

**'A SHARED FUTURE': A CONSULTATION PAPER ON
IMPROVING RELATIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND**

Final Report

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Executive Summary

- I. The Consultation Document *A Shared Future on Improving Relations in Northern Ireland* was launched in January 2003 and sought:
 - To stimulate the widest possible debate on what the fundamental aims and objectives of a future policy should be, and the principles that should underpin that policy.
 - To obtain views on proposals for measures and actions that should be taken to achieve these aims and objectives.
- II. The consultation deadline was 30th September 2003 (extended from 31st July). There were 504 written responses ranging across public, private and voluntary & community organisations, ethnic minority groups, youth/schools, individual respondents, elected representatives, political parties, trade unions, churches and other faith group organisations. Responses were gathered through focus groups, workshops, and public advertisement. Additionally, the Office of the First and Deputy First Minister commissioned a series of questions in the April 2003 Omnibus Survey - a random sample of 1,240 respondents across Northern Ireland. The consultation is part of an ongoing process to improve community relations. The response to the consultation document has been hugely encouraging, capturing a breadth of views. The consultation process itself was seriously conceived and effectively executed. Crucially, however, consultees want to know that their views will influence policy developments and the fruits of their inputs communicated to them.
- III. The vision for future of Northern Ireland was expressed by the Government as the choice between two alternatives:
 - Accept that the existing patterns of segregation and division is likely to remain for some time, and focus our efforts on stabilising and managing the worst consequences of division, both between and within the two main communities.
 - Alternatively, we should try to promote rapid progress towards a more integrated and shared society.

The majority view concurred with the vision of a more shared and pluralist society, although many thought this was aspirational rather than achievable in the short term. There was an acknowledgement that due to the legacy of violence and continued political uncertainty, many could not endorse this aspiration. Although these views are legitimate (survey evidence suggests around 40% support existing segregation) and must be respected, they should not constrain those who strive for a more shared society. Some felt the two options were presented as alternative futures when they should in fact be "overlapping realities" or sequential. Importantly, Catholics are more likely to support Government policies which actively promote a more shared and integrated society than Protestants.

IV. Government was urged by contributors to deliver policies for good relations which will address the following (in rank order):

- Eliminate sectarianism and racism and to enable individuals to live and work without fear or intimidation.
- Reduce tension and conflict at interface areas.
- Support the development of integrated/shared communities where people wish to learn, live, work and play together.

Hence, begin by tackling the worst excesses of sectarianism and racism in a pragmatic way and put in place policies and programmes which encourage communication, tolerance, trust and respect for different cultures, faiths and traditions over time.

To attain the goals of an integrated and shared society there must a recognition that fear cements the *status quo*. "People's lives must change significantly if they are to feel the sense of safety/security necessary to enable them to engage with each other". Sectarianism and racism must be tackled to alleviate fear.

Although there was clear support for targeting interface areas because of the attendant violence and community tension, there were views that funding should not reward "the bad behaviour syndrome". There are many non-violent interfaces which deserve attention.

There were views that integrated/shared communities is a middle class concept predicated on people having the resources to make choices to live in this way, in the absence of affordable mixed tenure housing. The business and trade union sectors have much to offer from their experience of creating 'good' and 'neutral' working environments.

V. There were recurring criticisms of *Shared Future* from a range of sources along the following lines:

- The emphasis in the document is on community background as the major form of division which overlooks other forms of division e.g. ethnicity, social class, disability, or what was referred to as the bi-polar focus on community relations problems.
- The document is based on a flawed analysis of the problem which sees its source as the breakdown in relationships between the two traditional communities and ignores the role of the state in both the initiation and perpetuation of sectarianism.
- There cannot be good relations until there is equality of opportunity and outcome and the full protection for human rights for all in society - "the active promotion of equality can lead to good relations but not vice-versa". Critics asserting his view referred to the Secretary of State's contention in a parliamentary debate on the Northern Ireland Act: "good relations cannot be based on inequality between different religious or ethnic groups". The document, they argued, therefore considers good relations in a policy vacuum.
- A small but significant number of respondents criticised *Shared Future's* alignment with the Belfast Agreement. They pointed out that, given the

growing lack of support for the Agreement, future policies predicated on the Agreement would be likely to meet considerable opposition.

- There were unfavourable comparisons made with the Harbison Report including the comment that *Shared Future* was "a long way from reality and rather heady" whereas Harbison showed "a deeper understanding of the complex and different levels at which work on good relations needs to happen".
- VI. The principles espoused by Government to underpin future policies, strategies and actions were generally endorsed (viz: acknowledgement of the problem; leadership; the need for long-term, cross-Government and co-ordinated action; widespread ownership and engagement; importance of local action; targeting; and the broader perspective). Three attracted particular attention. First, the lack of leadership currently on offer from our politicians received much criticism: "political leaders are mainstreaming sectarianism and blocking democracy at the highest levels". Second, the need for champions was highlighted "those who will stand up and be counted, those who will create models of best practice and those who will take risks for the furtherance of the strategy". Third, targeting groups that hadn't historically been involved in community relations but now wish to play a part in creating a shared future.
- VII. In terms of the broader perspective, there were calls to highlight the "intimately connected issue of relations between both parts of the island" and the need to recognise other relationships which contribute to ongoing instability, viz:
- Between the people of the Republic of Ireland and the Nationalist community in Northern Ireland.
 - The Unionist community in Northern Ireland and the people of the Republic of Ireland.
 - All communities on the island including those who identify themselves as neither Protestant, Catholic, Unionist or Nationalist.
- VIII. Arguments were presented for a need to confront the past, although only a few went so far as to suggest a Truth Commission. Some felt that the problem of "the legacy of the conflict" was "rather coyly" mentioned but not developed in the document. It was most frequently expressed as a need to address post-violence trauma, but also as a necessary precondition for drawing a line under past grievances and starting afresh.
- IX. The implications for actions were discussed at three levels: local government and community; regional bodies; and Government. In terms of local government and the community, too many bodies were seen to contribute to the community relations function with little apparent co-ordination. Clarification was sought on the roles and responsibilities of the Equality Commission, CRC, and OFMDFM with respect to promoting community relations. The Equality Commission was applauded for raising legislative awareness of the multiple facets of the equality agenda (beyond community background) through its umbrella organisation but criticised for the perfunctory and mechanistic way it performed its role, particularly by the business sector. Local councils could play a greater role in the service delivery functions of good relations but with conditions applied before allocating additional resources to them. These included: the adoption and

implementation of community support plans; clearer guidance and enforcement as to how community relations funding can be used; and greater uniformity across councils in terms of the extent and quality of integration between community relations and other council responsibilities.

- X. A more concerted approach is necessary amongst agencies (Housing Executive, Roads Service, District Councils) in dealing with flags, murals and graffiti to create a neutral living environment. The actual and potential role of the voluntary and community, business and trade union sectors in addressing good relations is currently undervalued and under-utilised. More generally, there was support for direct action to build capacity within groups, increasing their ability to work constructively with other communities and agencies, and indirect action through Government initiatives such as neighbourhood renewal/regeneration and social inclusion. The voluntary and community sector, in particular, has much to offer in terms of community development, community relations and the 'new' agenda of good relations. One typical comment was: "Community relations/good relations work should be integrated with community development work, which is essentially a means of including and empowering people at community level". A substantial number of groups expressed frustration at their inability to influence decision-makers and deliverers of local services ("we feel we have no say in council decisions").
- XI. A number of consultees saw the churches as key agents for change. "Churches should be acknowledged as a key leadership group" one response argued, while another pointed out "the strength of churches is at local level and congregations and parishes could have a vital role". Some were critical of church leaders for their failure to lead positively. "Clergy themselves seem to be scared to both support and be active in church forums". Respondents involved in inter-faith activities or in church affairs stressed the role of cross-sectarian meetings among religious activists, at parish and leadership levels, some pointing to the positive role of church forums, and the need to support them.
- XII. Two sectors, in particular, were singled out for comment - youth and women's groups. Young people were presented (sometimes by the same respondents) as both trouble-makers and potential peace-makers. There were issues about their disruptive ability and the need to police it. "A shared future will be achieved by the children". Children and young people should be targeted as the custodians of the future, but there should also be a tougher approach to youth crime. Some respondents felt that the work of women's groups in peace building was not sufficiently appreciated, funded or encouraged. A considerable number of respondents mentioned the need to acknowledge the role of women in maintaining a more effective approach to human relationships and negotiations. It was argued, and not only by women's groups, that the role of women in peacemaking had been highly positive at community level, but was undervalued and needed to be recognised and supported.
- XIII. At regional level there was broad agreement on the need for an independent body to undertake functions outlined in *Shared Future* (viz: oversight of local councils; challenge function to Government; monitoring and implementation of policies; training and development, support and guidance; good practice guidance; public awareness; research; and funding organisations to provide community relations capacity and programmes). There was much uncertainty

as to whether this independent body should be the existing Community Relations Council, with an enhanced role. Other options were outlined, to include its abolition and replacement by a Community Relations Board, a Good Relations Commission or amalgamation into the Community Relations Unit. The overwhelming opinion expressed was "the last thing we need in Northern Ireland is another (community relations) body".

- XIV. Respondents to the document saw the Government's role as providing leadership, strategic direction, provision of financial support, and promoting policy changes in the area of good relations. Perhaps, most tellingly, one contributor saw their most important role as "being there", an obvious reference to the absence of the Assembly. In general terms, Government was urged to take a cross-departmental approach which explicitly encouraged "sharing over separation" in delivering services. There was broad support for a cross-departmental group chaired by a Minister, which attached Executive importance to the task, although participants at one meeting articulated concern that the "proposed cross-departmental group had the potential to turn into yet another quango". It should be "located at ministerial level rather than simply chaired at that level". Similar attempts in the past, it was alleged, had been "neutered by civil servants", urging that the group should be a Citizens' Board, including politicians, citizens and civil servants. Specifically, three public policy areas attracted most attention: security/law and order; education; and housing.
- XV. Government was implored to tackle the worst excesses of sectarianism as a key element in promoting peace, allaying fear and encouraging the development of good relations. This included confronting paramilitaries through new/existing legislation and the police, removing the symbols of sectarianism from neutral public space, and "putting the crime barons out of commission". Education attracted an equal share of those in favour and against integrated education. The pro-integration lobby argued that mixed schooling would have a significant impact on good relations, and those against claimed that in a pluralist society diversity should be welcome. Evidence that segregated schools cause division, they suggested, is anecdotal. *Shared Future* received criticism that housing was not proposed as a means of reducing segregation and the facilitation of sharing. Housing agencies responded that "the imperative of promoting good relations is to create real choice and not to socially engineer communities".
- XVI. There is an obvious need to monitor and evaluate the policy responses which result from this consultation. Some views were expressed that the document was too inward looking and could benefit from considering international models. Consultees to the document suggested a list of indicators broadly categorised under 3 headings: violence indicators; bridging indicators; and indicators of attitude change. Omnibus survey respondents when asked "what best indicates an improvement in relations between communities" noted: a decrease in sectarian incidents; an increase in integrated education; and an increase in cross-community contact and co-operation, respectively.

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1. Introduction

- 1.1 In January 2003 (then) Minister Des Browne Parliamentary Under Secretary of State launched the document "*A Shared Future: A Consultation Paper on Improving Relations in Northern Ireland*" as a "means of generating and encouraging dialogue and debate on the future shape of community relations policy". He emphasised that the process of engagement would be broadly based and inclusive, involving key stakeholders (e.g. political parties, elected representatives and public authorities, through to local community groups, churches and individuals).
- 1.2 The consultation document therefore sought to achieve two things:
- To stimulate the widest possible debate on what the fundamental aims and objectives of a future policy should be, and the principles that should underpin that policy.
 - To obtain views on proposals for measures and actions that should be taken to achieve these aims and objectives.
- 1.3 Following consultation, the Minister noted that "a new cross-departmental strategy and framework will be introduced to promote better relationships in Northern Ireland and to ensure that effective and co-ordinated responses to sectarian and racial intimidation are made".
- 1.4 The brief for this research is the "provision of a report collating responses to the *Shared Future* consultation and evaluation of the consultation process and its inclusivity."

Specifically, the terms of reference for the work were:

- to give an accurate and balanced analysis of the diversity of opinions;
 - to draw out the main themes and answers given to the seven general questions in the document;
 - to identify opposing views within the main themes and draw out policy implications that might result;
 - to sketch out the main policies that would be resultant from the main conflicting views of respondents;
 - to summarise the themes and policy implications identified;
 - to evaluate the inclusivity and the methodology of the consultation process;
 - to provide an executive summary and comprehensive report of the findings; and
 - to identify further work and research in order to inform policy formulation and evaluation.
- 1.5 The consultation deadline for *A Shared Future* was 31st July but this was subsequently extended to 30th September 2003, although submissions were accepted into October. The data comprised several sources:

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- (a) There were 504 written responses ranging across public, private and voluntary & community organisations, ethnic minority groups, youth/schools, individual respondents, elected representatives, political parties, trade unions, churches and other faith group organisations. The responses have been archived on the OFMDFM web site.
 - (b) The Office of the Minister and Deputy First Minister also commissioned a series of questions (broadly reflective of those posed in the Consultation Paper) in the April 2003 Omnibus Survey - a random sample of 1,240 respondents across Northern Ireland.
 - (c) A series of focus groups were facilitated with people of different ages, religions, class and geographical location, each group comprising between 8 - 12 people.
 - (d) The Community Relations Council (CRC) also conducted workshops to elicit views and opinions from as wide a section of the population as possible.
 - (e) OFMDFM also proactively targeted some groups/stakeholders to encourage an inclusive response.
- 1.6 Our approach to the task involved a literature search on community relations policy and reading the submissions in detail. We adopted the following methodology for the submissions:
- i) We prepared a matrix based on the seven questions highlighted in *A Shared Future*. An additional category provided for 'Other Themes'. Each response was coded in abbreviated form under the seven questions.
 - ii) Comments were also recorded in more detail for each of the seven questions. These included longer descriptions of each set of answers, and appropriate quotations.
 - iii) Some respondents used alternative methods, adopting a tripartite pro-forma version which CRC prepared to assist respondents (What is your vision? What do we need to do to get to that vision? Who should deliver it?) or a variant of it prepared by other facilitators. Most of these responses were easily adapted to the matrix already described.
 - iv) Specific themes which emerged spontaneously from the submissions were also recorded separately. These included a number of the responses which do not fit neatly under the seven questions.
 - v) Any comments about the consultation process or procedure were also recorded separately.
 - vi) We independently analysed, using SPSS, the data gathered through the Omnibus survey (see appendix 1 - for the details of this analysis).
- 1.7 Both researchers read the responses. The analyses were carried out independently to avoid unduly influencing the other's interpretation, these were then exchanged and discussed before arriving at summary findings outlined in this document. This report formed the basis of a presentation for the conference *A Shared Future* organised by the Institute of Governance, Public Policy and Social Research on 27th January 2004.

- 1.8 What follows are findings from the examination of the consultation responses and survey data. It must be **emphasised** that these have been collated to provide a summary response to what have been detailed and voluminous inputs from a range of organisations and individuals. Such brevity in reporting the findings cannot do justice to the richness of the detail we have read. The responses are available on the OFMDFM web site for further scrutiny.
- 1.9 The consultation document posed 7 key questions as follows:
- Do you agree that the overall aim for policy must be a more shared but pluralist society?
 - What do you think should be the main policy aims and outcomes which should drive the new approach to promoting good relations in society?
 - What do you think ought to be the principles upon which a new approach to promoting good relations in Northern Ireland should be based?
 - What action needs to be taken at local government and community level to underpin the development of good relations between and within communities?
 - What functions do you think should be carried out at regional level? Should these functions be delivered within Government or by an independent body, such as the Community Relations Council or a new statutory authority?
 - What action do you think central government should take to improve relations?
 - How do you think that a new strategy for improving relations ought to be monitored?

We consider the response to these questions in sequence.

2. General comments on the document

2.1 Before proceeding to the substance of the questions, a number of consultees raised general issues about the content of the document. We have necessarily highlighted the less positive comments here, but these should be set in the context of a significant groundswell of support for what the document was trying to achieve.

2.2 It was felt that insufficient detailed reference and linkage to the findings/recommendations of the Harbison Review were made in *A Shared Future*. As one consultee group noted:

The Government ensured that responses to the consultation were conducted in a vacuum by failing to publish the Review of Community Relations. This was later placed on the OFMDFM website without any public announcement or notification of those who had received the consultation document. As a result, *A Shared Future* is high in pious sentiments and correspondingly thin in discussion, argument and conclusions. This makes it difficult to comment meaningfully on the document.

The document lacked practical steps to undertake the proposals presented and was viewed more as aspirational in content. Or as one consultee put it, "the document admits persistent failure of the policy in the past, yet fails to state how future policy will address those failures".

2.3 A number of respondents commented on problems of definition or lack thereof. What precisely does "a shared and pluralist society" mean and whether this differed from "a shared but pluralistic society" mentioned in the section 2 of the consultation document. These were not issues of semantics but consultees argued that in the absence of working definitions it was difficult to assess whether the general and specific policy aims were legitimate and coherent goals to pursue. Similarly the terms "good relations", "community relations" and "improved relations" were used interchangeably and without specific definition. Typical of the ambiguity expressed around these terms were the questions posed by one group: "good relations - what is that, where did it come from, and what does it mean"? Others called for a discussion and debate about these terms. "There is no clear definition of what is meant by community relations. It is ironic that no definition is offered in *Shared Future* when its critique of existing policies notes 'they lacked a clear statement of what was meant by community relations'" (see: Annex B, section 6: page 26). Respondents were particularly sensitive to the language in the document, typical of which was the comment that the use of the term "shared" rather than "integrated" is preferred - "the latter has connotations of assimilation which engenders fear".

2.4 One political party offered the distinction that community relations should refer to the relations between the two main traditions in Northern Ireland. Good relations, on the other hand, go beyond the two communities by promoting relations between, for example, persons of different race and sexual

orientation. Because the breakdown in relations between the two main traditions has been the cause of greatest instability and violence, they argued, policy on good relations needs to reflect this.

- 2.5 Whilst there is an understandable emphasis on community background in the document as the major form of division, this tended to obscure other forms of division (ethnicity, social class, disability etc.). Many respondents mentioned the need to broaden what they saw as an implied "Catholic-Protestant" analysis to a more explicitly inclusive vision. Racial and ethnic minority respondents expressed this in particularly strong terms. They want to stress the need to address other groups, notably racial and ethnic minorities, but also travellers, the disabled, homosexuals and other groups which have either opted out or been excluded. "We are concerned about the continuation of an established bi-polar focus of Community Relations policy".
- 2.6 Many contributors challenged the classifications implied in the consultation document. The point that other groups existed – young people, the old, the disabled - but their presence was obscured by an emphasis on community background was powerfully made by a group of deaf people:

There are more speakers of sign language than there are speakers of Ulster Scots, yet there is no official recognition that this is a real language. English is not their first language, signing is.

Particular exception was taken to the exclusive use of the terms Catholic and Protestant, and the extent to which the document was dominated by this division. "People who don't fit into either of the two boxes", one of the 'other' respondents reported from her experience, "are forced into them anyway". A Protestant Irish speaker complained that "he did not fit into any of the ... categories".

- 2.7 One contributor developed this point:

A community relations strategy must attempt to deconstruct the two-community analysis of Northern Ireland society so as to weaken the perception that community relations and peace building refers only to relations between Catholic and Protestant communities. While it is poor relations between these communities that have resulted in much political violence in Northern Ireland, intra-community division is an equally critical problem which itself perpetuates inter-community divisions. Furthermore, encouraging good relations between all communities, including ethnic minorities, is part of the challenge to create the space to nurture respect for diversity, mutual understanding, respect for equity and interdependence. By placing the goal of respect for diversity and mutual understanding of all traditions at the heart of the "good relations" strategy, we also avoid the scenario where an over-focus on the two largest communities eventually helps to perpetuate divisions between them.

A parallel argument presented by some respondents was the need to tackle social and economic grievances if good relations were to be achieved. "The only way forward for the population of this country is to tackle our social and employment needs ... This should be the only agenda".

- 2.8 There were some harsh criticisms of the whole approach which informed *Shared Future*. There cannot be good relations, critics argued, until there is equality of opportunity and outcome and full protection of human rights for all in society.

Good relations are a result of equality of outcomes and not vice versa. The policy document is based on a flawed analysis of the problem and ignores the Nationalist experience of the conflict which has been with the state and not with Protestant neighbours.

