

2 December 1985

FAITH IN THE CITY - POSTSCRIPT TO BRIAN GRIFFITHS' MINUTE

Order and Law (The usual sequence is deliberately inverted - Chapter 14.)

This Chapter could play a dangerous role in subverting support for the hard-pressed forces of law and order, and in whipping up racial tension. Police methods and police attitudes to the immigrant community are challenged. As such, the report is the unwitting dupe of the extreme Left (unwitting because late in the chapter it sympathises with police stress).

Those who would undermine the forces of law and order until now have led to schools refusing for 10 years police access even to teach children road safety and has led to posters hostile to the police in schools. With this report, the Church has been enlisted to carp at and repeat criticisms of the police.

It is well into the Chapter before the real victims of crime are mentioned. Pride of place is given to the other victims of the system - convicted prisoners. Our penal system is seen as the road for reforming prisoners, not as a way of keeping the law abiding secure from the ravages of the violent or dishonest.

The penal system has failed. Moreover, current policy provides for over-policing (clearly the authors were not in

Lozelles Road on 9 September when there were too few well equipped police). The report rehearses the woolly idea that over-intensive policing is counter-productive. Its statement that "black people continue to receive humiliating and discriminatory treatment from their fellow white citizens in many areas" - will be interpreted as provocative by many. The statement is without scientific or proper research and stands beside the ~~lie~~ ^{myth} that black people are far more exposed to police questioning and arrest on the streets than white. This is shocking. Of course, in black areas this is bound to be true, but what is the point of making these allegations generalisations from anecdotal reports?

The Church should learn how Lenin intended that a prime target of attack in a capitalist society should be the police. Not surprising when this political influence is identified, the Committee do not suggest the family can help much. It states (14.17): "It is unfair to single out parents (to exert discipline) in a society where adults generally do not feel authorised to keep order."

After being far from positive, the report has the gall to criticise law and order policy for having a negative view of the inner city. This Government is portrayed as presiding over a crime wave and for failing to look at root causes and is guilty by its association with the Consumer Society. Contrary to the Home Office view, the report suggests unemployment as a cause of crime. It forgets the crime rate in the 1930s when employment was much worse than it is now.

Beside all this, as if written by another hand, our crime prevention efforts, using a community approach and victim support, is praised. It asks for more and better funded law centres. It points to the problem of drugs and fails to make the point that drugs are misused in rich and poor areas alike.

With a few mitigating factors this is a bad chapter and directly "cocks a snook" at the Government of law and order.

H. Booth

HARTLEY BOOTH

PRIME MINISTER

29 November 1985

FAITH IN THE CITY

THE ARCHBISHOP'S REPORT ON URBAN PRIORITY AREAS

I enclose a critical evaluation of the Report, a Recommended Response, and the following Appendices:

- A. Summary by DoE
- B. Government Support for Urban Areas
- C. List of Commissioners
- D. List of Conclusions and Recommendations

BG.

BRIAN GRIFFITHS

EVALUATION

The Report of the Archbishop's Commission is to be published on 4 December. Its terms of reference were:

"To examine the strengths, insights, problems and needs of the Church's life and mission in Urban Priority Areas* and, as a result, to reflect on the challenge which God may be making to Church and Nation: and to make recommendations to appropriate bodies".

(* "The term Urban Priority Areas is used to include inner city districts and many large Corporation estates and other areas of social deprivation.")

It is an important statement by the Church (400 pages in length) on what is perceived as a major area of national concern - of poverty and inequality. It is certain to make a major splash in the media and among politicians when published - as well as remain a significant item on the agenda of the Church for the next 18 months.

It makes 61 main recommendations, 23 of which are to Government and Nation. All 23 main recommendations to government involve increased public spending, and 19 involve a permanently higher level of spending. Although it tries to avoid a confrontation with the Government by a wholesale condemnation of its policies, there is nevertheless running

throughout the Report a deep hostility to government policy
and the philosophy on which it is based.

Inter alia the Report:

- is critical of council house sales (10.50)
- sees no future for the private rented sector (10.4-9)
- accuses private schools of being divisive in the nation (13.88)
- indicts government policy as giving "too much emphasis . . . to individualism and not enough to collective obligation" (9.46)
- states that "we are united in the view that the costs of present policies, with the continuing growth of unemployment . . . are unacceptable in their effect on whole communities and generations" (9.50)
- argues that cuts in university spending are "harming the life opportunities of academically able young people" (13.20)
- on unemployment, includes a section "No Alternative?" which concludes by questioning whether a "dogmatic and inflexible macro-economic stance" is appropriate.

- states that "for most low-income city residents, freedom of choice is a cruel deception" (10.45).

By contrast, its own approach is collectivist, determinist, and Keynesian. It has nothing to say to the individual family who wish to escape from poverty, except the snide comment that "comfortable Britain" is full of such people, and that the despair of the cities they have left is their legacy. The inner city problems will be solved through bigger government.

For a Christian Report, it shows the Church as a secular lobby offering hope to our nation through an expanded welfare state.

The Theme of the Report

i. Step 1: an Observation

Between 20% and 25% of our nation are excluded by poverty and powerlessness from the life of the nation, or live on the margins of poverty. Urban Priority Areas are defined as areas of poverty, characterised by a disproportionate number of "vulnerable people" - unemployed, unskilled, uneducated, sick, and minority ethnic groups; and suffering from low income, family breakdown, homelessness, crime and ill-health.

ii. Step 2: a Causal Link

Poverty and UPAs are not the result of choices made by the individuals concerned, but are imposed on them by suburban "middle Britain". The Report says: "One submission to us put it bluntly: 'the exclusion of the poor is pervasive and not accidental. It is organised and imposed by powerful institutions which represent the rest of us'."

iii. Step 3: the Solution - Government Spending

The only way poverty and UPAs can be eradicated is by changing the structure of our society, which in turn demands a greater rôle for the state, and higher public spending.

iv. Step 4: the Church's Response - Reorganisation

The response of the Church should be to give greater priority to the poor in terms of funding, through internal reorganisation of synods, education committees, and by development of clergy and laity through new programmes of training.

