



THE
JOSEPH
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CHARITABLE
TRUST

Joseph Rowntree

The Quest for Racial Justice

A reflection on the West Yorkshire
Racial Justice Programme
1993-2011

JRCT action on WYRJP and proactive initiatives

JRCT commissioned Ashok Ohri to explore the idea of establishing a pilot local funding programme in West Yorkshire.

1990

Report published: *The Face of Diversity: The Black Voluntary Sector in West Yorkshire*.

The Racial Justice Committee decides to start the West Yorkshire Racial Justice Programme.

1992

Tara Parveen, Development Officer appointed and starts shaping the programme. First grant offers
Community Care Conference: *Making Community Care a Reality*.

West Yorkshire Programme extended for 2 years. Consultation with organisations to consider the empowerment of Asian women.

Black Identity and the Notion of Difference conference organised by JRCT, held in Huddersfield.

Trainers in West Yorkshire consultation organised by JRCT.

Promoting white trainers into anti-racist training.

Workshop *How to sell yourself as a trainer or consultant* organised by JRCT, held in Huddersfield.

1994

Review resulting in re-focusing the programme to the needs of local organisations.
Black on Board organised jointly with NCVO.

Production of the *Directory of Black Trainers* published by JRCT. June 1996 Consultation – Black Groups and equal opportunities.

1996

Programme Review: *The Scales of Justice* by Daryl Crosskill.

Development Officer leaves for new post. RJC re-thinks the programme and revised the programme aims. RJC decides to extend the programme indefinitely. *Wakefield Study*.

1998

Maureen Grant appointed as Development Officer. Consultation on *Strengthening the Black Voluntary Sector: Developing a Black Infrastructure* – conference organised by JRCT at Hudawi Cultural Centre, Huddersfield.

RJC commissioned Ruth Wilson to map the services available to asylum seekers in West Yorkshire.

2000

Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust: West Yorkshire Racial Justice Programme

External events impacting on West Yorkshire

Proliferation of equal opportunity policies in local authorities.
Honeyford Affair in Bradford.
Burning of Salman Rushdie's book *Satanic Verses* in Bradford.

1991

Some councils in West Yorkshire adopted equal rights policy recognising rights of women, people with disabilities and lesbian, gay & bi-sexual people.

Country still in deep recession with minority communities suffering worst.

1993

Murder of Stephen Lawrence and bungled investigation leading to racial tension.

Local authorities beginning to cut back on race equality training.

1995

Disturbances in Northern cities.

20th Anniversary of the Race Relations Act (1976).

1997

Labour Government elected at a General Election after 18 years in opposition.

Human Rights Act.

1999

Asylum seekers dispersed to West Yorkshire under the Government's policy.
Publication of the Macpherson Report following the Inquiry into Stephen Lawrence's death.

Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000).

Timeline continued on inside back cover ...

The Quest for Racial Justice

A reflection on the West Yorkshire
Racial Justice Programme

1993-2011

Foreword

This booklet celebrates the achievements of the West Yorkshire Racial Justice Programme (WYRJP) over the last 20 years. The period has seen major events and massive changes in the field of racial equality and racial justice. The organisation and articulacy of black and ethnic minority (BME) communities have ebbed and flowed across the 20 years. While government policies have also fluctuated, veering between racial equality, race relations, racial cohesion and racial integration, the focus of the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust (JRCT) in addressing race has remained constant: JRCT supports the struggle for racial justice.

The Trust's racial justice work echoes its programme that supported the struggle against apartheid and into democracy in South Africa over so many years. As with that programme, the challenges have been many and various. But as with all of the Trust's work, the fundamental desire has been to address the root causes of injustice and inequality. And the Trust believes that this is best done by empowering

communities through strengthening their own infrastructures and capacities, rather than by simply providing or funding services.

While the success of the South African struggle was tangible – in as much as democracy was achieved in the face of concerted opposition – achievements have been less obvious in terms of racial justice in the UK, and specifically in West Yorkshire. But that does not mean that they have not happened. This booklet sets out the strides forward made by many BME organisations in the region, and points to the contribution that they have made to the national picture.

But there is still much more to be done. The next three years will see a refined and focused programme of support aimed at strengthening and consolidating the infrastructures, capacities and networking of those organisations in West Yorkshire that are determined to ensure that racial justice for all becomes a reality and is sustained.