Moreover, they argued that policy considerations must be seen within an all-Ireland context and respect for the terms of the Belfast Agreement reflected in the document.

- 2.9 Some respondents challenged the limited terms of reference of the document and felt the it was "loaded" from the start by "assuming there would be a Northern Ireland in existence in 25 years time". Another group asked if the report's authors were open to "a prospect of there being no separate Northern Irish State in the future". The Government, they argued, must acknowledge that they are part of the problem as "they created the sectarian six county state that instigated sectarianism". There were strong challenges to the "crude, negative and simplistic paradigm of religious division" in the paper, and its emphasis on conflict management rather than conflict resolution. Some felt that the document pointed the finger at individuals and communities for sectarianism, rather than how "the system itself lays the foundation of suspicion, prejudice and alienation". In short, this perspective emphasised the culpability of the British Government to both the problem and solution of poor community relations and its most naked manifestation - sectarianism and bigotry.
- 2.10 An alternative but nonetheless hostile commentary on the document came from a small but significant number of respondents who made reference to *Shared Future's* alignment with the Belfast Agreement. For example, the document suggests the need for a "new policy that reflects the political, economic and social environment that is envisaged in the Belfast Agreement" (section 1.11 page 5). Predicating future policies on the principles set out in the Agreement presupposes political consent. Given, they argued, the growing lack of support for the Agreement, any policies to share our future based on this framework are destined to be opposed by anti-Agreement exponents.
- 2.11 Some contributors referred to the importance of 'dealing with the past'. They noted the lack of reference to this in the document and stressed that bereavement, physical disability, ongoing mental and emotional disturbance resulting from the conflict cannot be left unresolved. They stressed the need to acknowledge the pain of victims and put in place structures and processes to

facilitate healing. The ultimate goal in addressing these issues must be "forgiveness and transformation", both of which will be necessary in constructing a shared future. Tackling the most public incidents of the conflict has, to date, involved piecemeal reviews and enquiries. A more holistic approach is needed which addresses reconciliation and allows society to move on.

- 2.12 Some respondents questioned whether there was a greater propensity for those supportive of the *Shared Future* philosophy to engage in the consultation than those against the notion. It may seem churlish to oppose something defined as "shared" - it is a concept that is inherently difficult to disagree with. We return to this when we discuss the methodology adopted in the consultation process (see section 10). Concerns were also expressed that key related policies and programmes were proceeding before the outcome of the consultation is known e.g. Good Relations Strategy, Race Relations Strategy and Community Safety Strategy. This prompted questions as to whether the consultation process was tokenistic and a pre-determined agenda already in place. OFMDFM reject the claim that a good relations strategy has been proceeding.
- 2.13 Several key community relations practitioners urged Government to be bold in supporting imaginative initiatives which take risks but could prove successful. Or alternatively there must be an acceptance that well-intentioned and well-planned initiatives may not succeed. We must recognise that the environment in which this work is undertaken is volatile, can change with political or security events and is highly sensitive.

3. Overall policy aim

- 3.1 Essentially the *Shared Future* document asked "what should our vision for Northern Ireland be" as the choice between two alternatives:
- Accept that the existing patterns of segregation and division is likely to remain for some time, and focus our efforts on stabilising and managing the worst consequences of division, both between and within the two main communities.
 - Alternatively, we should try to promote rapid progress towards a more integrated and shared society.
- 3.2 The Government's vision was a more shared and pluralist society and this was the overwhelming view of respondents. "This is the only possible overall aim for policy ... there is a need to promote movement towards integration otherwise we stand still, entrenched in existing sectarianism and division". However, many recognised that the goal is aspirational rather than achievable in the short term. As one organisation put it: "while this is a vision that is not hard to share, the processes that might lead to its being realised will be complex and it will certainly not come about by default".
- 3.3 Segregation, as the *Shared Future* policy context outlines, is pervasive and based on strongly held fears and distrust which are culturally deep-rooted. Hence, the vision has to be incremental in moving forward. As one consultee described it: "peaceful co-existence cannot be considered feasible in the medium to long-term as this will only foster division and create competitiveness but it is perhaps, the necessary albeit distasteful stage between where we are now and where we aspire to go". This is at odds with reference in the document to promoting "more rapid progress towards a more integrated and shared society"(section 2.3).
- 3.4 The counter vision is sometimes referred to as a form of "benign apartheid" in which the best that can be hoped for is to manage the conflict by placing both communities on a separate, but equal, footing. As one respondent noted "apartheid was never benign in South Africa, and it can never be benign here". It offers the potential for separate communities with little or no common bonds or shared values to go their separate ways and live in a state of constant tension and suspicion of each other.
- 3.5 Some consultees worried that these options were presented as mutually exclusive or presented as a false choice. "... the choice seems sometimes to be posed between the two extremes of a continuum from forced segregation to forced integration". As one organisation argued "if this community is to be characterised as shared and pluralist, it is essential that there is tolerance for those who choose to live in single identity areas". Hence, they argued that a shared and plural society does **not** necessarily result in a more integrated society and we must respect the views of those who do not want closer integration. One consultee asserted:

These should not be thought of as alternative futures but as overlapping realities. Northern Ireland is both segregated and integrated. A vision for the future that aims for total integration and the ending of segregation remains unrealistic. Instead, a vision for the future will aim to enhance integration and reduce segregation, while recognising that the latter will always be present.

- 3.6 This opinion represented an uncomplicated approval of tolerance which saw no contradiction in endorsing pluralist objectives while advocating a ban on marches, sectarian graffiti, flags and painting of sidewalks. Others argued for "a shared and pluralist society" with a clear appreciation of the possible tension and ambiguity between them. They urged respect for diversity but criticised its more extreme expression.
- 3.7 It was suggested that the two aims of *Shared Future* should be sequential: start with the present reality of divisions, find intermediate methods to accommodate them in a pluralist setting, but seek a long-term aim to move towards a shared society. Many urged a realistic timeframe to change expectations and policy aims. "We have to deal with present realities while working towards a shared future based on plurality. Dealing with current patterns is necessary maintenance work but it must be seen in process terms as that".
- 3.8 Concerns were expressed about how the concept of a shared but pluralist society can be used in different and sometimes conflicting ways, in particular its association with policies which seek "the neutralisation of difference and promotion of homogenisation as opposed to diversity". Those who subscribe to this vision can regard the existence of Churches and faith-based communities as an obstacle to the vision of a shared and integrated society. On the other hand, Churches believed that "the right to be different and distinct remains at the heart of a more shared and pluralist society. Difference is not an obstacle to a shared society but an opportunity to benefit from the richness which flows from diversity. A genuinely pluralist society respects and promotes diversity".
- 3.9 To attain the goals of an integrated and shared society there must be a recognition that fear cements the status quo. This was expressed as follows: "fear keeps us frozen..fear of reprisal stops us intervening and so our sense of community is being destroyed by a few people who are capable of taking the law into their own hands and terrorising and intimidating their neighbours into a collusion of silence". Hence, in moving to a shared and pluralist society, "people's lives must change significantly if they are to feel the sense of safety and security necessary to enable them to engage with each other".
- 3.10 The removal of fear featured as a major theme. For some this meant more policing, and/or stronger legislation against the expression of sectarianism. This was particularly strongly expressed in the focus groups. One political party argued that tackling sectarianism, given its enormity in our society, was a pre-requisite to achieve a shared society and called for new laws to tackle sectarianism and hate crimes. The police, in turn, argued that there needs to be

a "clearly accepted definition of sectarianism and its dimensions". This, they claimed, would help facilitate their work in categorising sectarian motivated crimes. Several respondents noted how "low key" references were in the document to combating sectarian crime. They cited the passing reference to the role of the Northern Ireland Office and its contribution to the cross-departmental group on good relations (Section 4.33 page 17) when, in reality, it should be pivotal to tackling the key obstacle to a shared future - sectarianism.

- 3.11 For others, "softer" cross-community approaches would provide reassurance and diminish stereotypes and fears. "Fear and apathy are the main concerns. People are too scared to discuss issues of sectarianism". Whilst some argued that we must have stability (security and political) before moving to a shared and plural society, others suggested that these steps should not be seen as sequential - progress towards ending violence and tackling paramilitarism should not be a pre-condition to moving forward.
- 3.12 A significant number of respondents indicated the need for "risk taking", on the basis that present policies were too cautious and were not succeeding. But the risks suggested were unarticulated or general, and often in conflict with each other. As one organisation noted "the vision set out in the document is unexceptional but somewhat bland and seems to be a lowest common denominator. Something more inspirational is required".
- 3.13 The most common call was for stronger language and more insistence on integration. One contributor was more draconian: "Pull it down (Portadown) - rebuild it". Others were more directive: "the language within the strategy needs to be strengthened and more proactive ... sectarianism is not an option and that it will not be tolerated ... "We want" should be changed to "We will have" and "We wish" changed to "We will support".
- 3.14 A common theme was the urge to regard Northern Ireland's varied traditions as an asset rather than (or as well as) a liability. Typical of these comments were: "there is another story of mutual respect and dependence between different identities and communities". "There is more that unites us than divides us in Northern Ireland". "Promote what is common: beautiful country, great people, talents and ability of our young people".
- 3.15 *A Shared Future* notes that the aims of Government policy must be clear, unambiguous and specific. The problem is that support for the proposals of "a more shared and pluralist society" is equivocal. As one political party noted:

Whilst the objective of a shared society is important, it is essential that policy makers accept that due to the legacy of 30 years of violence and the continued political uncertainty, there are many within our society unable at this point to endorse such an aspiration. These views are legitimate and must be respected but equally these must not constrain others who are able and willing to develop a more shared society.

- 3.16 Several respondents criticised the policy aims as muddled and confusing, in direct contradiction of their expressed intention (section 2.1 page 7 of the document points out that the "aims of the policy must be clear, unambiguous and specific"). For example, one of the policy aims is "to try to promote more rapid progress towards a **more integrated and shared society**". The document goes on to argue for a policy whose aim will be "to develop a **more shared and pluralist society**". Finally, the document poses the question "do you agree that the overall aim for policy must be for a **more shared but pluralist society**" (our emphases)?
- 3.17 Several questions therefore emerged for consultees:
- Is an integrated society the same as a pluralist society?
 - What, if any, is the difference between a shared and pluralist society and a shared but pluralist society?
 - Could a pluralist society also be characterised as one where segregation and division are stabilised and successfully managed, hence a pluralist society could encompass existing divisions?

The policy options, as set out, caused considerable confusion and offered mixed messages on the expressed intent of Government.

- 3.18 Divided opinions on *A Shared Future* are borne out in the Omnibus data (see table 1 and figure 1 - Appendix 1) which show 58% support for a shared and integrated society and 39% support for accepting existing divisions and managing the consequences of division. These data do not offer clear policy direction for Government decision-makers. Importantly, Catholics are more likely to support Government policies which actively promote a more shared and integrated society than Protestants (see table 2 and figure 2 - Appendix 1).
- 3.19 Respondents to the Omnibus survey were also asked whether the Government should try to achieve more shared living (i.e. more mixed religion communities, safe shared facilities etc.) or leave things as they are and support shared living where it is wanted. Some 46% of respondents suggested the Government should try to achieve more sharing, whereas 50% felt they should leave things as they are and support shared living where it is wanted (see table 4 and figure 6 - Appendix 1). These results contrast with the previous question - the first question saw the majority of respondents reject the status quo, whereas most supported this option in the second question.
- 3.20 There is however a subtle difference in the way in which this question is posed. The option to 'leave things as they are and support shared living **where it is wanted**' (our emphasis) offered respondents a combined approach compared to the stark choices contained in question 1 (shared society versus managing a divided society). This may be the reason for the differences expressed in the two questions. Additionally, achieving more sharing living through, for example, mixed religion communities may have been seen as a more coercive approach or social engineering. Here again Catholics are more likely to support Government policies that try to achieve shared living than Protestants (see table 5 and figure 7 - Appendix 1).

- 3.21 These statistics beg the question, why is it that Catholics are more willing to support policies which promote an integrated society and try to achieve more shared living through mixed religion communities and safe shared facilities? Part of the answer may be an emerging confidence within the Catholic community bolstered by the Belfast Agreement and its outworkings - power sharing, cross-border bodies, statutory equality and human rights commissions etc. In the zero-sum politics that characterise Northern Ireland, such 'gains' by Catholics can be perceived as 'losses' to Protestants. Hence, the equality and human rights agenda can be seen as a concession to one community. Or as one focus group put it:

The civil rights movement was an uprising. But the division has swung. It is the Protestants that are now isolated. The Sinn Féin chant on equality is a joke. Nationalists have monopolised the idea. The issues of safety, freedom of movement and the rights of Protestants are ignored. The threat is to Protestant society and its symbols - how can wearing a poppy at work be a threat to anyone?

- 3.22 Perceived political 'gains' made by Nationalists and Republicans (on, for example, police recruitment quotas, demilitarisation and decommissioning) shore up this notion of the Catholic community in the ascendancy and an alienated Protestant community. Hence, policies that attempt to promote a shared and integrated society are viewed with suspicion by some Protestants and may be seen as part of the wider agenda of assimilation and integration.

4. Specific policy aims

- 4.1 The *Shared Future* document proposes a number of specific policy aims or outcomes to promote better relations as follows:
- To support the development of integrated/shared communities where people wish to learn, live, work and play together.
 - To encourage communication, tolerance and trust in areas where communities are living apart.
 - To promote respect, encouragement and celebration of different cultures, faiths and traditions.
 - To eliminate sectarianism and racism and to enable individuals to live and work without fear or intimidation.
 - To reduce tension and conflict at interface areas.
 - To shape policies, practices and institutions to enable trust and good relations to grow.
- 4.2 There was general agreement with the six specific policy aims or outcomes outlined in *A Shared Future*, although some described them as "nice" or "too aspirational". One respondent ironically pointed out that "it is felt inappropriate to describe them as "specific" since they are general and aspirational". A significant number of respondents considered the aims as too cautious and wanted a more direct commitment from Government to integrationist approaches, and the provision of incentives to encourage sharing. "Government should be more proactive and take responsibility for developing integrated communities".
- 4.3 A number of respondents again (referring back to the ambiguities in the overall policy aim) highlighted their concerns about the language used in relation to specific policy aims. For example, the document proposes "a number of specific aims **or** outcomes for policy to promote better relations" (Section 2.5: page 8). Yet the question posed for consultees was "what do you think should be the main policy aims **and** outcomes which drive the new approach to promoting good relations in society" (our emphasis)? This created confusion for respondents along the following lines:
- The aims of any policy are quite different from policy outcomes and cannot be used interchangeably as the document suggests.
 - Policy aims are concerned with what a good relations policy seeks to achieve; policy outcomes, on the other hand, are about the impact of the activities delivered through a good relations policy on society.
- 4.4 Specifically, there were concerns that developing "integrated/shared communities where people wish to learn, live, work and play together" was a middle-class concept predicated on people having the necessary finance and confidence to live in this way. The real challenge is to provide incentives for those in more disadvantaged communities to develop integrated living with safeguards to ensure their security. The key role here is for Government to take the lead by providing incentives to attract lower income families into affordable housing of mixed tenure and to tackle segregation. "The

responsibility is on Government to facilitate shared communities, since change cannot be easily brought about by people whose circumstances constrain their choices". This point was made in a general sense by several contributors who argued that Government policy should privilege sharing over separation - this is not the case at present, they contended - Government is seen to facilitate separation by reinforcing the status quo.

- 4.5 This was emphasised further by a number of respondents who argued that instead of "supporting the development of integrated/shared communities" we should be actively investing in creating and multiplying shared spaces where people experience safety rather than fear. Interestingly, however, housing was not always seen as a priority to promote 'shared living' since some argued that increasingly people spend less time where they live and most time at work, school, leisure and social outlets which should become the focus for integration and sharing.
- 4.6 Others commented that the document did not reflect adequately on the equality implications of the proposals outlined. Good relations, they argued, do **not** have precedence over equality of opportunity in Section 75. In other words, there cannot be good relations until there is equality of opportunity and outcome and the full protection for human rights for all in society. "Equality does not equal 'tolerance' - community relations is not a benign term but is offensive and undermines the basis of a real equality agenda". Or, as another contributor put it: "the active promotion of equality can lead to good relations but the active promotion of good relations will not lead to equality". One statutory sector consultee argued that:

Equality is a pre-requisite for good relations. A policy which aims to bring about a more shared and pluralist society must facilitate the recognition of inequalities (which exacerbate community tension), an understanding of others' needs and concerns by all sectors of society, and a willingness to come together to respond appropriately.

- 4.7 This point was emphasised by the argument that the principles of equality, justice and human rights should be central to the creation of better community relations. Respondents argued "these principles have been counter-posed as divisive and incompatible with the promotion of better relations by those unwilling to contemplate a more equal and fair distribution of power in our society". They went on to argue:

The promotion of greater equality and human rights - whether through pushing forward the Single Equality Act; deepening debate on a Bill of Rights; reducing poverty and social exclusion; tackling employment; education and health inequalities; or ensuring the implementation of the statutory duty of equality of opportunity - are pre-requisite measures to proactively promote better relations in society.

The link between good relations and the promotion of equality and social inclusion, they suggested, is not obvious in the consultation document. As one contributor claimed "the achievement of equality should be the *sine qua non*

of any community relations policy" or "any good relations strategy should be embedded in a strong equality and human right framework".

- 4.8 One political party proposed a National Reconciliation Unit to develop "a policy framework for the entrenching of equality and good relations across the island". There was concern at what some perceived to be a sidelining of issues of equality and human rights. One group starkly claimed that "improved community relations/good relations must start with equality".
- 4.9 Voluntary and community sector contributors argued that people must be supported to understand and progress the concepts of equality and human rights for all. These are directly related to the capacity to engage with 'improving relations'. They commented:

Legislation and implementation bodies have helped to raise the profile and progress the work of equality and human rights but a lot more is needed if they are to become shared aspirations rather than seen as a concession to one community.

We have, they suggested, moved towards an over-reliance on legislation rather than embracing the concept of equality and humans rights and there is a selective support for accompanying policies based on the idea that "it is okay if there is something to be gained".

- 4.10 "Encouraging communities which live apart to communicate and show tolerance and trust" was interpreted by many as single identity work. This received mixed reviews. Some argued it reinforced divisions ("better educated bigots") whilst others located their views within a social capital framework. Single identity work is necessary to "bond social capital" and to develop opportunities for "bridging social capital".
- 4.11 "Promoting respect, encouragement and celebration of different cultures, faiths and traditions" demanded in the case of ethnic minorities a prior "understanding and awareness" which should be included in this policy aim. Several contributing groups (e.g. Muslims, travellers) felt that there were few attempts made to understand their cultural traditions. An inclusive debate was suggested on whether all aspects of culture and tradition, particularly if they lead to threatening expression, can or should be automatically celebrated and promoted. There was also a strong tendency to single out education and young people as an essential target group. The introduction of a citizenship module in schools was commended but a plea made for venues and activities where young people can meet and interact.
- 4.12 "Eliminating sectarianism and racism to enable individuals to live and work without fear or intimidation" attracted many comments from contributors. These ranged from an acknowledgement that sectarianism could never be eliminated and required long-term attitudinal change through to the promotion of a zero-tolerance approach to sectarianism and racism enforced through stronger/new legislation. Many contributors argued that the most visible manifestations of sectarianism and racism must be addressed in the short-term.

Hence, direct action is needed to tackle sectarianism and race crime; bands which promote naked sectarianism and use paramilitary symbols; flags, murals and graffiti in mixed areas; greater efforts by public bodies (e.g. Housing Executive, Planning Service and PSNI) to ensure the creation and protection of shared space; and confronting paramilitary criminality which exerts a stranglehold on communities.

- 4.13 One respondent provided a stark description of living in a sectarian and racist society:

One of the major issues that stifle good relations is an acceptance of 'normality' which is in fact 'abnormal'. It is not 'normal' that: paramilitaries run many housing estates; people are intimidated out of certain areas because they are 'different' from the majority; we still do not have a functioning Assembly and Executive; the majority of our children are educated separately; we have learnt to avoid certain conversations in polite 'mixed' company; and many people feel safer living separately rather than in integrated estates.

