.

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?

Central government has a responsibility for making sure the process of voting is as straightforward as possible. The registration process is adequate as it stands. The postal vote process needs to be improved. (e.g. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/general-election-300-postal-votes-missing-plymouth-marginal-seat-a7776376.html>, <http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/814225/general-election-2017-postal-vote-delays-hit-thousands-of-expats>)

Central government also has the responsibility to get more information out to the public about their representatives. Currently, great work is being done by organisations such as mySociety, democracy club and Votes for Policies. While the government should not rely on the third sector to provide these sorts of services, it could work with them to give these ideas greater exposure.

Local government has a remit within which it can explore a host of options to encourage voter registration and higher turnout. VotesforSchools has begun to work with local government outreach staff to encourage young people to register to vote and encourage them to be engaged with activities in Westminster.

Schools must be seen as a central vehicle for reaching the most vulnerable and disengaged young people. However, schools cannot manufacture meaningful means of participation. Participants must have positive experiences of civic engagement if its value is to be embedded. VotesforSchools is working with schools across the country to encourage greater awareness about registering to vote and greater knowledge of the avenues to interact with the state. A large barrier to civic engagement is simply a lack of knowledge of the different ways of engaging with government.

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?

The values that all who live in Britain share and support must, most crucially, be identified, shaped and decided upon by those who are to follow them. Just as a teacher would create rules in a classroom using the pupils' ideas and values, so should British values be created, with shared ownership and refinement or flexibility over time if needed. The mixed response to British values has demonstrated the potential flaws in imposing a set of shared values (this is my opinion coming up) so the focus needs to come from an angle of what values should we have in a democratic, fair and human rights adhering society. Calling the values British in itself suggests there is something exclusive about them, which in reality there isn't, and brings in feelings of a divisive national identity again which leaves others who live in the UK feeling outside and pushed aside. It is especially crucial for students to arrive at the British Values on their own, through carefully planned and meaningful discussions about morality, kindness and how to treat other people. If they do not take part in defining their own sense of 'British values' then it becomes an imposed sense of identity, defeating its own purpose. This is felt in schools.

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?

What we have seen in schools is that there are no outstanding groups of students in full time education who felt left behind. Whilst in education they are supported and on a level playing field to discuss their concerns. However schools do not have the capacity, time, or specifically resources to teach young people about ways in which they can empower themselves and seek change.

Much work can be done with the elderly, not specifically encouraging them to engage as they have a notably high turnout, but instead looking at giving them access to news and information about politics. This could possibly be encouraged or implemented in care homes.

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?

Civic engagement when done incorrectly can oppose social cohesion. Partisan and ill-informed engagement can create barriers between groups. Thus citizenship, civic engagement and political participation must be underpinned by social cohesion. Opportunities for civic engagement must create and include opportunities to learn about others rather than a means to clash with others.

As well as the state, political parties have a responsibility to engage in public, cross-party debates, discussions that are non-partisan and an openness to encourage new members to join who bring different approaches and opinions. Parties have become well-drilled organisations set on a target of recruiting like-minded people and putting out uniform opinions. There should be some rules or events where parties demonstrate how they accept other opinions.

The school is a young person's first contact with a community outside of their immediate family as such it can instil an acceptance of diversity and encourage students to embrace and value it. The school can be a vehicle to raise diversity and integration.

Schools could hold a "One world Show" allows students to present aspects of their cultures to the whole school. This would encourage a broader notion of citizenship.

Diversity needs to be embedded into every aspect of school life. Classroom Displays celebrate difference, signs are in more than one language, the registers is taken in a different language each day. Integration through understanding, normalises having diversity. Restructuring of religious education is a good example if this, taught thematically encouraging a comparison of similarities and differences between religions.

Vital to integration is to keep EAL students within the classroom, allowing them time to absorb and be part of the classroom environment. Furthermore any support for EAL students is widely accepted to support native speakers. All students learn and benefit from labels and instructions given in Romanian.

It should not solely be the responsibility of the EAL student to integrate, the whole school should move to understand new cultures.

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?

Schools need to view EAL and SEN as distinct; the two are often conflated which can result in EAL students not being sufficiently challenged. More guidance is needed on how to challenge as well as support EAL students. A beneficial change can come for EAL students by taking the attitude that English speakers should always endeavour to pick up some of the languages in their school.

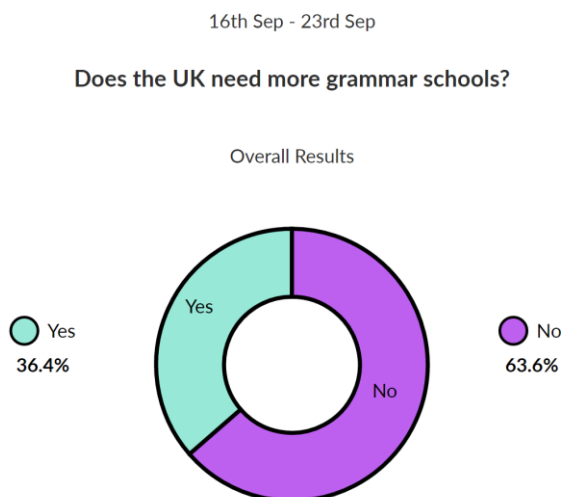
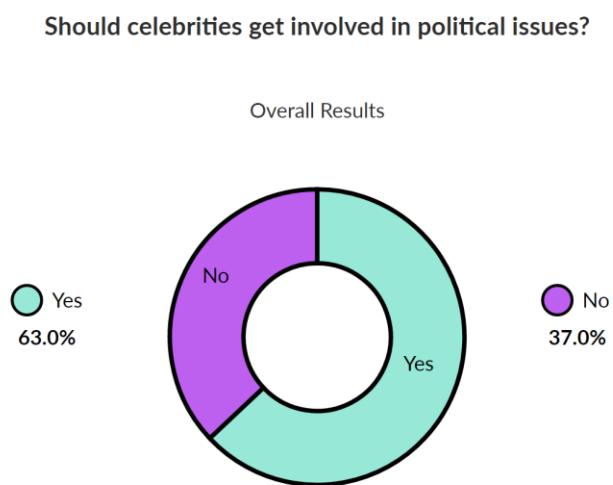
A lack of understanding of the language can subsequently lead to challenging behaviour; students struggle to articulate their emotions inhibiting any preventative action taken by the teacher.

For parents and students, greater effort needs to be made welcome and brief on the workings of English schools and society. Whilst this does occur in some schools it impact of social cohesion makes it a responsibility of government.

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?

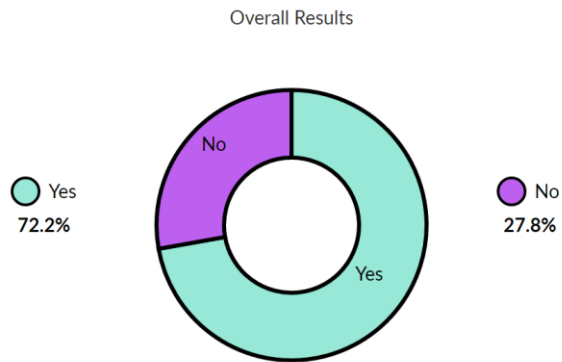
VotesforSchools is working hard to encourage young people to understand and actively participate to improve their country and increase social cohesion. We are working with over 220 schools and have over 10,000 active weekly voters. The community is spread across the country, with schools from low income backgrounds and independent schools all participating. We would be happy to share our methods and data with the committee.

Please see a snapshot of our weekly debates (Sample size of at least 5,000 voters):



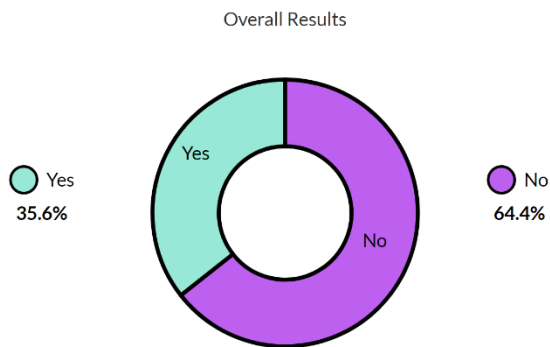
Votes for Schools – written evidence (CCE0111)

Does the news encourage terrorism?



16th Jun - 23rd Jun

Would you take a refugee into your own home?



7 September 2017

VSO – written evidence (CCE0211)

Introduction

VSO is an international development agency with over 55 years' experience of addressing poverty and disadvantage through our unique approach of working through volunteers. By working closely over time with carefully selected partners – from grassroots organisations to government ministries – volunteers provide the right support to help ensure that local development efforts deliver the greatest impact and lasting change.

VSO is currently managing the delivery of the Government-funded [International Citizen Service](#) programme, a development programme which brings together young people aged 18-25 to volunteer alongside young people in developing countries. The ICS programme has three main interdependent objectives: development impact in communities, the personal development of individuals and the creation of active citizens, and since its inception in 2011, more than 15,000 young people from the UK have participated in the programme. Between 2005 and 2011 VSO also led the “Global Exchange” programme with the British Council, which was a cross cultural exchange between the UK and developing countries with active citizenship at its heart.

We welcome the opportunity to give written evidence to this inquiry.

Definition of citizenship and what we mean by active citizenship in the 21st century

1. Active citizenship is one of the three core objectives of the ICS programme. The theory of change for the programmes defines the following as core parts of active citizenship: inspiring other people to take action; questioning and debating the status quo; being involved in decision-making that affects our lives; and, influencing people in power (at community as well as regional, national and international levels).
2. VSO's 'Valuing Volunteering' research⁸⁷⁸, a participatory research project conducted over two years with the Institute of Development Studies and published in 2015 involving more than 3,700 people, found that volunteering is often the first step towards greater participation in their own development and active citizenship.

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

⁸⁷⁸ Valuing Volunteering: The Role Of Volunteering In Sustainable Development, VSO & IDS, 2015 available at: <https://www.vsointernational.org/fighting-poverty/our-research-and-evaluations/research-report-valuing-volunteering>

citizenship ceremony? Are they good value for money? What other routes exist for creating active citizens?

3. From VSO's [Impact beyond volunteering](#) study,⁸⁷⁹ which involved over 3,000 returned VSO volunteers across a broad range of ages and backgrounds from around the world, 77% of respondents reported changes in social action as a result of volunteering, with over 50% increasing the amount of volunteering that they did as a result of their volunteering experience.
4. There is a strong and growing evidence base to prove that national and international citizenship programmes such as the National Citizen Service and International Citizen Service (ICS) catalyse active citizenship amongst participants, which is sustained after the programmes are completed: though it is too soon to see long-term impacts of ICS on active citizenship outcomes, initial reports are that participating in the programmes do lead to longer term increases in active citizenship and social action beyond the initial "action at home" period (6 months after volunteers return). Over two thirds of returned ICS volunteers⁸⁸⁰ report that they have carried out voluntary work or completed social action since completing their placement, and 91% of returned UK and international volunteers saying that participating in the programme has affected their attitude towards social action in their community.

'Before I would help out help out with things that were happening, whereas now I feel like I start things myself. I used to just turn up and participate but now I feel like I am the mobiliser, I feel like I can do things. I contacted my friend and we are going to do something on the SDGs.' ICS returned volunteer, UK.

5. 62% of 191 participants who were interviewed 10 years after taking part in the World Youth and Global Exchange volunteering programmes run by VSO, were still taking part in some sort of community action or volunteering in their local community.
6. VSO understands volunteering to be formal as well as informal activity comprising the following key elements: it is done out of individuals' free will, it is conducted outside the household for the benefit of the wider community; it is driven by motives other than financial gain; and, it is not a substitute for paid work. Mandatory volunteering programmes, therefore would seem to go against one of the key core

⁸⁷⁹ Impact Beyond Volunteering, VSO, 2016 available at:

https://www.vsointernational.org/sites/default/files/VSO_ImpactBeyondVolunteering_MainReport_web.pdf

⁸⁸⁰ Based on latest data available from ICS reporting data in September 2017

principles of volunteering- that it should be done out of the free will of the individual.

7. From VSO's experience, participating in volunteering programmes frequently sparks an increase in political action; 55% of respondents to VSO's Impact beyond volunteering study reported that they were more involved in community, social or political action post-placement. Many ICS volunteers engage with decision-makers both during their placements and as part of their "action at home" after returning, but often need additional support with this to build their confidence and guide them through the first stages of engaging effectively. Any government-supported schemes which place a greater emphasis on political engagement should recognise the barriers, real or imagined, which discourage disadvantaged young people in particular from engaging politically.

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

8. Any government-sponsored citizenship or civic engagement programme must consider how issues of social cohesion can be addressed as part of their efforts. All programmes should consider diversity and inclusion in their design, including the budget, to ensure they are able to effectively recruit and support diverse groups of people. If this is not considered at design stage, they will be unable to create an inclusive programme. The first of seven quality principles of the ICS programme⁸⁸¹ is that "a diverse range of young people are given the opportunity to take part in the programme," and this has been built into all aspects of the design and functioning of the programme. ICS is a leader in diversity for a programme of its nature, compared to other European and international youth volunteering schemes.

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?