... the fundamental desire has been to address the root causes of injustice and inequality.

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Introduction

It is hard to believe that the West Yorkshire Racial Justice Programme has been around for nearly two decades. During this time many organisations have survived and many have gone. Some policies affecting racial justice have been barely noticed, while others left profound legacies for communities in West Yorkshire. Reflecting on Stephen Lawrence's death, some might argue that we have been standing still. Stephen Lawrence died at the hands of racists in 1993 just as the Programme started, and it is only at this point that two of his assailants have faced justice. In the meantime, many others have lost their lives in a similar way.

This booklet reflects on what has happened in the years between 1993 and 2011. Along the way there has been a lot to celebrate, lessons learnt, mistakes made, disappointments and points of inspiration.

The first part of this booklet describes the history of the West Yorkshire Racial Justice Programme in three periods, each of which was marked by a review of progress. The periods are:

1993-1997

1998-2007

2008-2011

It offers a brief outline of the events that shaped the Trust's responses to the issue of racial justice during each of these periods, provides some case studies and lists those who were awarded grants over the history of the programme.

The second section of the booklet discusses the projects initiated and undertaken by the programme itself, many of which spanned across the periods set out above.

Along the way there has been a lot to celebrate, lessons learnt, mistakes made, disappointments and points of inspiration.



The South Sudanese Women's Group ran a weekly swimming session for African asylum seekers in Leeds. © Paula Solloway

Three

1

Phase 1

1993 to 1997 - going local on Racial Justice

The West Yorkshire Racial Justice Programme was established by the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust (JRCT) in 1993 to fund only local work in the field of racial justice. Racial justice had long been an important part of JRCT's work and had included funding for local projects. But this was restricted when the Trust made a policy decision to focus on supporting national organisations. As a result, the location of the Trust in Yorkshire was considered irrelevant by local black groups; from their perspective it appeared to no longer support local work. The establishment of this programme represented a recognition by the Trustees that an important local dimension was being overlooked.

Consequently, in 1992 JRCT commissioned Ashok Ohri to research and write a report (*The Face of Diversity: the black voluntary sector in West Yorkshire* by Ashok Ohri, 1991) that led to the establishment of the West Yorkshire Racial Justice Programme. The programme comprised three elements: grant-making to facilitate the development of local groups; training and consultancy to support local groups; and consultations that would bring groups together

to discuss issues of common concern and help facilitate a network. The first Development Officer, Tara Parveen, was appointed to support the work. The broad aims of the Programme have remained constant and relevant over the last 18 years:

- To promote the full participation of black and ethnic minority people in community life.
- To support initiatives that encouraged collective action to respond to needs.
- To positively promote communities to achieve equality in social and civil rights.
- To encourage cooperation between all racial groups.

It was perceived that collectively the BME (black and minority ethnic) voluntary and community sector in West Yorkshire was weak and lacked an effective infrastructure. But infrastructure development alone was not delivering what the communities needed at the time. It quickly became evident that the Trust needed a more flexible approach. Because most BME organisations in the region were already focused on service delivery, inevitably this resulted in more grants supporting activities that were largely about service delivery.

The establishment of this programme represented a recognition by the Trustees that an important local dimension was being overlooked.

phases of the programme

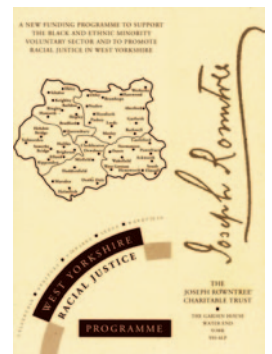
While these were often successful, striking a balance between supporting infrastructure development and service delivery has been a preoccupation of the programme ever since.

One of Ashok Ohri's main recommendations had been to establish a West Yorkshire-wide black resource agency. This idea was revisited in Daryl Crosskill's 1998 review of the programme (*The Scales of Justice: Independent Programme Review* by Daryl Crosskill Development Services and Consultancy, 1997). But it was rejected by JRCT on both occasions because of grave reservations about how such a body might be formed and to whom it would be accountable. The issue of representation and how people would be selected remained the greatest problem.