- 4.14 The need to address interface areas as a priority was frequently mentioned, but in two distinct ways. First, many felt that sectarian confrontations at interface areas polluted community relationships in general and needed to be prioritised for funding support, additional policing and so on. Second, reference to interface areas implied North Belfast for a number of consultees, who cautioned against directing limited resources into flashpoint areas. They argued that there were many non-violent interfaces where a small minority community lived alongside a much larger majority community. There were concerns that a concentration on the obvious problems of interface areas fails to recognise these are a symptom of a much more systemic problem of sectarianism. As one contributor noted "throwing money at interface areas in response to violence and civil unrest is an exercise in papering over the cracks". Another identified the need to target interface areas "which are not always explicit and violent".

- 4.15 The business sector and trade unions were frustrated that they had struggled to implement fair employment practices in the workplace, without a similar systematic approach to good relations in the community, which meant that people left the work environment and returned to sectarian neighbourhoods and lifestyles. Just like the workplace, they argued, the public environment should be a neutral environment where the display of sectarian symbols should not be tolerated. As one trade union consultee noted:

The workplace has been reasonably free of sectarianism in recent years. And when incidents do arise, they are normally brought under control quickly and without rancour through the co-operation of unions and management. One important factor in this is the Joint Declaration signed by the Congress and the Confederation of British Industry in 1993 opposing discrimination, victimisation, intimidation or harassment in employment and supporting a neutral workplace. The

Joint Declaration provides a model which has the potential to be updated to take account of the debate on diversity.

The business and trade union sectors therefore felt let down that their efforts to promote good relations in the workplace had not been reciprocated in the community. "A *Shared Future* is severely weakened by its scant attention to the importance of the workplace in improving relations", calling for a correction in the next draft. A trade union complained that the report ignored the vital role of trade unions in tackling discrimination and promoting equality.

4.16 The Omnibus Survey asked respondents to rank the importance of the six policy aims set out in the *Shared Future* document (Section 2.5: page 8). Overall, there was a high level of agreement with the aims outlined, ranging from 91 - 97% who felt they were 'important' or 'very important'. Hence, ranking or prioritising these aims which attracted a large measure of consensus is difficult. If we simply rank the 'very important' category, the following order of importance emerges:

1. Eliminate sectarianism and racism and to enable individuals to live and work without fear or intimidation.
2. Reduce tension and conflict at interface areas.
3. Support the development of integrated/shared communities where people wish to learn, live, work and play together.
4. Encourage communication, tolerance and trust in areas where communities are living apart.
5. Shape policies, practices and institutions to enable trust and good relations to grow.
6. Promote respect, encouragement and celebration of different cultures, faiths and traditions.

(See tables 6 -11 and figures 8 - 13: Annex 1)

4.17 The rankings indicate support for practical measures to eliminate sectarianism and racism in the short-term through to more long-term attitudinal change such as promoting respect for different cultures, faiths and traditions. Hence, there is a hierarchy of preferences - begin by tackling the worst excesses of sectarianism and racism in a pragmatic way and put in place policies and programmes which will encourage communication, tolerance, trust and respect for different cultures, faiths and traditions over time. The results also show that Catholics saw each of the Government aims as significantly more important than Protestants (the distinction being 'very important' for the former and 'important' for the latter - see table 12, Annex 1). This further illustrates the stronger 'buy-in' of Catholics to the *Shared Future* agenda compared to their Protestant counterparts.

5. Fundamental Principles

5.1 The *Shared Future* document sets out a number of principles which the Government believes should underpin any policies or actions undertaken. These are as follows:

- acknowledgement of the problem;
- leadership from Government, elected and community representatives;
- the need for long-term, cross-Government and co-ordinated action;
- widespread ownership and engagement with key stakeholders (e.g. elected representatives, the private sector, public authorities; local community groups, trades unions, churches and faith-based organisations);
- the importance of local action - Government working in partnership with local communities;
- targeting (e.g. areas with high incidence or history of poor relations, especially interface areas; children and young people; good practice in the development and maintenance of good relations) complemented by action to promote good relations in society as a whole; and
- the broader perspective - recognition of the broader complex of relationships: cross-border, North-South and East-West.

Respondents were then asked "what do you think ought to be the principles upon which a new approach to promoting good relations in Northern Ireland should be based?"

5.2 In some ways this proved to be the most difficult question for respondents, overlapping with the Vision statement. Many groups provided a list of general qualities, but some terms dominated throughout. These were "tolerance", "respect", "justice", "partnership/sharing", and "openness/honesty". Others found the section unsatisfactory. "The proposals seem scattered and locally aimed whereas what is needed is large scale adjustment of attitudes throughout the whole community".

5.3 Those submissions which commented on the fundamental principles, as outlined, tended to agree with their broad import. In fact, it was pointed out that it would be difficult to disagree with principles such as 'leadership', 'widespread ownership and engagement' and the 'importance of local action'. Therein lies the problem. A small number of respondents saw these as little more than pious platitudes which added little practical value to the debate on improving good relations, in the absence of accompanying measures to operationalise these principles.

5.4 A key community relations practitioner organisation argued that the principles behind community relations and good relations refer directly to fundamental values. It contended:

The values of equity (fairness and justice), diversity (uniqueness, variety and choice) and interdependence (mutuality and social cohesion) continue to be the key interlocking principles to be applied to public policy making and to the new culture of public administration

and service. These principles must be seen to apply to the way services are delivered, the nature of the services that are delivered and to the process of engagement and decision-making by public bodies.

- 5.5 There were several criticisms of the principle 'acknowledgement of the problem' as identified by *Shared Future* and the narrow interpretation thereof. It states that there must be an acceptance that "the issue of the division between and within communities...is a major and continuing problem" (section 3.2: page 9). This, it was argued, is based on a set of assumptions which fail to concede the problem of the relationships between political communities and the British and Irish States. In addition, one contributor asserted:

The document sees the communities as the problem and imposes symmetry between the two religions which is clearly not the case..It is not possible to have good relations with someone who thinks you are socially, economically, religiously, ethnically and culturally inferior to the 'majority population' in the North.

- 5.6 Criticisms were also levelled at the avoidance of the 'real problem' of sectarianism. The document, it was suggested, needed to analyse how sectarianism had come about, was perpetuated, and could be challenged in all its manifestations at every level in society, including within the state.
- 5.7 Strong leadership was urged. Consultees focussed on the need for political leadership as fundamental to the attainment of a shared and plural society. What we now need, it was argued, "are leaders who are prepared to change the public dialogue and move us beyond the current political stalemate". Some commentaries were particularly scathing of politicians, typical of which was the concern that "we have a non-existent political leadership and a society that is democratically immature. Political leaders are mainstreaming sectarianism and blocking democracy at the highest levels". They must, it was argued, provide examples of relationship building and show respect for each other. "The responsibility of elected representatives includes that of modelling attitudes of respect and tolerance In practice, their behaviour and their utterances do not always reflect awareness of this responsibility". Comments were almost universally hostile. "We expect Government to cascade down an understanding of peace building. Instead we see conflict/ friction among politicians ... politicians have vested interests ... There is no leadership".
- 5.8 There was clear support for "the need for long-term cross-Government and co-ordinated action" (section 3.4: page 9). Good relations, it was argued, must permeate the decision-making process of public sector bodies rather than be seen as a tangential initiative lacking operational relevance. One good practice example cited was the *Partners for Change Strategy* instigated by the Development for Social Development to put principles and commitments into practice which build the relationship between Government and the voluntary and community sector. Therein each Government department commits (in a joined-up way) to specific actions to work with the sector to build a just and inclusive society, particularly in those areas of greatest need. A similar

initiative was called for in the policy area of good relations. Or as one organisation put it:

We believe that widespread ownership must be a fundamental principle that is developed by ensuring that any strategy developed is incorporated into all organisations' performance plans and organisational targets. 'What gets measured, gets managed'. Having a community relations strategy in the same way as public authorities have separate new Targeting Social Needs plans is not effective.

- 5.9 There was also little disagreement amongst contributors about the need for "widespread ownership and engagement" as advocated in the document (section 3.3: page 9). A new strategy, according to *Shared Future*, "must engage and be owned by all sectors of Northern Ireland society". Several consultees however highlighted the fact that one stakeholder group, conspicuous by its absence, was the media. Criticism of the media was common, and often linked with criticism of politicians. It was wide-ranging, including charges of "only reporting the bad news", reinforcing divisions and failing to adopt a positive attitude. There were demands for more social responsibility.
- 5.10 A group of journalists responding to the document pointed out that "generalisations about the media tend to be an exercise in shifting responsibility - shoot the messenger", and that "the media is not there to report 'nice' stories". As one commented: "send ten reporters to cover a story and, provided they don't talk to each other, you will get ten different stories". They pointed out the widespread ignorance of how news rooms work, and the need to 'manage' such events as the Good Friday Agreement.
- 5.11 Other contributors referred to the need for champions whether these were political, community leaders or ordinary citizens - "those who will stand up and be counted, those who will create models of best practice and those who will take risks for the furtherance of the strategy". The role played by the voluntary and community sector and trade unions in community leadership was frequently cited as making an ongoing contribution to peace building. The need to involve the community was a strong theme throughout the responses. "Prior to sharing, it is essential for communities to undergo capacity building".
- 5.12 One political party reinforced this notion of bottom-up local approaches to promoting good relations.

Very often (community relations) outcomes are driven by one or two exceptional people in the area concerned. Often these people have only limited resources but are able to inspire their community. The key requirements seem to be a base, a modest budget for office fixtures, communications and one or two part-time staff. These are the types of projects which should be encouraged and built upon, successful models should be adopted and adapted in other areas.

- 5.13 Targeting specific action at local and community levels received mixed reviews. Although the *Shared Future* document acknowledged that a balance had to be achieved between targeting and promoting good relations in society as a whole, there were doubts expressed about putting this into practice. Some contributors resented resources being skewed towards areas traditionally regarded as having poor community relations including interface areas (we return to this theme in section 6 of the report). One suggestion was to expand those targeted actions within *Shared Future* (section 3.7: page 9) to include "those groups that haven't historically been involved in community relations work but are now indicating a willingness to play their part creating a positive shared future".
- 5.14 One assessment of the principles, which captured many of the Republican responses, noted that the document refers to the root causes of division as "mistrust and suspicion". This, they argued, was "facile nonsense" and noted "the absence of reference to colonialism, imperialism and partition, and the thin intellectual base on which the document is based". In other words, the British Government needs to acknowledge "that it, the institution with the greatest level of power and resources is part of the problem".
- 5.15 Respondents detected huge hypocrisy around the issue of good relations because it is often presented as a problem created by marginalised communities. "All who live here contribute to what we are now. Those who feel that the problems are not of their making must share some responsibility for both the past and present and the job of building the future". Hence it was argued that the major challenge for Government was "to move mainstream society to the point that they accept that they have contributed to where we are now and must be involved in the change process". In terms of widespread ownership and engagement, consultees argued that all parts of the community and all agencies of Government, the public and private sectors must engage with the strategy.
- 5.16 One cross-border body stressed the failure of the document to highlight the "intimately connected issue of relations between both parts of the island" and argued for the need to recognise other relationships which contribute to ongoing instability, viz:
- Between the people of the Republic of Ireland and the Nationalist community in Northern Ireland.
 - The Unionist community in Northern Ireland and the people of the Republic of Ireland.
 - All communities on the island including those who identify themselves as neither Protestant, Catholic, Unionist or Nationalist.
- 5.17 In this section and elsewhere, arguments were presented for a need to confront the past, although only a few went so far as to suggest a Truth Commission. "There is a fundamental need to identify the underlying causes of conflict and seek to address them". Other similar comments included: "Sincere attempts at righting the wrongs of the past so that people may begin anew with fresh hope and no fear". "A body/commission to be set up to deal sensitively with our past history".

- 5.18 Some felt that the problem of "the legacy of the conflict" was "rather coyly" mentioned but not developed in the document. It was most frequently expressed as a need to address post-violence trauma, but also as a necessary precondition for drawing a line under past grievances and starting afresh. One voluntary group urged the need for "remembering and acknowledging the pain and loss people have suffered", and to support them in a variety of ways, including "hearing each others' hurt", and the "healing of memories". Another urged "willingness to forget past wrongs", but believed that victims were "entitled to expect some form of expressed regret on the part of the wrongdoers". "The IRA/Sinn Fein need to apologise", another respondent claimed.

6. Implications for Action

- 6.1 The document posed the question, "what action needs to be taken at local government and community level to underpin the development of good relations between and within communities?" The division of this question into three parts was useful in directing comments towards the respective roles of local government and community, regional bodies and central government. However the division created quite serious problems when respondents wished to emphasise approaches that did not easily fit into only one section. This was underlined by the fact that one of the main expressed demands was for better coordination between the different levels of policy and delivery. Indeed it appeared that confusion among some respondents about where to locate their comments within the tripartite arrangement may have reflected some ambiguity about current responsibilities in the provision of community relations services.
- 6.2 One such case was where the responsibility for training should be located, with different respondents suggesting it was necessary at all three levels. Training was identified as a major concern, across a wide variety of needs, including racial awareness training and psychological training for those involved in community relations work ("Any implementation plan will need to include training programmes.") "The Government should make training in good relations and Section 75 mandatory for all sectors, suggested one reconciliation group, and others followed with more specific applications: "Councillors should set a lead example and undertake courses in community relations", one group urged. Another demanded that "training should be widely and freely available for the voluntary and community sector". Perhaps the most common suggestion was the need to "develop anti-sectarian training with politicians and civil servants ... on a cross-agency basis, using models of good practice and building on what has been achieved to date". The difficulty in arranging inter-agency meetings to focus on community problems was a frequent cause for complaint. One group from a small village said "come and ask us what we need", and went on to write that they need "someone who is going to engage with us at the grass-roots level but has the ear at higher levels". The need for action at all these levels was almost universally accepted.
- 6.3 The division also frustrated a substantial number of respondents who urgently advocated the need for partnership and a comprehensive "joined-up" strategy between Government, local councils and community. Demand for better cohesion and better communication was a recurrent theme. One respondent complained about "too many agencies – from Government to local bodies – who contribute to the community relations sphere without necessarily having to consult with each other". Others felt that "clarification is required on the roles and responsibilities of the Equality Commission, CRC, OFMDFM with respect to promoting community relations". For example, the precise role of the Equality Commission in the area of community relations was misunderstood. While the Commission has a duty to offer advice to public authorities and others concerning the statutory equality and good relations duties under Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998, it does not have a remit to promote community relations in terms of community backgrounds.

On the other hand, it has a duty under the Race Relations Order 1997, to promote good relations between persons of different racial groups. It is obvious where confusion arises from the public's perspective.

- 6.4 Both of these issues (training and the need for coordination) were widely expressed cross-cutting concerns, not occasional complaints. In addition, although there is a section of the report designed to consider Government's role, the importance of leadership and example from the top was emphasised in all sections. The need for implementation from the bottom up, rooted in local communities, also permeated every section of Chapter 4 *Shared Future*. It was also difficult for those arguing for the need to mainstream racial awareness to find a suitable location for their argument, and the point is raised throughout Chapter 4 and elsewhere.
- 6.5 The Equality Commission attracted both praise and criticism, although not in equal measure. There was an acknowledgement that bringing together the functions of erstwhile single-issue bodies under one umbrella organisation had raised public consciousness of the wider equality agenda. This was particular true of those areas traditional overshadowed by the prominence of religious discrimination such as disability, gender and ethnicity, which have now assumed a much higher public profile.
- 6.6 Such praise, however, was eclipsed by criticism, particularly (but not exclusively) from the business sector. One response commented that "the Equality Commission is ineffective, providing no guide maps for action, waiting in the wings while issues around which it should be providing guidance are in the purview of the courts". Another referred to the Equality Commission as "a seemingly deeply unhappy organisation in which staff were not encouraged to learn and reflect from the wider community but are sent to impost, wave big sticks and generally strike fear into all those who meet them". The following quotation is typical of such criticisms:

The culture currently within the Equality Commission has resulted in the implementation of such important policies (equality and good relations) appearing to be more concerned with administration of paper trails (a tick box style approach to equality issues) than profound and creative debate and action in relation to underlying issues. This is a key concern and needs to be addressed as a priority.

- 6.7 Others attacked *Shared Future* for its "failure to set the debate within an equality and human rights context", and went on to argue that the Equality Commission "must play a major role under Section 75". It should have "a much stronger and more forthright role ... to spur local action", one council recommended. For some, the role played by the Commission at present in overseeing the statutory duties of public authorities to promote equality and good relations under Section 75 was perfunctory and mechanistic (although the role of the Equality Commission in 'promoting good relations' here is misunderstood - see 6.3 above). It was seen as "case driven" and lacked a challenge function, or as one political party commented "there is concern that the plethora of policies and implementation papers have meant little change in

practice". Others cautioned against "using the provisions of Section 75(2) as a legislative compliance route to social cohesion. Policies should support sharing, making it seen an attractive option". At present the Commission argued "it is considering, in the context of our own policy development and the current review of guidance documents,...what further advice it might usefully provide on the good relations duty".

- 6.8 Some respondents drew attention to the need for a more integrated approach to the work of the Equality Commission, Human Rights Commission, the Parades Commission and the Community Relations Council. If equality and human rights are seen as a pre-requisite to good relations, respondents argued, then it follows that there should be collaboration between these bodies. One group argued that "the CRC should not have regional control over community relations but that a revamped, more powerful Equality Commission should". However some believed that the CRC and the Equality Commission had clearly different functions: the Equality Commission is concerned with framing and implementing legislation to do with common justice; community relations has to deal with difficulties arising from emotions derived from ignorance and unreasonable assumptions.
- 6.9 Moving on to the role of local councils, "Community relations initiatives in councils have had a mixed record over the last ten years", was a view shared by many. Some felt there had been "a positive change in recent years about how councils do business". Despite concerns about the effectiveness and partisan nature of some local authorities, the dominant view was that councils should be the main bureaucratic vehicle for supporting good relations. "Councils need to play a more active and central role". Some believed that community relations should be a compulsory function for councils. "Community relations must be placed at the heart of the policy and actions of the local district councils. It cannot be seen as a burdensome function that must be fulfilled to satisfy the requirements of OFMDFM".
- 6.10 The call for additional funding was a common feature of responses, not least from the councils themselves. The council community relations programme should be strengthened by replacing the current 3-years renewable programme with a better financed permanent one. "Community relations programmes should be mainstreamed in the sense that they are funded permanently", one group believed. "It's folly to assume that any of these issues can be addressed in the short-term three year funding cycle" These calls for greater support for councils came with a number of conditions. These included: the adoption and implementation of community support plans; clearer guidance and enforcement as to how community relations funding can be used; and greater uniformity across councils in terms of the extent and quality of integration between community relations and other council responsibilities. Some went further. "Should budgetary penalties be introduced for those failing to prioritise community relations? ... Councils should be obliged to produce annual reports on community relations in their areas and what they're doing about it ...Perhaps there should be a Community Relations Ombudsman".

- 6.11 Suggestions were also made about the need to give community relations a higher profile within the Chief Executive's departments of local councils to ensure integration of this work across other departments and the need for greater collaboration with local strategy partnerships. The role played by councillors in promoting tolerance and diversity as public representatives was also highlighted. Relations in council chambers can be fractious and in a very public forum councillors can display the worst excesses of sectarian behaviour - this does little to promote good relations. There is, it was argued, a real need for civic leadership, a call repeated frequently whenever elected representatives were mentioned in the consultation process.
- 6.12 There was support for the idea that the Housing Executive and Roads Service should remove flags, murals and graffiti from their property in order to create and maintain neutral living environments. Local councils, some respondents demanded, should also take on the removal of inappropriate displays of "paramilitary flags and emblems from public spaces". One large group spoke for many others when it claimed that "the issue wasn't being dealt with and that it was something they felt very strongly about". "Paramilitaries are too powerful and they instil fear in people and terrorise them".
- 6.13 More generally, there was support for direct action to build capacity within groups, increasing their ability to work constructively with other communities and agencies, and indirect action through Government initiatives such as neighbourhood renewal/regeneration and social inclusion. Many examples of successful local initiatives were cited, at village and small town levels, between interest groups, often in the most unpromising circumstances. These parts of the mosaic, it was pointed out, are often ignored or unknown. "What works in one area will not necessarily work in another", one group of clergy pointed out. "There have been significant local initiatives which have achieved a measure of success but which are not known within the broader context of Northern Ireland". Specifically in terms of direct action there were several suggestions about the appropriate roles for specific groups and interests in the community.
- 6.14 There was strong support for local community action and community groups - all community relations approaches should be bottom-up (often in addition to top-down). The desire for closer coordination between community relations and community development was strongly felt, especially from community workers. One typical comment was: "Community relations/good relations work should be integrated with community development work, which is essentially a means of including and empowering people at community level". "Community development and community relations", in the views of a group of clergy, should be "developed as a common strategy". The need for improvement in cooperation between community groups and local authorities was also stressed. "At local level, community groups should work in partnership with the local councils ... all partners interested in the well being of the community should come under one umbrella group which would co-ordinate and direct operations from a central point".