9. By bringing together young people from different backgrounds- both within the UK cohort of volunteers, and through their experience of living and working in host communities in different countries with teams of international volunteers, there is a strong body of evidence to support intercultural cohesion resulting as a result of programmes like ICS and NCS. For example, see [Ahmad's account](#) of living with a Christian host family in Zimbabwe as an ICS volunteer.

⁸⁸¹ <https://www.volunteerics.org/ics-quality-principle-diversity>

10. In addition, the Global Exchange and World Youth programmes run by VSO and the British Council, promoted cohesion by bringing together volunteers from different backgrounds. Often the deepest learnings were about UK society and cohesion; some former UK-based volunteers on the programme were more shocked by the poverty that they encountered on the UK aspect of their placements than on their overseas placements, and longitudinal research into the impacts of the programme highlighted some of the long-term effects on the participants:

“It has been almost ten years since I participated in the world youth scheme. It had a huge impact on my life and the course it took. It gave me the confidence and knowledge to become a detective in Hackney one of the most diverse boroughs in London. I honestly think that the insight the experience gave me into other cultures has made me a better police officer.” (UK Volunteer on exchange with Ghana)

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?

11. There should be greater recognition from the state of the value and impact that volunteering can bring, both to the professional and personal development of volunteers but also to the social capital and active citizenship. There can also be tangible economic benefits: a study from the Kings Fund exploring the contribution of volunteers to the NHS found that every pound invested in volunteering yielded 11 in return.⁸⁸²
12. In Germany, for example, youth volunteers are recognised as having a full-time legal status up until the age of 27. VSO sees the value in campaigns such as those led by [Citiyear](#) and other UK youth NGOs, which advocate for the recognition of full-time volunteers in the UK.
13. The current benefits system also acts as a barrier to people effectively participating in some volunteering programmes like International Citizen Service, in spite of the considerable evidence of the long-term potential of such programmes to have a positive impact on the professional development and future employability of participants. For example, individuals accessing Housing Benefit cannot take part in the programme as they will lose access to their entitlements while participating in the programme, and individuals living in live service⁸⁸³ areas for Universal credit are prevented from accessing Universal Credit for up to two years after returning from

⁸⁸² The Kings Fund, 2013, available at: <https://www.kingsfund.org.uk/press/press-releases/value-volunteers>

⁸⁸³ <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/universal-credit-full-service-and-live-service>

the programme due to residency requirements⁸⁸⁴. Such unintended policy consequences such be addressed across government, with greater recognition from the Department of Work and Pensions on the value that citizenship and volunteering programmes can bring to both employability and social cohesion.

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?

14. Lessons learnt from implementing specific initiatives aimed at promoting diversity within youth volunteering programmes like ICS and other youth volunteering programmes across Europe illustrate are that there exist many barriers to participation in citizenship programmes- including cultural, economic and legal barriers. There is no “one size fits all” approach to addressing cohesion and approaches should be targeted according to the needs of the specific groups concerned.
15. As with efforts to genuinely reach those who are “left behind,” in developing countries, it should be recognised that there is a cost associated with addressing barriers to participation. Learnings from an EU funded “International Volunteering for all” project which looked at how to increase participation in the ICS programme from young people from lower socio-economic backgrounds was that often successful measures were cost and labour intensive (for example pre-assessment day workshops for applicants from lower socio-economic backgrounds) and therefore not sustainable to support participation at scale.
16. Finally, it is worth noting that the language of citizenship can be excluding for some groups- particularly refugee groups, and this should be factored into the branding and design of citizenship programmes.

⁸⁸⁴ According to guidance received by the Universal credit helpline in September 2017

Kevin Walker – written evidence (CCE0043)

Retired citizenship teacher and coordinator in English Comprehensive School; Principal examiner for Unit4 of A level Citizenship; Senior moderator for Extended Project Qualification and Projects advisor with AQA (exam board); Doctoral student of Citizenship Education at University of Plymouth.

2. Marking the transition to adult citizenship in the 16th year could be a useful educative process if linking with registration to vote. A ceremony would have more meaning if marking an achievement such as passing a basic citizenship test. My suggestion is to adapt online citizenship tests for use by UK schools and to provide a project based qualification which accredits learning from participant in community based activities. A suitable qualification already exists in the form of the Extended, Higher and Foundation Project Qualifications (EPQ,HPQ & FPQ) which is offered by most English/Welsh exam boards at levels 3, 2 and 1 respectively.

4. For lowering the voting age to result in increased participation some form of enhanced universal citizenship education in secondary schools is essential. My view is that integrating a voluntary registration process to take place in school or college at age 16 alongside formal citizenship education is a minimal requirement. This could take place regardless of the voting age for general elections and would help insure that the maximum effective registration when the individual is eligible to vote. This registration could be linked with a basic citizenship test and/or project qualification linked with a ceremony as mentioned above.

5. The term ‘good citizen’ is a difficult one as it implies a consensus on what characterises a good citizen which will differ according different political ideologies. Active citizenship is a better term as it has a legacy in the work of Bernard Crick and is less contentious for educators.

6. The NCS was included as a special topic for the A level citizenship examination in 2014. These were my comments, published in the principal examiners report, at the time. “Research by students suggested that in some centres the scheme was relatively well known whereas in others it was virtually unheard of. Generally those who had participated felt that the scheme should be more widely available and that it complimented their studies in Citizenship. It was widely claimed that those who could benefit the most were least likely to participate. A consensus view was that the aims were unlikely to be achieved without widening participation. Those who had investigated the Scottish equivalent often preferred the way in which it integrated with other aspects of education.”

My view is that the development of an active citizenship is an educative process that benefits from the full engagement of schools and colleges. Widening the impact of the NCS

Kevin Walker – written evidence (CCE0043)

will depend on developing a more effective partnership with schools and colleges which itself depends on clearer guidance from the DfE.

7. Recognise the essential role of education in this process, including crucially that of adult education.

11. As suggested above the Citizenship test could be improved by applying it to all UK citizens equally including those born with this status. A basic level of language proficiency is **a legitimate requirement for this test and schools and colleges are best place to provide support for this as part of their wider role.** ‘Naturalisation’ rather implies adaptation to the values of the host culture rather than participation within a diversity of cultures.

30 August 2017

What Works Scotland – written evidence (CCE0142)

Please find below responses from What Works Scotland. A number of other documents which may be of relevance to this subject are available on the WWS website [here](#), for example a recent report on community capacity building through a [Community Links project in Aberdeenshire](#); and feedback on a recent [learning journey to Paris](#) for Scottish Community Planning practitioners to learn more about the French experiences of implementing Participatory Budgeting.

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?

Refer to answer to Q7

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?

The Scottish education system has an important role in teaching and encouraging good citizenship across all phases of education. In order to create a responsible inclusive society the teaching of citizen education should be diverse enough to cover issues with sensitivity to a range of perspectives including: religion, race, gender, socio-economic circumstance etc. This is currently achieved through the four capacities of curriculum for excellence which help children and young people to become: successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors. Curriculum for excellence and these

capacities tend to be better embedded within the primary phase while citizenship and political participation are established in some curricula areas in Broad General Education and beyond.

The Education Scotland report, *Scotland's Quality and improvement in Scottish Education 2012-2016* (Education Scotland 2017) draws on inspection evidence and claims that during this period secondary schools "have provided learners with high quality opportunities for personal achievement to develop skills in leadership and citizenship through the life of their school and community" (p. 20). The report also claims that inspectors found that young people were involved in fundraising and voluntary work in their local community as developing global citizenship skills through their participation in twinning arrangements with schools in other countries.

The OECD report *improving schools in Scotland* (OECD, 2015) acknowledges a number of curricular "themes across learning" including sustainable development, global citizenship, enterprise in education and Scotland's culture (p. 42). This report also notes that inspection reports have highlighted improvements in different contexts including including "sport, culture and arts, enterprise, sustainability and citizenships... [and] increasingly these achievements are being accredited through a number of awards" (p. 64). However, the report also cautions against implementing reforms with an intensive focus on literacy and numeracy as these have tended to marginalise the citizenship agenda in other systems (p. 117).

While there is much good practice that has been identified by the system, both in and out of schools our experience suggests this is patchy with variations across the system. Rather than looking at curriculum redesign or new qualifications our advice is to consolidate by further embedding citizen education and political participation within the framework of curriculum for excellence. This should be compulsory and a focus for inspection and school self-review and should also be undertaken through Regional Improvement Collaboratives by moving the best examples of practice around the system to other areas where practice is less secure. It is also worth noting that the independence referendum in 2014 and lowering of the voting age have created a very politically engaged generation of children and young people compared to many other countries.

We need to take on board the caution of an over focus on literacy and numeracy highlighted by the OECD. This is a serious message and compounded by the introduction of national standardised assessments in literacy are likely to further focus teachers minds on these areas rather than on broader agendas such as citizenship education. This is a phenomenon that has been experienced in other education systems that are underpinned by high stakes testing (eg. USA and England).

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?

The current spread of democracy around the world is unprecedented, and so is the level of civic aspiration, expectation and discontent with current institutional practices and notions of citizenship (Dalton, 2004; Norris, 2002, 2011). Democracy is an idea that has been continuously constructed, contested, fought over, implemented and revised (Saward, 2003, p. viii). In a forthcoming article (**Pluralism and democratic participation: What kind of citizen are citizens invited to be?**) Escobar explores and unpacks three different (but overlapping) theoretical models of democracy: *representative democracy*; *participatory democracy*; and *deliberative democracy*

The key differences between them are their emphases, assumptions and aspirations with regard to democratic life:

- The notion of democratic participation that underpins each model. That is, what does it mean to participate in democracy?
- How are publics constructed? Publics and communities are not simply pre-existing entities, but get made through the ways in which they are imagined, summoned, assembled and mobilised (Barnett, 2008).
- The role of citizens. Different understandings of democracy imply different assumptions about citizenship, and shape the opportunities that people get to participate. Therefore, for each model, we must ask: What kind of citizen are citizens invited to be?
- Institutional mechanisms. The emblematic mechanism for participation in representative democracy is the electoral contest. However, there are a range of democratic innovations that illustrate the contribution of participatory and deliberative practices (e.g. participatory budgeting, mini-publics).

Table 2. Three (overlapping) models of democracy

	Representative democracy	Participatory democracy	Deliberative democracy

Notion of democratic participation	Voting in elections to choose between competing elites	Taking part in collective action and decision-making in civic and/or official spheres	Engaging in deliberation about public issues and policies
How are publics made?	By aggregating individual preferences through electoral contests and interest groups	Through processes of collective association, collaboration, struggle and civic education	Through public deliberation that transforms individual preferences into public reasons
What kind of citizen are citizens invited to be?	Occasional voter; member of interest group	Ongoing participant in civic and official processes	Considered deliberator
Examples of institutional mechanisms	Elections	Participatory Budgeting	Mini-publics

In isolation, none of the three models are fully satisfactory. Representative democracy can be an easy target for criticism. However, as Saward (1998, p. 64) argues, participatory and deliberative democracy can't fully substitute representative democracy, and indeed they often require aggregative mechanisms for resolution and decision-making. Nonetheless, participatory budgeting and mini-publics are good examples of how different understandings of democracy can coalesce into one process that involves participation, deliberation and voting –the core constitutive practices of the three models. Accordingly, these practices can be combined in productive ways. For instance, voting after a deliberative process can combine two important democratic goods: informed and considered decision-making through deep deliberation, and legitimate decision-making through large-scale expression of popular preferences using the ballot.

Therefore, these three ways of understanding democracy overlap and can be enacted in complementary ways by combining and sequencing their constitutive practices. However, it is important to acknowledge their distinctiveness. For example, there can be deliberative democracy without participatory democracy and vice versa. Deliberation can take place amongst political or policy elites (e.g. Steiner, 2004), which is normatively desirable but doesn't fulfil broader participatory ideals of inclusion. By the same token, participation can take place without deliberation, for instance, when citizens engage only with the like-

mindful, interact on the basis of interest-based bargaining, or take part in protests and boycotts. These different forms of participation can play different functions, and therefore their combination may offer new options that realise a broader range of democratic goods. This is exemplified in the case of participatory budgeting—with citizens and elected representatives engaging in both aggregative and deliberative modes of collective decision-making as part of a process that mobilises people to generate legitimacy, inclusion, transparency, scrutiny and problem-solving. Nonetheless, at the moment, elitist narratives of representative democracy can too easily overhaul participatory and deliberative counter-narratives in practice (Escobar, 2014, pp. 213-242). This much has been learned from ambitious processes like the crowd-sourcing of the new Icelandic constitution, halted in the end by political and interest group elites (Gylfason, 2013).

These models encompass not only different understandings of democracy, but also different democratic aspirations. Therefore, there may be a sense of incompatibility if we simply focus on the ideas and assumptions that underpin them –i.e. the different conceptions of the role of citizens (see Table 1). However, if we focus on practices and mechanisms, then combination seems feasible –i.e. political parties could be more participative, and interest groups could engage more deliberatively. **Accordingly, there seems to be potential to develop a representative democracy that is more participatory and deliberative in its mechanisms, and where elections, political parties and interest groups are only one part of a more vibrant ecology of democratic participation.** The challenge ahead is to imagine how these three ways of thinking about democracy can be brought together by combining their core practices to enrich political life and co-create better collective futures.

n.b. More information about deliberative mini-publics can be seen in Elstub & Escobar’s response to this consultation being submitted separately by Stephen Elstub

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?