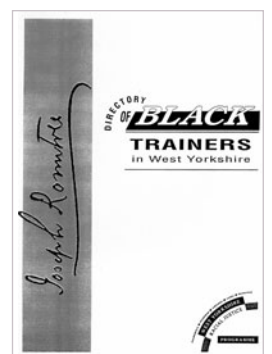
By 1997, when the first Development Officer left, the Programme had become embedded. However, Tara's departure provided the opportunity to pause and reflect on what had been achieved and the future direction. This coincided with the election of a New Labour government after 18 years of Conservative rule. Although it was unclear where this would take the national agenda on race, it signalled new possibilities for the voluntary and community sector in general, and for racial justice in particular.

The Trust was also aware of the arrival on the scene of some new key players who could affect the development of the BME voluntary and community sector. These included the National Lottery Charity Board (now Big Lottery Fund) and the opening in 1996 by Sia, a national development agency for the Black voluntary sector, of a new regional office in Leeds. Lottery funding and expanded European funds made larger grants more accessible than ever before. This, along with the new government's agenda, shaped the environment in which the programme would now operate. The arrival of Sia was encouraging for the development of BME organisations. However, with limited resources, Sia were never able to achieve the impact so many had hoped for.

Crosskill's review at the end of this period recommended a continued focus on racial justice and that the grantmaking had been very successful, empowering small organisations existing on the margins of society. However, to have greater impact JRCT's grants programme could be more structured and set strategic goals. It also recommended re-focusing the training and consultancy provision, and strengthening links with JRCT's national Racial Justice programme.



WYRJ Programme information leaflet published in 1994



Directory of Black Trainers published in 1996

Three **phases of the project**

2 Phase 2

1998 to 2007 – tides of change

This period saw significant events that have had monumental effects on racial justice. Some of these events were to have particular relevance to West Yorkshire and the work of the West Yorkshire Racial Justice Programme.



Dispersed report published in 2001.

The Immigration and Asylum Act of 1999 resulted in large numbers of asylum seekers being dispersed to the region. The impact on services and resources was immediately noticed. This led to JRCT commissioning a report on the services available for asylum seekers in West Yorkshire (*Dispersed: a study of services for asylum seekers in West Yorkshire, December 1999 to March 2001*). By 2006, services hadn't improved. In fact, the situation had become worse and destitution appeared to be increasing dramatically. JRCT intervened with the Destitution Inquiry, which was to become a major initiative and is described in Part 2 of this booklet. Meanwhile the Trust funded a greater number of organisations working to support asylum seekers and refugees.

In 2001, two events of grave significance took place. The disturbances in Bradford and other northern towns led to changes in the importance of, and approaches to, racial justice for the voluntary and community sector organisations in the region. The Cattle report (*Community Cohesion: a report by the Independent Review Team, 2001*, published by the Home Office), highlighted the need for community cohesion and pronounced that Muslim communities in these towns and cities lived

'parallel lives'. This in turn led to major changes in government policy and accompanying funding. For government, community cohesion now eclipsed racial justice as a priority.

The other big event in 2001 was 9/11. This immediately turned the spotlight on Muslims globally. West Yorkshire did not escape special attention – suddenly statements such as 'parallel lives' and the need for community cohesion took on even greater significance and increased the pressure on BME communities, and Muslims in particular, to 'integrate'.

Then came the 2005 bombings in London, which were to have a particularly devastating impact on West Yorkshire. It soon emerged that some of the bombers came from Leeds and apparently had some association with one of JRCT's grantees. Media interest in this area was intense and intrusive. This created fear, anxiety and suspicion within the Muslim community and hostility was aimed at them. The event was swiftly followed by new legislation and government policies in the form of Counter Terrorism measures. People from some communities felt that the measures were based on an assumption that all Muslims were potential terrorists. The accompanying funding arrangements further diminished the ability of organisations to actively pursue racial justice. A culture of 'them' and 'us' was allowed to flourish, with government-led debates on multiculturalism and Britishness.

This period also saw far right groups such as the British National Party (BNP) becoming more embedded in the British political establishment, with a BNP councillor elected in West Yorkshire for the first time 2002.