- 6.15 A substantial number of groups expressed frustration at their inability to influence decision-makers and deliverers of local services ("We feel we have no say in council decisions"). Many felt that the strong community infrastructure in Northern Ireland was undervalued. "The voluntary and community sector in NI is one of the most developed in these islands and is a vital resource for assisting the peace process". "Community organisations", one group from a religiously mixed urban area suggested, "could offer local leadership and be a focus for a majority of people in the community who did want a shared future". Some believed that, while many Community Relations Officers did excellent work, they "were undermined by the conditions of their employment", particularly local political in-fighting.
- 6.16 "The report fails to assess the real role that the community and voluntary sector can and has played in tackling poverty and social exclusion", reflected a wider range of responses. There was considerable support for voluntary groups, especially inter-faith groups, and some expressed disappointment that Northern Ireland's rich voluntary and cultural sectors were not sufficiently utilised in the document. Comments included: "The voluntary sector, single-identity groups and faith-based organisations have a positive and important role to play in the development of good relations".
- 6.17 One group cited a 2003 study from Tilburg University showing that 86.1% of people in Northern Ireland claimed membership of a religious denomination. Consequently they and other respondents saw the churches as key agents for change. "Churches should be acknowledged as a key leadership group", one response argued, while another pointed out "the strength of churches is at local level and congregations and parishes could have a vital role". Some were critical of church leaders for their failure to lead positively. "Clergy themselves seem to be scared to both support and be active in church forums". Respondents involved in inter-faith activities or in church affairs stressed the role of cross-sectarian meetings among religious activists, at parish and leadership levels, some pointing to the positive role of church forums, and the need to support them. "Inter-church activity would be helpful", another respondent believed, "particularly youth projects offering fresh innovative approaches". A substantial number of Christian groups urged a return to 'gospel values', 'Christian principles' and similar terms, although another group believed that "churches must show a united voice on issues, both Christian and non-Christian". "Community relations officers have sometimes shown suspicion of the churches sector", it was suggested. One church group proposed three roles for churches: developing relationships with other churches; encouraging members in civic involvement; and working in local communities.
- 6.18 Considerable concern was expressed about the role of youth. Young people were presented (sometimes by the same respondents) as both trouble-makers and potential peace-makers. There were issues about their disruptive ability and the need to police it. "A shared future will be achieved by the children". Children and young people should be targeted as the custodians of the future, but there should also be a tougher approach to youth crime. Many cited the need for more contact between young people, and "venues and activities for

young people to meet". This in turn would encourage them to find a joint voice. One organisation working with children urged the need to consult with children and young people about "their views, opinions and needs", but others recognised that "community relations is not energising young people ... boring". Youth groups believed they were insufficiently consulted or catered for. A reconciliation body suggested an "annual *Shared Future* weekend residential conference for young people" who are interested in issues of diversity, and advocated encouraging the media to highlight this and other activities by young people. "At the moment we don't have much incentive to stay in NI, look for employment and live here", according to one group of ten rural youths. "Will this *Shared Future* be able to change that opinion?" The issues facing young people were well summarised by one group as ranging from "social exclusion, lack of facilities ... to bullying and community division"; they pointed out that the issues were often inter-related, as when bullying took a sectarian tone. "Young people should be acknowledged as assets within the *Shared Future* consultation", according to another youth group.

- 6.19 Some respondents felt that the work of women's groups in peace building was not sufficiently appreciated, funded or encouraged. A considerable number of respondents mentioned the need to acknowledge the role of women in maintaining a more effective approach to human relationships and negotiations. It was argued, and not only by women's groups, that the role of women in peacemaking had been highly positive at community level, but was undervalued and needed to be recognised and supported. "The women's sector in the North is more developed than in other parts of these islands", was one view. "Women's groups have played a key role in maintaining community stability and a sense of normality throughout difficult times in the past". There is a need to "acknowledge the success of the women's sector in promoting good practice ... and utilise this extensive experience in the delivery of new policies". Many urged a need "for women to be better represented in politics", and argued that "women's groups are especially well placed to assist in providing services for communities that are less accessible to statutory agencies".
- 6.20 Many respondents argued strongly that racial and ethnic groups were insufficiently considered in the consultation document, and that ethnic tensions were rising and likely to deteriorate. While acknowledging the importance of the Catholic-Protestant emphasis in the document, one youth group believed "it should also incorporate a wider debate on issues through Section 75 equality agenda, Human Rights agenda and the Youth service JEDI agenda, which highlighted race, gender, disability and sexual orientation". "It's all about Protestants and Catholics and it is as if we don't exist" one ethnic group claimed, urging the need for "capacity building programmes within minority ethnic communities". Responses from these minorities were among the strongest supporters of integrated schools, as more sensitive to diversity. Others pointed to the need for school curricula to include broader concerns – religious education to include non-Christian religions; the teaching of mother tongues in schools; non-Christian clergy to have access to schools; mainstream intercultural and racism awareness across the curriculum,

- especially history. Indeed, the inclusivity of some festivals and celebrations by ethnic minorities was contrasted favourable with July 12th and St. Patrick's day. One group looked forward to "more minority ethnic people employed in the public sector as a result of affirmative action", but others saw little in the document to encourage this. One focus group approved Enoch Powell's approach to immigrants - "If you don't let them in, then you don't have to put them out", but this was exceptional in its negative tone.
- 6.21 A number of Irish language organisations argued that support for the use of the language was provided only superficially, and that "linguistic diversity is a fundamentally integral part of cultural diversity". Some suggested that Government departments should provide dual-language facilities, as happened in Wales. "The impression given", wrote one, "is that the Irish language is another problem, rather than a cultural asset". One political party advocated an Irish language act "to guarantee the rights of Irish speakers" and wanted to promote the Irish language within all sectors of the Government and public sectors". There was also opposition from some groups at what they saw as discrimination in favour of the Irish language. "Irish should be a language like any other but it is given too much prominence in (integrated) schools at present", reported one such group.
- 6.22 References to the Irish Republic took two principal forms. First, some respondents indicated that their vision of a future Northern Ireland located it within a united island. Second, a small number indicated that the Irish Republic, as an involved close neighbour, should play a part in improving community relations in Northern Ireland. "Links should be strengthened through organic development on common shared issues. Placing a cross border overlay on activities can be artificial and limiting". Another argued that "the reconciliation agenda needs to be extended to the South of Ireland because it is not just people in the six border counties that have been damaged or hurt by the conflict in Northern Ireland".
- 6.23 A number of respondents, especially but not exclusively from the Unionist community, argued for the need to support single identity work. "Protestants in Derry do not experience the shared hands image ... on the document cover". Some Protestant groups contrasted this with the perception of the Catholic community. "Catholics are more community orientated ... Protestants very insular ... This exercise ... won't work without the single identity work – capacity building in order to give Protestants the confidence to work with Catholics". Others justified it on the basis of the inferior state of community development in Protestant communities. "Building cohesion within the Protestant working class communities is essential. The division has swung. It is the Protestants that are now isolated".
- 6.24 Targeting groups or areas for preferential support was the subject of much disagreement. Some argued that specific problems or groups should be singled out for particular attention, either for reasons of strategy or because they presented major problems. Others argued against scapegoating, saying that the problems were systemic and reached all levels in society. There was some concern about the emphasis on interface areas "because division and sectarianism limits choice in high and low income areas alike". "Sectarianism

is not just present in the violent interface areas of Northern Ireland", another group argued. "Sectarianism is embedded in all areas and classes in our society including Government itself". Some rural agencies believed there was an urban bias in targeting and pointed out that "interfaces exist at various levels", including townlands and border areas. Targeting resources to areas experiencing violence "may set a dangerous precedent for other communities to follow", one respondent argued, and another warned that funding should not be linked to "the bad behaviour syndrome". Generally, however, there was support for greater deployment of resources at local level. Whilst acknowledging that certain geographical areas face particular challenges "as a result of their sectarian geography", one well-established community organisation argued that localised approaches should:

- build on what already exists at both statutory and community level;
- be sensitive to the potential contribution of all stakeholders (including ex-prisoners/paramilitary influences);
- not adopt a Task Force approach which is bedevilled by crisis-driven short-termism;
- not develop an approach that is money-led; and
- not take undue refuge in the "lack of capacity" explanation which often bears no resemblance to the truth.

6.25 The Omnibus survey asked respondents to express their preference for which parts of society should be targeted with resources to promote good relations: children and young people; areas with a history of poor relations or high deprivation; promoting the spread of good practice in developing good relations; supporting areas where relations between communities are good; promoting good relations in urban areas; promoting good relations in rural areas; promoting good relations in Northern Ireland as a whole; and other.

6.26 Respondents' expressed preferences to this multiple response question were clear (see tables 15 & 16 - appendix 1). The first funding priority to promote good relations was children and young people, perhaps an acknowledgement that this sector represents the future for Northern Ireland, less encumbered by the divisions of the past. The second preference was to focus resources on promoting good relations in Northern Ireland as a whole. There is an acceptance in this choice that sectarianism is endemic, pervades all geographic areas and social classes, and that resources should be spread equitably. The third choice of respondents was to target those areas with a history of poor relations or high deprivation.

7. Action at the Regional Level

7.1 The document proposes that a number of key functions need to be carried out at the regional level:

- Effective oversight of, and action to support, local councils.
- Providing a challenge function to Government and district councils.
- Monitoring the implementation of community relations policies and strategies.
- Providing training and development, support, advice, guidance and a source of specialist expertise to district councils.
- Developing and producing good practice guidance.
- Increasing public awareness of, and encouraging debate on, community relations matters.
- Commissioning and carrying out research.
- Funding community and voluntary organisations to provide core community capacity and targeted innovative programmes.

At present the document states that these functions are the responsibility of CRC and OFMDFM and suggests they come together in one place. The document poses the questions "what functions should be carried out at the regional level? Should these functions be delivered within Government or by an independent body, such as the Community Relations Council or a new statutory authority?".

7.2 One comment was that the question was confusing "because it does not distinguish properly between the delivery of functions and the oversight of this delivery". There was broad agreement on the need for an independent body to take action at the regional level. There was a requirement, it was suggested, to monitor all actions regionally "with clear expectations of accountability at every level". The influence of party politics and distrust of politicians were cited as the main reasons for locating such a body outside Government. Other reasons included: the need for expertise and knowledge of good practices; support, advise, training; conducting research; funding and support for local initiatives; greater flexibility and innovation. However independent, there was wide concern that the body must work closely with Government and other stakeholders including: grassroots organisations; the private sector; the equality agenda; women's groups; politicians. A regional body needs "operational independence - a specialist body outside Government drawing on the expertise of practitioners". One respondent saw it as a "watchdog and a guidedog, not a new body. Too many and too much spent on these already".

7.3 Existing relationships between the Community Relations Council and the community at large were criticised for a variety of reasons, including unsatisfactory representation of rural communities, ethnic minority groups and people who could represent the "grass-roots, living-in-the-thick-of-things". The independent body, it was variously suggested, should include a larger representation of these interests, and should develop better contact with them where they live. "The new agency should be independent but accountable and should be community led", one large gathering agreed.

- 7.4 Whether this body should be the Community Relations Council as currently constituted was less clear. Four women respondents had never heard of the CRC and "they felt that this, in itself, reflected their effectiveness". Some were openly hostile, claiming the CRC "just seems to send out money". Others were ambivalent or lukewarm. One group felt that "the CRC has a middle-class academic image", but a not untypical view was that "the CRC has a solid track record". Perhaps the most commonly used phrase in the entire body of responses was "the last thing we need in Northern Ireland is another body". Some referred to weaknesses found in reviews of CRC's work resulting from "its tendency to implement community relations policies that are operationally rather than strategically driven and its inability to link grant allocation to an overall strategic plan".
- 7.5 Many qualified their support for the CRC as the prototype for the independent body by indicating that it would have to be "reconstituted" or "rejuvenated or more inclusive", or "probably the CRC with enhanced powers and authority". A view expressed especially by respondents from rural areas was the need for the need for a more flexible and global approach. A closer relationship was urged between the Council and the delivery of community relations at local level "One size doesn't fit all". There is a need, it was argued, to provide the independent body with greater powers of enforcement, or more teeth. Other typical comments included: "If the CRC continued, it must take more risks". "It needs to find better ways to influence Government". "Stronger legislative base with the power to insist". Many argued that the present role of the CRC should be developed to challenge Government more effectively, increase awareness, liaise with practitioners and advise on best practice. The CRC should, it was suggested, move away from delivering small grants to longer-term more strategic funding. A more radical suggestion was that core community relations funding for organisations should be mainstreamed through Government departments which would challenge them to commit the necessary resources and support for the work which has been low priority thus far. The acknowledged problem was that such a strategy might lead to risk-averse work by civil servants charged with this responsibility.
- 7.6 To reinforce the independence of the Community Relations Council it was argued that their funding should be less Government-dependent, and that a larger share should come from non-governmental sources. There should be open accountability to all its stakeholders, not just Government. One respondent urged the need for the CRC to publish "an annual report from the CRC on the implementation of community relations policy across Northern Ireland". The CRC itself recommended the establishment of "a reinvigorated regional body like CRC, perhaps with enhanced responsibilities and changed membership criteria" as having a vital role to play into the future. Opinions varied about the extent of the independent body's responsibilities. Among those suggested by a variety of respondents were:
- raising public awareness and debate around these policies;
 - raising the profile of community relations across the educational service;
 - supporting for on-the-ground initiatives;
 - commissioning research;

- monitoring how community relations have changed;
- investigations on community relations within specific sectors or localities;
- innovation involving sometimes risky projects;
- a consortium or centre for training and learning;
- encouraging innovation, greater flexibility and accessibility.

7.7 One political party argued that the Community Relations Council should be abolished and replaced with a Community Relations Board because "community relations policy to date has been based on the wrong premise, a premise based on undefined notions of equality and neutrality rather than tolerance and mutual respect in a truly pluralist society". Current community relations policies and programmes, the Party claims, have had little success. The Board, similar to the Policing Board, would comprise largely elected representatives on the basis of party political strength, with the remainder coming from those with experience in community relations. The Board would fall within the remit of the Office of the First and Deputy First Minister.

7.8 Another political party suggested a new Good Relations Commission to replace the Community Relations Council, set up as a non-departmental public body. This new Commission would have responsibility for funding good relations work at regional level and oversight of district councils which would deliver services and fund local bodies. Councils would draw up strategic plans for good relations in their areas subject to approval of the Good Relations Commission. The latter would promote good relations at regional level, carry out investigations into good relations, sectarianism and intolerance, challenge public bodies and provide advice to Government, the Equality Commission and District Councils.

7.9 Some felt that the function of community relations should be located within Government to indicate the centrality and importance of community relations, and because "nothing will change or get done" if the mechanism is not at the centre of Government. "Community relations must be integral to all Government departments", according to one response, urging the need for "a dedicated Government department ... to drive the change". One group advocated that the Government's Community Relations Unit was the most appropriate body to drive the development, integration and implementation of policy. CRU should be the "overall monitoring body", was one view, while the CRC's role should be "capacity building and support". Others advocated the amalgamation of the CRU and CRC "to streamline all community relations activity in one body". This was a minority view. An alternative reason given for locating the body within Government was general suspicion of quangos: an "unaccountable commission is not acceptable". One political party suggested that the appropriate body was a committee of the Northern Ireland Assembly accountable to elected representatives. Public confusion about the various bodies involved in CR support, and particularly on the roles of the CRC and CRU, needs to be removed. The need for clarity and better coordination was a constant theme.

7.10 The Omnibus survey asked respondents to express their preference for an organisation to oversee the good relations strategy - a Government unit, public

body, independent organisation, or other body? Some 41% thought an independent body should be charged with this responsibility, followed by 32% in favour of a Government unit, and 24% suggested a public body (see table 17 and figure 14: appendix 1).

8. Central Government

8.1 The document recognised the role that Government should play in order to improve relations including:

- An already established cross departmental group chaired by a minister and incorporating representatives from local government, the Housing Executive, the Police Service and the Community Relations Council.
- This group would develop an overarching strategic plan with associated actions and targets for the Executive to promote good relations between persons of different religious belief, political opinion or race.
- All departments should contribute to the new strategic plan on actions within their respective areas to promote better relations.

The document asks: "what action should central government take to improve relations"?

8.2 A substantial number of respondents found it difficult to distinguish between Government and politicians, and used this section to comment on political parties and leadership. According to one group, the document is "naïve to exclude consideration of the political system and the parties that play a part in it". A general disillusion with politicians permeated the responses and featured in almost every section. A dominant theme was the failure of politicians to "serve all" or to break from their sectarian roots. "The overriding problem within both communities at present is the concept of disenchantment where the political parties are not grasping the challenge of a better future for all the people". The attacks were often scathing, calling for "grown up politics espoused by grown up politicians". They should provide better examples, it was suggested, act as models of good community relations, and "give the lead in moving away from sectarianism". Apart from the strength of the attacks, the need for training in community relations was recommended for politicians at local and central levels. One political party wished to expand the aims of the document to include "work within the political institutions and with political parties to encourage them to address aspects of their policies and presentation that might serve to accentuate division and/or sectarianism".

8.3 The first response of one group to the question on Government's role was "Be there", an ironic comment on the current absence of the Assembly. Although a number of respondents were suspicious that an over-bureaucratic Government might stifle local energy in community relations, few disputed that the role of Government was crucial if matters are to be improved. Its role, suggested two residents' groups, was "to both manage the existing situation and promote longer term changes". Government's responsibility, in the view of many, is to devise and drive an over-arching strategic plan". Many expressed the hope that community relations should be at the heart of all Government business, and some groups suggested the need for a minister with particular responsibilities for community relations. Some pointed to the responsibility of OFMDFM to advise the Executive and Assembly on a framework for implementing community relations, and oversight of departments in promoting good relations. Improving relations needed to be at the centre of all Government

work with no opportunity for departments to opt out or consider it irrelevant to their work. "Good relations objectives should be core to each department's objectives and a comprehensive plan should be produced for consultation. Above all, it should be ensured that no department's policies encourage separation".

- 8.4 The need for OFMDFM to provide leadership, direction and examples of good practice was constantly reiterated. Its role was seen as central in ensuring that provision was collective, coordinated, well-funded and efficient. Part of the reason for the almost universal acceptance of central government involvement was the expressed need for stronger action on a range of fronts, including stronger legislation on policing, greater financial provision, and policy change which could only be provided by Government. Many asked for a more proactive approach from Government. The banning of flags, murals and kerb painting were popular demands, which was singled out as "an area of particular concern to the business community". "Good relations is the central core function, not sidelined". The responsibility falls on all social partners, but mainly Government.
- 8.5 A number of specific comments were made in relation to different Government departments, but these were outweighed by general demands for better co-ordination between different arms of Government, the term "joined-up" Government appearing frequently. The views of one church group echoed a very large number of responses: "There needs to be at the heart of Government a co-ordinated and joined-up commitment to improving community relations in all its forms". Many community groups complained about the difficulty in involving more than one department or public body, especially in deprived and interface areas. "The Government needs to be much more co-ordinated and integrated in its approach. There is need for Government, agencies and community organisations to work much more closely in partnership to develop integrated plans for the social, economic and environmental regeneration of interface areas". One cross-border body suggested a more elaborate structure comprising a cross departmental *Shared Future* Committee reporting directly to the First and Deputy First Ministers, a community relations committee in the Assembly, and the establishment of *A Shared Future* Commission as an independent multi-agency organisation co-ordinated by an arms-length independent body with an identified budget.
- 8.6 There was broad support for a cross-departmental group chaired by a Minister, which attached Executive importance to the task, although participants at one meeting articulated concern that the "proposed cross-departmental group had the potential to turn into yet another quango". It should be "located at ministerial level rather than simply chaired at that level", according to another response. Similar attempts in the past, it was alleged, had been "neutered by civil servants", urging that the group should be a Citizens' Board, including politicians, citizens and civil servants. Some apprehension was expressed that any new cross-departmental initiative might suffer the same fate as Policy Appraisal and Fair Treatment (PAFT) to which departments paid lip-service. One consultee put it thus: "what needs to be avoided is a cross-departmental arrangement where responsibility is everyone's and no-one's". The fact that the

Equality Commission is not part of the cross-departmental group was seen by some as reinforcing failed community relations policies which are not inextricably linked to the equality agenda.