This warrants a call for participatory processes, physical and virtual, where citizens can meaningfully engage with those who are different from them –those “others” that can be easily dismissed or despised when they remain faceless stereotypes (Escobar, 2011, p. 23). The absence of such forums in the public sphere can have profound consequences because a lack of opportunities to be exposed to, and challenged by, difference, can diminish citizens’ capacity for engaged pluralism (e.g. Sunstein, 2009), and the narrower pluralism of elite-driven democracy may seem the only option. According to Dewey (1937, p. 467), that

option that does little to ensure the sustainability and development of democracy: “unless democratic habits of thought and action are part of the fiber of a people, political democracy is insecure”. From this perspective, elitism and populism can be seen as two sides of the same coin –one predicated on the creation of committed followership, rather than engaged citizenship. In this sense, the future of democracy may depend greatly on the kind of citizen that citizens are invited and enabled to be.

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?

Local community-owned organisations provide an important focus for supporting, developing and extending civic engagement, citizenship and social cohesion. These organisations are community-led (democratic governance), not-for-profit bodies committed to local communities of place and/or interest and developed around community ownership of assets; often as community hubs/centres, housing, community shops, land, community renewables. These assets can provide a core income-stream distinct from larger local bodies – the state, public sector, large local employers and property-owners. This mix of community governance, independent stable income, and long-term commitment from local people provide key opportunities to build skills in citizenship and a civic engagement and partnership-working on a more equal footing to larger local bodies; for instance, acting as local community advocate and ‘critical friends’. And also to support social cohesion built around respect and understanding for local diversity.

Examples of such organisations include: community anchors or multi-purpose community organisations such as community development trusts and community housing associations – see Henderson (2015) and Baker et al. 2011; other community-owned (community sector) organisations who own an asset and then provide services and advocacy – for example in relation to: poverty, race, faith/belief, disability, gender and other inequalities; environmental, health-related, employment issues/objectives and so on. Government has a key role through in the development of these organisations through actively supporting the development of community asset ownership e.g. suitable finance and funding; organisational support; legal and policy frameworks.

8 September 2017

White Ribbon Association – written evidence (CCE0137)

Question 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?

Citizenship is giving people a sense of belonging to a particular area and country. It's about unity in a diverse country, as previous generations of some families have moved to the UK from other countries bringing with them their faiths and cultures. We believe civic engagement in the 21st century can be varied; from helping your elderly neighbour with the shopping or gardening, litter picking in your local area, or campaigning for better quality of living and human rights.

Civic engagement is about working together as a community to improve the lives of those who live there, and about being able to approach those who have the power to change laws such as local MP's, councillors or members of the House of Lords. It's the element that gives the common people a voice in important matters within their communities be that in a practical or political sense.

In terms of questions relating to identity it is important for people to remember in society that there is not a standard type of citizen within this country. It is a mixture of individuals of different beliefs and cultures.

Question 5: What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship?

The opening of *Question 2* states that citizenship is partly about belonging. From a young age schools teach children about feelings and a sense of belonging, so informally citizenship is being taught from a young age.

Most schools play an active role in their local communities; raising money for local charities, providing food for local food banks from their harvest festivals, getting involved in community fruit and veg gardens, and many more projects. Within schools they have a voting system at times for school boards and children from the school can represent their fellow pupils on various panels within the school itself and on a regional level. Many schools run a debating programme and some of the debates are around the topic of citizenship or civic engagement.

It is important to educate children about democracy within the curriculum and what individuals can do to change issues they identify with, such as raising concerns with local councillors or MP's, or starting a petition. It would be advantageous for schools to invite local MP's so children have an opportunity to speak to them about issues which matter to them.

Question 6: Do voluntary citizenship programmes such as the National Citizen Service do a good job of creating active citizens?

We do not have enough knowledge regarding the National Citizen Service, however, we can comment on a voluntary mentoring programme our Organisation has been running for several years, and how this has impacted on the young people and their peers who engage with it.

Our **Health Champions Scheme** gives young people the skills and knowledge to develop and run their own health campaigns. We regularly engage with several schools in the West Midlands area and have many stories of successful campaigns delivered by young people. It has given them a voice in issues which matter to them, whilst engaging with their peers to improve the health of their school and community.

Some of the groups have gone on to run fundraising events for local charities and have received public recognition for their work. We have received positive feedback when pupils have included their experience in participating in the Scheme on their UCAS application.

Question 7: How can society support civic engagement?

Society can only get involved in civic engagement in political terms if they are aware of law changes coming up; the information needs to be easier to find.

Local organisations, especially the smaller teams, are not aware of matters that would affect them until the very last moment, so it would be beneficial if earlier notices were sent out.

Even this consultation could have been better timed. Educational establishments are unable to contribute as it was released when most of their students/individuals who may have been interested in commenting have gone on study leave or are doing their exams. Also, there has not been much time for students of a young age to get involved in the formal response.

Question 9: Why do so many communities and groups feel “left behind”?

Certain communities may feel left behind in society and citizenship due to political and physical barriers. They are being encouraged to play an active role in society yet the law prevents some community groups in doing so. The system is not very accessible or easy to understand.

There are several physical barriers including a lack of communication (whether it be language barriers), or no access to the internet. A lot of opportunities for civic engagement are only published on the internet, which puts up a barrier for some rural areas and older generations.

Access to public buildings are improving, but there still needs to be more change for those with disabilities to play a fully active role in civic engagement.

8 September 2017

Vishal Wilde – written evidence (CCE0010)

Vishal Wilde FRSA is writing in a personal capacity and his views do not necessarily reflect any of the organisations he is affiliated with. He is on the list of approved parliamentary candidates for the Liberal Democrats and is an incoming Civil Service Fast Streamer (on the Generalist scheme). He writes on economic, political and financial topics as a Featured Columnist for The Market Mogul. He has written for think tanks such as The Cobden Centre, the Center for a Stateless Society (C4SS) and the Adam Smith Institute on a broad variety of topics. He is also Co-founder and Chairman of Project Shanthistan, a very nascent think tank and movement which seeks to foster peace, prosperity and cooperation in South Asia with an eventual aim of unification through promoting peoples' social, political and economic freedoms. He also conducts independent, (academic) policy-relevant research on various topics of interest.

At the time of submission, he is in the final stages of studying for an MSc in Advanced Computer Science with Internet Economics at the University of Liverpool and holds a BSc (Hons) in Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Economics major) from the University of Warwick

4. Laws, by their very nature, encourage political engagement – whether it is *active* engagement or not is up for debate (dependent upon how one defines 'active') but living under the rule of law means that everything personal becomes political and, as such, some degree of political engagement will always be encouraged by their very existence and enforcement.

Extending the franchise in national and/or local elections in national or local elections is desirable – [the UK should extend even greater voting rights](#).

When considering that we are already unusual amongst most countries for offering [not just British citizens but also Irish and Commonwealth citizens the right to vote in these elections](#), for 'Other EU' citizens to be barred from voting at national elections (especially when they pay taxes) simply runs counter to democratic values. Similarly, Non-EU and Non-Commonwealth citizens should also be allowed to vote in all elections (since they are currently barred from doing so) since there can never be adequate justice for the disenfranchised if there is no equality in the eyes of the law. Up to 3.35 million people living in the country (based on a very rudimentary, rough estimate) could immensely benefit from extending the franchise. Furthermore, if they contribute taxes to exchequer, it is only fair that their interests be formally represented when it is spent. Since the franchise is already available to non-citizens in the UK, this would merely be a logical extension that is consistent with the principles of democratic justice and equality.

- Given that Britain has gained a markedly [increased reputation for xenophobia and racism](#) since [the Brexit referendum](#), extending the franchise to all taxpayers in Britain (regardless of citizenship) would be [a strong commitment for democratic equality and against xenophobia](#) whilst also ennobling the fact that ‘citizenship’ does not merely consist of voting rights. This would also strengthen Britain’s position as a global leader in [human rights](#) and democratic values.
- In these uncertain times, [it would also help ensure that skilled, productive workers are not discouraged from working here](#) due to our especially heightened reputation for xenophobia and racism that [the Brexit referendum](#) and its aftermath has undoubtedly intensified – indeed, extending the franchise would give Britain a comparative advantage (in the sense of political institutions) over most other countries when it comes to guaranteeing the rights of those talented workers who are looking to emigrate from their home countries.

Lowering the voting age is not only desirable, it is necessary if we are to achieve a democratically equitable society. What we have right now is [nothing less than systematic, democratic discrimination in terms of age](#).

- Children are significantly affected by government policy since they are part of households and, therefore, they should have their interests formally represented. The franchise should be extended such that the voting age is not only lowered but it is extended to all children whenever they feel fit to claim their right to vote and engage actively.
- Indeed, when considering that poorer households tend to have more children than richer households (both within and across countries), a higher voting age means that poorer households are disproportionately under-represented in parliament whilst richer households are disproportionately over-represented (and, as such, this is a political factor that contributes to various inequalities).
- The most obvious inequality here that this reinforces is the divide between the rich and the poor and, more broadly, the perennial class divide.
- From an ethnic and racial perspective, it also means that certain groups are disproportionately under-represented versus others (since, to give just a couple of examples, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis tend to have higher fertility rates than the average population, this means that their households are significantly under-represented when taking this democratic discrimination by age into account – [Professor Melinda Mills at Nuffield College, University of Oxford would be able to provide more information on studies of fertility according to ethnicity](#)).
- Another possibility is to allow parents/legal guardians to act as the ‘custodians’ of children’s’ votes and to vote on their behalf (dividing their votes between them)

until the children choose to claim their votes from their parents or when they turn 16 (whichever comes first).

Changes should be made to the voting process because many people simply do not want to turn up to vote because they may feel that their vote hardly matters. Additionally, people are incentivised to ‘vote tactically’ and thereby misrepresent their true preferences which is problematic for democracy. [A holistic reconsideration of voting processes and elections is required](#) but to thoroughly investigate and explore the bases and possibilities for this, is probably beyond the scope of this inquiry.

- Establishing a ‘Ministry of Democratic Innovation and Reform’ as a permanent arm of government dedicated to democratic innovation and reform may be a desirable option (for the time being) to have voting process reform always firmly on the agenda.

5. The role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship is important but it [must not be compulsory but, rather, only made available](#). Especially when it comes to citizenship and political participation, the ideas of previous generations must not be unduly privileged even more than they currently are – this will only serve to indoctrinate younger generations and this is, quite clearly, a slippery slope.

Furthermore, anyone who has been even somewhat politically active will know that the ability to influence outcomes and galvanise/change views to bring about a good change is not a straightforward case of ‘do A to get B’; this cannot be taught but, rather, are generally learnt by people who are keen to engage politically. After all, as society continuously evolves, the optimal mode of political engagement is likely to evolve as well and it is unlikely that a static, compulsory curriculum will aid in this process of discovery and experiential learning. Indeed, rather than making children apathetic to politics within the compulsory education system (the time they spend by compulsion within the education system could, after all, sap many of the energy and will required to politically participate), it is important that they are given adequate time and have adequate energy to directly learn about it (experientially or otherwise). Ultimately, education is far broader than simply that which is taught in classrooms.

Returning to the point about extending the franchise to all children, if children were allowed to claim the vote whenever they felt like it, this may work to increase their active political participation immediately and, by implication, improve the relatively low turnout of young adults also since they would have had access to voting rights for longer. Thus, obtaining these rights sooner rather than later would institutionally incentivise greater deliberation and active, positive political engagement.

Given that [a compulsory education system](#) is imposed upon children, it is this which is primarily at the root of a [political socialisation](#) that is not inclusive and, given the state of current affairs, a compulsory education system forces children to experience all sorts of

discrimination (besides [racism](#) – faced by both students and [teachers](#) – and xenophobia, it also [includes homophobia and transphobia](#), for example) and [could even encourage bullying and increase suicide risk](#) which is clearly not conducive to social cohesion and integration.

7. Government should allow civic engagement to evolve naturally with minimal or no interference. There are several institutional factors that constrain this but some relatively straightforward ones to address are as follows.

To begin with, charities should no longer be constrained regarding the political nature of their purposes and activity. If pre-existing charities are constrained in the political nature of their activities and new charities can be completely prevented from forming if their entire purpose is political, it makes it harder to find other vehicles by which to encourage civic engagement. Indeed, the alternative for many people is to fund and/or support political parties to help people become more politically active but political parties are inherently institutions that will collectively encourage political engagement in so far as it benefits their respective parties.

The best thing government can do is realise that political activities and purposes are often meant for ‘public benefit’ (even if the prevailing animosity and divisiveness in politics may give us good cause to think otherwise) and, as such, should come under the remit of charitable activities – of course, many (possibly most) political activities also cater for special interests but many charities that are not overtly or inherently political also only cater for narrow sections of the population; this does not make their activities any less legitimate.

Indeed, allowing explicitly and overtly political charities will help ‘out’ charities that currently seek to be ‘covertly’ political and, through an increased amount of transparency in the political system, civic engagement will generally improve. There is no need to institutionally discourage/constrain political activity in the third sector.

- Furthermore, given that there is a plurality of views and ideas in society, some efforts would simply not be financially feasible to undertake without the tax breaks afforded to the third sector and, as such, this restriction on political activities and purposes crowds out less well-resourced viewpoints and perspectives – this helps reinforce a hegemonic oligarchy of certain ideas, ideologies and interests.