In times like this, a fresh approach was needed and in 2003 JRCT established JUST West Yorkshire. The words that best capture the intentions of JUST are independence, activism, challenge, accountability, solidarity, persistence and justice. JUST was able to help maintain racial justice on the agenda in West Yorkshire. JUST eventually became independent of the Trust in 2007 and thus far, with continued support from JRCT, has lived up to expectations. Its work is described in more detail in Part 2 of this booklet.

All of this took place at a time when racial justice was brought into sharp focus nationally. The Macpherson Report (*The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: report of an inquiry by Sir William Macpherson*, 1999, published by the Stationery Office) brought ‘institutional racism’ to the fore, which meant that public bodies were forced to examine racism in their operations and practices. This was supported by the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000), which placed a duty on public bodies to actively promote race equality.

This phase of the programme’s work was reviewed in 2007 (*Review of the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust West Yorkshire Racial Justice Programme 1997 – 2007* by Paul Grant, Navigation Consultancy Ltd 2007). Once more, this review found that the programme was empowering racially disadvantaged communities, addressing immediate needs and helping local organisations raise funds from other sources. It proposed a continued focus

on racial justice, rather than following the trend towards a broader equality agenda. The Racial Justice Committee concurred with this, but were less convinced by the recommendation that the programme shift towards commissioning, rather than grant-making. As a responsive grant-maker, the Trust wanted to continue empowering grantees and funding their priorities, rather than setting the agenda.



JUST West Yorkshire is celebrated by I-r Dr Carl Hylton, Kevin McFadden, Marsha Singh MP, Fabian Hamilton MP and Elaine Allison at the Black History Month Conference at the Leeds West Indian Centre, 2005. © Joan Russell

The words that best capture the intentions of JUST were independence, activism, challenge, accountability, solidarity, persistence and justice.

Three **phases of the programme**

3

Phase 3

2008 to 2011 – holding the line

The coalition government came to power in 2010 and almost immediately embarked on a programme of austerity, resulting in local authorities having to make further cuts of between eight and twelve per cent. The effect has been severe on the BME voluntary and community sector and on services to BME communities in West Yorkshire.

To some extent, the scene for 2008 and beyond was set by the previous five years. The Commission for Racial Equality was disbanded in 2007, to be replaced by the Commission for Equality and Human Rights. This effectively meant that 'race' was considered at a policy level alongside all the other aspects of equality, leading to fears that 'race' would be subsumed within the other strands and its profile would diminish even further. The Equality Act (2010) followed, and at least in part, defined the Government's agenda on race issues in the years that followed.

The Government also made a serious challenge to the funding of groups representing single ethnic communities. In 2008 The Southall Black Sisters, a voluntary organisation providing services and protecting the rights of Asian and African Caribbean women experiencing or being threatened with domestic violence, mounted a legal challenge against Ealing Council for attempting to cut their funding on the grounds of it being aimed at a single community. Despite this successful challenge, through their funding criteria many local authorities and other funders continued to discourage single identity groups.

By 2009 local authorities had reduced grant aid to the voluntary and community sector by as much as 90 per cent in some cases. Grant aid was being replaced by commissioning and procurement. The fund-holding authority would identify needs and invite bids to deliver the services to meet those needs. The already

weak BME sector had difficulty in adjusting to this way of securing funds. Although many had the expertise to deliver good services to the community, contracts were being secured by agencies better equipped to write funding bids.

The coalition government came to power in 2010 and almost immediately embarked on a programme of austerity, resulting in local authorities having to make further cuts of between eight and twelve per cent. The effect has been severe on the BME voluntary and community sector and on services to BME communities in West Yorkshire. Some key infrastructure organisations and service deliverers have had to reduce staffing significantly, or to close.

The Trust began to notice the steady decline in applications directly about racial justice. Emphasis by this time was more on race relations, in the name of community cohesion. In the ten years from 2001 to 2011, the annual number of grants for racial justice initiatives fell steadily and substantially. Although there is no clear evidence of a causal link between this policy shift and reductions in applications to the WYRJP, this trend was one factor leading to JRCT conducting an internal review of the Programme. The key recommendation of that review was for more focused funding guidelines, alongside, once again, strategies to develop the capacity of the grantees and create a more sustainable programme for promoting racial justice in West Yorkshire.