Criticisms of the Report

1. "Poverty is Relative as well as Absolute"

The Report claims that poverty exists "if people are denied access to what is generally regarded as a reasonable standard and quality of life in that society" (9.3). No attempt is made to distinguish absolute from relative poverty. Not being as well off as your neighbour is treated like destitution. This technique was strongly condemned by Charles Booth in his classic study of poverty in London in 1902:

"The question of those who actually suffer from poverty should be considered separately from that of the true working classes, whose desire for a larger share of the wealth is of a different character. It is the plan of agitators and the way of sensational writers to confound the two in one, to talk of 'starving millions' and to tack on the thousands of the working classes to the tens of hundreds of the distressed. Against this method I protest. To confound these essentially distinct problems is to make the solution of both impossible. It is not by welding distress and aspiration that any good can be done."

2. "Poverty is about Powerlessness"

The Report claims that "it is about rights and relationships: about how people are treated and how they regard themselves; about powerlessness, exclusion and loss of dignity" (9.4).

This must be absolute nonsense. The lowest quartile of families in terms of income in this country is a varied collection of individuals and people. To describe them as "the poor" conceals more than it illuminates. Why did the Report not do any research on differences between families in the UPAs?

The Report does not consider social mobility. It is much worse to be poor if there is no way out. But the success of the Ugandan Asian refugees shows, for example, that there is a way out for those who seek it.

To describe poverty in terms of powerlessness and exclusion rather than material deprivation empties the word of any meaning, in view of the fact that all our citizens have a vote, are represented by local councillors and MPs, and have access to Citizens Advice Bureaux and Law Centres, as well as clergy whom they can consult.

3. The Cause of Poverty and UPAs

The Report identifies the major cause of poverty as the external environment of the people who live in UPAs: "the structure of society", "economic decline", "racial discrimination", unemployment, lack of government resources, bad housing, poor schools, hostile police.

It lays hardly any emphasis whatever on the predominant culture and value of those who live in the most chronic UPAs. Yet typically upper middle and working class people within the Church, as well as the Jews - and, more recently, Muslims - have had values which emphasise in particular the future as well as the present, and which therefore have been conducive to prosperity. These people expected to take responsibility for their children and grandchildren. Because they knew they could influence the future, they invested in housing, education and their children's welfare. To achieve this, they cut down on consumption, typically "sacrificing" something which they would otherwise enjoy.

By comparison, those who have tended to live in deprivation have lived from day to day. Their lifestyle was determined by fate, not choice. They see themselves as the victims of local government, companies, schools, hospitals, unemployment. They tend to behave more on impulse, with less concern for the future, and with less emphasis on discipline.

If values and culture do not matter, why is it that, when members of inner city communities are moved to large housing estates on the outer fringes of cities, they have so deteriorated that they can be presented as "the most pressing urban problem of the mid-1980s"?

The Report recognises that the black Churches have been more successful in the UPAs than the Church of England. What kind of attitude do these families have to employment, saving, housing, education and responsibility for relatives?

4. Self-help and the Individual

Traditionally, the escape from poverty for any individual or family has been associated with ^{work} the family, and a belief in the future. It is significant that the 61 recommendations of the Report are addressed to the Church and the Government. Not one is given to individuals. This underlines the deterministic and corporatist philosophy of the whole Report. The members of the Commission reflect the comparative consensus of the 1960s: having lost the ear of Government, they have captured the Church instead.

5. Public Ownership and the UPAs

The Report observes the powerlessness of people in UPAs:

- "poor people . . . at the mercy of fragmented and apparently unresponsive public authorities"; (xv)
- "trapped in housing and in environments over which they have no control"; (xv)
- "there is a lack of housing mix in many of the catchment areas served by UPA schools". (13.6)
- "the loss of hope and morale in many UPA schools borders on the catastrophic" (13.12).

What the Report fails to point out anywhere are:

- i. most of the housing in UPAs is council housing;
- ii. local authorities own substantial areas of undeveloped land;
- iii. the market economy is actively discouraged in their areas by Left-wing councils who are hostile to its growth.

It could be argued that UPAs are the unintended but, nevertheless direct, consequence of interventionist government policies.

This seems right to me.
Kill it with kindness.
A Church - Government row would
keep the Report on the front pages.

SEN
29/11

RECOMMENDED RESPONSE

1. Welcome it as a serious investigation of a real problem.
2. Emphasise that you applaud the Report's concern for those in our society who live in intolerable conditions. Grateful that the Report recognises the value of existing government policies, eg the Urban Programme, the extension of the YTS to 2 years, the Community Programme, and the establishment of the Law Centres.
3. Nevertheless, this problem needs to be identified more accurately than the Report does.
 - a. Powerlessness may or may not be a problem, but it is very different from material poverty.
 - b. Need to recognise that the poor, or those who live on the margins of poverty - which the Report claims are 20-25% of our population - have varied needs, aspirations, and live under varying constraints: wrong to think that there is a single answer.
 - c. One crucial characteristic of UPAs to which the Report pays little attention is that they are areas of high public ownership of land and housing, Left-wing local authorities, and considerable public expenditure.

4. By advocating increased government expenditure as the way of solving the problems which they describe, you uncover a major inconsistency.