The funding and spending restrictions on political parties should also be reviewed and probably lifted since, essentially, although funding limits are well-intended, all that happens is the institutional incentivisation of [money being spent in more dubious ways](#). It also restricts political participation to those who are time-rich and/or cash-rich since those who are time-poor and/or cash-poor will face a far greater and more substantial opportunity cost in active political engagement. Thus, this is not democratically just and it is certainly not equitable. Another way to address this fundamental problem of the high opportunity costs associated with political activity is to consider the introduction of a Universal Basic Income.

- Restrictions on foreign funding should also be abolished and this would help enable [the aforementioned benefits](#) of allowing [non-national and non-resident politicians to stand for election](#). Indeed, where political parties previously lacked personnel on this front, lifting these restrictions would feedback into encouraging positive political participation.
- Indeed, given that personnel can be a significant issue for many political parties (especially when it comes to fielding candidates), [the residency and nationality restrictions on running for election should be abolished](#) (since they deny voters choice and are, therefore, inherently undemocratic in spirit) and Britain can lead the way globally in this [in order to reap the benefits that enabling non-national politicians can allow](#). This will also help unshackle the potential of civil society.

Notably, the USA has fewer restrictions surrounding political spending and funding and its citizens tend to be far more actively engaged in the political process than we generally are here. Of course, the USA's political climate is clearly not without its problems but fewer restrictions surrounding political spending and funding are not inherently problematic.

9. Essentially, people feel that their interests are being inadequately translated, represented and implemented by their various representatives – this failure, however, is certainly not peculiar to Britain.

A key way in which this would be tackled is [through improving candidate-quality preference-specification mechanisms to enable a more democratically-just and holistic voting system that incorporates \(gender-empowering\) voter-chosen political quotas](#) (in this way, the intersectional experiences and concerns of individuals in society may be better addressed). The aforementioned voting system is intended to promote representation along many lines (including gender identity, class, ethnicity, race, ideology, income, profession, (geographical) community, sexuality, education, disability and much more). However, this idea is still very much at a conceptual stage. Nevertheless, it must be said that the contemporary privileging and reinforcement of a geospatial-constituency paradigm of representation subtly enables a modern variant of historical feudalism in contemporary democracies.

- The problem here is that the actors who most vehemently seek systemic political reform are usually those who are not in power and, thus, systemic political reform is usually not wholeheartedly pursued or enacted until long after it was needed (by which time much damage has already been done and the adage 'better late than never' offers mild respite at best).
- Thus, it may be worthwhile establishing a 'Ministry of Democratic Innovation and Reform' as an arm of government that is permanently devoted to the purpose of innovating and reforming our democracy so that more efficient and effective ways to translate, implement and represent peoples' interests are always sought and are permanently on the government's agenda.

The relics of Colonialism (such as in the honours system where one becomes ceremonially a part of the ‘British Empire’, for example) also consistently perpetuate a divisive mentality, subtly reinforces racial and neo-colonial hierarchies. This serves as a constant reminder of atrocities committed by Imperial rule in the countries of origin of many British citizens.

- [Amartya Sen, a Nobel-laureate at Harvard University](#), wrote in *Development as Freedom* that the causes of the Irish potato famine and the Bengal famine were a direct result of Imperial rule as opposed to democracy – it is important that the necessity of democratic values both in principle and practice are not overlooked if/when one is looking to justify and teach democratic values. This also relates back to question 5 of the inquiry (regarding the role of education and teaching). In a similar vein, the transatlantic slave trade, its legacy and it being made possible because of a lack of adherence to the democratic values of intrinsic equality between and amongst peoples must be sufficiently acknowledged rather than an Imperial history being unduly glorified. Any benefits of Empire can only be sufficiently appreciated after its drawbacks and harmful impacts are thoroughly accounted for (and the latter is far from being the case).
- With regards to the ‘honours’ system, many undoubtedly worthy people have sought to disassociate themselves from it, outright reject it, openly criticise it etc. on the grounds of staunch republicanism and/or disdain for colonial legacies (to give just two prominent, recurring examples of rationales). This creates an unnecessary divide between monarchists and republicans within society whilst also unnecessarily burdening the contemporary monarchy with the associations of historical atrocities from Imperialism. There [have been calls to change the name of the honours from ‘Empire’ to ‘Excellence’](#) and these are very fair and reasonable calls – it is but one word and it is a significant step in the right direction for healing historical wounds and enabling a cohesive, peaceful and united society through showcasing commitment to it. An alternative is to change the word to ‘Kingdom’ which would help shed some (though perhaps not all) of the brutal connotations that ‘Empire’ carries – however, the most significant limitation with this alternative suggestion is that it does nothing to ameliorate [the social divisions](#) between [republicans](#) and [monarchists](#).
- There is a general lack of appreciation for the historical reasons for the myriad of inequalities in British society but, then again, there is often a lack of understanding and consensus on this front as well.

Given that citizenship and active political engagement has become increasingly shaped by the internet, [the lack of fast internet access](#) acts as a significant barrier to active citizenship and positive political participation. If the benefits of the internet are disproportionately reaped and unfairly distributed then it works to further divide people socially, politically and economically and this will only become further exacerbated [as the importance of the internet to the economy continues to increase](#).

Misbehaviour on the internet (especially with [police being generally under-resourced and ill-equipped to deal with this](#)) which is intended to [harass](#) or intimidate people along the lines of [gender](#), [sexualities](#), [race](#), [religion](#), [ethnicity](#), [professions](#) or otherwise must be examined in that this can only inhibit incentives for positive, active citizenship and political participation. Perhaps the government can work together with social media entities and internet companies to verify whether various online profiles are ‘real’ as opposed to ‘fake’ so there can be a greater degree of accountability (of course, companies and individuals will likely be wary of government involvement so perhaps cooperation through [some form of Blockchain technology](#) could be used but this may also become computationally expensive).

Relating back to question 4 of the inquiry, young people would feel less “left behind” if the franchise were extended to them since, currently, older generations are making decisions on policies that will disproportionately impact younger ones and young people have limited to no formal say in how their interests are represented.

This sentiment of feeling left behind can also often stem from being subject to a restriction of opportunities due to circumstances beyond peoples’ control (being born in a poorly-resourced, rural environment vs growing up in a well-resourced, urban one or, for young people, having less choice in educational opportunities, for example). For young people, one way to address this could be to empower them to have more say in the direction of their education (through [increasing school choice](#), improving curriculum choice, [liberalising student loan use](#) etc. or even [making schooling non-compulsory entirely](#) so young people have the freedom to live their lives how they want) and, for rural people, it could come in the form of a [liberalisation of land-use restrictions](#) (these suggestions were also included in written evidence this author submitted to the Lords Committee on Artificial Intelligence).

10. People are better citizens and are more likely to engage positively when they experience greater social cohesion, integration and trust in society. Those who feel they owe less to a society that has generally marginalised them and systematically denied them of opportunities may be more likely to contribute less to the general interest. On the other hand, there are those who justifiably see a lack of social cohesion and integration as problems to be solved and their seeking solutions to it may be their means of promoting active citizenship and engagement.

Integration works best when there are fewer [inequalities](#) between peoples and a prime way to tackle this is to alleviate educational and workplace outcomes. Educational outcomes exert, on average, especially significant influences upon peoples’ future career trajectories, lifetime earnings, opportunities, etc. and, as such, whether it be at school or university, these outcomes need to be improved.

Introducing school vouchers could not only improve outcomes for various sections of society (by helping to improve outcomes for poor students, many middle class families, students from minority backgrounds, etc.) [but also help organically combat radicalisation and terrorism](#) – the hyperlinked RSA article is but a particular example of how diversity and

integration (since radicalisation is the most extreme symptom of a lack of integration and [it is a two-way street](#)) can be increased concurrently through the introduction of school vouchers.

[Liberalising the student loans market in Higher Education](#) so that student can spend their loans abroad if they desire would entail greater competition in the Higher Education sector, potentially less debt for those students who do engage in higher education (and who study in countries with lower tuition fees/living costs) and thereby empowering those who do feel “left behind” (relating back to question 10) with more choice. With less debt and similar qualifications as well as having been exposed to diverse perspectives and experiences from foreign countries, these graduates will also return to Britain and contribute to greater social cohesion and integration [whilst also improving economic productivity](#). This would also allow British universities to increase their intake of international students to not only increase their funding in these uncertain times but also to improve the local population’s perception of foreign-nationals.

11. What follows here includes personal, anecdotal evidence.

Writing as a 23-year-old male who immigrated to the UK from India with his family when he was five years old (initially to Scotland before moving to England when eight years old), I cannot sufficiently stress the importance and value of English proficiency in social cohesion and integration. When I arrived, I recall being barely able to read English (although I could speak some, I recall a memory where, when I arrived in Glasgow, I opened my mother’s Gynaecology textbook and asked her whether certain words were the word ‘the’ and ‘a’ before formally learning more English in Scotland). I recall, in a predominantly white primary school in Scotland, sitting in English support classes before making rapid progress.

My English continued to improve rapidly but I should say that not everyone is as fortunate to have a relatively ‘good’ education and, from Year 9 – 11, I attended a private day school (Birkdale School in Sheffield, where I took my GCSEs before leaving for Kodaikanal International School in India to study the IB Diploma Programme). This day school was predominantly white and, as such, when I did excel in English classes, I was regularly derided by peers along the lines of “how can you get such high grades in English? I mean, you’re not even English” and I suspect that [this is not an uncommon experience](#) for many non-white (and, [more broadly, non-English](#)) [students](#) and [teachers](#). Although I have relatively fond memories of my school, I cannot deny that there was undoubtedly a racial dimension to my experience that was adversely felt (although I did graduate with the joint-top GCSE results in my year, alongside a friend of Ghanaian descent). In High Storrs School (a state secondary school that I studied at in Year 8 and 9 before Birkdale), matters were also complicated by even greater ethnic and racial division owing to the much greater diversity (which had its benefits but also its notable drawbacks) but the race aspect was not felt [as acutely as in a predominantly white school](#). Nevertheless, it is also deeply worrying that, [despite \(unconscious\) segregation in schools](#) (which has, however, improved over time), [white](#)

[British pupils are the lowest achieving group at GCSE level](#); it is crucial that white British students are not “left behind” because this will only serve to increase animosity within society and the introduction of school vouchers [could significantly help improve outcomes for poor families in particular](#).

Particularly significant barriers faced by newcomers coming to Britain include [xenophobia](#) and [racism](#) (and this is [not restricted to particular classes of society](#)) but I do believe that the situation here is better than in many (possibly most) other countries in the world (though, [given the current state of global affairs and increasingly rampant xenophobia](#), this is an inappropriate standard of comparison).

Regarding the naturalisation process, if the UK is particularly keen to ensure it remains open to talent, one thing to note is the role of permanent residency in the naturalisation process. One suggestion here is that [the Tier 1 \(exceptional talent\) visa](#) could have restrictions removed, the quota for it could be significantly expanded (since there are limited places available in this category), it could be better advertised (with applications even being solicited by our diplomatic missions) and holders could have the right to apply for permanent resident status immediately (and be granted it) akin to holders of [the USA’s O-1 visa](#) being able to apply for Green Card status immediately (and, therefore, significantly hastening the naturalisation process).

A citizenship test is demeaning and an insult to democratic principles – if ‘natural-born’ British citizens do not have to pass one, ‘naturalised’ British citizens should not have to either. Freedom is an inherently democratic value – to seek to impose conceptualisations of citizenship upon aspiring/prospective citizens is inherently undemocratic. Furthermore, elevating certain ideals of a ‘model’ citizen or trying to rigidly define and impose ‘citizenship’ values can constrain the optimal evolution of citizenship in our ever-changing society – a citizenship test is essentially a tool of reactionary conservatism as opposed to the far more rational and benign, organic variant of conservatism. For the committee’s information, I am a naturalised British citizen (naturalised around the age of 16) and I did not have to take a citizenship test. Indeed, I would have found it thoroughly insulting if I was made to.