Case studies of grant recipients

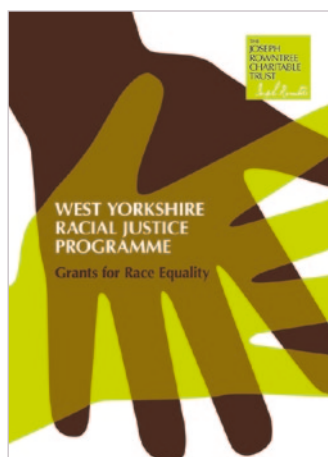
Introduction

The following three case studies describe some of the different approaches taken to racial justice by organisations in receipt of JRCT grant aid.

Bangladesh Porishad, with the support of JRCT grants, has developed highly effective campaigning skills involving powerful media coverage.

Leeds Gate has focused on developing a support network that is run for, and most importantly by, the Gypsy and Traveller community.

Next Generation was funded to maintain the agenda of racial justice as it affected young people in one city. It demonstrated tangible success in protecting facilities for use by young people from all racial backgrounds.



Case study 1

Bangladesh Porishad

The Trust's support for the organisation was important to its success. Without the initial grants, we could not pursue the campaign.

Bangladesh Porishad, a Bradford-based organisation, was formed in 1984 and initially focused on immigration advice. It received its very first grant from JRCT in 1989, well before the West Yorkshire Racial Justice Programme as such got underway. Its remit was later extended to include educational issues.

JRCT first realised the significance of Porishad when the latter became involved in a campaign against immigration legislation that placed unfair barriers on children applying to join Bangladeshi parents who had settled in the UK. Porishad identified the potential for DNA testing to overcome doubts about the true parentage of these children, and urged the Home Office to deploy this technology. The campaign gained a media profile and ICI, developers of the DNA profiling technique, later joined forces with Porishad to lobby the Government. The campaign was successful also, in winning concessions for those applicants who, because of ongoing disputes, had passed the age limit for joining their parents.

JRCT funding was also used by Porishad to raise awareness about the health risks from marriages between close relatives. At the time, this practice was widespread in some Asian communities and resulted in a significant proportion of children being born with disabilities. Again, media publicity was used as a valuable tool.

Beyond these campaigns, Porishad has continued to provide immigration advice and casework support. It is now merged with another organisation in Bradford working with the Bangladeshi community on educational issues.

Success has been achieved through capitalising on media coverage and articulating their case, with the support of the local community, by directly lobbying local MPs and senior politicians. At the time of the campaigns, Porishad also formed a network with national advocacy organisations working on migration issues. The project has generated confidence in the community that its voice can be heard and can bring about change.

Abu Bashir, one of the founder members of the organisation, has remained involved throughout Porishad's existence. He feels that *'the Trust's support for the organisation was important to its success. Without the initial grants, we could not pursue the campaign'*.

Impact

The project has:

- Kept up-to-date with changes in legislation that enabled the organisation to provide advice over the years.
- Mounted successful campaigns (e.g. use of media; lobbying politicians; mobilising community).
- Sustained links with national grantees such as JCWI, involving a two-way flow of information.

Learning

We have learnt:

- That even after mergers and changes within the organisation, and external policy/funding changes, the core work can continue.
- The value of grant-makers' monitoring grantees' progress, even several years after grant funding has finished.

Case study 2

Leeds GATE

Leeds GATE was established in 2003 to provide information, advice and advocacy support for Gypsies and Travellers in Leeds. The organisation also aims to develop dialogue with decision makers and service providers, in order to improve provision for this community. Leeds GATE has received funding from JRCT since its inception, most recently to develop the management committee, strengthening governance so that the organisation would be fully led by Gypsies and Travellers.

It is fair to say that funding this group in 2003, at such an early stage of its development, was one of JRCT's more 'risky' grants. No one could guess what the outcome of the work would be in two or three years. However, Trustees felt it was a risk worth taking and it recognised this community as one of the most marginalised in the UK, deserving support to start addressing some of the issues.

The key to the success of the organisation was having a strong governance structure that was led by the community it served. In 2003 Leeds Gate was a long way off that point.