It is clearly stated that poverty and powerlessness, which characterise UPAs, are in no small measure the result of large government, bureaucratic local authorities, impersonal landlords. Yet the solution of the Report is to give more power to the very institutions which create the conditions of despair and deprivation.

5. The Christian Church has always proclaimed the infinite value and dignity of each individual, created in the image of God. Express surprise that the 61 recommendations are addressed to the Church and government, and no suggestions are made to individuals. Yet we know that the key ingredients in escaping from poverty are work, the family, and faith: but a changed lifestyle, the discovery of meaning in work, the benefits of strong family life, and a hope for the future are precisely what the Church can offer. Why is the Church so reluctant to play its strongest card?

6. Express surprise that the recommendations of the Report lay far more emphasis on central and local government than they do on the family. Indeed, in the section on Law and Order, they feel it is "unfair to single out parents" as being responsible for the discipline of their children "in a

society where adults often generally do not feel authorised to keep order.

— Full Quote —

7. Recognise that government has a part to play in improving the position of the UPAs. But the values and attitudes of people are also important. Express surprise that the value of the Protestant ethic in terms of its attitude to work, saving and investment is only mentioned once - and then in a slightly derogatory way.
8. Recognise, as the Report does, that a strong and growing Church has a major rôle to play in the inner city. As Anglicans attract 1% of the present population of UPAs, there is plenty of opportunity for Church growth through the implementation of new ideas. Black Churches are growing in the inner cities by 5% per annum. In Latin America, despite deprivation the Christian Church has experienced explosive growth.

As a result of the recommendations of the Report, you confidently look forward to growth in the Church of England in the inner cities over the coming years.

BRIAN GRIFFITHS

THE REPORT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY'S COMMISSION ON
URBAN PRIORITY AREAS

"FAITH IN THE CITY - A CALL FOR ACTION BY CHURCH AND NATION"

1. This is a long report - 366 pages. The terms of reference are:

"to examine the strengths, insights, problems and needs of the church's life and mission in urban priority areas and, as a result to reflect on the challenge which God may be making to church and nation: and make recommendations to appropriate bodies".

2. Much of the report is addressed to the Church itself. The Commission were much concerned with how the Church as an institution should relate to, and more effectively play a part in, tackling urban problems. It is important to stress, therefore, that though the report has a good deal to say about public policy, much of it deals not just with what the Commission sees as the crisis of the inner cities but also the crisis faced by the Anglican church itself in the inner city context.

3. Because the report is long it is likely that the media will, at least in part, focus on the Introduction of the report. This is hard hitting.

4. The Introduction says that the 1977 White Paper "Policy for the Inner Cities" in effect placed urban problems firmly on the political agenda with the associated expectations that such a step implies. The Introduction states:

"Things have worsened rather than improved since 1977. All the signs are that the decline of the quality of life (in inner city areas) is continuing, as the collapse of the West Midlands industrial base clearly illustrates whatever method or framework is used to establish and present the facts the same message of acute human misery is received".



5. The Introduction acknowledges that the Church does not have particular competence or a distinguished record in proposing social reforms. But it does have a presence in the inner cities and a responsibility to bring their needs to the attention of the nation. The Church's present investigation brings to bear those basic Christian principles of justice and compassion.

6. The Introduction goes on:

"we have been confronted with the human consequences of (very high) unemployment we have seen physical decay of housing social disintegration is prevalent in some areas (leading to physical decay, crime, and frightened residents) and there is a pervading sense of powerlessness, and despair. Though there are obvious variations from place to place the underlying factors are the same: unemployment, decayed housing, sub-standard educational and medical provision and social disintegration".

"(the problems) may be described quite simply as "poverty". Poverty is at the root of powerlessness. Poor people are at the mercy of fragmented and apparently unresponsive public authorities. They are trapped in housing and in environments over which they have little control".

7. The introduction goes on to say that these problems can either be understood in the context of increasing inequality and that what the Commission have seen exceeds the limits of what would be thought acceptable degrees of inequality. Or it can be seen in terms of polarisation - the better-off in suburbia and the poor in the inner city. The poor in the inner city are cut off. In addition there is the North/South dimension.

"It is our considered view that the nation is confronted by a grave and fundamental injustice. The facts are fully recognised but the situation continues to deteriorate and requires urgent action."

8. The introduction ends by affirming the Commission's belief that they believe there is hope for the inner cities:

"we confidently assert that the planned resurgence of the British city is both possible and desirable in the immediate future."

THE STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

9. The report has 14 chapters, together with an Introduction and Summary.

10. Chapter 1 sets the scene by specifying the "urban priority areas that the report is concerned with". There seems to be no essential difference between their urban priority areas (UPAs) and our inner city areas (as specified by the allocation of Urban Programme resources) except that the report makes some play not only with the inner city dimension but also with conditions in outer housing estates. There is a long discussion on how to measure/describe such areas' economic and social decline. This draws heavily on this Department's work on measuring deprivation for the purposes of allocating UP resources. The Commission also draws on other work to flesh out the picture. This chapter makes some play with the "strong thread of anti-urban sentiment which runs through British cultural history". It is acknowledged that the Church is not immune from the effects of such sentiment.

11. Chapter 2 discusses 3 questions: the Church is clearly present in the UPAs but is it seen as relevant? Through a survey of UPA clergy, how is the Church conducting itself?

What are the perceived problems of UPAs? And how does the Church deal with these? The Church's most enduring problem has been its relationship with the urban working-class. The Church of England has traditionally been middle-class in character and this is contrasted with Roman Catholicism and Welsh Non Conformity. For every one person who goes to Church in a UPA parish there are 99 who do not. The key problems in UPAs were identified by the Clergy as being burglary, vandalism, unemployment, marital breakdown, and other family problems. The role of other denominations is noted particularly the rise of the black Churches.