- 8.7 One political party also advocated a new form of policy proofing entitled Policy Appraisal for Sharing over Separation (PASS), similar in its operation to equality or rural proofing. PASS would "assess the impact of every policy initiative on communal divisions. Those that promote sharing, or are neutral, should be preferred, while those that further separation eliminated".
- 8.8 The point was made that community relations should be the business of all. Some asked if all departments were committed, and more than one group urged the need for each department to set targets for themselves or "provide a Departmental Action Plan outlining how they view their role in the implementation of the strategy and what action they will take". Clarification was needed about departmental roles. "Joined-up commitment is needed at the heart of Government. A strategic plan for the Executive must include acceptance of interdepartmental co-operation". "Some departments are left out of consideration", it was pointed out, "even when the document professes that a joined-up approach is needed". Respondents enquired why the work of other Government departments (e.g. DHSSPS, DARD, DETI and DEL) was not cited in the document. The omission of the Department of Agriculture and Rural Development "would appear to suggest that no problems of a cross-community nature exist in rural areas", and the document also "ignores the potential role" of the Department of Employment and Learning". One respondent advocated locating responsibility for community relations in DCAL.
- 8.9 Although many groups emphasised that every department of Government must be involved in community relations policy, concern was expressed that they appeared to be dominated by Government's responsibilities for security and law and order; education; and housing and planning, and on the departments or agencies responsibility for these.
- 8.10 Security - law & order, education and housing:
- Law & Order
- 8.10.1 There were more comments on security matters than on any other non-directed question. These fell into three main themes: law and order, paramilitaries and policing. A general gloom was reflected in many responses that crime was increasing, respect for authority diminishing, and that this was connected to a general fear encouraged by continuing paramilitary presence. "Safety is the paramount issue in North Belfast", reported one group, and many believed that law and order was "integral" to peace and better community relations. "Crime barons must be taken out of commission ... people on the ground must feel safe. There has been a "marked increase in violence, particularly among young people", according to a focus group from Belfast, which also referred to a "general breakdown in law and order ... lack of respect for authority". "People are scared", was a dominant theme, and the policy implication was that

"individuals (should) feel free to be themselves without fear of retribution". One political party called for the introduction of a new Sectarian and Hate Crimes Act to include (*inter alia*) tougher sentences for crimes motivated by sectarianism or other forms of intolerance, overhaul of the law on incitement to hatred, and priority enforcement against flags and graffiti in mixed areas.

8.10.2 Much of the cause for this fear was laid at the feet of paramilitary organisations. One underlying obstacle to good relations, a voluntary group believed, "is an acceptance of a normality which is in fact abnormal", citing in particular the pervasive presence of paramilitaries. There was wide concern that paramilitaries had become part of the fabric of society, and that the issue had to be tackled directly. "Treat terrorists equally with rapists and paedophiles", one respondent urged. "They are criminals, nothing more, nothing less". The removal of sectarian graffiti, barricades and murals was a frequent demand ("The first thing ... get rid of paramilitary flags and emblems from public spaces"). However, a major housing agency believed that "graffiti, murals and memorials are features of a deeper subculture where populist symbols are vital to the way in which paramilitaries and some communities legitimate themselves", and pointed out the danger of demonising segregated or enclaved communities. "Fear, not sectarianism, drives the people's desire to cluster with members of their own community".

8.10.3 Stronger policing and a greater police presence were advocated as means of diminishing fear, and there were calls for support for the PSNI. Some regarded policing as "the main issue". The major problem, according to one response, is that the "renamed police force is trusted by neither the Nationalists nor the Unionists". One group did "not consider that the police are dealing adequately with sectarian or other crime", another that "the police are ineffective ... there is a huge problem of Loyalist paramilitarism within interface areas". An American resident in Northern Ireland condemned "a police service which tolerates and even appears to be genuinely intimidated by illegal Republican and Loyalist terrorist-paramilitaries from doing their job". "The police don't do their job", reported another group. "They aren't prepared to tackle gangsters and crime". The best way to diminish these criticisms is the creation of "an entirely acceptable police force", according to one response or, as another put it, "a just, caring and upright force". Some respondents expressed strong opposition to the 50-50 PSNI rule on admissions to the police force, although one suggested that "PSNI recruitment should be 40-40-20, not 50-50".

Education

8.10.4 Education was a major concern for respondents, mainly but not exclusively for three reasons: the integration debate, education for mutual understanding, and curricular reform. There was strong support from youth organisations for the recommendation that "the Department of Education should lead on co-ordinated action involving schools, teacher training, curricular development and the Youth Service to promote better

relations among children and young people". It was also pointed out that the document made no reference to the further education sector, which could have "a vital role" in creating a shared society.

- 8.10.5 Feeling ran high on the question of integrated education, among the most common themes in the consultation exercise. A large number of respondents, including almost all the submissions from ethnic and racial minorities, advocated integrated education, sometimes as a proxy for improved relationships. A significant number of respondents wished to see integrated schools more proactively supported by "mainstream Government funding", some arguing for preferential treatment for Northern Ireland Council for Integrated Education. It was suggested that delays in approving integrated schools were discriminatory. One organisation, active in encouraging integrated schooling, recommended the creation of a body "to develop a strategy for the development of the integrated schools sector", and that the Department of Education should conduct a community audit to ascertain local needs and desires on educational provision when school building or rebuilding was being considered.
- 8.10.6 Others were less enthusiastic. A "major concern about the document is that, even before consultation, integrated education seems already to be the preferred option, despite lack of a solid research base." Some transfers from controlled to integrated status were criticised as insincere and opportunistic, "a cop out". "This form of integration (i.e. transfers from controlled status) actually deepens divisions rather than healing them". A substantial number of respondents defended Catholic schools, arguing that there was the evidence that segregation caused division was "anecdotal", and that Catholic schools also aimed "to assist our society to move beyond its deeply ingrained divisions". A supporter of Catholic schools proposed that "the positive contribution of Church schooling in a pluralist society is increasingly being recognised throughout Europe". Some Catholic groups acknowledged that "Government has made a commitment to integrated education", but pointed out that the Department of Education "also have a duty to support parental choice". "It should never be implied", the Board of Governors of a Catholic Grammar school argued, "that the existence of separated/Catholic schools is a cause of the 'deep divisions' in our society". One recurring theme was the possibility of integrating teacher training institutions, including "joint in-service training of teachers and community youth workers". One response asserted that "there is no academic reason for two segregated colleges and recommends that they should be amalgamated and secularised".
- 8.10.7 Alongside, and sometimes in competition with, the debate on integration, there was support for a more rigorous approach to Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU). A churches' group was "concerned that integrated schools can at times in practice give a secular rather than a reconciling Christian environment" and advocated more education on sectarianism in denominational schools. A teachers' union pointed out that "there are currently many examples of excellent cross-community initiatives

between schools", and many wanted such schemes supported more strongly. The present EMU programmes "came under a lot of criticism" from one young group, some of its members claiming it had "very limited success" and others that "it had a detrimental effect on them". "EMU initiatives are laughable", was one response, while another believed "EMU should be replaced by a more robust programme". "All schools, controlled, maintained and independent, should promote diversity", and a review of EMU in the light of *A Shared Future* was frequently urged. Others advocated greater levels of contact short of integration, including shared campuses. There were some pleas for greater support for holiday schemes.

- 8.10.8 Demand for changes in the curriculum of schools, including a "good citizenship" module in schools to help understand sectarianism, were common. One group expressed concern "that the new citizenship part of the curriculum would not be resourced or staffed adequately". "The introduction of 'good citizenship' into the formal curriculum of schools must build on these initiatives and must recognise the value of co-operation".

Housing

- 8.10.9 The "failure of *A Shared Future* to make proposals to reduce segregation or encourage and facilitate sharing" in housing was widely condemned. Protestant groups in Belfast referred to Republican attempts to take over their territory. Catholics claimed that "there are 800 families on the Northern Ireland Housing Executive waiting list" and argued that "Protestants perceive this shift as territorial encroachment whereas Catholics are attempting to resolve problems of need." Those who wish to live in integrated housing, especially those "in mixed marriages or mixed relationships", are currently poorly served. It was suggested that the encouragement and support of integrated housing, "and the concomitant resources" should be given a much higher priority than it is in the document. The primary issue for one existing working-class integrated community which felt under threat, was "TO STAY MIXED (their capitals), arguing that one benefit from their integrated state was "the paramilitaries are not seen here – we hope this document can help".

- 8.10.10 The Northern Ireland Housing Executive, some argued, should encourage mixing, possibly through "attempts at piloting non-segregated housing ... underpinned by a range of support". Another working-class integrated community pointed to their difficulties in resisting sectarian drift. It went on to suggest that the maintenance of mixed areas could be greatly enhanced by specific funding to support such areas, by researching good practice, and by influencing the Housing Executive and private landlords to help maintain these. It was widely agreed that housing, especially in Belfast, was a priority for community relations. As one group put it, "new housing developments are becoming new interfaces". Nor was this problem confined to religious divisions. It was pointed out that the housing of such groups as refugees, travellers or people from ethnic

minorities was an increasing problem, often because some local communities deemed them unacceptable.

8.10.11 The Housing Executive has proposed a number of community relations aims which include:

- To respect the rights of people who choose to live in single identity neighbourhoods.
- To facilitate and encourage integrated housing as far as this is practicable, desirable and safe.

The Housing Executive's response to the contentious issue of mixed housing is:

The imperative of promoting good relations is to create real choice and not to socially engineer communities. The Housing Executive will support the choice of people who choose to live in single identity or integrated neighbourhoods.

They argued that needs have informed housing policy for decades and needs-based planning and resource allocation should continue to set the context for housing policy and delivery.

8.11 The Omnibus survey asked respondents to rank order which bodies should be responsible for promoting good relations: Government; district councils; elected representatives (MLAs, Councillors); private sector; public authorities (education authorities, youth services, Housing Executive); local community groups; trade unions; churches; faith based organisations; and others.

8.12 The results of this multiple response show the Government as the preferred body responsible for promoting good relations, followed by local community groups and third, elected representatives (MLAs, Councillors) - see tables 13 & 14: appendix 1. That said, the choices presented to respondents here were ambiguous. For example, could respondents distinguish between public authorities and Government as mutually exclusive choices? Are elected representatives not also district councils? Equally, could they differentiate between churches and faith based organisations? The high ranking attributed to the role of local community groups is evidence that addressing the good relations policy agenda must be both top-down and bottom-up.

9. Monitoring and evaluation

- 9.1 The *Shared Future* document recognised that monitoring, evaluation and Review of the impact of the new strategy must be an integral part of the strategy itself. Respondents were asked: How do you think that a new strategy for improving relations ought to be monitored?
- 9.2 This was one of the questions most neglected by respondents, although a number of thoughtful and knowledgeable responses indicated that monitoring and evaluation were essential. Before looking for new approaches, we "need to look at the impact of past and present practices". Another asked: "where has the evaluation of the PEACE Programme gone?", and recommended "a more local extension of the Life and Times survey". It was further noted that "while the policy aims are laudable, they are not easily quantifiable".
- 9.3 Respondents mentioned the need to find models of good practice, both locally and internationally. The document was thought to be too inward-looking, and urged the need to "develop use of international models of peace making and mainstream these". The need to seek out local examples of good practice was highlighted, to reward it and to publicise it. ("Proactively reward agencies who develop good relations policies"). A major housing body pointed out that "much good practice had been developed 'on the job'", and the need to build on it. It expressed concern that "much of this skill base will be lost as staff leave the organisation and the Troubles recede". "Strong role models and examples of good practice are an essential requirement of good relations policy".
- 9.4 Perhaps stimulated by the examples cited in the document, a variety of indicators were suggested to monitor and evaluate the extent to which relationships are improving or declining. The incidence of flags and emblems was a common suggestion, but some considered this a "crude" measure. There was also a caution against regarding paramilitary violence as a reliable indicator, because this was often due to infighting. Many others were suggested, including 27 specific suggestions from a single group, but the general view was that a carefully chosen package of indicators would indicate "the general trends in community relations". One trade union group suggested "a reasonable number of targets involving firm, measurable improvements at Northern Ireland level, district level and local level", and another group wanted to monitor the annual financial cost of segregation and violence. Some responses cautioned against the danger of over-monitoring. "There is a widespread perception that this is happening with Section 75".
- 9.5 The most frequently mentioned indicators fell into three general categories:
- 9.5.1 Violence indicators
 Number of Peace walls
 Number of recorded violent incidents
 Appearance of sectarian symbols (flags and emblems) in public areas
 Number of disputed marches
 Number of recorded sectarian, racist and homophobic attacks/incidents

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- 9.5.2 Bridging indicators
 Proportion of children attending integrated schools
 Proportion of people living in mixed areas
 Number of shared public facilities and shared interaction there
 Level of integration of workforces, schools, housing areas
 Proportion of marriages that are mixed
 Greater traffic across sectarian divides
 Content of community relations programmes and numbers participating.
- 9.5.3. Indicators of attitude changes
 Attitude change/increase in perception of improved relations
 "People voting outside their perceived designation"
 Attitudinal survey data on perceived relationships between communities, travel fears, changes in behaviour etc.
 Improvements in relationships north-south and east-west
 The end of the need for quotas.
- 9.6 Who should monitor? A substantial majority of respondents favoured an independent body, one adding "an independent body who implements and monitors the policies". Some believed there should be international involvement in monitoring, either because they suspect local bodies, or in order to introduce the advantage of international expertise and models. A voluntary body pointed out that "evaluation demands are seen by many groups to be driven purely by the short term and often technical requirements of funders", and urged the need for evaluation to be jointly negotiated by groups and funding bodies to include "learning accountability". In either case, "the results of evaluation must be available to all".
- 9.7 The Omnibus survey asked interviewees what best indicates an improvement in relations between communities. They ranked: a decrease in sectarian incidents; increase in integrated education; increase in cross-community contact and co-operation, respectively (see tables: 18 & 19: appendix 1).

10. The consultation process

- 10.1 The consultation process for *A Shared Future* began with the publication of the consultation paper in January 2003, and the first response arrived in February. The process employed a number of methods "to ascertain the views of organisations and individuals", including:
- (a) A series of focus groups were facilitated with people of different ages, religions, class and geographic location, each group comprising between 8 and 12 people.
 - (b) A short module of questions placed in the Northern Ireland Omnibus survey in April 2003.
 - (c) Workshops conducted by the Community Relations Unit, "with the assistance of the Community Relations Council" to raise awareness of the consultation process among the voluntary and community sector and among businesses. Other bodies, including Young Citizens in Action, VSB and some district councils, also helped to stimulate responses.
 - (d) Advertisements in newspapers inviting people to telephone, write or go online to receive a copy of the document and a response form.
 - (e) A total of 504 responses were received between February and October 2003. A small number of these commented on the consultation process.
- 10.2 It is clear from the responses that the work carried out by OFMDFM in publicising and explaining the exercise encouraged many interests, that would otherwise have been under-represented, to participate in the consultation. The response deadline was also extended to facilitate all who had not responded. This work was openly appreciated by a number of those responding, and certainly helped to broaden significantly the range of opinions represented. OFMDFM made efforts to contact organisations representing section 75 groups to elicit responses to the document. A number did not feel it necessary to respond to this invitation.
- 10.3 Northern Ireland's Assembly and Executive were in suspension during the period of the consultation. For many this not only provided an unfortunate example of failed political communication, but meant that the consultation suffered from lack of "full and frank consideration of this document and the issues it raises on the floor of the Assembly".
- 10.4 A substantial number of responses expressed surprise or disappointment that the Harbison report had not been published (few people seemed to realise that it belatedly appeared on the web). Many contrasted the two documents, to the disadvantage of *A Shared Future*, claiming that the Harbison report "appears to be informed by a somewhat deeper understanding of the complex and different levels at which work on good relations needs to happen".
- 10.5 Some respondents felt that the consultation paper was "a long way from reality" and rather "heady". One group suggested that, while the document was a good template "it is very technical and lacks life. It is uninspired, It needs the input of poets, artists, musicians and children. There is a need for innovation. People are tired of hearing the same old thing, over and over". Other

participants were puzzled as to why there was no analysis of (community relations) policy failure in the past". Another group approved the document because it did not ground itself in the past, and believed that there is a "need for celebration of how far we've come". The overwhelming view was that the consultation process was seriously conceived and efficiently executed. There are obvious difficulties about ensuring a comprehensive response. Some of these merit comment in the hope of improving public consultations in the future.

- 10.6 *The problem of public awareness:* It is notoriously difficult to reach a general audience in such consultation exercises. Despite the serious efforts to publicise *A Shared Future* and the consultation process, a significant number of responses remarked that "no-one in the group had read or heard of the document prior to the consultation". "Publicity and promotion of the document not adequate ... cynicism very evident in the general community". This was particularly noted in the focus groups, which had been assembled with the help of MORI MRC to select small areas and groups that fitted specific demographic factors, and whose members had no obvious partial interest in community relations policy. One group contrasted the low level of interest in the consultation exercise with the major public interest in the debate about the future of railways, and thought that the key was the need to encourage "creativity and innovation in approaches to opening up dialogue".
- 10.7 Some of the respondents remarked on the need to heighten the profile of the consultation paper through "a mass media attack", including posters and advertisements. It is noted that responses to the document were "advertised widely in newspapers", but that no mention was made of television coverage. It may be worth exploring a more innovative approach through television in similar exercises in the future. One response pointed out that "Government had originally promised to send a copy of the document around all households. What happened to this promise"? In fact, no such promise was given. "*A Shared Future* .. should have been distributed to every household in NI, as it was with the Good Friday Agreement" .
- 10.8 *The problem of selective responses:* Responses to any public consultation attract particular attention from individuals and organisations with a special interest in the issue. This is inevitable, and even desirable, as these bodies are better informed and better prepared to comment in a constructive and realistic manner. In this instance it was necessary to reach beyond this primary constituency towards at least two other groups - those who are opposed to the Government's approach to community relations, and those who are apathetic or lack confidence in expressing their views. Both these groups may be less involved in the debate, but they are equally affected by its consequences. The problem is compounded if there are elements in the community, as there clearly are, who are hostile, sceptical or indifferent about public policy on community relations. There are clearly such elements in Northern Ireland, and some of the focus group discussions were noticeably more critical and pessimistic than other responses. Scepticism is also reflected in the Omnibus survey, where 50% of respondents believed that the Government should "leave things as they are and support shared living where it is wanted", rather than

"try to achieve more shared living" (see tables 4 & 5 and figures 6 & 7 - appendix 1). This is not to suggest that either the Omnibus survey or the submissions are a better reflection of public opinion. Rather it is a tribute to the decision to adopt both approaches.

- 10.9 It is our impression that fundamental critics of the *Shared Future* premise may not have found voice in the public exercise, or fully in the focus groups. The need to remove divisive sectarian symbols, for example, was frequently advocated. Such symbols are commonplace in Northern Ireland, however, but the voices defending their presence were no-where to be heard in the responses. If the debate following the consultation process is not to become polarised, it may be necessary to involve critics more fully in the consultation process.
- 10.10 *The problem of creating a user-friendly consultation paper:* Although some respondents found that "this document is very obviously written by Government – people on the ground find it hard to relate to", such criticisms were outweighed by compliments about the general approach to the issue. Respondents chose a wide variety of methods to respond to the document. Apart from the individual returns, some used a pro-forma response form prepared by the CRC. Others, apparently encouraged by the above pro-forma, arranged their answers under three headings: What is your vision? What do we need to get to the vision? and Who should deliver it? In addition, a large number of late returns adopted a form with another three headings: What is your vision of Northern Ireland in twenty-five years time? What would help to build good relations? and What do you think ought to be the principles upon which a new approach to promoting good relations in NI should be based?
- 10.11 *The problem of prioritising concerns:* Some of these respondents found that the lay-out of the document made it difficult to determine where their comments should be located. When presenting their vision of a future Northern Ireland, and the principles that should underlie the promotion of good relations, for example, many provided a long list of desirable qualities (justice, fairness etc). On these questions and others, it would have been helpful if respondents had been asked to prioritise their suggestions rather than supply undifferentiated lists of wishes.
- 10.12 *The problem of preventing facilitation becoming direction:* The use of intermediate organisations and processes such as workshops to stimulate awareness in the process and to broaden responses are both necessary and commendable. The encouragement of responses by Young Citizens in Action and the VSB was very helpful in giving a voice to young people. It also carries some dangers. There is evidence that groups of respondents were encouraged to complete forms during or immediately after public meetings, and may have been facilitated to a point where their responses included a noticeable similarity in emphasis and even phraseology. The prominent role played by CRC in encouraging responses and even facilitating sessions raises a serious question: should a key stakeholder with obvious interests in the outcomes have been so involved in the process of information gathering? One group began its discussion by questioning "whether the facilitators were independent of the

CRC because it was considered that the CRC were not being independent, as was illustrated by the series of questions they asked people to address". In our judgement there are indications that group facilitation may have coloured or even directed some responses, but that these were easily identified. In the responses utilising the CRC form, there is sufficient variety in their comments on the CRC to describe these as facilitation rather than direction and that, on balance, they added considerable richness to the consultation exercise.