5 August 2017

Dr Joanie Willett University of Exeter – written evidence (CCE0256)

1. The questions asked in this consultation relate to legal and cultural means of encouraging civic engagement; incorporating reflection about the relationship of citizens with citizen engagement.
2. All of the literature points to the importance of citizen engagement for political communities, for a range of reasons extending from the relationship of the individual to the State, health and wellbeing outcomes, personal efficacy and self-fulfilment, and for thriving communities. What I argue below is **that some of the existing spaces through which citizens can engage with the community are actually relatively inaccessible on account of their particular structures**. This means that although people would like to become much better involved, there are a number of barriers within the communities with which they chose to engage. In these instances, the problem was not about lack of motivation or apathy, (which might be fixed by improved education), but was a collective issue. Neither is this a collective issue that can be fixed by legal means. Instead, it points to a changing use of technology and communication, which shifts the relationship between individuals and the state to one of participatory reciprocity, rather than one of hierarchy. We believe that **new technologies such as social media and mobile phone applications are an important means of fostering multi-way communications**. Using innovative communicative technologies also **helps to incorporate a younger demographic into civic engagement**, who are either not reached, or are 'put off' by older methods such as community newsletters, or minutes on local noticeboards.
3. In 2016 we conducted research with Cornwall Council aimed at helping engagement in town and parish council's. Our study took part in two phases. Firstly we conducted 30 face to face interviews with randomly selected members of the public at the Royal Cornwall Show (which attracts a wide demographic from throughout Cornwall), asking what people thought about parish councils. In the second phase, we interviewed 6 people on a much deeper basis, in order to understand why these individuals did *not* want to be stand for election for the Parish Council.
4. The findings take four key and interlinked themes: Perception, conflict, structure and communication. The question of demography threads each of these. These themes are very important for understanding better the phenomenological meanings which underpin common phrases or received wisdom.
5. In terms of a more quantitative analysis, the reason for not becoming more involved with the Council was most frequently articulated as a problem of time. However in many instances, participant's willingness to give their time was based heavily on perceptions about Parish Councils that they had gleaned from their own experiences, or from anecdotal sources. Some people who felt they had no available time were currently already volunteering with many local organisations, validating their claims. However on further questioning, this could

also mean that they did not perceive further involvement with the Parish Council as a productive use of their time. This might have been because of any one – or a combination - of the following themes. Finally, the following themes can lead to a sense of alienation between the councils and the community, which is not insurmountable, but needs to be addressed.

Perception

6. Parish Councils have a very strong brand recognition in so far as people generally know that they exist. However this brand recognition does not extend to knowing what it is that Parish Councils *do*. Indeed, on occasions people muddled Parish and Local Authority Councillors with MP's or even MEP's. This was particularly clear in the RCS interviews, where it was common for the research team to have to describe the role and function of the Parishes. Such a lack of prior knowledge creates the space for stereotypes and inaccurate perceptions. In some cases these perceptions were drawn from media series such as BBC Radios 4's *The Archers*; in others, gleaned from neighbours and peer groups. The younger people interviewed were less likely to have a clear prior understanding of the activities of the Parish Council, and many felt a marked disconnect with local council activities.

7. Most often, people told us that they thought councils were dominated by older people, typically retired older men, which impacts on the gendered imagining of local government (see Farrel and Titcombe, 2016). This perception was often supported by follow up statements likening them to old boys clubs, dominated by older men. Some felt that the council was 'too old' and lacked full representative abilities because of the missing age and social groups which were elsewhere visible in the community. In both research settings, calls were made for younger people to get involved in the council as a means of making them both more representative, but also more accessible. Indeed, when people feel that a diverse range of community voices are heard within local governance, it enhances the legitimacy of decision making (Michels and De Graaf, 2010; McIntyre and Halsall, 2012; Johnson, 2014).

8. Interestingly, one participant, a young man (aged approximately 20-30) raised a challenge to this narrative. He had spent much time being active in his community and had friends that were Councillors. This respondent was keen to present an alternative perspective, and drew two individuals, one male, and one female, both also young. Generally however, even when people were being positive about the Council, participants tended to use words such as 'old fashioned' and associated with the activities of older people, and resistant to change. Conversely, one participant was very positive about the older demographic perceived to dominate Councils, as they had more longevity as opposed to younger councillors who tended to come and go.

9. Finally, although some participants believe that Councillors love their jobs, are friendly towards the community and involved in shaping positive change, other people had had bad experiences (particularly with regard to planning issues). This in turn led to participants reaching the conclusion that many Councils are dominated by councillors who are primarily there for their own interests. This lack of trust is an aspect that needs to be explored much

further and is deeply connected to Putnam's (2000) work on social capital. Problems associated with lack of trust may, at least in part, be linked to national political discourses (i.e. the expenses scandal, and the contemporary debates on the EU Referendum) which lead to questions about the integrity of political representatives and their motivations for action. This perception may also be symptomatic of a general feeling of dissatisfaction or frustration at not being able to make their own voice heard, for many reasons, and which 'others' or blames political leaders. Ironically, one way of reversing this problem with lack of trust might be to improve the level and quality of civic participation (Lee et al., 2005; Putnam, 2000; Atterton, 2007; Johnson, 2014).

Conflict

10. This was an unexpected theme, and was partially linked to the perceptions of age and the councillor demographics outlined above. Conflict represents the extent to which individuals felt that participation in the council could affect their relationships with neighbours in the community. This was raised on a number of occasions, usually by females, and which may go some way to exploring the under-representation of women in public life (see Farrel and Titcombe, 2016). The problem is best related through the story of one woman in her late 30's with a young family who was elected onto the Parish Council for a period of time. This person felt that the policies and aims that she held as important had been at odds with the values and interests of the other councillors who were older and male (and more middle class). In practical terms, it meant that she had clashed severely over competing and opposing priorities, which challenged existing hierarchies (Moir and Leyshon, 2013). The families and children who she felt that she represented had less resonance with those that saw problems in terms of supporting the level of summer visitors and the businesses that were dependent on them. The social and community costs for this participant were so large that it generated a feeling of negativity about the community as a whole, and subsequently contributed to her decision to move the family out of the village in which they had lived in for years.

11. When the demographic split on the council is so polarised, and it is up to one or at best two individuals to voice alternative perspectives, a critical councillor finds little or no support for their points of view. This risks leading to feelings of hostility and animosity, which is not conducive to harmonious community relations. Part of the problem (and this links too with perception), is that some participants felt that unless you fitted with the general 'look' or 'age-bracket' of the council then your voice would not be listened to. In one instance, the participant had been a very active member of several civil society organisations within her community. However, despite knowing and understanding the locality intimately, she had not engaged with the Town Council because she did not feel that she would not be taken seriously. The perception that this participant held was primarily due to the demographic differences between her and the Councillors. This is despite the fact that some of the organisations that she worked with had been trying, in a similar vein to the example related by Guertz and Van De Wijdeven (2010), to bridge the divide between civil society organisations and representative democracy. Further, and similar to the hierarchical difficulties (Moir and Leyshon, 2013) mentioned by other participants above, she felt that any challenges that she made to current orthodoxy would be unpopular with the Council itself. Taken together, this suggests that conflict may be linked to the perception that Parish

Councils are resistant to change. If new ideas about the strategic direction of the community are seen as too different to those held by existing civic leaders, this may unsettle individuals with a more conservative outlook. This may especially be the case if the claim that Councils tend to be too old fashioned is justified. Here, we might see a tension between older ways of doing things and the requirements of current times.

12. In the parlance of social capital (Putnam, 2000) and echoing some of the findings of Atterton (2007), it may be possible to make the claim that in these instances there is excessive bonding capital between the councillors, which has created closed networks. In turn, this means that they are resistant to change, path dependant and struggle to follow ideas which come from outside their closely bonded network. The answer to which, following social capital theory again, is to develop 'bridges' outside of the closed networks, cumulatively enabling an opening of previously insular networks and Councils (see, e.g. Evans and Synett, 2007; Shortall, 2004).

Structures

13. The formalised structures of representative democracy are necessary as a means of ensuring openness, inclusivity, and transparency. It also means that people who are familiar with the process find it easier to navigate the complex systems of local government. However, these formalised structures can be (and are) interpreted as obstructive, with dominating rules and regulations (see, e.g. Moir and Leyshon, 2013). In both research settings, interviewees and focus group members had a perception that the structure of this level of government was oppressive, with many people choosing instead to spend their efforts working with community action groups which they felt were less dominated by procedure. This raises a tension between the fluidity of informal participatory local politics, where individuals can contribute to the ongoing emergence of rules and ideas, and the more rigid sphere of Parish and Town Councils. This also signals why other studies have focussed on increasing participatory, rather than representative governance (Guertz and Van De Wijdeven, 2010), encouraging better links between the two strands rather than improving participation in representative local government.

14. Often claims to not have enough time to participate in Parish Council activities were articulated in terms of structures of some form or another. For example, one contributor related that her husband had been a Parish Councillor, and enjoyed the work that he was doing in this role. However, a complex period of work that involved much travelling meant that he had unavoidably missed three consecutive meetings, leading to him having to stand down from his position on the Council. This was something that she believed to be stipulated in Council rules, and in this example at least, was strictly applied. At issue here is the perceived or real inflexibility of the structures of councils. Time would be less of a problem if council structures were more flexible and reflective of how contemporary society operates. While there were many calls for younger people, particularly younger professionals, or for people who had young families to get involved in parish electoral politics, these people all cited time constraints and inflexibility as the biggest impeding factor.

15. The inflexibility and rigidity of existing structures seems to work against people 'dipping in and out' of volunteering for the Parish Council. Whereas people perceive that, outside of

the formal sphere, working within a different participatory project or organisation they may be able to adjust their time commitment flexibly as time permits. Some also stated that they felt that their avenue of choice to make effective change in their localities was through community organisations. Indeed, this appears to support the claims by McIntyre and Halsall (2011) that people prefer to get involved in community work over specific issues that matter to them. Nevertheless, when questioned on this, many people who had previously not been very positive about the work or the structure of the council, described good personal experiences of working together on projects. However, representative democracy and standing for election involves effectively signing up for a four year period, based on minimal information as to what the role entails on a day to day basis, the issues that they will be working on, and how this might affect a person's life. Indeed, people's views on the time commitments and roles necessary to be a councillor varied vastly, ranging between a few hours a week and twenty or more hours a week.

16. It is important also to bear in mind that the structures and languages used within Council processes, although existing for solid and defensible reasons, are outside of many people's frame of reference. This means that many people will find Council communications such as meetings and the presentation of minutes and notes – unfamiliar, alien, and very possibly a barrier to participation.

Communication

17. Communication emerged as a very strong theme and impacts on the perceptions underpinning the other themes. Many research participants felt that the communication they received from their Parish Councils was inadequate. Indeed, many of the issues raised above might be considered to be, at root, problems of mis-communication. We recognise that most Councils have existing means of disseminating information to the wider public, and that for the most part Councils are extremely keen to let the whole community know about all of the hard work that they are doing. However, participants still articulated many experiences of not picking up the methods that Councils are using to communicate, which indicates that changes have to be made in some places. When participants did pick up Council messages, they often experienced communication as only being one-way, effectively meaning that they register their Councillors as telling the public what they were doing and what was going to happen rather than inviting feedback or asking what the *Community* wanted to happen (see e.g. Moir and Leyshon, 2013).

18. This notion of the two-way nature of communication came up on a number of occasions, particularly with regards to when members of the community have tried to put new ideas before the council, or campaign for a particular policy or agenda. On several occasions, participants or people that they knew had approached their council over a single issue, most frequently the development of public play areas for children. The experiences that they related were that often their council had been slow, ineffective or obstructive, rather than open to suggestions for positive change. Many of the respondents relating these stories had developed very strong opinions regarding the subject, especially the effect it had on their children, for whom for most it was their first taste of what politics means. This is a very important point to be made. Sometimes, when an individual begins a local campaign, this is

their first first-hand experience of political processes in general, and local councils in particular. People who launch a local campaign are also already politically motivated in some way, and may have the potential to become an asset to their communities. If they have a good experience (even if actually the council cannot help them), this will help them to have positive perceptions of local councils, and will increase their likelihood of getting involved in some way in the future. Further, they are more likely to talk about Councils in a positive way, with the snowball effect that this engenders as people feel more listened to, they are more invested in community decisions and feel more responsible for local services (Michels and De Graaf, 2010).

19. This is especially the case when children try to get involved in a local campaign. One participant who had only recently left full-time education, pointed out that children are one of the few groups in a community who live out most of their lives in that community. However through age and voting restrictions, they are often excluded from local decision-making processes. But pre-voting age young people are also a potential community asset and sensitive communication – especially with those who show an interest with local politics – is deemed to be highly important.

20. Moreover, less effective use of communication can misfire, leading to very positive things that the Council does becoming interpreted in very negative ways. For example, one Council in a coastal area developed some kayak racks. This potentially was a huge positive and something which was of great utility for the community. However, this was also interpreted as an area of unease, because residents expressed that they hadn't known about the new facility until all of the available spaces were taken. This was further perceived as indicative that members of the council benefited from the racks more than other residents. It is unlikely in this instance that the Council consciously intended to work to its own advantage at the expense of the rest of the community. But this example does illustrate how easily positive actions can be misconstrued, creating negative narratives which undermine the relationship between communication and trust (McIntyre and Halsall, 2012).

21. Finally, elections are not only important for enhanced democracy, but also they are a crucial way for the potential new Council and the community to have a conversation. People appreciate talking to campaigning candidates about their ideas, and the act of voting means that individuals feel that they have a stake in the Council itself. Although managing to co-opt Councillors in order to avoid elections is a cost-effective act, it was not experienced positively by any of the individuals that we spoke to as part of this research. Instead, people considered co-option and the lack of elections as fundamentally undemocratic and an inhibitor to diversity which contributes to the negative perceptions that many people carried (see also Johnson, 2014).

Going Forward

22. Communication runs at the heart of trying to improve participation in Parish Councils. Good communication would encourage more effective participation in Council decision making, and might go a long way to reducing some of the obvious dissatisfaction that we heard. It also might assist people to feel more welcome in unfamiliar structures, and certainly would help to ameliorate some of the conflict situations discussed above. It would also help

to ensure more accurate and positive perceptions of local Councils, which would help to attract a broader demographic. This might go some way to ensuring that Councils and their communities mediate changing society, policy, expectations and environments in pro-active, positive ways.