12. Chapter 3 is presented as a theological debate. How far should Christians become involved with practical social issues? Is the search for salvation essentially a private matter between the individual and his Maker or does it have an inescapable social context? Can the Church turn its back on the context of which people live their lives? In what sense is the Church relevant to the day to day problems of those who are unemployed living in run-down Council estates and what message should the Church convey? As the Chapter acknowledges the most extreme form of this debate is that between the Vatican and the Catholic priests in South America over the status and merits of Liberation Theology. In essence that debate is about how far the Church should involve itself directly with the aspirations of the very poor, aspirations which are in direct conflict with the thrust of Government policy. The conclusion is, though it is difficult to find, that the Church has to become involved in a direct way with current problems.

13. Chapter 4 sets the scene for the more detailed discussion in Chapters 5 - 7 on how the Church should organise itself to better address inner city problems. The key points rehearsed in Chapter 4 are that the Church needs to become local, outward looking and participating. It should have a clear ecumenical bias. It should be responsive to local cultures and livelihoods in its leadership, worship, and manner

of operating. The Church must avoid reflecting an inherited middle-class culture and draw on the gifts to be found in its neighbourhood.

14. Chapter 5 - Organising the Church - deals with deployment of Clergy, support for Clergy in UPAs, making the parish system more responsive by opening up opportunities to local people and ethnic minorities. It deals with the Church and racial discrimination within its own organisation and the scope for involving the Church in the voluntary sector.

15. Chapter 6 is about the training of Clergy and discusses the question - is the training offered by theological colleges relevant to the problems faced by Clergy in the inner cities? It makes proposals for development of the lay ministries as a means for the Church to participate more directly in tackling urban problems. It contrasts the traditional *liturgy* of the Church with the benefits of more informal and spontaneous acts of worship. It discusses how better to involve the Church in youth work.

16. Chapter 7 deals with Church buildings, how they should be shared with other denominations, with other faiths, and the handling of redundant churches. On this latter point the issue is whether redundant Churches should be sold to the highest bidder or whether there should be a bias towards community use. The Chapter also recognises the legal and theological difficulties of disposing of redundant Churches to other faiths. The Chapter also considers how resources available to the Church should be distributed. It also proposes that the Church should set up its own Urban Programme - the Church Urban Fund.

17. The remaining Chapters are each devoted to an aspect of public policy.

Chapter Eight - Urban Policy

1. The Chapter begins with the 1977 White Paper and comments that its analysis remains valid. "But the stark fact is that there has been no sustained effort to put those proposals into effect" (8.19).

2. The Chapter claims that the Urban Programme is inadequate, when set against cuts in RSG, and there has been no significant "bending of main programmes towards inner city areas" (8.18). Nevertheless the UP is "a splendid vehicle for trying out new ways of improving life in the inner cities" (8.65) and "we have been enormously impressed with the work local authorities and voluntary bodies have undertaken with help from the Urban Programme". The Chapter suggests various changes to the way the UP is run (8.65). It has some nice words for the UDCs (8.101).

3. The message of the first part of the Chapter is that there has been sustained inaction by the Government; inadequate response to the Scarman Report, neglect of outer estates, failure to skew RSG effectively, a 'lack of will on the part of central Government to support local government'. There should be a better Partnership between central and local government (8.76). The Chapter reserves judgement on the CATs (8.73).

4. The Chapter goes on to debate whether measures should be directed at people or places and concludes that an approach should embrace both (8.28).

5. The public should be more closely involved in decision-making (8.74), and 'neighbourhood action' should be encouraged (8.84).

6. The importance of voluntary bodies is recognised (8.93) and the possibility is floated of giving them hypothecated RSG resources (8.95). The Chapter seems to suggest that voluntary organisations should have greater freedom to engage in political activity without fear of getting support withdrawn (8.96). The Chapter ends by claiming that "we have lost a decade (8.104) and that there should be a renewed public policy commitment to urban regeneration (8.104).

7. The Commission assert that nothing has been done for the inner cities in recent years. The Chapter ignores the substantial inner city public investment (£3bn on the UP/DLG/UDCs since 1979), an increased though now static UP, continued commitment to Partnership despite difficult local authorities, a range of measures to help industry, including the removal of obstacles to growth.

8. The Commission recommend unspecified and untargetted increases in UP, RSG, and voluntary grants which Ministers have made clear are not the answer.

9. The Report does stress the need for local people to be involved in decision-making but does not square this with its recommendations of greater municipal spending and local authority intervention (8.87). The Commission calls for visible improvements (8.29); this reflects the Government approach in, for example, Industrial Improvement Areas (IIAs)

Chapter 9

1. This Chapter deals with unemployment, new attitudes to work, and the role of the MSC. In a passage which may well be highlighted by the press it questions the morality of Government policy:

"we wonder whether some politicians really understand the despair which has become so widespread in many areas of our country..... The national Church has a particular duty to act as the conscience of the nation. It must question all economic philosophies, not least though which, when put into practice, have contributed to the blighting of whole districts, which do not offer the hope of amelioration, and which perpetuate the human misery and despair to which we have referred. The situation requires the Church to question from its own particular stand-point the morality of these economic philosophies". (Para. 9.41.)