- 10.13 *The problem of under-represented views:* Although "law and order" issues were amongst the most dominant themes in the submissions, the security services had little input into the consultation process. Although PSNI responded, the lack of response from other key security force organisations was disappointing. Another initial concern from many general submissions was the role of young people as either peace makers or trouble makers, but there was little from the young people themselves until it was stimulated by the actions of Young Citizens in Action and the VSB towards the end of the consultation period.
- 10.14 *The problem of slipping deadlines:* The original deadline for submissions was the end of July 2003. In light of expressed interest, a decision was taken to extend the deadline to the end of September, and submissions were accepted well into October. The result of this extension was to more than triple the number of submissions. While this process created major difficulties for this analysis, the flexible approach to extending the submission date resulted in some of the most important submissions to the process, not least for political parties.
- 10.15 *The follow-up problem:* There were some indications of "consultation fatigue" among practitioners and people closely involved in community relations delivery, and some cynicism that it will count for little. "All those who participated in the consultation should feel that they have contributed through being recalled and informed of the outcome". "What would happen to the report when the consultation is over?" asked another. A youth organisation recommended that "some form of youth panel is established to account the impact of *Shared Future* on young people". Some stressed that the document should be only "an initial step which must be followed up by a more in-depth process of consultation We are conscious that at this stage the consultation will have elicited the views of a small minority of people". "Too much is trying to be achieved in this document", one network believed, arguing for "an informed and participatory discussion". In short, consultees must feel that their views have had a significant influence on policy developments and the fruits of their inputs communicated to them.

11. Key Themes

11.1 Key themes and policy implications:

Main Questions Posed	Key Themes and Opposing Views	Policy Implications
<p>1. Do you agree that the overall aim for policy must be a shared but pluralist society?</p>	<p>(a) Broad agreement from consultation feedback. Mixed messages from quantitative data - 58% support for shared and integrated society, and (in separate question) 50% wanted to leave things as they are and support shared living if wanted.</p> <p>(b) Need to take risks and develop inspirational policies in the short-term. Aims should be sequential and long-term – from segregation/division moving to integration/sharing.</p> <p>(c) Progress on political stability and security is a pre-condition to move forward on good relations.</p> <p>(d) Cannot be good relations until there is equality of outcomes and human rights protection for all. Both agenda should be developed in parallel.</p> <p>(e) Stronger buy-in to shared and pluralist society from most Catholic respondents.</p>	<p>(a) Move towards more shared pluralist society, cognisant of significant minority who are opposed to this policy.</p> <p>(b) Develop more experiential and 'risky' policies to progress sharing, even if this means failure in some cases.</p> <p>(c) Need to tackle good relations agenda on multiple fronts simultaneously - political, security and public policies.</p> <p>(d) Recognise the inextricable link between good relations, equality, and human rights agenda - work to achieve synergy.</p> <p>(e) Policies on integration and sharing must be sensitive to the (opposing) needs of many Protestant respondents.</p>
<p>2. What do you think should be the main policy aims and outcomes which should drive the new approach to promoting good relations in society?</p>	<p>(a) Policy aims too cautious and aspirational - adopt ambitious but pragmatic agenda. Incremental approach needed.</p> <p>(b) Integrated shared communities is middle class concept predicated on notion that people can exercise choices about where they live, work and leisure. No such choices exist for many people.</p> <p>(c) Too much focus on two traditional communities. Failure to address alternative classification: ethnic minorities, social class, age etc.</p> <p>(d) Key policy aim should be to eliminate sectarianism and racism and to enable individuals to live and work without fear or intimidation.</p> <p>(e) Learn from experience of business and trade unions in creating shared working experience.</p>	<p>(a) Need to be sensitive to varying demands for implementation of the shared and pluralist policy agenda. Moving too quickly might risk alienation - too slowly will prompt criticism of inactivity.</p> <p>(b) Government takes leading role promoting public policies which encourage sharing over separation.</p> <p>(c) Good relations policies must be more broadly conceived and encompass ethnic minority groups.</p> <p>(d) Eliminating sectarianism and racism must be a key policy priority.</p> <p>(e) Shared learning on creating shared public environment progressing to integrated living.</p>

3. What do you think ought to be the principles upon which a new approach to promoting good relations in Northern Ireland should be based?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Political leaders mainstreaming sectarianism. (b) Need for cross-departmental strategy which holds departments to account for good relations in public policy delivery. (c) Leadership at community level must be identified and supported to drive the good relations agenda from the bottom-up. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Political leadership must demonstrate relationship building and respect for each other by example. (b) Consider <i>Partners for Change</i> as a model of good practice in cross-departmental working. (c) Collaborative work with voluntary and community groups, business and trade unions to identify and support champions and build good relations capacity.
4. What action needs to be taken at local government and community level to underpin the development of good relations between and within communities?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Training identified as major cross-cutting concern at all three levels (local, regional and Government). (b) Equality Commission criticised for mechanistic approach to promoting equality. (c) Local councils could be key delivery agents on good relations services, but subject to conditions. (d) More clarity needed (or stronger legislation) on role which public bodies play in creating neutral living environment (flags, murals, graffiti, kerb painting). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Anti-sectarianism training programmes for politicians, public officials, community organisations and members of the public. (b) Review/evaluation of work undertaken by Equality Commission through Section 75. (c) Pilot councils given additional good relations functions with resources and evaluated. (d) Clear strategy on role of public bodies in creating neutral environment.
5. What functions do you think should be carried out at regional level? Should these functions be delivered within Government or by an independent body, such as the Community Relations Council or a new statutory authority?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Broad agreement on the need for independent body at regional level. Unsure whether this should be existing CRC. (b) No desire for another community relations body - recommendations should be involve abolition or amalgamation or reconstitution of existing bodies. (c) Survey evidence supports regional oversight being undertaken by independent body. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a - c) Options: (a) Strengthened independent CRC. (b) Community Relations Board, including politicians. (c) Good Relations Commission, non-departmental public body. (d) Amalgamate CRC and CRU and locate within Government department (OFMDFM) to mainstream good relations.
6. What action do you think central government should take to improve relations?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Central government should have responsibility for strategic direction, legislation, financial support, and policy change. (b) Need for strong direction on community relations from government. (c) Policy changes advocated in key functional areas of security, law & order; education; and housing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Clarity on the roles of the various bodies involved in good relations functions. (b) Tackle sectarianism through legislation, policing and community support. (c) Review policies supporting integrated education. (d) Review policies on integrated housing.
7. How do you think that a new strategy for improving relations ought to be monitored?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Document is too insular. (b) Danger in over-monitoring such as is happening with Section 75. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Look at international models of best practice. (b) Adopt or adapt 3 sets of indicators measuring changes in violence, bridging and attitudes.

11.2 Four Policy Options

On the basis of the returns, some key elements of community relations policy might be presented as a range of options. Four are presented here.

Community relations approach: Options

Option 1 Maintain the status quo

Option 2 A gradualist approach

This approach would involve a sequential approach to change: accepting present fears and suspicions and accepting both pluralism and integration where desired; encouraging but not enforcing moves to greater contact and integration by, for example, establishing greater security; and establish integration as a long-term objective.

Option 3 A proactive approach

This approach would involve open support for greater integration, including support for integrated education and housing. It would also involve experimental and risk-taking approach.

Those responding to the Consultation document were divided between Options 2 and 3. There was virtually no support for Option 1.

11.3 Local government and community: Options

Option 1 Maintain the status quo

Option 2 Strengthen support for community initiatives from local councils.

Option 3 Introduce stronger legislation to require local councils to take a more proactive approach to community relations within their areas. Target particular local concerns and groups for particular support, and encourage their involvement in decision-making. Among the priorities suggested were: community groups; youth groups; women's organisations; and interface areas.

Those responding to the Consultation document were divided between Options 2 and 3, the majority favouring Option 3. There was virtually no support for Option 1.

11.4 Regional level: Options

Option 1 Maintain the status quo

Option 2 Locate a new regional body within government.

This approach might involve an amalgamation of the CRU and the CRC, perhaps within OFMDFM, and would locate community relations at the heart of government.

Option 3 Establish an independent body.

This might be an enhanced and strengthened CRC, with increased funding and power or a new body (Community Relations Board). Community relations as a function attracted significant criticism, as did the role of CRC.

The great majority of those responding to the Consultation document supported Option 3.

11.5 **Government:** Options

Option 1 Maintain the status quo

Option 2 A gradualist approach (see 11.2 - option 2 above)

In education and housing, contact would be encouraged between different communities where segregation existed, and closer integration where it was requested. Training in community relations would be made more available and encouraged, especially for public officials, elected representatives and members of community organisations.

Option 3 A proactive approach (see 11.2 - option 3 above)

In general this approach demands a more directive role by government by increasing sanctions against sectarian violence and approaches, and accelerating moves towards integration. It might involve legislative changes to strengthen security approaches, to provide stronger sanctions against racist and sectarian violence, and to favour integrated education and housing. Training in community relations might be made more available and would be compulsory for public and elected officials.

Those responding to the Consultation document were divided between Options 2 and 3. There was virtually no support for Option 1.

12. Further Work and Research

- 12.1 Feedback from the consultation responses and survey evidence on *Shared Future* would suggest the need for further work and research in the broad area of good relations. These are considered here in no particular order and emerge directly from the findings of this report.
- 12.2 *Neutral environment*: Both the trade unions and the business sector were highly critical of the lack of progress in creating neutral public space. They cited the efforts they had made and the success achieved in developing a neutral working environment. This had not been rolled out to other areas and, in fact, made it more difficult for them to maintain neutrality when their workforce returned to public/living areas delineated by sectarianism. Research into how the business and trade union sectors have developed neutral spaces, examples of good practice, and ways in which this might evolve from neutral to integrated spaces would merit further work. There are valuable lessons that can be learned from their experiences.
- 12.3 *Equality, human rights and good relations*: A significant source of criticism from consultees was the folly of tackling good relations in a policy vacuum. In particular, equality and human rights were seen as a *sine qua non* for good relations to emerge. Yet the links between these key policy areas are not understood or developed. It is perhaps timely that a review of the impact of Section 75, specifically the good relations duty, be undertaken. How effective have public bodies been in having "regard to the desirability of promoting good relations"? Hence, there would be value in further work which considers whether equality, human rights and good relations are mutually dependent and the extent to which our existing mechanisms for delivery support a combined approach. In addition, what has been the impact of the good relations statutory duty thus far.
- 12.4 *Leadership in good relations*: One of the themes which attracted lively commentary from respondents to *Shared Future* was the absence of leadership at two levels - political and community. Consultees were particularly scathing about the lack of inspired leadership from our politicians who "mainstreamed sectarianism" showed a complete lack of respect for their political opponents and, by association, the 'other' community. Many called for champions from within the community who could make the good relations agenda happen. But what constitutes leadership in good relations?
- 12.5 *Protestants and a shared/pluralist society*: There is evidence from this report that Protestants are much less supportive of the idea of a shared and/but pluralist society. Why is this the case? Whilst it is possible to speculate about this (as we have done - see section 3.21 above), no empirical research beyond generalities of Protestant alienation exists which is helpful in addressing or assuaging their apprehensions. There is therefore a need to explore the significant differences between the two traditional communities to the concept of sharing and integration. This might be approached through the three public policy areas most often mentioned in responses to *Shared Future* - security, law and order; education; and housing. Are there areas of commonality across

the two communities in promoting good relations within these public policies? If so, can these be built upon? If not, why are people opposed to a sharing and integration? These questions would help us understand why a significant minority opposes the Government's expressed wish "to develop a more shared and pluralist society".

- 12.6 *Monitoring and evaluation:* There are now a number of useful sources which monitor community relations attitudes both on a cross-sectional and longitudinal basis (the Omnibus and Life and Times surveys, respectively). These are important sources of information, and support for them should be continued as they represent important data on the state of community relations at the macro level. Alongside these, however, local indicators such as those identified by consultees to this document should be piloted. If, for example, local authorities were given a more prominent role in delivering good relations functions, a pre-condition of additional resources to undertake these could be reporting on violence, bridging and attitudinal indicators within their annual community support plans. These would provide information at the micro level (26 council areas) as to the effectiveness of the good relations agenda.
- 12.7 Moreover, any policy changes resulting from this consultation process should build-in evaluations. For example, a new cross-departmental group has been established to lead action to promote better relations - how effective will its strategic plan, actions and targets be in securing good relations across services delivered by public bodies? Some caution should be exercised in the whole area of monitoring and evaluation. There is a balance to be achieved between what critics of section 75 (in this document) suggested was "over-monitoring" and an awareness from another contributor about the importance of performance indicators when she commented "what gets measured, gets managed". Although this has the potential to skew activities towards those which are measured, if the indicators are 'right' then it should focus energies and resources on those areas most likely to improve good relations.
- 12.8 *Follow-up to Shared Future:* There were numerous requests to regard *Shared Future* as the first move towards change rather than a final template. Some concerns were particularly highlighted as requiring further action - administrative change or new approaches. Among these were: looking to best practice for guidance and inspiration; community relations training; the greater inclusion of excluded groups in community relations policy; and targeting the role of young people.

12.8.1 Using best practice

There are examples of good practice that can provide lessons in promoting the good relations agenda, as well as in monitoring and evaluation. Further work could be undertaken in developing practical case studies where politicians and community activists have successfully demonstrated leadership. These could form the basis of training materials within anti-sectarianism and good relations programmes which were widely requested by respondents to Shared Future.

12.8.2 Training

The demand for greater provision of training was a constant theme throughout the responses, including both those subjects who required training and the content of training programmes. Various respondents emphasised the need to provide training for both local and provincial elected representatives, for civil servants, for local government officials, for voluntary and community groups. Some wished to make this compulsory. When it came to content, the dominant emphasis was on community/good relations, anti-sectarian practices, and sensitivity to cultural and other differences. Our conclusion is that there is need for a Training Needs Analysis to assist in targeting future training.

12.8.3 Other Section 75 groups

There is a need to broaden the community relations agenda from its present Protestant/Catholic emphasis in order to include the needs and differences of others. Attention was frequently drawn to the low profile of ethnicity and race, mental and physical disadvantaged, gender, age and sexual orientation in the paper. There is a strong case for the Equality Commission and the Community Relations Council to initiate a process whereby greater and more effective co-operation might be accomplished.

12.8.3 Young People

Another dominant theme in the responses was the need to target young people in future community relations planning. Their potential role as trouble-makers or peace-makers was seen as both a concern and an opportunity, and a wide range of suggestions were proposed, including the encouragement of cross-school contact, changes within the curriculum, the provision of more neutral venues for meetings, Shared Future residential weekends, and a tougher approach to youth crime. The suggestions were varied, as are the statutory and voluntary bodies involved. They suggest the need to develop a comprehensive community relations plan for young people.

- 12.9 OFMDFM is already taking forward some of the research areas identified in the report. Among others, work has been carried out on employment patterns and chill factors (Shirlow); relational communication in the workplace (Hargie); equality, diversity and interdependent (Future Ways); integrated communities (Murtagh); flags and emblems (Bryan); children and sectarianism (Connolly); homophobic, racist and sectarian incidents (Jarman); migrant workers (Jarman); youth and the impact of sectarianism in the 10 year strategy (C&YP Unit); truth commissions internationally (INCORE); and organisational change in countries in political transition (INCORE).

APPENDIX 1
Omnibus Data

Q1 Thinking about the divisions in Northern Ireland, do you believe that the Government should ...

actively promote a more shared and integrated society **or**
accept that divisions between communities are likely to remain for some time
and focus on managing the consequences of division.

Please explain your answer.

Q2 Again thinking about the divisions in Northern Ireland, should the Government

try to achieve more shared living *i.e. more mixed religion communities, safe
shared facilities etc*
leave things as they are and support shared living where it is wanted

Please explain your answer.

Q3 Of the list of Government policy aims below, for each one, please indicate how important you believe it is.

A policy to promote better relations should aim ...	Very Important	Important	Not very important	Not Important
to support the development of integrated/shared communities where people wish to learn, live, work and play together;	1	2	3	4
to encourage communication, tolerance and trust in areas where communities are living apart;	1	2	3	4
to promote respect, encouragement and celebration of different cultures, faiths and traditions;	1	2	3	4
to eliminate sectarianism and racism and to enable individuals to live and work without fear or intimidation	1	2	3	4
to reduce tension and conflict at interface areas; and	1	2	3	4
to shape policies, practices and institutions to enable trust and ; relations to grow.	1	2	3	4

Q4 Which of the following should be responsible for promoting good relations. Please indicate your three main choices in order of preference, 1, 2 & 3.

Government
 District Councils
 Elected representatives (MLA's, Councillors)
 Private sector
 Public authorities (Education Authorities, Youth Services, Housing Executive)
 Local community groups
 Trade unions
 Churches
 Faith based organisations
 Other

Q5 Which parts of society should resources be focused on to promote good relations? Please indicate your three main choices in order of preference, 1, 2 & 3.

Children and young people
 Areas with a history of poor relations or high deprivation
 Promoting the spread of good practice in developing good relations
 Supporting areas where relations between communities are good
 Promoting good relations in urban areas
 Promoting good relations in rural areas
 Promoting good relations in Northern Ireland as a whole
 Other

Q6 For the development of good relations in the future there needs to be an organisation to oversee the strategy. Do you think such a body should be a part of Government or Independent of Government?

Government Unit
 Public body
 Independent organisation
 Other
 Don't know

Q7 Which of the following do you think best indicates an improvement in relations between communities? Please indicate your three main choices in order of preference, 1, 2 & 3.

A decrease in sectarian incidents
 A decrease in flags and emblems in public places
 An increase in shared facilities and services
 An increase in mixed marriages
 An increase in integrated education
 An increase in mixed housing
 An increase in cross-community contact and co-operation
 An increase in tolerance and respect for cultural diversity

Question 1

Thinking about divisions in Northern Ireland, do you believe that the Government should:

- Actively promote a more shared and integrated society, or
- Accept that divisions between communities are likely to remain for some time and focus on managing the consequences of division?

Table 1 sets out the responses to this question and figure 1 displays these responses graphically.

TABLE 1: Divisions in Northern Ireland

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Actively promote a more shared and integrated society	714	57.6	57.6	57.6
Accept that divisions between communities are likely to remain	482	38.9	38.9	96.5
Refusal	8	.6	.6	97.1
Don't Know	36	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	1240	100.0	100.0	

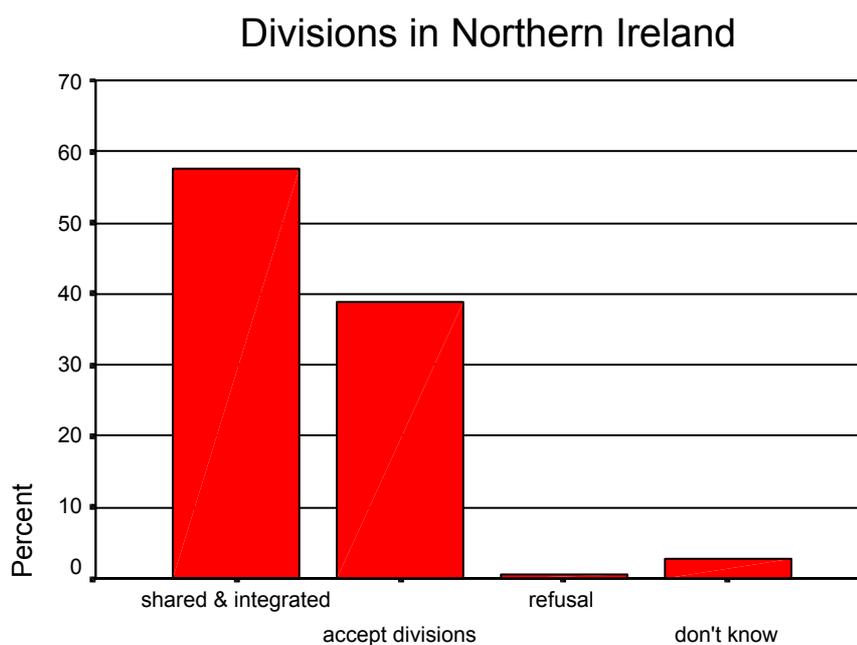


Figure 1

Commentary: Some 58% of respondents felt the Government should actively promote a more shared and integrated society. On the other hand 39% argued that the Government should accept that divisions between communities are likely to remain for some time and they should focus on managing the consequences of divisions. Almost 3% of respondents did not know. We explore further whether attitudes to sharing/divisions differ between the two communities.