23. In some regards, this feels a bit like a ‘chicken and egg’ problem. A broader demographic is needed in order to help to modernise the Council’s, but different types of people are reluctant to get involved because they perceive Councils to be old-fashioned and as such difficult to get involved in. Moreover, some issues mentioned above are easier to change than others. For example, Council structures might be extremely difficult to alter, set as they are within legislation and issues of due process and transparency. However, it may be possible to interpret or adapt the rules in line with a more contemporary understanding of the world, and good Parish Clerks may be able to assist significantly with this.

24. One of the key factors that emerged from this research, is that people do want to be involved in their communities, and they do want to help to make positive change. But they also need to feel that this is an effective and productive use of their time. Some people are satisfying their need to participate in local democracy through informal governance organisations. This is an energy and dynamism that Councils need to be able to harness.

25. Clearly, enhancing participation in Parish Councils, and encouraging people to both stand for election and to vote when elections are able to happen; covers both short-term and long-term changes. One suggestion would be to involve non-voting stakeholders (including those under-18) to be involved in the improving communication. Low tech solutions might involve developing accurate and easily accessible descriptions of the roles performed by individual council members, advertising who councillors are and what they are doing. These could form part of the Council online presence or local newsletter. It is also really important that Council successes (and indeed challenges) are communicated in an interesting and engaging way. Here, younger people might work with councillors, to help them to communicate better across generational divides. The additional benefit of this might be to help people to understand better the kinds of work that individual councillors do, supporting future involvement. This may embed young people and their families into council communicative networks, while also ensuring that the language used is accessible.

26. While the changes suggested above are low tech, the dissemination of the information does not need to be so. In an effort to modernise the structures and systems of the Council, Social Media can play an important role in updating the perception of Town and Parish Councils, while improving its communication, engagement and in turn, participation. Indeed, some Councils are doing this to great effect. Social Media offers the opportunities for users to be constantly connected, both accessing and creating content which is instantaneously disseminated to anyone in the network (Ellison and Hardey, 2014). As a community tool for a Parish Council a ‘fan page’ on Facebook would allow multiple pathways of communication, which was one of the most sought for areas of improvements in our findings. Indeed, there are already cases where e-democracy has been a success as highlighted by Whyte et al (2006) who found that in Scottish community councils, ‘web based tools enable and encourage more people to have their say in local democracy than has previously been the case through

community councils', public meetings and communications'. Technology is ever advancing and to benefit from this Councils need to situate themselves within these contemporary spheres to both ensure resonance with all demographics, but also to take advantage of the numerous opportunities Social Media presents. Further to the use of social media, mobile applications, downloaded onto Smart Phones also provide opportunities to improve civic engagement and participation. A rural Parish Council in Leicestershire is at the forefront of this development, by creating its own 'App' – which mirrors the function of local government apps at a regional level (East Goscote Parish Council, 2016). Applications such as this provide handheld access to features such as a local calendar of events, notifications and instantaneous bulletins of news, online community forums, and spaces to upload and share photos of issues and events. The cost effectiveness of such technologies is also important to bear in mind when local government is still feeling the pressures of austerity measures. New technologies can undoubtedly allow new and diversified pathways for communication, however more research needs to be done to examine the effect of these kinds of instruments to improve community engagement and subsequently participation.

References

- Atterton, J. (2007) The 'Strength of Weak Ties': Social Networking By Business Owners in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. *Sociologia Ruralis*. 47 (3): 228-245.
- East Goscote Parish Council (2016) East Goscote's Mobile App: Is this a Parish Council First?. Available: <http://theappoffice.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Clerk-Jan16-p21.pdf>
- Evans, M., Synett, S. (2007) Generating Social Capital? The Social Economy and Local Economic Development, *European Urban and Regional Studies*. 14 (1): 55-74.
- Farrel, C., Titcombe, S. (2016) Gender and the Experiences of Local Elected Members – A Focus on Wales. *Local Government Studies* DOI: 10.1080/03003930.2016.1207629
- Geurtz, C., Van de Wijdeven, T. (2010) Making Citizen Participation Work: The Challenging Search for New Forms of Local Democracy in The Netherlands. *Local Government Studies*, 36 (4): 531-549.
- Johnson, C. (2014) Local Civic Participation and Democratic Legitimacy: Evidence from England and Wales, *Political Studies* 60 (4) 765-792.
- Lee, J., Arnason, A., Nightingale, A., Shucksmith, M. (2005) Networking Social Capital and Identities in European Rural Development. *Sociologia Ruralis*. 45 (4): 269-283.
- Michels, A., De Graaf, L. (2010) Examining citizen participation: Local participatory policy making and democracy, *Local Government Studies*, 36 (4): 477-491.

Wonder Foundation – written evidence (CCE0044)

McIntyre, T., Halsall, J. (2011) Community governance and local decision making: Paper presented to the “diversity and Convergence: Planning in a world of change conference”, *Local Economy*, 26(4): 269–284.

Moir, E., Leyshon, M. (2013) The design of decision-making: participatory budgeting and the production of localism, *Local Environment*, 18 (9): 1002-1023.

Putnam, R. (2000) *Bowling Alone; The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, London: Simon Schuster Paper Backs

Shortall, S. (2004) Social or Economic Goals, Civic Inclusion or Exclusion? An Analysis of Rural Development Theory and Practice, *Sociologia Ruralis* 44 (1): 109-124.

Whyte, A., Macintosh, A., McKay-Hubbard, A., Shell, D. (2006) *An E-Democracy Model for Communities: Final Report of the E-Community Council Project*. Edinburgh: International Teledemocracy Centre, Napier University.

Wonder Foundation – written evidence (CCE0044)

The Wonder Foundation is a charity dedicated to empowering vulnerable people through education. We work with local-led partners around the world to help women, girls, and their families access the education and support they need to exit poverty, for good.

In 2016, we released our report, *Empowerment through Education: Women Breaking the English Barrier*, to give a voice to vulnerable female migrants and share their perspective on the barriers they face in learning English and accessing English classes in the UK.⁸⁸⁵ We are now building on our findings by conducting new research on the impact of women-only ESOL provisions on promoting integration and pathways to active citizenship for vulnerable female migrants.⁸⁸⁶ Therefore, given the scope of these 2 research projects, our written submission is focused on addressing questions 1, 7, 8, 9, 11, and 12.

1. As part of our research, we spoke to both vulnerable female migrants and service providers to understand the role English learning provisions play in the lives of migrants in the UK. What was frequently articulated to us was that improved access to and quality of English learning provisions could improve an individual’s confidence and ability to build a life in the UK and become active members of their communities.

⁸⁸⁵You can find our report here: <http://wonderfoundation.org.uk/resources/report-women-breaking-english-barrier>

⁸⁸⁶You can find more information about our new research here: <http://wonderfoundation.org.uk/resources/current-research-how-migrant-women-learn-english>

Therefore, for many vulnerable female migrants, this potential outcome from learning English is how they have come to understand citizenship and civic engagement. That is, they view these terms as intertwined concepts, which collectively represent someone who is able to engage and interact with their fellow community members and make a positive impact on their community-at-large.

Moreover, they view citizenship and civic engagement as being more than just rights and opportunities afforded through laws; they recognise that the environment of the society also matters to ensure migrants have the support and means needed to be active and engaged. For example, several of the women we interviewed expressed how they continue to participate in English classes, despite their good command of English and understanding of UK society, because the classes were one of the few spaces where they felt comfortable and confident using English and socialising with others.

The OECD's *Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015* report supports these anecdotal accounts on the multidimensional nature of citizenship and civic engagement. For example, by analysing the citizenship and civic engagement outcomes of migrants to OECD member countries, the OECD was able to show that the more successful countries were those that had a more welcoming attitude towards migrants. More specifically, they argued that by being more accepting, these countries were fostering and creating the conditions needed for migrants to feel capable of engaging with and contributing to their new community.⁸⁸⁷

Ultimately, by recognising citizenship and civic engagement as this shared experience between an individual and their fellow community members, it can help to construct an individual's identity within a society. In other words, a collective understanding of citizenship and civic engagement can help strengthen an individual's relationship with society and, in turn, foster a sense of belonging and inclusion. This point is particularly relevant to the vulnerable female migrants we spoke to throughout our research. Many of them emphasised how they value English learning because it will help improve their lives and wellbeing in the UK and subsequently support their goal of being recognised as a member of UK society; however, they also expressed how the latter goal is difficult to attain without the backdrop of support from individuals outside of the English learning spaces.

7. In our report, *Empowerment through Education: Women Breaking the English Barrier*, we explored the role English classes play in improving the lives and wellbeing of vulnerable female migrants in the UK. From the interviews we conducted with both learners and instructors, we learned the value in incorporating every day themes into language learning to improve a learner's understanding of British society and customs. Additionally, we learned that classes covering practical skills and knowledge were preferred as they better

⁸⁸⁷OECD (2015), *Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015*: <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/Indicators-of-Immigrant-Integration-2015.pdf>

aligned with the day-to-day needs of the learners and made learning more enjoyable and salient.

Our findings are supported by other studies analysing English learning provisions offered in other English-speaking countries, as well as literary programs aimed at females. For example, in 2 different studies where female migrants in ESOL classes in the United States and Australia respectively were observed, the researchers concluded that content focusing on pragmatic skills led to improved engagement and subsequent improvement in language proficiency amongst learners.⁸⁸⁸ In the context of women-only literary programs, UNESCO indicated in their 2013 report, *Literacy Programmes with a focus on women to reduce gender disparities*, that literacy programmes that were more effective in promoting literacy, breaking down socio-cultural barriers, and reducing gender-based disparities were those that had clear linkages to daily life skills and interactions.⁸⁸⁹

Given how language learning can be an appropriate space to discuss social and cultural topics, we believe that they can pave a path towards civic engagement. Therefore, we believe that the Government and Parliament could support migrants who want to become active and engaged citizens by developing a UK English-learning strategy that: a) is practical and sensitive to the learning needs of the various learners, b) improves access to English learning provisions for all migrants, and c) recognises both formal and informal settings for English learning, as vulnerable female migrants especially find value in community-based learning provisions as they can create a safe, welcoming, and empowering place to learning English. Moreover, we also recommend that any national strategy be reinforced by promoting collaboration and cooperation amongst service providers who work with migrant populations, so the needs of migrants are addressed from a whole-person approach.

Finally, even if migrants are given the resources needed to understand how to navigate and engage with their new surroundings, they will still face barriers in becoming active and engaged unless the society has created an accepting and inclusive environment for all. In other words, effective civic engagement across society means empowering an individual to be active and empowering this same individual to support others to be active, too. In our report, as a means to create this type of environment, we recommend funding national and local mentoring and befriending initiatives as they can help migrants, particularly vulnerable females, in meeting British people and feeling welcome and included in British society.

⁸⁸⁸FRYE, D. (1999), Participatory Education as a Critical Framework for an Immigrant Women's ESL Class. *TESOL Quarterly*, 33: 501–513. doi:10.2307/3587676; HEWAGODAGE, V. & O'NEILL, S. (2014), A case study of isolated NESB adult migrant women's experience learning English: A sociocultural approach to decoding household texts. *International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning*, 6: 23-40: doi:10.5172/ijpl.6.1.23

⁸⁸⁹UNESCO (2013), *Literacy Programmes with a focus on women to reduce gender disparities*, Case studies from UNESCO Effective Literacy and Numeracy Practices Database (LitBase): <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002225/222588e.pdf>

8. Britain can be a place for diverse populations to live and work together if people are able and willing to welcome and support all who want to make Britain their home. As we have witnessed through our research, this is an attainable goal if we can share the values of inclusion, equality, and tolerance across Britain.

Some of the strongest examples on the importance of these values comes from the vulnerable female migrants we spoke with. For those who were beginning their journey of learning English, they expressed anxiety over how they are perceived and often treated due to their limited English proficiency. For example, one new learner stated, “People, when they look at me, think that I can read and write. And once someone said to me, how can’ t you read and write. You are a big woman and you can’ t really read and write. And I felt so bad.”

Unfortunately, even amongst women who had been living in the UK for many years and had improved their command of English, the feeling of not belonging persisted. Additionally, it was common for women to become discouraged from learning, which could further be exacerbated when compounded with other barriers they face (e.g. caregiving responsibilities).

What these accounts shed light on is how these barriers to English could affect their citizenship. This is why our report included 2 recommendations focused on building a culture of acceptance. The first advocates for empowering community spaces where women feel safe and welcome as it can help them build relationships and integrate, which in turn can pave the way towards citizenship. The second articulates the need to recognise integration as a two-way process; instead of having migrants, such as vulnerable female migrants, bear full responsibility for how well they can become a part of British society, we believe in preventing separation and isolation by fostering inter-cultural dialogue across the diverse populations who live in the UK.

9. Using the term “left behind” fails to recognise the multidimensionality and complexity of creating a society that empowers its members. Moreover, it blames disadvantaged individuals like vulnerable migrants and ignores how social constructs (e.g. how media can help to shape the public’s perception of migrant groups⁸⁹⁰) can exacerbate the barriers they face in being able to be active and engaged members of their community.