The essence of the objection to the morality of Government policies is that unemployment and poverty have been allowed to increase against a background of improved prosperity for those in work. Welfare and taxation policies have benefitted the rich at the expense of the poor who have borne the brunt of the recession. Those who see the poor as social security scroungers are "blaming the victims". Efficiency is being sought in an inhumane manner, without regard to the just distribution of created wealth: "too much emphasis is being given to individualism, and not enough to collective obligation". Macro economic policies are inflexible and dogmatic, and it is "unacceptable that the costs of transition should fall hardest on those least able to bear them". New jobs tend to be part-time and concentrated in the most favoured areas. It is unrealistic to assume that even the skilled and mobile residents of the inner cities can all "get on their bikes".

2. The Chapter does not mention, still less respond in detail to, the arguments and policies set out in the Government's White Paper "Employment: The Challenge for the Nation". Its figures on the rate of job creation are not up-to-date, there are no international comparisons, or analysis of the comparative performance of the UK economy and reasons for its long-term poor performance.

3. The policy recommendations include the establishment of an urban COSIRA, more job creating public expenditure, expansion of Community Programme to 500,000 places with more relaxed rules, better income support for those out of work for more than a year, increased child benefit, and a wide ranging independent review of the relationship between income support, pay and taxation.

Chapter 10

1. This deals with housing. The emphasis is again on corporate responsibility, and the squandering of human worth and talents of people who live in squalid and depressing conditions. "They are being denied the opportunity to fulfil their God-given potential." Freedom of choice at the centre of Government housing policy is described as a "cruel deception" for most low income inner city residents. They have no choice in where they live and no power to change their environment. Homelessness is blamed on the shortage of good quality secure homes to rent. Because of lack of resources local authorities have been forced to interpret the homelessness legislation in a very minimal way, offering only the most atrocious ^{properties} as a way of deterring demand. The DHSS is criticised for its restrictions on board and lodging payments. The isolated and environmentally depressing outer estates are described, and estimates of the high cost of correcting disrepair and design defects are given. The disadvantage of widows, middle aged single women, and blacks (who suffer from racial discrimination) is singled out. The Report sees no future for the private rented sector. It concludes that a substantial proportion of the population will never be able to afford owner-occupation and that there is therefore a need for a well balanced stock for public sector renting. Council house sales are criticised for selling off the best. The use of construction as an economic regulator is condemned as inefficient and wasteful, the system of annual allocations is said to make strategic planning a nonsense. There is praise for the PEP approach, for decentralised repairs and services, and for the NACRO safe neighbourhood projects.

2. In a discussion of housing finance mortgage income tax relief is criticised as inefficient, regressive and wasteful. It is inequitable to disregard it while cutting housing benefits. An independent review of the system, with the aim of giving most help to those most in need is recommended.

3. There is a discussion of the Church Commissioners' Property Interests with a recommendation that it should be developed through none-profit making housing associations rather than as part of an investment portfolio. The main recommendations of the chapter include more public expenditure (unquantified) on house-building and repair, an extension of the homelessness legislation, and ethnic monitoring of public housing allocations.

Chapter 11

1. This Chapter on health attributes higher rates of death, illness, admissions to psychiatric hospitals, suicides and accidents in the UPAs to social deprivation, and in particular unemployment. The RAWP formula is said to give insufficient weight to multiple deprivation, and resources in many UPAs are not keeping pace with needs. Pressures on inner city GPs, community nursing, and health visitors are discussed, and the problems of health care of ethnic minorities. The chapter concludes that the Church needs to promote a broader understanding of health. Health in urban priority areas must be promoted by a sustained attack on poverty and unemployment, and by new initiatives on health education, and neighbourhood support groups.

Chapter 12

1. This Chapter is about social care and community work. The relatively poor level of family and informal support in urban priority areas is noted, and the consequent burden on social service departments and voluntary organisations. There is a discussion of the Church's social work and a distinction is drawn between social services (the delivery of services to people) and community work, which seeks to involve people in purposeful action to change their situation. The case is put for more resources to be devoted to community work by local authorities.

Chapter 13 - Education and Young People

1. The Commission singles out youth unemployment as the 'biggest single problem facing most schools today'. The lack of job opportunities leads to poor motivation, increasing irrelevance of examinations and growing discipline problems. (13.9). "..... many pupils in Urban Priority Areas have reached the view that employment will never be a possibility for them (13.11).

2. The Commission call for "affirmative action" (13.68) in urban areas involving pre-school intervention, ethnic disadvantage (13.51) (13.70), the overcoming of sex stereotyping (13.72) and the greater involvement of the community in schools (13.75). They question the relevance of current examination curricula (13.13), and training (13.15) to the needs of inner city youth. The Commission consider that urban children are at a particular disadvantage in further education (13.19).

3. Much of the Chapter is taken up with a discussion of the Church's role in religious education and, more generally, in supporting local schools. Stress is laid on the need for Church schools to recognise the multi-cultural nature of the inner cities.

4. Again, the message is that more resources are needed (13.17) to arrest the 'progressively deteriorating environment for teachers and their pupils' (13.18). The Commission claim that the introduction of rate-capping may well put the quality of education in certain urban priority areas at further risk.

Chapter 14

1. This deals with order and law, the sequence is significant because the Commission place more emphasis on the restoration of moral order, than on the size of the law enforcement effort. They suggest that more intensive policing may be counter-productive, and that the prison population should not be increased. If the problems of the UPAs were tackled, they predict that crime would fall. The report quotes from the British Crime Survey to show that exposure to crime is highest in inner city areas, and fear of crime greatest. The usual links between vandalism and environmental neglect, and between family breakdown and criminal behaviour are traced. Complaints about racially prejudiced policing are mentioned, with support for the efforts police forces are making to overcome the problems. Government law making is criticised as giving rise to a feeling by some that the law does nothing to protect their rights to decent housing and employment. The DOE/Home Office joint circular on Crime Prevention is quoted with approval, except for the passage which says that its recommendations imply no net increase in expenditure. This is said to be unrealistic. Initiatives by NACRO and the Probation Service funded through the Urban Programme are also approved. The development of victim support schemes and reparation, conciliation and mediation projects is encouraged. Law Centres are praised, and the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Legal Services on their funding are supported. The chapter notes the different constitutional arrangements for the Metropolitan Police, and recommends that a Police Liaison Committee for Greater London should be set up.