Perseverance and hard work eventually resulted in encouraging greater participation from members of the Gypsy and Traveller community. None of this was easy. It was obvious that the more 'establishment' ways of communicating and conducting business were not going to work. The organisation set about creating the means and the atmosphere to make this a truly inclusive and empowering organisation. Engaging men was even more difficult. As one committee member explained - 'involving Gypsies and Traveller men in this type of activity is almost impossible'. However, the organisation was delighted to attract two men onto its committee recently.

The management committee has moved from one controlled mainly by professionals to one that is totally managed by a group of Gypsies and Travellers who are able to articulate their needs and encourage accountability from decision makers.

As JRCT Trustees concluded - *'There is a real sense that the money has been well spent.'*

It was obvious that the more 'establishment' ways of communicating and conducting business were not going to work.



Members of the Gypsy and Traveller community at Leeds Gate, 2009. © Paula Solloway

Impact

The project has:

- Supported 1500 of the 3000 Gypsy and Traveller population in Leeds.
- Involved 12 Gypsies and Travellers in the formal governance of the organisation and 35 in non-executive sub-groups.
- Provided legal advice and education.
- Supported Gypsies and Travellers to gain more control over their own lives.
- Helped raise literacy and numeracy skills in the community.
- Made community members' concerns the priority for the organisation.
- Reached a formal agreement with the City Council on Negotiated Stopping.
- Influenced national health policy.
- Taken a firm stance on incorrect or disrespectful terminology - improving community members' self-esteem and raising awareness locally and nationally.
- Produced a training pack funded by the Department of Health and developed a toolkit aimed at encouraging effective engagement and service provision to Gypsies and Travellers.

Learning

We have learnt:

- That for NGOs, it is possible to have community engagement at all levels, even when the obstacles seem too great.
- That grant-makers can walk alongside grantees by looking for their potential, by trusting, and by employing good staff.
- To recognise the reality of community needs, rather than imposing structures and solutions.
- That supporting a community to promote its own interests in relation to local provisions takes time, but is essential if appropriate and enduring results are to be achieved. Self-governance is key to this process.

There is a real sense that the money has been well spent.

Case study 3

NEXT Generation

Next Generation was set up in 1997 in response to growing anti-social behaviour from young people in some areas in Wakefield, and the lack of appropriate facilities to support their needs. The work focused on building community confidence and promoting good relations through a range of sporting and cultural activities.

Following the 2001 disturbances in Northern towns and cities, and 9/11, Next Generation became increasingly concerned about the negative impact on Muslims, and as a result became involved in the local government's strategic responses to these issues. When Government funding became available for community cohesion and work preventing violent extremism, Next Generation seized the opportunity. These policies were controversial and in some cases organisations accepting these funds faced a hostile response from communities. Next Generation was honest about their motivations for applying for these grants and this stemmed some of the negative feelings.

More recently, local authority cuts resulted in Next Generation facing the possibility of losing its premises at the Lightwaves Leisure & Community Centre, in return for an inadequate substitute. Realising that this would have a devastating impact on the organisation and all

its users, they were galvanised into action with the support of members of the community and key stakeholders. Together they succeeded in obtaining the building via the Asset Transfer Scheme which enables the transfer of public assets into community control. This has not been an easy process for Next Generation. They faced red tape, and obstacles were put in their way at every stage. However, they had the confidence and backing from the community to continue. Next Generation now manages a building that the whole community has some stake in.

JRCT offered grants to Next Generation to develop cross community initiatives and challenge racism through its activities. Although Next Generation found it relatively easy to secure funding for 'community cohesion' activities, it was more challenging to do so for work on racism.

However, the organisation remained steadfast in its vision and felt that the interventions from JRCT were critical in enabling them to stay on course and to remain in existence. Mohammed Ayub, the organisation's manager, added that '*Black organisations don't survive this long usually; the timely interventions of JRCT grants and clear vision helped greatly in enabling Next Gen to build strong relationships within the community*'.

They faced red tape, and obstacles were put in their way at every stage. However, they had the confidence and backing from the community to continue.

Impact

The project has:

- On a weekly basis attracted over 100 young people from all backgrounds in organised activities; and it is not unusual for up to 800 participants to attend annual community events.
- Enabled community members' voices to be represented in Strategic Partnership.
- Fielded speakers at regional and national conferences (Wakefield is often overlooked at these levels).
- Provided leadership in securing community assets (the building).
- Become a focal point for voluntary and community sector, providing networking and leadership.
- Used JRCT funding to help sustain the core capacity of the organisation during turbulent times.