These barriers can be eradicated, though, by shifting away from victim blaming and instead building up the infrastructure and education needed to promote a societally-shared understanding of how active citizenship is a collective experience. What we mean by this is

⁸⁹⁰COMPAS (WP-14-117), Constructing Immigrants: Portrayals of Migrant Groups in British Newspapers, 2010-2012: http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/media/WP-2014-117-Blinder-Allen_Media_Portrayal_Immigrants.pdf

advocating for and implementing initiatives that bring people together, so they can work together to enrich the community they live in and share.

In our new research, we have explored this question in-depth and found examples of this type of approach in the U.S. These initiatives have, in fact, continued to push forward despite the immigration control agenda set forth by the current administration.

One such example is Welcoming America, which is a non-profit and non-partisan organisation that challenges cities across the U.S. to find their own ways to celebrate newcomers and long-term residents in their community and make their community a home for all. And to help support these grassroots movements of making the country a ‘nation of neighbours’, they facilitate connections, share and build on best practices, and promote change through the work of the cities and towns.⁸⁹¹ Already the organisation is making an impact on its participating communities, such as Nashville, Tennessee; by working with the organisation, this city’s “climate for immigrants was transformed from a particularly toxic one to one that embraces immigrants, and the city and its residents have reaped the economic benefits.”⁸⁹²

In the UK, a similar movement exists through the work of City of Sanctuary. As an organisation committed to building a culture of hospitality for all who seek sanctuary in the UK, they are helping to make hospitality a part of UK society. They have supported and developed over 90 different initiatives and have subsequently become a strong advocate for refugees and people seeking sanctuary.⁸⁹³

Welcoming initiatives are gaining even more traction by extending the conversation to everyone in the UK. While only an annual celebration, the Great Get Together, which was inspired by Jo Cox, invites people to come together to celebrate their community in a fun, inclusive, and welcoming way.⁸⁹⁴ This year’s celebration alone resulted in 100,000 events being held across the UK⁸⁹⁵, which suggests the feasibility of adopting a more long-term approach of recognising active citizenship as a collective experience.

11. English proficiency plays a vital role in an individual’s life in the UK, as it is a tool that can help an individual to understand and navigate their surroundings, as well as meet and befriend their fellow community members. Thus, newcomers to the UK, having recognised this link between English proficiency and their life in the UK, often seek English learning opportunities as a means to improve their command of the English language.

⁸⁹¹To learn more about Welcoming America, you can visit their website: <https://www.welcomingamerica.org/about/who-we-are>

⁸⁹²Welcoming America, Stories of Impact: <https://www.welcomingamerica.org/spotlight>

⁸⁹³ To learn more about City of Sanctuary, you can visit their website: <https://cityofsanctuary.org>

⁸⁹⁴To Learn more about the Great Get Together, you can visit their website: <https://www.greatgettogether.org/>

⁸⁹⁵Guardian (18 June 2017), Thousands flock to Great Get Together events celebrating life of Jo Cox: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/17/jo-cox-the-great-get-together-more-in-common-brendan-cox-news-james-tapper>

Unfortunately, accessing English learning provisions has become increasingly more difficult, in part due to aggressive funding cuts that occurred between 2008 to 2015. For example, funding for accredited ESOL was reduced by 40%⁸⁹⁶, despite the growing number of migrants from countries with low rates of English proficiency.⁸⁹⁷ Moreover, even with the Government recently announcing a £10 million investment over the next five years in English learning for resettled Syrian refugees, it will not be able to compensate for the vast cuts made to English learning over these past five years.⁸⁹⁸

In short, the current demand for English learning is outstripping the supply of providers, which has led to less people being able to participate in English lessons. In fact, in a recent report by Refugee Action, they found that for the majority of the English language providers they interviewed in England, their waiting lists stretched to almost 1,000 people. This same report also highlighted how the funding cuts have led to a reduction in options and time-spent for English learning. This is because providers have had to consolidate and/or shorten their classes in order to cope with the cuts. For many learners, this has meant the inability or increased difficulty in accessing provisions that match their learning needs and interests.⁸⁹⁹

With access to English learning clearly being a challenge for migrants, we decided to explore this question in-depth, but specific to the experience of vulnerable female migrants. Our focus was driven by the fact that in discussions about English learning, these women are often presented as individuals who need to learn English for their families and wider society, rather than how it is a good in and of itself.

In speaking with these women, we learned how English is an essential part of their journey to feel empowered and able to make fulfilling choices, raise their aspiration and those of their friends and families, and to integrate and feel at home in the UK. We also learned of myriad, often pronounced barriers they faced in accessing English learning opportunities even with their strong motivation and desire to learn the language.

While funding could help to diminish some of these barriers, we found that other changes were also needed in order to empower these women to truly break down and overcome the

⁸⁹⁶DEMOS (2014), On Speaking Terms: http://www.demos.co.uk/les/On_speaking_termsweb.pdf?1408395571

⁸⁹⁷Skills Funding Agency (July 2016), Further Education and Skills Learner Participation, Outcomes and Level of Highest Qualification Held: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/486852/SFR_commentary_November_2015_ofqual_update.pdf

⁸⁹⁸Refugee Action (2 March 2017), Refugees forced to wait up to two years for English lessons: <http://www.refugee-action.org.uk/4360-2/>

⁸⁹⁹Refugee Action (March 2017), Locked out of learning- A snapshot of ESOL provisions in England: http://www.refugee-action.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Locked_out_of_learning_briefing_paper_February_2017.pdf

barriers they face. These changes, which we included as recommendations in our report, are to:

- a) adopt a whole-person approach to learning where service providers work together to ensure the various needs of the learning are being met (e.g. providing access to childcare so the learner can participate in classes),
- b) ensure all countries have a national strategy on language learning that takes into consideration the wide-range of learning needs and interests of English learners, and
- c) recognise the role of community-based spaces in fostering English learning as they can create a safe and welcoming place where a learner can gain the confidence and support needed to begin engaging with the language.

Our new research builds on these recommendations, most notably the latter. By exploring the unique space of women-only provisions in community spaces, we hope to understand how they may further breakdown learning barriers and, in turn, pave the way towards better integration and opportunity for citizenship. Through our initial data collection, we have already seen how these providers are helping females of various backgrounds re-gain confidence, pursue their respective personal and professional goals, and become independent and active members of their community. As we continue our research, we hope to deepen our understanding of these positive impacts.

Finally, while we do recognise the value of English proficiency, we do not want to promote English learning as the one and only way to promote integration and active citizenship. As noted in the other sections of this submission, migrants need to feel welcomed and supported by the community-at-large in order for English proficiency to be a meaningful tool for life in the UK. In the same vein, changes to the naturalization and citizenship process should take into consideration how the country can better promote an overall culture of inclusion for all the diverse populations who have come to call UK their home. The current system and existing recommendations tend to focus on what the migrant can do, rather than what the migrant and the society can do together.

12. The Baytree Centre is one of our partner organisations and its mission is to, “create supportive pathways towards social inclusion for inner city families through education and training programme for women and girls.”⁹⁰⁰ As they are an organisation with whom we have a strong relationship and is regularly offering English learning services and activities to women, we have included them as a case study and a source of information for our research.

In studying and evaluating their work, we found that they have been able to effectively promote tolerance and help the individuals they serve in becoming meaningful members of

⁹⁰⁰ You can learn more about the services offered at The Baytree Centre by visiting their website: <http://www.baytreecentre.org/>

society. This success is perhaps best explained by the fact that they offer contextualised support in a supportive, welcoming, safe, and inclusive community-based spaces. For example, their PEARL programme, which offers ESOL classes coupled with social activities, helps to bring women together to learn English in a fun, engaging, and social way.

Their impact is truly felt by the people they serve. One of their former students shared her experience with Baytree and her account captures the impact of this organisation in shaping her life in London. Specifically, she explained how the English classes she participated in helped her gain the confidence needed to pursue her goal of working for the NHS, as well as learn how to make meaningful and lasting friendships with women from different countries and cultures. More importantly, she shared that the support she received from Baytree motivated her to pursue outreach work with her community on health promotion campaigns and maternal health.

Another former student also had a similar experience. As a refugee from Kosovo, she arrived with a very limited command of the English language. However, by enrolling in the English and literacy classes at Baytree, she was given the support and guidance needed to not only learn English and acquire the skills needed to become a qualified accountant, but also become an ambassador and friend to newcomers to the Centre and London.

The success and impact we have witnessed at Baytree has subsequently led us to take on a new project, Helping Hands, that will complement the research we are conducting.⁹⁰¹ This project which brings together service providers in Latvia, Poland, Slovenia, and Spain, has developed mentoring initiatives and engaging resources to welcome and support new migrants and refugees in these countries. While Baytree itself will not be involved in the development of this project, we will use the qualitative evidence we have gained from them to help inform our strategy.

Conclusion

Working alongside vulnerable female migrants, we have learned from them that they believe in citizenship and civic engagement. However, while the enthusiasm is there, societally and institutionally-constructed barriers have hindered their ability to feel accepted and welcomed as equal members of society. We hope that these barriers can be eradicated by implementing pragmatic and durable solutions that change the way our society views migrants and refugees.

Therefore, we are supportive of the Citizenship and Civic Engagement Committee's effort to better understand the landscape of how the diverse populations who live in the UK experience citizenship and civic engagement. We hope that by sharing our work with vulnerable female migrants, we have been able to give voice to their perspective.

⁹⁰¹You can learn more about this project here: <http://wonderfoundation.org.uk/helping-hands-mentoring>

30 August 2017

Workers' Educational Association - written evidence (CCE0257)

Introduction and background

1. The Workers' Educational Association is the UK's largest voluntary sector provider of adult education in England and Scotland. We deliver almost 9,000 part-time courses to nearly 60,000 adult students each year.
2. Our mission and vision are entirely pertinent to the subject of this Inquiry.
3. Our vision is for "A better world - equal, democratic and just; through adult education the WEA challenges and inspires individuals, communities and society"
4. Our mission is made up of the following elements:
 - Raising educational aspirations
 - Bringing great teaching and learning to local communities
 - Ensuring there is always an opportunity for adults to return to learning
 - Developing educational opportunities for the most disadvantaged
 - Involving students and supporters as members to build an education movement for social purpose
 - Inspiring students, teachers and members to become active citizens
5. To those ends, Citizenship and Civic Engagement are at the centre of what we do:
 - Underpinning our values as an organisation
 - Informing our course content
 - Influencing our style of education provision
 - Determining our structure and governance – how we behave as an employer and how we organise our provision through the involvement of staff, trustees and volunteers
 - Facilitating our partnerships and who we work with
 - Setting pathways for our students, volunteers and staff so that they become more active citizens beyond their involvement with the WEA

6. In order to illustrate and expand on this, we have arranged our submission around the questions in the Call For Evidence. We would be happy to expand on any of the points either through providing oral evidence to a session of the Committee or through further written submissions.

Answers to specific questions

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?

The Committee's Terms of Reference take as a starting point a level of uncertainty – crisis even – in contemporary society, referencing terrorism, declining trust in politics and politicians, inequality and disenfranchisement.

As the question puts it, the implication is that we need to take stock – as individuals and as communities – to determine what citizenship and civic engagement mean.

As adult education providers we see ourselves as facilitators - helping our students to answer this question for themselves based on factual information, informed debate and rational argument. We do not have a prescriptive or simplistic approach but recognise that by providing a safe and supported environment in which our students can explore these questions in the company of others from their local community, they will begin to form their own complex response which may in turn lead to them becoming more active and engaged as well as more confident in their own sense of identity.

Some of our courses address issues of citizenship and identity directly. Even where the course content is not specifically about these issues, the community-based style of our provision and the values which all of our teaching adheres to, often leads our students to be more engaged in their communities simply through the process of developing critical thinking skills and being more confident in their interaction with others.

We conduct an annual survey of our students' views on what difference their course has made to them. They report that:

- They become more self-confident (77%)
- More able to cope with mental health (36%) or physical health (28%) conditions
- More understanding of other cultures (50%)
- More respectful to those different from themselves (44%)
- Feeling more of a sense of belonging to Britain (35%)
- More interested in making their local area a better place to live (40%)
- More interested in local or national affairs (31%)
- They took part in a campaigning activity (20%), contacted local or national authorities (15%) or joined a political party or trade union (4%)
- More likely to volunteer (19%)

These figures are for all WEA students, there are also variations which show that the benefits are even greater for certain groups of students. For example 88% of students studying English as another language reported that they had become more understanding of other cultures through their studies (considerably more than the 50% for all students combined).

We believe that it is essential that issues relating to citizenship and identity are explored and debated in a tolerant, informed and constructive way and that no simplistic conclusions are drawn but that individuals and communities are able to navigate their own way through the complexity. Adult education provision, of the type that WEA delivers, can equip people with the skills and knowledge required to achieve this.

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?

Participation in adult learning is one way by which people can interact with a range of people from different sections of their local community. Through this they may achieve a greater understanding of other cultures and an impetus to be more actively involved in the community at large. Adult education can tackle isolation and provide students with new language and communication skills. It also boosts confidence and self-worth.

Citizenship ceremonies and formal “events” within the education process can help to reinforce belonging for some participants but there may also be a role for less formal processes – including non-accredited learning of the sort that the WEA provides. Students on WEA courses often develop strong connections with their community though their course does not require them to sit exams, participate in formal ceremonies or even follow a course structure specifically about “citizenship”. This suggests that different routes to the same outcome – a greater sense of belonging – can work depending on the student’s needs and preferences. A narrow focus on citizenship ceremonies or similar “events” may not be best for all students.