B

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR URBAN AREAS

			% Real terms increase
URBAN PROGRAMME	1978/79 : £93m	1985/86 : £338m	doubled
DERELICT LAND GRANT	1979/80 : £23.5m	1985/86 : £82m	doubled
UDCs	1981/82 : £38m	1985/86 : £86m	

SUPPORT FOR VOLUNTARY SECTOR (all areas)	1979/80 : £128m	1984/85 : £640m	trebled
including MSC	1979/80 : £30.5m**	1984/85 : £388m	fivefold

HOUSING IMPROVEMENT GRANTS	1979/80 : £90m	1985/86: £500m	trebled
	(1983/84 : £900m)		

BUT HOUSING INVESTMENT PROGRAMME allocations overall down 19% in real terms 1979/80 - 1985/86
cf reduction 1974/9 of 46%

S11, LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT 1966 (supports local authority staff costs on posts dealing with the special needs of Commonwealth immigrants)	1979/80 : £35m	1985/86 : £95m	doubled
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*RATE SUPPORT GRANT

	<u>1981/82</u>	<u>1985/86</u>	<u>% change in cash</u>
Before holdback	1691	1769	+4.6
After holdback	1662	1538	-7.5

*Partnership and Programme authorities

**includes STEP and YOP but predates YTS



MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

A list of members of the Commission is attached. Of the 18 members 7 were clergy 3 sociologists (!), 2 voluntary officials, 4 teachers and academics, 1 trade unionist and 1 businessman.

The following should be noted:

- a. O'Brien, Sheppard, Halsey and Pahl are well known for their corporatist, welfare state, Keynesian views - the Report therefore is hardly surprising.
- b. The Church of England is a national institution, and yet the composition of the Commission hardly reflects the views of the nation or of active members of the Church itself. Why this omission?
- c. The Secretary of the Report was seconded from the DoE for 2 years, and received promotion while writing this critique of the Government; and John Chilvers was seconded from the Bank of England to assist on finance and staffing!

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

Sir Richard O'Brien (*Chairman*)

The Right Reverend David Sheppard
(Bishop of Liverpool)

The Right Reverend Wilfred Wood
(Bishop of Croydon)

The Reverend Alan Billings
(Vicar of St Mary's, Walkley, Sheffield and Deputy Leader,
Sheffield City Council)

David Booth
(Executive Director, BICC plc)

John Burn
(Headmaster of Longbenton High School, North Tyneside)

The Reverend Andrew Hake
(Social Development Officer, Borough of Thamesdown)

Professor A.H. Halsey
(Director of Barnett House and Fellow of Nuffield College,
Oxford)

The Reverend Dr Anthony Harvey
(Canon of Westminster)

Ron Keating
(Assistant General Secretary, National Union of Public
Employees)

Ruth McCurry
(Teacher in Hackney; Clergy wife)

Professor R.E. Pahl
(Research Professor in Sociology, University of Kent at
Canterbury)

Professor John F. Pickering
(Professor of Industrial Economics, University of Manchester
Institute of Science and Technology)

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Robina Rafferty
(Assistant Director, Catholic Housing Aid Society)
The Reverend Mano Rimalshah
(Priest-in-charge, St George's, Southall)
Linbert Spencer
(Chief Executive, Project Fullemploy)
Mary Sugden
(Principal, National Institute for Social Work)
The Reverend Barry Thorley
(Vicar of St Matthew's, Brixton)

Resource Bodies and Advisers

The Boards and Councils of the General Synod
(represented by the Reverend Prebendary John Gladwin)
Christian Action
(represented by the Reverend Canon Eric James)
The Evangelical Coalition for Urban Mission
(represented by Michael Eastman)
The William Temple Foundation
(represented by the Reverend Canon John Atherton)
John Chilvers
Graham Howes

Secretary

J.N. Pearson



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SUMMARY OF MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

To the Church of England

- 1 A national system for designating UPA parishes should be developed (paragraph 5.9).
- 2 Dioceses should devote greater attention to the effective collection and presentation of accurate statistics (paragraph 5.16).
- 3 The internal distribution of clergy by dioceses should be adjusted where necessary to ensure that UPA parishes receive a fair share, and particular attention should be paid in this respect to parishes on large outer estates (paragraph 5.35).
- 4 Dioceses should explore the possibilities of fresh stipendiary lay ministries, not necessarily tied to one parish (paragraph 5.35).
- 5 The 'Audit for the Local Church' which we propose should be further developed, and adopted by local UPA Churches (paragraph 5.37).
- 6 In urban areas the deanery should have an important support and pastoral planning function (paragraph 5.41).
- 7 Each parish should review, preferably annually, what progress in co-operation has been made between clergy and laity, between Churches, and ecumenically, with the aim of developing partnership in ministry (paragraph 5.49).
- 8 Appointments should be made to the Boards and Councils of the General Synod, and a new Commission on Black Anglican Concerns established, to enable the Church to make a more effective response to racial discrimination and disadvantage, and to the alienation experienced by many black people in relation to the Church of England (paragraph 5.62).
- 9 The General Synod should consider how a more appropriate system of representation which pays due regard to minority interests can be

implemented for the Synod elections of 1990 (paragraph 5.74).