Table 2 and figure 2 show how people's attitudes to the Government promoting sharing or managing divisions disaggregated by religion/community background.

TABLE 2: Divisions in Northern Ireland by religion¹

	Religion	
	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Actively promote a more shared and integrated society	66	54
Accept that divisions between communities are likely to remain	34	46
Total	N = 461	N = 671
$\chi^2 = 16.44, p < .001$ Phi = .121, p < .001		

Divisions in Northern Ireland by religion

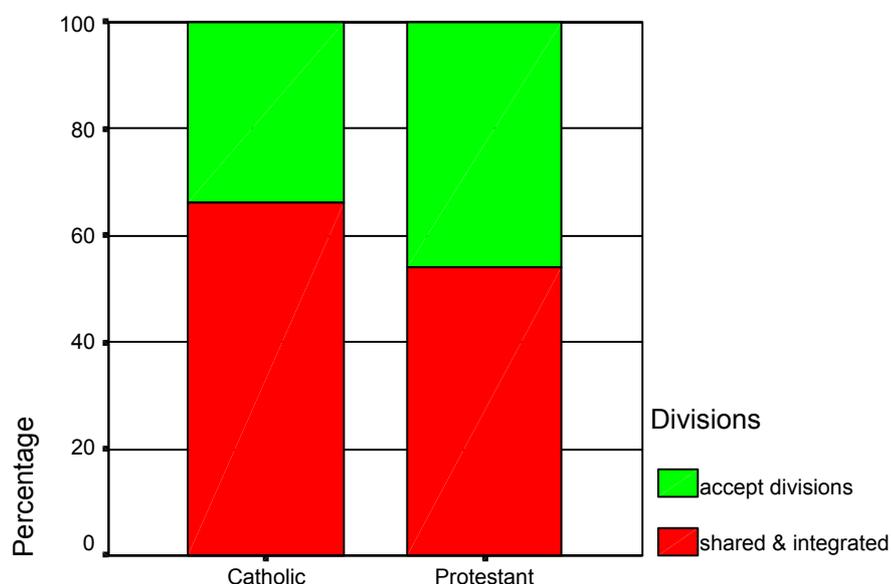


Figure 2

Commentary: There is a significant association between the variables 'attitudes to sharing' and 'community background'. Catholics are more likely to support Government policies which actively promote a more shared and integrated society than Protestants (66% as opposed to 54%). The strength of the association is however weak (.12). Hence, community background has a determining influence on people's attitudes to sharing or accepting divisions.

We tested for associations between 'attitudes to sharing' and other variables: age, gender, education, housing tenure and area lived in. There were no significant differences between categories of these variables and respondents' attitudes to sharing of division. Religion therefore is the distinguishing variable in whether people support the Government in actively promoting a more shared and integrated society or accepting divisions and managing their consequences.

¹ Table 2 and figure 2 exclude 'refusals' (n = 8) and 'don't knows' (n = 36) from this and subsequent analyses.

Arising from the association found between 'attitudes to sharing' and 'community background' above, we were interested to examine whether this relationship was mediated by social economic status. To test this we introduce social economic status as a control variable. It may be, for example, that the relationship between attitudes to sharing and community background is different, or even non-existent, for certain social economic status categories - hence we control for the effects of social economic status in the analysis. The results are set out in table 3 below. For brevity we have presented significant results only.

TABLE 3: Divisions in Northern Ireland by religion by social economic status

		Religion	
		Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Professional	Actively promote a more shared and integrated society	89	58
	Accept that divisions between communities are likely to remain	11	42
Total		N = 18	N = 26
$\chi^2 = 4.97, p < .05$ Phi = .336, $p < .05$			
Managerial and Technical	Actively promote a more shared and integrated society	73	51
	Accept that divisions between communities are likely to remain	27	49
Total		N = 114	N = 186
$\chi^2 = 13.83, p < .001$ Phi = .215, $p < .001$			
Partly skilled	Actively promote a more shared and integrated society	67	51
	Accept that divisions between communities are likely to remain	33	49
Total		N = 96	N = 95
$\chi^2 = 5.13, p < .05$ Phi = .164, $p < .05$			

Divisions by religion by socio-economic status

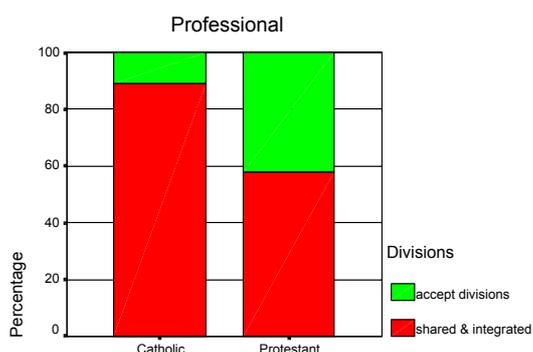


Figure 3

Divisions by religion by socio-economic status

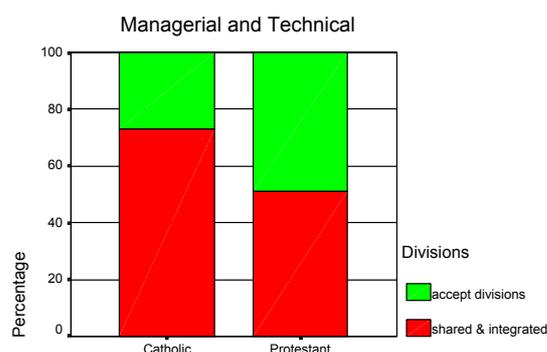
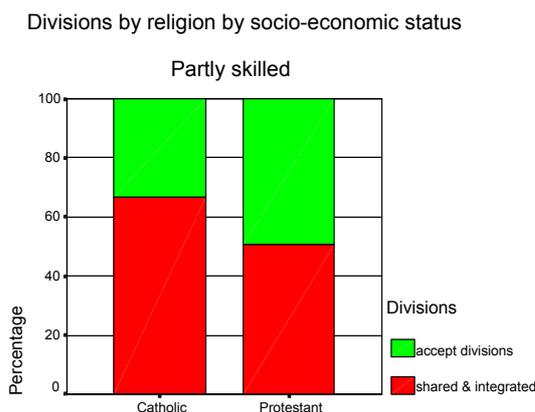


Figure 4



Commentary: The chi-square results show that there is a significant association between divisions/sharing and community background for those within the following socio-economic status groupings:

Professionals: 89% of professional Catholics felt the Government should promote a more shared and integrated society whereas 58% of professional Protestants agreed. The strength of the association was moderate (.34).

Managerial and technical: 73% of managerial and technical Catholics felt the Government should actively promote a more shared and integrated society whereas only 51% of managerial and technical Protestants felt the same. The strength of the association was weak to moderate (.22).

Partly skilled: 67% of partly skilled Catholics felt the Government should promote a more shared and integrated society compared to 51% of partly skilled Protestants who agreed. The strength of the association was weak (.16).

We can conclude that there is a significant association between attitudes to divisions/sharing and community background for professionals, managerial and technical, and partly skilled people, to the extent that Catholics in these socio-economic groups are significantly more in favour of a shared and integrated society. There were no significant differences amongst other social classes (viz.: skilled non-manual, skilled manual, unskilled manual, never worked and full-time students).

Question 2

Again thinking about divisions in Northern Ireland, should the Government:

- Try to achieve more shared living i.e. more mixed religion, shared facilities etc.
- Leave things as they are and support shared living where it is wanted.

Table 4 sets out the responses to this question and figure 6 displays these responses graphically.

TABLE 4: Government's role

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Try to achieve more shared living i.e. more mixed religion communities, safe shared facilities etc.	575	46.3	46.3	46.3
Leave things as they are and support shared living where it is wanted	620	50.0	50.0	96.3
Refusal	5	.4	.4	96.7
Don't Know	40	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	1240	100.0	100.0	

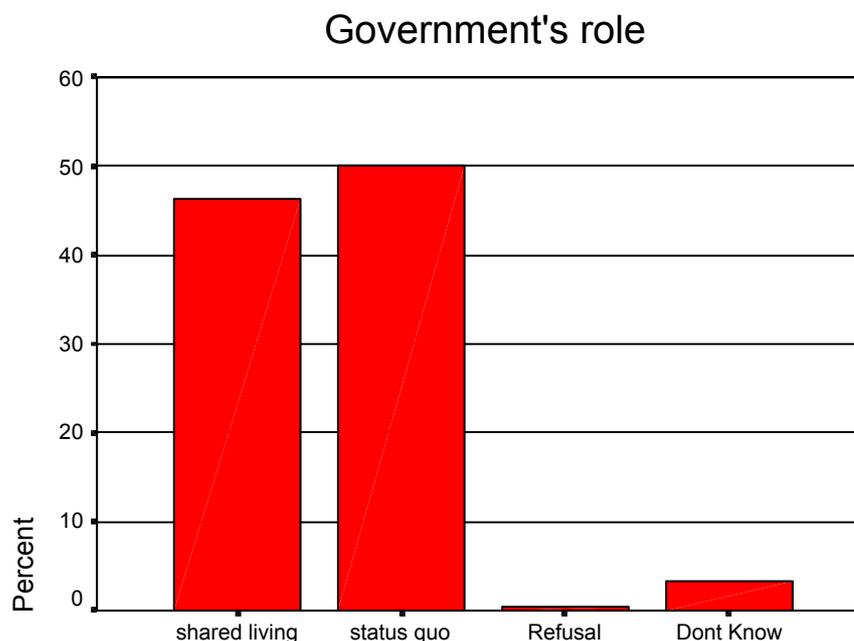


Figure 6

Commentary: Some 46% of respondents suggested the Government should try to achieve more sharing whereas 50% felt they should leave things as they are and support shared living where it is wanted. These results contrast with replies given to Question 1 where more respondents supported the Government 'actively promoting a more shared and integrated society'. There is however a subtle difference in the way in which this question is posed. The option to 'leave things as they are and support shared living **where it is wanted**' (our emphasis) offered respondents a dual approach compared to the stark choices contained in question 1 (shared society versus managing a divided society). This may be the reason for the differences expressed in the two questions.

Table 5 and figure 7 show people's attitudes to the Government promoting more shared living or the status quo, disaggregated by religion.

TABLE 5: Government's role by religion²

	Religion	
	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Try to achieve more shared living i.e. more mixed religion communities, safe shared facilities etc.	54	43
Leave things as they are and support shared living where it is wanted	46	57
Total	N = 457	N = 675
$\chi^2 = 11.37, p = .001$ Phi = .100, p = .001		

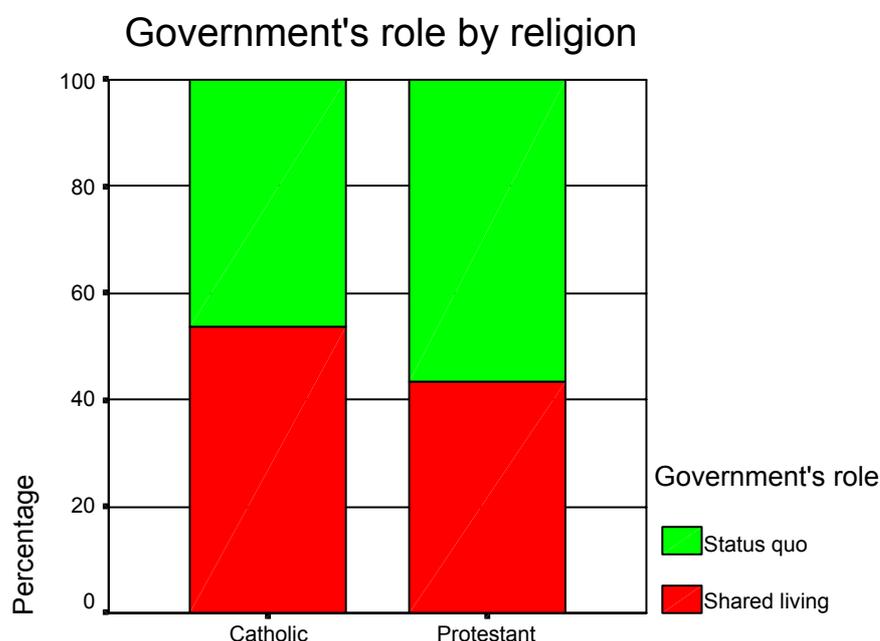


Figure 7

Commentary: There is a significant association between the variables 'shared living' and 'community background'. Catholics are more likely to support Government policies which try to achieve more shared living than Protestants (54% as opposed to 43%). The strength of the association is however weak (.10). Hence, community background has a determining influence on whether people support Government in promoting sharing or supporting the status quo. If one compares the results in tables 2 & 5, there is a shift in both Catholic and Protestant opinions (in the same direction). In response to question 2 less Catholics and Protestants support shared living and more are in favour of the Government leaving things as they are and supporting shared living **where it is wanted** (our emphasis). One suspects it is the latter which has attracted more support (and hence the reversal in the statistics) than the polar positions outlined in question 1.

We tested for associations between sharing living/status quo and other variables: socio-economic status, age, gender, education, housing tenure and area lived in. There were no significant differences between categories of these variables and respondents' attitudes to shared living/status quo.

² Table 5 and figure 7 exclude 'refusals' (n = 5) and 'don't knows' (n = 40) from this and subsequent analyses.

Questions 3 - 8 of the Omnibus survey asked respondents how important they felt a series of Government policy aims were to promote better relations. The results are outlined in tables 6 - 11 and graphically in figures 8 -13.

Overall there was a high level of agreement with the aims outlined, ranging from 91 - 97% who felt they were 'important' or 'very important'. Hence, ranking or prioritising these aims which attracted a large measure of consensus is difficult. If we simply rank the 'very important' category, the following order of importance emerges:

1. Eliminate sectarianism and racism and to enable individuals to live and work without fear or intimidation.
2. Reduce tension and conflict at interface areas.
3. Support the development of integrated/shared communities where people wish to learn, live, work and play together.
4. Encourage communication, tolerance and trust in areas where communities are living apart.
5. Shape policies, practices and institutions to enable trust and good relations to grow.
6. Promote respect, encouragement and celebration of different cultures, faiths and traditions.

Question 3

A policy to promote better relations should....aim to support the development of integrated/ shared communities where people wish to learn, live, work and play together.

Table 6: Develop integrated/shared space

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
very important	661	54.2	54.2
important	495	40.6	94.8
not very important	53	4.4	99.2
not important	10	.8	100.0
Total	1219	100.0	

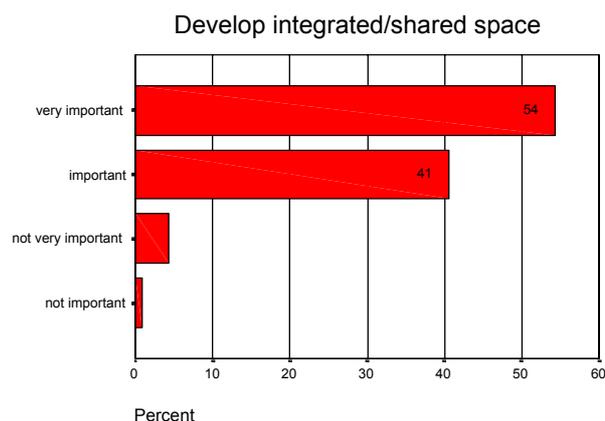


Figure 8

Question 4

A policy to promote better relations should aim....to encourage communication, tolerance and trust in areas where communities are living apart.

Table 7: Communication, tolerance & trust

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
very important	641	52.6	52.6
important	528	43.3	95.9
Not very important	40	3.3	99.2
Not important	10	.8	100.0
Total	1219	100.0	

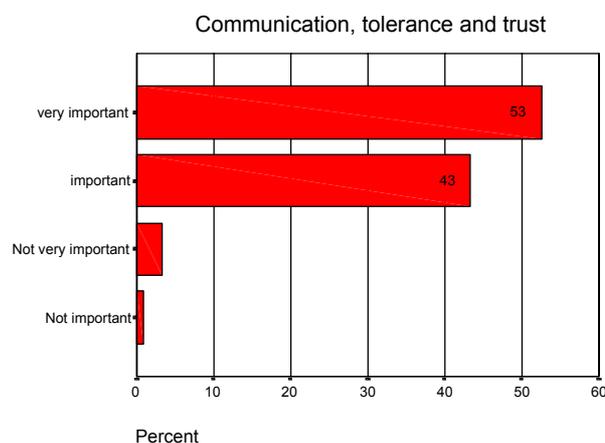


Figure 9

Question 5

A policy to promote better community relations should be aim....to promote respect, encouragement and celebration of different cultures, faiths and traditions.

Table 8: Celebrate different cultures & faiths

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
very important	602	49.5	49.5
important	508	41.8	91.3
not very important	86	7.0	98.3
not important	20	1.7	100.0
Total	1216	100.0	

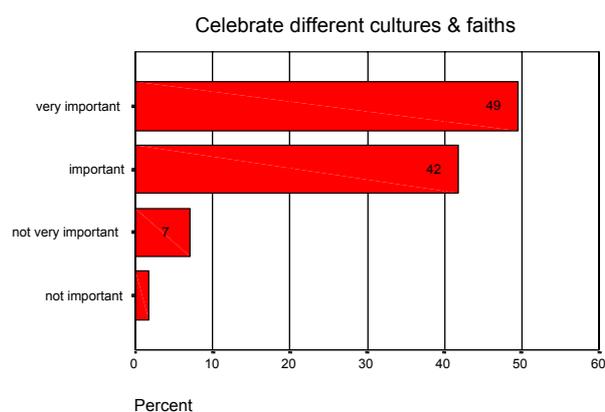


Figure 10

Question 6

A policy to promote better relations should aim...to eliminate sectarianism and racism and to enable individuals to live and work without fear or intimidation.

Table 9: Eliminate sectarianism & racism

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very important	892	72.9	72.9
Important	314	25.7	98.6
Not very important	15	1.2	99.8
Not important	3	.2	100.0
Total	1224	100.0	

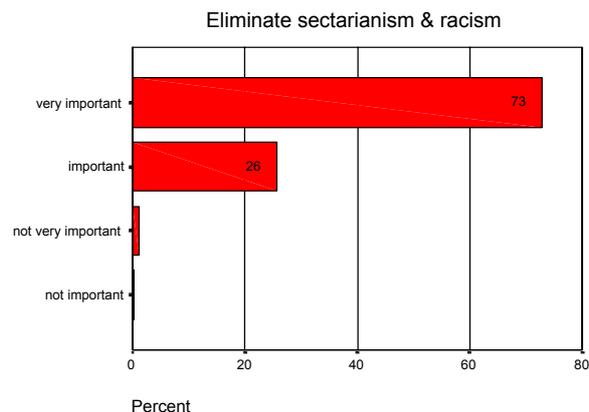


Figure 11

Question 7

A policy to promote better relations should aimto reduce tension and conflict at interface areas.

Table 10: Reduce conflict at interfaces

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very important	803	65.7	65.7
Important	402	32.9	98.5
Not very important	12	1.0	99.5
Not important	6	.5	100.0
Total	1222	100.0	

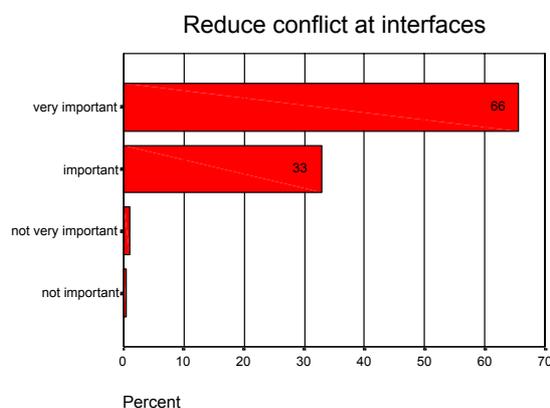


Figure 12

Question 8

A policy to promote better relations should aimto shape policies, practices and institutions to enable trust and good relations to grow.