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?

Behind this question is an assumption that people know what their rights (and responsibilities) are as citizens, which may not always be the case. Adult education is not only a means by which people can gain this knowledge but, as our research has shown, it can also increase levels of participation in voting, volunteering and other forms of civic engagement.

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?

As with the previous answer, it is important that people have access to the knowledge and information they require in order to take full advantage of the rights already available to them. Adult education can be a means of developing the confidence and critical thinking skills to enable people to participate fully. Even a small step, such as getting involved in a local project through participation in community-based adult learning, can heighten awareness of the wider civic context and lead to more active participation such as voting, volunteering and, for some, becoming local representatives.

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?

As our answers so far have already shown, education has a huge role to play in encouraging good citizenship but the question is incomplete if it does not also recognise that **adult** education has a vital role to play. Adults who are beyond compulsory school age and outside the FE/HE system may still want support in engaging with the political process or the best means of being active and included within their communities. It is clear that compulsory and formal education is not alone sufficient to equip all adults with a full understanding of their rights as citizens or knowledge of how best to engage with politics at a national or community level.

Adult education gives people a second or third chance at any stage in their life to re-engage with learning and through this to be more active citizens. Adult education often encourages students who have not done well in formal education but who still have an interest in acquiring knowledge and skills, as well as adults who wish to refresh or update their skills and knowledge from previous study.

The style of teaching in adult education encourages listening, participation, equality and respect for others (and their views), in a safe environment. Students are enabled to explore complex and personal issues freely, including issues relating to citizenship and political participation. Developing critical thinking skills and confidence can be achieved through adult education courses on many different topics (not only topics directly related to politics or society) so it appears that the process and style of learning is key, not only the course content. This means that outcomes such as increased participation in volunteering or voting can be encouraged in many different learning environments.

The question focuses solely on statutory and formal learning (school to university) but many of those who come to adult education courses have few or no qualifications and have not always had positive experiences of education previously. Some of those who feel most disenfranchised and most isolated may also be those for whom informal learning as an adult could be an important first step towards being more engaged, as well as (potentially) a first step towards gaining formal qualifications later in life.

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?

The WEA has no comment on the NCS as such but - as previous answers have shown - the flexibility and relative informality of adult education and the outcomes it achieves in terms of active citizenship suggests that it can be a powerful alternative or complement to other programmes such as the NCS.

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?

We can only answer from our own perspective but the evidence suggests that adult education contributes to higher levels of civic engagement so increased investment in adult education from central, regional and local government would make a difference. We hope to have shown that adult education provision can complement and enhance other forms of support for civic engagement so adult education should fit within a wider strategy for civic engagement.

As a voluntary sector organisation which encourages civic engagement through our ethos and values as well as through our volunteer and branch structure and in the content of many of our courses, we strive to make our own contribution to supporting 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?

As a charity, we have our own mission and vision which shapes all of our work. This includes “inspiring students, teachers and members to become active citizens”. It would be presumptuous to conclude that those values should be shared by everyone in Britain but it is notable that our 68,000 strong student population is very diverse with 74% women and 27% identifying as Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic or Refugee, suggesting that our values are sufficiently inclusive to encourage groups under-represented in other settings. Our impact surveys show that 50% of our students reported that they had more understanding of other cultures and 44% were more respectful to those different from themselves (percentages which increase for students who go on to take more than one course). This suggests that ongoing participation in adult education can help to consolidate understanding and tolerance amongst a diverse group of students.

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?

There is an increasing body of evidence and analysis looking at the links between educational attainment and opportunity and social inequality or social mobility. Others, such as the Social Mobility Commission, are better placed than us to provide the detail of why this is. On the second part of the question – how might barriers be overcome – we point to the contribution of adult education in offering opportunities, providing a second or third chance for people who have not fully benefited from formal education system and who may be feeling marginalised or isolated within their communities.

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?

Our student population is diverse in many ways and the range of provision reaches out to many different groups. In previous answers we have shown how greater understanding, tolerance and social interaction can be outcomes of taking part in adult education classes. Increasing the opportunity for adults to study and share experiences together is an effective way of encouraging integration in a diverse environment. That this also enables increased levels of volunteering, voting and other active manifestations of civic engagement suggests that where the right support is offered, it is possible to address issues of engagement and integration in the same setting.

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?

ESOL is the biggest part of our provision and around a fifth of our students are non-native English language speakers. ESOL provision has been particularly badly hit by reductions in funding across the board in adult education in recent years and the urgency in rectifying this is acknowledged in several recent reports (including the APPG for Social Integration's recent report on integration and immigration).

Obviously our provision is entirely voluntary and we work with community partner organisations to make our language courses accessible and worthwhile, overcoming the barriers which could otherwise discourage students from attending our courses. Sharing good practice from within the adult education sector about what encourages students to take up courses and what the positive impacts are at an individual and community level could help to increase the levels of language proficiency in other settings (such as workplace learning, more formal education settings and other forms of community engagement).

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?

There are many examples of adult learners whose lives have been transformed by the experience of taking part in adult education courses and often the biggest difference which students talk about is how they have become more active and connected within their communities. Tutors and students within the adult education sector often act as role models for each other, supporting development and community involvement in a tolerant and inclusive setting.

The following example illustrates all of these elements: peer support, accessibility and encouragement, feelings of isolation turning to confidence in being more active in the community, leading to volunteering and other examples of civic engagement.

Adult students come to learning for a variety of different reasons and their subsequent paths are equally varied. What they tend to have in common, however, is a recognition that adult education can provide the inspiration and confidence to be more active citizens.

WEA student case study – Lisa Birch

Lisa's learning journey started several years ago with the WEA in Oxford. A full-time mum since she was 16, Lisa had not even considered further education until she met WEA Development Worker Emma Carney one morning at her children's school.

"Emma asked if anyone was interested in doing a free Level 1 course which could help them get back into work. My self-esteem and confidence was pretty low so the course sounded like a great idea. A few of us signed up and went shopping for new folders and pens; we felt like kids going back to school, excited at the thought of re-entering the learning environment."

"I was quite nervous on the first day, but Emma did a great job of immediately making us feel welcome and comfortable. This was crucial, as it made the experience much less stressful. The course itself was really beneficial and informative; it enabled me to realise that I did have goals and a purpose in life other than being a mum, and that helping others was really important in whatever path I chose."

With an interest in social care, Lisa's first project focused on Home-Start – a charity whose volunteers support struggling families with a child under five. Impressed by the work of the charity, Lisa signed up as a volunteer and began supporting a family herself. "This again was vital experience for me. I thoroughly enjoyed the WEA course and was genuinely sad when it finished, as it had been such a positive experience."

Lisa progressed to a Level 2 Helping in Schools course: "I thought this may be something I would like to do career-wise, and the practical experience of a placement would also help boost my skills and confidence. I knew level 2 would possibly be more challenging, and although I did find some elements of it difficult, the WEA supported me through it. The constant praise and encouragement of my tutor and other WEA staff gave me the determination to get this qualification."

Hungry to learn more, Lisa started a Take Part course which encouraged participants to get involved with decision-making in their local community. Lisa and two other mums decided to set up a Parent-Teacher Association at Barton Primary School, and she eventually became a School Governor - a post which she has now held for 3 years. She and a friend went on to speak at the Take Part conference in London, as their community work was selected as an example of good practice for others. "This was a huge experience for me, and I felt very privileged to be asked to participate. Again, this WEA course was life-changing and empowering."

Lisa became a community champion with the Barton Learning Partnership, encouraging others to improve their skills through learning. "Being a mum was still my priority, but I did not want to stop learning! This led me to apply to Ruskin College to study a Social and Political Studies degree, which I completed this summer."

"My learning journey has been a fantastic experience; I have become empowered, gained confidence and above all developed a lifelong love of learning. The WEA has helped me tremendously and is a truly valuable organisation. Its ability to reach out to people who may not otherwise have the opportunity or motivation to return to education is unique. It has inspired me to follow my passion, to help others and gain the knowledge and experience to be able to do so."

Chris Butcher, Research & Policy Officer, The WEA

1599

Dr Rick Wylie, Samuel Lindow Academic Director, UCLan, Suzanne Wilson, Research Fellow in Social Exclusion and Community Development, UCLan – written evidence (CCE0157)

Young Adults Academy – written evidence (CCE0129)

This consultation response was produced with input from young attendees of the **Young Adults Academy** (YAA) and we are grateful for the opportunity to provide a response to these extremely important questions. YAA is a joint initiative between **Model Westminster** and the **Young Adults Forum**, two not-for-profit organisations working to develop the political empowerment of young people. See *Appendix A* for more details about these organisations and contact details.

The YAA is designed to be a fun, dynamic and thought provoking three-day event, run during University/School breaks, to provide young people with a free opportunity to gain the knowledge, skills and confidence to engage with and contribute to tackling the most challenging political and policy questions of our time.

As part of the recent YAA (9-11 August 2017) attendees were asked to deliberate in groups and draft responses to selected questions from the consultation. There were 15 attendees between the ages of 16-24 from a diverse background. The groups agreed to focus on questions 1, 4, 5, 7, 8 & 9 and the responses are focused on their implications for young people.

Questions & Responses

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?

- **21st Citizenship** matters as the story of UK history is one of the expansion and strengthening of the rights and responsibilities of citizens.
- **Civic Engagement** involves the ways and extent to which citizens can influence and make a difference to their communities.
- Young people are accustomed to exercising more influence, control and choice in their lives. They expect to be able to do so in the provision, quality and delivery of public services and public policy development. But there needs to be time and resources devoted to empowering them with the knowledge, skills and confidence for this.

Recommendation 1

1600

It is vital that that young people receive practical political education aimed at understanding both their rights and responsibilities and how these have strengthened over the centuries. Furthermore, they need practical education around the ways they can influence politics and public policy.

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?

- Historically speaking, young people between 18 – 25 have the lowest turnout for elections and it's important to understand why turnout for this group is so low.
- Many young people have strong beliefs about equality and justice. They are political, yet many do not vote due to disillusionment, confusion and frustration over 'Westminster Politics'. They find alternative ways to express their political views through social media and other mechanisms.

Recommendation 2.

Developing political engagement should start at school, where young people should be encouraged to exercise their vote, and enabled to develop 'political skills' like debating, campaigning, negotiating, critical analysis and volunteering.

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?

- Political education should begin at school and should be compulsory as part of Citizenship development. Political skills, like debating, campaigning, influencing and building relationships are key skills that young people should be encouraged to develop at school
- School should provide a safe space to discuss and debate political ideas.
- Young people should understand the rights and obligations that they have as UK Citizens

Recommendation 3.

The school curriculum should include space for young people to develop political knowledge, experience and skills. For example, running a student election or campaign or such. Developing political skills like campaigning, influencing, negotiation, debating are also key soft skills in any career.

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?

- Central government, devolved and local governments, third sector organisations and the individual all share responsibility to encourage civic engagement. It would be counterproductive if only National or local Government were to encourage civic engagement without 3rd sector organisations playing a key role.
- The key is not who provides the political education. It could be charities who come into schools to provide the service. However, it is vital that Government allocates space, time and funding within the education system to foster civic engagement. What is important is that there are many providers within the space who can deliver programmes around political knowledge, skills and engagement.
- Of huge importance is that grass roots organisations are supported as they often have significant local by in and reach.

Recommendation 4.

Local and national Government should allocates space, time and funding within the school education system to foster civic engagement. The provider need not be the school itself and could be a local charity or volunteer organisation that comes in to promote 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?

- British values include a belief in Human Rights and their protection. Values also include freedom of speech and tolerance.
- While there are many countries that would sign up to similar values as the UK, it's about which values are prioritised in the UK.

Recommendation 5

Political Education for young people should include British Values; how they emerged and evolved in the UK. It should also emphasise why they are important, and when and why they are not absolute. For example, where the value of freedom of speech clashes with valuing the right to protection from hate speech and discrimination.

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?

- Communities feel left behind when they feel that their voices or their concerns do not matter to those who govern them.
- This is especially the case for young people who often feel frustrated with UK politics. They feel they can't make a difference, It's confusing, distant and boring.

Recommendation 6

Citizenship and political education at school should encourage and include ways to engage with politics and policy making. For example, submitting consultation responses. From the local and national Government side, efforts should be made visit schools to promote engagement in key political and policy making areas. There could be a real role for Select Committees here.

Appendix A

Model Westminster

Model Westminster is a non-partisan, non-profit educational enterprise, run and managed by volunteers, on a mission to improve the political empowerment of young people. We do this by running fun interactive educational events that bring together different experts to give talks on various political and policy making topics. The goal of these events is to empower young people with the knowledge, skills and confidence to understand and influence politics and policy making. Our fun and interactive events also provide an opportunity for young people to develop skills in critical thinking, debating, presentation and group work. **Contact:** Grant Fisher, Director of Model Westminster

Young Adults Forum

The Young Adults Forum aims to both challenge government on UK legislation, raise awareness on current issues, and inspire the next generation of politically minded individuals. We want to motivate and engage young adults, in the making of new laws and legislation. **Contact:** Richard Kays, Director of the Young Adults Forum

8 September 2017