10 The appropriate Church voluntary bodies should consider how schemes for voluntary service in UPAs could be extended to widen the age range of those eligible, and to allow for part-time as well as full-time volunteering (paragraph 5.90).

11 Dioceses with significant concentrations of UPAs should initiate Church Leadership Development Programmes (paragraph 6.11).

12 Our proposals for an extension of Local Non-Stipendiary Ministry, including those relating to selection, training and funding should be tested in dioceses, and monitored over a ten-year period (paragraph 6.55).

13 All dioceses should manifest a commitment to post-ordination training and continued ministerial education in UPAs to the extent at least of regular day-release courses (paragraph 6.74).

14 Urgent attention should be given to appropriate training for teachers and supervisors in all areas of theological education, particularly those concerned with ministry in UPAs, and to the provision of theological and educational resources in urban centres (paragraph 6.77).

15 ACCM should be adequately funded to promote and monitor officially sanctioned experiments in theological education (paragraph 6.80).

16 ACCM should be given power, in certain defined cases, to direct candidates to specific courses of training, and bishops should endorse such direction (paragraph 6.81).

17 The role of non-residential training courses similar to the Aston Scheme should be further developed (paragraph 6.82).

18 Dioceses and deaneries should undertake a reappraisal of their support systems for UPA clergy (paragraph 6.97).

19 The Liturgical Commission should pay close attention to the liturgical needs of Churches in the urban priority areas (paragraph 6.110).

20 A reassessment of the traditional patterns of the Church's work of nurture of young people in UPAs is required at parish, deanery and diocesan level (paragraph 6.121).

21 Sharing agreements with other denominations should be adopted more widely, as should the informal sharing of church buildings (other than the church itself) with those of other faiths (paragraph 7.17).

22 In cases of the sale of redundant churches, there should be earlier and more open consultation with community organisations and bodies such as housing associations when future uses are being considered (paragraph 7.57).

23 The historic resources of the Church should be redistributed between dioceses to equalize the capital and income resources behind each clergyman, deaconess and licensed lay worker in the stipendiary ministry. The redistribution formula should take account of potential giving (paragraphs 7.77-7.80).

24 Within dioceses, the acute financial needs of the urban priority area Churches require a clear response (paragraph 7.81).

25 A Church Urban Fund should be established to strengthen the Church's presence and promote the Christian witness in the urban priority areas (paragraph 7.88).

26 The Church of England should continue to question the morality of economic policies in the light of their effects (paragraph 9.52).

27 Churches should take part in initiatives to engage unemployed people in UPAs in job-creating projects. The use of Church premises for this purpose must be encouraged (paragraph 9.112).

28 The Church should build on good practice in ministry to unemployed people: Industrial Mission has an important role to play here (paragraph 9.115).

29 We commend the use of properly-trained social workers working with local Churches and neighbourhood groups as an important part of the total ministry of the Church in the urban priority areas (paragraph 12.26).

30 Church social workers should be trained within the mainstream of social work, but with particular attention paid to the character and needs of social work in the church context. The Church should initiate discussion with social work training agencies to this end (paragraph 12.26).

31 Dioceses should, through their Boards for Social Responsibility, develop and support community work, and should exercise a strategic

role in support of local programmes in their urban priority areas (paragraph 12.53).

32 Discussions should be held between the General Synod Board for Social Responsibility and the British Council of Churches Community Work Advisory Committee with a view to strengthening the national support networks for community work. The Church of England should be prepared to devote central resources to this end (paragraph 12.54).

33 Additional Church-sponsored urban studies centres for teacher training should be established (paragraph 13.38).

34 All diocesan Boards and Councils of Education should give special priority to the needs of the UPA schools for which they are responsible (paragraph 13.91).

35 The governors and managers of Church schools should consider whether the composition of foundation governors in the school adequately reflects the ethnic constituency of its catchment area (paragraph 13.91).

36 Consideration should be given to a further exploration of the ecumenical dimension at secondary level, including the possibility of establishing Church of England/Roman Catholic schools in urban priority areas, which would offer a significant proportion of places to children of other faiths (paragraph 13.91).

37 A review of the Diocesan Education Committee measures should be undertaken, to allow the formulation of diocesan policies for Church schools on admission criteria and other issues, such as religious education and worship, equal opportunities and community education (paragraph 13.91).

38 The General Synod's Board of Education, in consultation with Diocesan Youth Officers, should move towards a national strategy for the Church's work with young people in UPAs, and initiate and support work specifically within these areas (paragraph 13.127).

To Government and Nation

1 A greater priority for the outer estates is called for within urban policy initiatives (paragraph 8.35).

2 The resources devoted to Rate Support Grant should be increased in real terms, and within the enhanced total a greater bias should be given

to the UPAs. Efficiency audits should be used to tackle wasteful expenditure (paragraph 8.55).

3 The size of the Urban Programme should be increased, and aspects of its operation reviewed (paragraph 8.67).

4 The concept of 'Partnership' in the urban priority areas should be developed by central and local government to promote greater consultation with, and participation by, local people at neighbourhood level (paragraph 8.76).

5 There should be a new deal between government and the voluntary sector, to provide long-term continuity and funding for recognized voluntary bodies working alongside statutory agencies (paragraphs 8.94-95).

6 A new impetus should be given to support for small firms in UPAs, perhaps by the establishment of a Council for Small Firms in Urban Areas (paragraph 9.56).

7 There should be additional job-creating public expenditure in the UPAs on capital and current account (paragraphs 9.62 and 9.64).