Table 11: Enable trust & good relations to grow

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very important	617	50.8	50.8
Important	560	46.1	97.0
Not very important	29	2.4	99.3
Not important	8	.7	100.0
Total	1214	100.0	

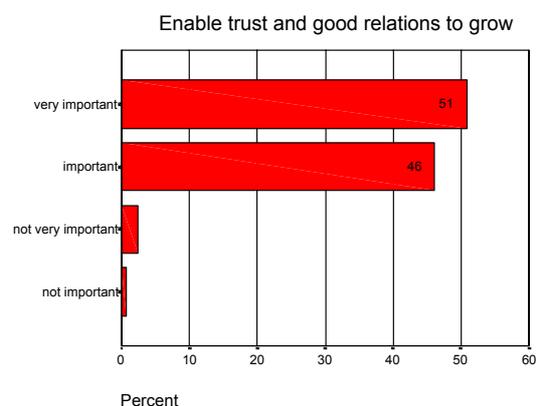


Figure 13

We ran a series of cross-tabulations on each of the Government policy aims against religion, age, socio-economic groupings and gender. The results are shown in table 12. Given that most respondents agreed overall with policy aims outlined (see tables 6 - 11), those differences being detected across the variable categories tended to be graduations of 'importance' - in other words respondents expressing opinions about the policy aims being 'very important' as opposed to 'important'³. By considering the adjusted standardised variables (between $>+2$ and <-2) in the cells of each cross-tabulation, we identified the form that each significant association took.

Table 12: Government Policy Aims by selected variables

	Integrated space	Communication, trust and tolerance	Different cultures and faiths	Eliminate sectarianism	Reduce tensions at interface	Enable trust and good relations
Religion	Significant $\chi^2 = 20.85$ $p < .0005$ Cramer's V = .134 $p < .0005$	Significant $\chi^2 = 9.02$ $p < .05$ Cramer's V = .088 $p < .05$	Significant $\chi^2 = 24.11$ $p < .0005$ Cramer's V = .145 $p < .0005$	Significant $\chi^2 = 13.88$ $p < .005$ Cramer's V = .109 $p < .005$	Significant $\chi^2 = 10.39$ $p < .05$ Cramer's V = .095 $p < .05$	Significant $\chi^2 = 14.52$ $p < .005$ Cramer's V = .112 $p < .005$
Age	Significant $\chi^2 = 22.57$ $p < .05$ Cramer's V = .079 $p < .05$	NS ⁴	NS	Significant $\chi^2 = 17.33$ $p < .05$ Cramer's V = .069 $p < .05$	NS	NS
Socio-economic status	NS	Significant $\chi^2 = 38.79$ $p < .05$ Cramer's V = .103 $p < .05$	NS	NS	Significant $\chi^2 = 33.03$ $p < .05$ Cramer's V = .095 $p < .05$	Significant $\chi^2 = 40.86$ $p < .01$ Cramer's V = .106 $p < .01$
Gender	Significant $\chi^2 = 11.37$ $p = .001$ Cramer's V = .118 $p = .001$	Significant $\chi^2 = 8.95$ $p < .05$ Cramer's V = .086 $p < .05$	Significant $\chi^2 = 12.98$ $p < .005$ Cramer's V = .103 $p < .005$	NS	NS	Significant $\chi^2 = 8.11$ $p < .05$ Cramer's V = .082 $p < .05$

³ The questions posed to 'test' the prioritisation of Government policy aims were not particularly informative given the degree of consensus amongst respondents and inability to be discerning across variable categories.

⁴ NS = not statistically significant.

We can conclude from these results:

- (a) RELIGION: Catholics saw each of the Government aims as significantly more important than Protestants (the distinction being 'very important' for the former and 'important' for the latter).
- (b) AGE: Respondents under 25 saw the development of integrated/shared communities where people wish to learn, live, work and play together as significantly more important than other age groups.
Respondents aged 25-44 saw the elimination of sectarianism and racism to enable individuals to live and work without fear or intimidation as significantly more important than other groups.
- (c) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: Managerial and technical respondents considered the following to be significantly more important than other socio-economic groups:
- The encouragement of communication, tolerance and trust in areas where communities are living apart.
 - The reduction of tension and conflict at interface areas.
 - Shaping policies, practices and institutions to enable trust and good relations to grow.
- (d) GENDER: Female respondents considered the following to be significantly more important than male respondents:
- The development of integrated/shared communities where people wish to learn, live, work and play together.
 - The encouragement of communication, tolerance and trust in areas where communities are living apart.
 - The promotion of respect, encouragement and celebration of different cultures, faiths and traditions.
 - Shaping policies, practices and institutions to enable trust and good relations to grow.

Question 9

Which of the following should be responsible for promoting good relations. Please indicate your three main choices in order of preference: Government; district councils; elected representatives (MLAs, Councillors); private sector; public authorities (education authorities, youth services, Housing Executive); local community groups; trade unions; churches; faith based organisations; and others.

The results of this multiple response question are set out in table 13. These show the Government as the preferred body responsible for promoting good relations, followed by local community groups and third, elected representatives (MLAs, Councillors). That said, the choices presented to respondents here were ambiguous. For example, could respondents distinguish between public authorities and Government as mutually exclusive choices. Are elected representatives not also district councils? Equally, could they differentiate between churches and faith based organisations. The high ranking attributed to the role of local community groups is evidence that addressing the good relations policy agenda must be both top-down and bottom-up.

Table 13: Responsible for promoting good relations - preferences

	Count	% of responses	% of cases
Government	732	20.7	60.4
District Councils	521	14.7	43.0
Elected representatives (MLAs, Councillors)	529	14.9	43.7
Private sector	73	2.1	6.0
Public Authorities (Education Authorities, Youth Services, Housing Executive)	436	12.3	36.0
Local community groups	616	17.4	50.8
Trade Unions	53	1.5	4.4
Churches	505	14.2	41.6
Faith based organisations	58	1.6	4.8
Other	21	0.6	1.7
Total responses	3543	100	292.3

We disaggregated the top 3 choices for respondents by religion, age, socio-economic status and gender. The results are set out in table 14.

Table 14: Responsible for promoting good relations - 1st, 2nd & 3rd choices

	Government	Local Community Groups	District Councils	Elected representatives	Churches	Public Authorities
Catholics	1	2		3		
Protestants	1	2	3			
<25	1	2	3			
25 - 44	1	2		3		
45 - 64	1	2			3	
65 and over	2		3		1	
Professional	1	2				3
Managerial and Technical	1	2		3		
Skilled Non-Manual	1	2	3			
Skilled Manual	1	2			3	
Partly Skilled	1	2			3	
Unskilled Manual	1	2			3	
Never Worked	1	2	3			
Full-time Student	2	1		3		
Male	1	2		3		
Female	1	2			3	

These disaggregated results show a considerable degree of consistency. Government is the body seen to be responsible for promoting good relations (except by over 65s and full-time students). Local community groups follow in the ranking (aside again from over 65s and full-time students). Third choices varied across district councils, elected representatives, churches and public authorities.

Question 10

Which parts of society should resources be focused on to promote good relations? Please indicate your three main choices in order of preference: children and young people; areas with a history of poor relations or high deprivation; promoting the spread of good practice in developing good relations; supporting areas where relations between communities are good; promoting good relations in urban areas; promoting good relations in rural areas; promoting good relations in Northern Ireland as a whole; other.

The results of this multiple response question are set out in table 15. Respondents' expressed preferences were clear. The first funding priority to promote good relations was children and young people, perhaps an acknowledgement that this sector represents the future for Northern Ireland, less encumbered by the divisions of the past. The second preference was to focus resources on promoting good relations in Northern Ireland as a whole. There is an acceptance in this choice that sectarianism is endemic, pervades all geographic areas and social classes, and that resources should be spread equitably. The third choice of respondents was to target those areas with a history of poor relations or high deprivation. This question is in fact double-barrelled and hence weak in testing the opinion of respondents. It also assumes a relationship between those areas with a history of poor relations and high social deprivation - this is a leap of faith.

Table 15: Targeting good relations resources - preferences

	Count	% of responses	% of cases
Children and young people	1035	29.6	85.6
Areas with a history of poor relations or high deprivation	695	19.9	57.4
Promoting the spread of good practice in developing good relations	348	10.0	28.7
Supporting areas where relations between communities are good	338	9.7	27.9
Promoting good relations in urban areas	149	4.3	12.3
Promoting good relations in rural areas	90	2.6	7.4
Promoting good relations in Northern Ireland as a whole	830	23.8	68.6
Other	9	0.3	0.8
Total responses	3493	100.0	288.7

We disaggregated the top 3 choices for respondents by religion, age, socio-economic status and gender. The results are set out in table 16.

Table16: Targeting good relations resources - 1st, 2nd & 3rd choices

	Children and young people	Good relations in NI as a whole	Areas with history of poor relations
Catholics	1	2	3
Protestants	1	2	3
<25	1	2	3
25 - 44	1	2	3
45 - 64	1	2	3
65 and over	1	2	3
Professional	1	3	2
Managerial and Technical	1	2	3
Skilled Non- Manual	1	2	3
Skilled Manual	1	2	3
Partly Skilled	1	2	3
Unskilled Manual	1	2	3
Never Worked	1	2	3
Full-time Student	1	2	3
Male	1	2	3
Female	1	2	3

The results show a broad consensus of choices across community background, age, socio-economic status (with the minor exception of managerial and technical respondents) and gender.

Question 11

For the development of good relations in the future there needs to be an organisation to oversee the strategy.

Do you think such a body should be a: Government Unit, Public Body, Independent Organisation, or other body?

The responses to this question are set out in table 17 and graphically in figure 14. Respondents' preferences were for an independent organisation, Government unit and public body respectively.

Table 17: Organisation to oversee strategy⁵

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Government Unit	389	32.4	32.4
Public Body	290	24.1	56.5
Independent Organisation	497	41.3	97.9
Other	26	2.1	100.0
Total	1202	100.0	

We tested for associations between the preferences expressed for an organisation to oversee a future strategy and other variables: socio-economic status, age, religion and gender. There were no significant differences between categories of these variables on socio-economic status, religion and gender.

In terms of age there were significant differences ($\chi^2 = 26.07$; $p < .005$; Cramer's $V = .085$; $p < .005$).

- Over 65s' favoured a Government Unit than other age groups.
- 45 -64 year olds' favoured an independent organisation than other groups.
- 25 - 44 year olds' favoured an 'other body' than the remainder of the groups.

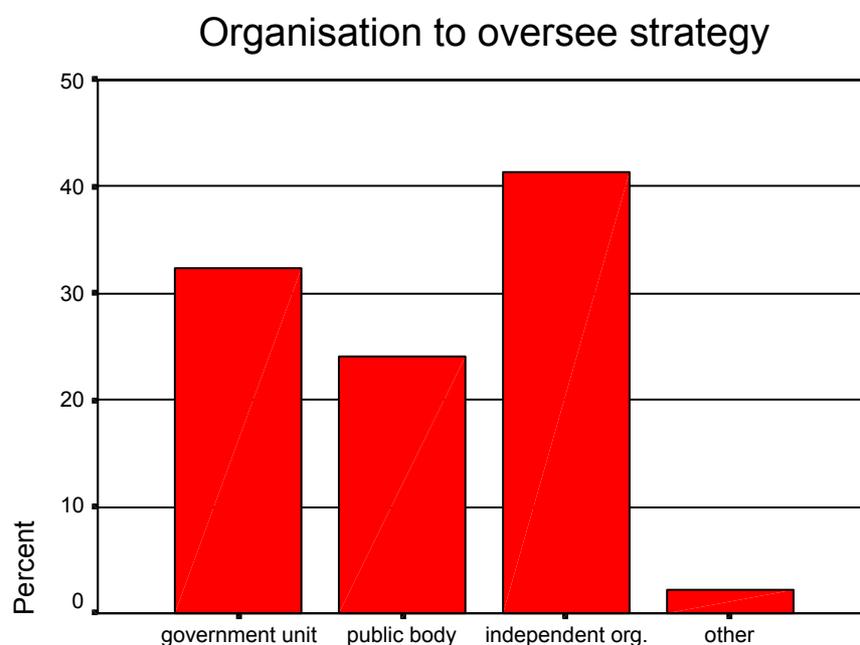


Figure 14

⁵ Table 17 and subsequent analysis on this variable exclude 'refusals' (n = 6) and 'don't know' (n=33) responses.

Question 12

Which of the following do you think best indicates an improvement in relations between communities? A decrease in sectarian incidents; a decrease in flags and emblems in public places; an increase in shared facilities and services; an increase in mixed marriages; an increase in integrated education; an increase in mixed housing; an increase in cross-community contact and co-operation; an increase in tolerance and respect for cultural diversity.

The results from this question are set out in table 18 and show the indicators of improved relation between communities to be: a decrease in sectarian incidents; an increase in integrated education; and an increase in cross-community contact and co-operation, respectively.

Table 18: Indicators of improved relations

	Count	% of responses ⁶	% of cases
A decrease in sectarian incidents	702	20.1	58.6
A decrease in flags and emblems in public places	437	12.6	36.5
An increase in shared facilities and services	342	9.8	28.5
An increase in mixed marriages	151	4.3	12.6
An increase in integrated education	613	17.6	51.2
An increase in mixed housing	290	8.3	24.2
An increase in cross-community contact and co-operation	489	14.0	40.8
An increase in tolerance and respect for cultural diversity	463	13.3	38.6
Total responses	3485	100.0	291.1

Number of valid cases = 1,197

⁶ The second column 'percentage of responses' sums to 100.0 and is the percentage of responses coming from each variable that makes up the multiple response set. Hence 702 'decrease in sectarian incidents' responses make up 20.1% of the 3485 responses. The third column 'percentage of cases' is the percentage of 'valid cases' that can be found in each variable that makes up the multiple responses set. The 702 cases 'decrease in sectarian incidents' are 58.6% of the valid cases for the variable 'indicators of improved community relations'.

We disaggregated the top 3 choices for respondents by religion, age, socio-economic status and gender. The results are set out in table 19.

The pattern emerging from these choices is mixed. Whilst there is broad agreement that a decrease in sectarian incidents best indicates an improvement in relations between the communities across the variables (except for 65+ age group and skilled non-manual), the remaining indicators are less clear cut. An increase in integrated education, whilst a clear second choice across the variables, attracted a spread of rankings from first to third choice. Finally, a decrease in flags and emblems in public places, and an increase in cross-community contact and co-operation were ranked an equal third across the variable categories. It is interesting to note that while Catholics and Protestants agreed on a decrease in sectarian incidents and an increase in integrated education respectively, their third choice was different. Catholics clearly see flags and emblems (their 3rd choice) as an issue that creates divisiveness and hence a decrease in their number in public places would improve relations. On the other hand, Protestants see an increase in tolerance and respect for cultural diversity (their 3rd choice), of which flags and emblems would be an example, resulting in improved relations. These could be seen as polar positions.

Table 19: Indicators of improved relations - 1st, 2nd & 3rd choices

	Sectarianism	Flags	Integrated education	Mixed housing	Contact & co-operation	Tolerance
Catholics	1	3	2			
Protestants	1		2			3
<25	1		2			3
25 - 44	1		2		3	
45 - 64	1		2		3	
65 and over	2	3	1			
Professional	1		3			2
Managerial and Technical	1		3			2
Skilled Non-Manual	2		1		3	
Skilled Manual	1	3	2			
Partly Skilled	1	3	2			
Unskilled Manual	1	3	2			
Never Worked	1		2	3		
Full-time Student	1		3		2	
Male	1		2		3	
Female	1		2		3	

The final stage of the analysis is to undertake a binary logistic regression as a means of predicting the variables which explain the greatest proportion of variance in respondents' overall attitude to shared living versus the status quo. This approach requires the dependent variable, in this case question 2 above to be reduced to two categories - hence we recode the question as follows:

Again thinking about divisions in Northern Ireland, should the Government:

- Try to achieve more shared living i.e. more mixed religion, shared facilities etc. (recoded '0').
- Leave things as they are and support shared living where it is wanted (recoded '1').

We included the following variables as possible predictors of people's attitudes to shared living versus the status quo.

Variable name	Details
cathpro	Recoded variable: Catholic, Protestant
paniage	Recoded age group variable
nsegrec	Recoded socio-economic groupings
persex	Gender: male, female
areanew	Recoded variable: urban, rural
nhousten	Recoded variable: housing tenure

A forward stepwise binary regression was performed (see results below). Predictors were entered based on the most significant score statistic with a p of .05 or less and were removed if the p of the $-2\log$ likelihood test (or goodness of fit statistic for the model) was greater than .10.

Community background or religion (cathpro) was entered first and age second. All other variables (socio-economic grouping; gender; housing tenure; area respondents lived in) did not provide a significant increment in the fit of the model.

Hence, the probability of supporting shared living/status quo is associated with people's religion and age, respectively. These predictors explain 1.6% of the variance (see Cox and Snell R Square in results) in the dependent variable shared living versus the status quo. The variables in this model therefore constitute weak predictors.

Logistic Regression

Case Processing Summary

Unweighted Cases ^a		N	Percent
Selected Cases	Included in Analysis	1096	88.4
	Missing Cases	144	11.6
	Total	1240	100.0
Unselected Cases		0	.0
Total		1240	100.0

a. If weight is in effect, see classification table for the total number of cases.

Dependent Variable Encoding

Original Value	Internal Value
shared living	0
status quo	1

Block 0: Beginning Block

Classification Table^{a,b}

Observed			Predicted		Percentage Correct
			RNOFMQ2		
			shared living	status quo	
Step 0	RNOFMQ2	shared living	0	515	.0
		status quo	0	584	100.0
Overall Percentage					53.1

a. Constant is included in the model.

b. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 0 Constant	.126	.060	4.342	1	.037	1.134

Variables not in the Equation

Step	Variables	Score	df	Sig.
0	CATHPRO	11.370	1	.001
	PANIAGE	4.532	1	.033
	NSEGREC	.126	1	.723
	PERSEX	.225	1	.635
	AREANEW	.187	1	.666
	NHOUSTEN	1.785	1	.182
	Overall Statistics	21.794	6	.001

Block 1: Method = Forward Stepwise (Likelihood Ratio)

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	11.374	1	.001
	Block	11.374	1	.001
	Model	11.374	1	.001
Step 2	Step	6.880	1	.009
	Block	18.254	2	.000
	Model	18.254	2	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	1508.729	.010	.014
2	1501.849	.016	.022

Classification Table^a

Observed		Predicted			
		RNOFMQ2		Percentage Correct	
		shared living	status quo		
Step 1	RNOFMQ2	shared living	238	278	46.1
		status quo	211	373	63.9
Overall Percentage					55.6
Step 2	RNOFMQ2	shared living	198	318	38.4
		status quo	175	409	70.0
Overall Percentage					55.2

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	CATHPRO	.415	.123	11.325	1	.001	1.515
	Constant	-.534	.205	6.782	1	.009	.586
Step 2	CATHPRO	.462	.125	13.617	1	.000	1.587
	PANIAGE	-.171	.066	6.831	1	.009	.842
	Constant	-.170	.248	.473	1	.491	.843

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: CATHPRO.

b. Variable(s) entered on step 2: PANIAGE.

Model if Term Removed

Variable		Model Log Likelihood	Change in -2 Log Likelihood	df	Sig. of the Change
Step 1	CATHPRO	-760.052	11.374	1	.001
Step 2	CATHPRO	-757.783	13.716	1	.000
	PANIAGE	-754.365	6.880	1	.009

Variables not in the Equation

			Score	df	Sig.
Step 1	Variables	PANIAGE	6.861	1	.009
		NSEGREC	.014	1	.905
		PERSEX	.509	1	.476
		AREANEW	.232	1	.630
		NHOUSTEN	1.290	1	.256
	Overall Statistics		10.534	5	.061
Step 2	Variables	NSEGREC	.059	1	.808
		PERSEX	.696	1	.404
		AREANEW	.106	1	.745
		NHOUSTEN	2.774	1	.096
	Overall Statistics		3.698	4	.448