8 The Government should promote more open public discussion about the current levels of overtime working (paragraph 9.72).

9 The Community Programme eligibility rules and other constraints, including pay limits, should be relaxed, particularly to encourage greater participation by women and unemployed people with families to support (paragraphs 9.79 and 9.83).

10 The Community Programme should be expanded to provide 500,000 places (paragraph 9.80).

11 The Government should extend to those unemployed for more than a year eligibility for the long-term rate of Supplementary Benefit, or an equivalent enhanced rate of income support under whatever new arrangements may be introduced (paragraph 9.90).

12 The present level of Child Benefit should be increased as an effective means of assisting, without stigma, families in poverty (paragraph 9.91).

13 The present levels of 'earnings disregards' in relation to Unemployment Benefit and Supplementary Benefit should be increased to mitigate the effects of the poverty and unemployment traps (paragraph 9.91).

- ✓ 14 The Government should establish an independent enquiry to undertake a wide ranging review of the inter-relationship between income support, pay and the taxation system (paragraph 9.100).
- ✕ 15 Ethnic records should be kept and monitored by public housing authorities, as a step towards eliminating direct and indirect discrimination in housing allocation (paragraph 10.37).
- 16 An expanded public housing programme of new building and improvement is needed, particularly in the UPAs, to ensure a substantial supply of good quality rented accommodation for all who need it, including single people. Each local authority's housing stock should include a range of types of accommodation, including direct access emergency accommodation (paragraph 10.77).
- ✓ 17 The Housing (Homeless Persons) Act should be extended to cover all who are homeless. Homeless people should be offered a choice of accommodation (paragraph 10.78).
- 18 There should be further moves towards the decentralisation of local authority housing services (paragraph 10.85).
- ✕ 19 A major examination of the whole system of housing finance, including mortgage tax relief, is needed. It should have the objective of providing most help to those most in need (paragraph 10.98).
- ✓ 20 The concept of 'care in the community' for people who might otherwise be institutionalised must be supported by adequate resources to allow the provision of proper locally-based support services for people (especially women) caring for vulnerable and handicapped people (paragraph 12.26).
- 21 Local authorities in boroughs and districts which include urban priority areas should, with other agencies, develop policies to establish and sustain community work with adequate resources (paragraph 12.48).
- 22 The Recommendations of the Lord Chancellor's Committee on the funding of Law Centres should be implemented immediately (paragraph 14.53).
- ✓ 23 The Church, the Home Office and Chief Police Officers should give full support to the work of Police Advisory Committees, and a Police Liaison Committee for Greater London should be established (paragraph 14.63).

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PART IV

CONCLUSION

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SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER 15

CONCLUSION

"We have found faith in the city" (The Commission)

- 15.1 Chapter after chapter of our Report tells the same story: that a growing number of people are excluded by poverty or powerlessness from sharing in the common life of our nation. A substantial minority - perhaps as many as one person in every four or five across the nation, and a much higher proportion in the UPAs - are forced to live on the margins of poverty or below the threshold of an acceptable standard of living.
- 15.2 The present acute situation of our nation's Urban Priority Areas demands an urgent response from the Church and from government.
- 15.3 The Archbishops' Commission on "Church and State" concluded its report in 1970:
- "The Church should concern itself first, and indeed second, with the poor and needy, whether in spirit or in body."
- 15.4 We echo these words. The Church cannot supplant the market or the state. It can, as we recommend, mobilize its own resources in a way that accords high priority to the poor. It must by its example and its exertions proclaim the ethic of altruism against egotism, of community against self-seeking, and of charity against greed.
- 15.5 But we are conscious that we have only scratched the surface of some of the major concerns to have emerged from our work. To draw out the implications of some of these, such as the Church's response to the

prospect of persistent long-term unemployment, will require more time and resources than have been available to us. There must also be a major national debate on the future of our cities, in which the Church must play a full part.

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15.6 Perhaps the most important wider question concerns the structure of our society. One submission to us put it bluntly: "The exclusion of the poor is pervasive and not accidental. It is organized and imposed by powerful institutions which represent the rest of us." The critical issue to be faced is whether there is any serious political will to set in motion a process which will enable those who are at present in poverty and powerless to rejoin the life of the nation.

15.7 Here is a challenge indeed. It will call among other things for a clear resolve on the part of the Church and government to have faith in the city. We take courage from three realities which are evident to us.

15.8 The first is that changes on a global scale are already upon us, as the era known as industrial society gives place to something new. The industrial city is one of the focal points of that change. In almost every sphere of life and in a brief span of time the future is being shaped by action or by default. The very assumptions of our culture are now open to debate in new ways. We do not pretend to discern clearly what is to come. We present no comprehensive political or economic analysis. That task goes beyond this Commission. At this time of immense opportunity what we can do is to pledge ourselves as citizens to do our best to engage in the daily moral confrontations of public life and personal relations.

15.9 The second evident reality is the experience of justice, love and hope in human history, focused most clearly for us in our religious tradition. We know that there is a transforming power present in human affairs which can resolve apparently intractable situations and can bring new life into the darkest places. If, as we dare to affirm, the true nature of human life is to be discerned in the life of Jesus Christ, we can take heart and pledge ourselves to a deeper commitment to create a society in which benefits and burdens are shared in a more equitable way. Any attempt to base a society or culture upon other foundations carries with it, we believe, its own nemesis of suffering, bitterness and social disintegration.

15.10 But - and this is our third evident reality - somewhere along the road which we have travelled in the past two years each of us has faced a personal challenge to our lives and life styles: a call to change our thinking and action in such a way as to help us to stand more closely alongside the risen Christ with those who are poor and powerless. We have found faith in the city.

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