Learning

We have learnt that:

- A grant focusing on one issue can have a ripple effect, engaging with more communities and at more levels than originally expected.
- Funding an organisation with sound core analysis can have a wider impact, whatever the specifics of the project being funded.



Next Generation young people and volunteers outside Wakefield Lightwaves. In April 2012 they heard they had saved the leisure centre from closure.

Black organisations don't survive this long usually; the timely interventions of JRCT grants and clear vision helped greatly in enabling Next Gen to build strong relationships within the community.

Organisations funded by JRCT between 1993-2012

- 2b Acting Limited, Wakefield
African Caribbean Economic Establishment, Bradford
Advocacy Support, Leeds
African Caribbean Achievement Project, Bradford
African Caribbean Disabled People's Action Group, Huddersfield
Afrikan Curriculum Development Association, Leeds
Afro-Caribbean Talking Books Club, Huddersfield
Asha Neighbourhood Project, Leeds
Asian Women's Drama Project, Bradford
Asian Women's Resource Association, Halifax
Association of African Affairs, Leeds
Audhikhar Project, Leeds
African Women Support Project Foundation, Wakefield
Bangladesh Porishad, Bradford
Bangladeshi Community Association, Keighley
Black Achievers Wings Award, Leeds
Black History Month Group, Huddersfield
Black Men's Forum, Leeds
Black Women's Forum
Bradford Action for Refugees
Bradford Joint Training Board
Bradford Moor Consortium
Bradford Muslim Women's Council
Bradford Resource Centre
British Red Cross
Buttershaw Upper School, Bradford
Calderdale Multicultural Activity Centre
Chapelton Young Peoples 10-2 Club, Leeds
Community Action and Support Against Crime (CASAC)
Community Safety Education Group, Bradford
Consortium of Black Contractors, Huddersfield
Creative Industries Development Agency, Huddersfield
Dominica Association, Bradford
East Leeds Health for All
Envision, Leeds
Equality Leeds
Fairfield Residents' Association, Leeds
Frizinghall Community Centre, Bradford
Girlington Action Group, Bradford
Halifax Afro-Caribbean Association
Hamara Healthy Living Centre, Leeds
Heads Together, Huddersfield
Health For All (Leeds)
Housing Advice for Black and Asian Prisoners, Leeds
Hudawi Building Development Group, Huddersfield
Huddersfield Black History Group
Huddersfield Council of Islamic Affairs Charitable Trust
Huddersfield Harambee Association
Huddersfield Pakistani Community Alliance
Ice and Fire Theatre
Info Magazine, Huddersfield

Journalist Alex Pascall OBE speaking at the Black History Month conference in 2005.
© Joan Russell



Jireh House Community Centre, Bradford
 JUST – West Yorkshire
 Justice for Travellers, Leeds
 Keighley & Ilkley Voluntary and Community Action
 Keighley Asian Women & Children’s Centre
 Kirklees Equality and Human Rights Agency
 Kirklees Refugees and Friends Together
 Lajpal International Welfare, Keighley
 Leeds Asylum Seekers’ Support Network
 Leeds Black Elders Association
 Leeds Black Mental Health Resource Centre
 Leeds Chinese Association
 Leeds Chinese Women’s Group
 Leeds Connecting Communities
 Leeds GATE
 Leeds Mixed Ethnicity Group
 Leeds Racial Harassment Project
 Leeds REACH
 Light of the World Community Centre, Bradford
 Manningham Project, Bradford
 Manningham Youth Action Group, Bradford
 Mary Seacole Nurses Association, Leeds
 Mehfal-E-Niswan, Huddersfield
 Next Generation, Wakefield
 Northern Complainant Aid Fund
 Open Art Group, Huddersfield
 Pakistan Kashmir Welfare Association, Kirklees
 Pakistan Muslim Welfare Society, Huddersfield
 Pan African Arts and Cultural Group, Bradford
 Positive Action for Refugees and Asylum Seekers, Leeds
 Programme for a Peaceful City, Bradford
 University
 Purlwell Community Project, Dewsbury
 Reflections Magazine, Leeds
 Refugee Access Project (Yorkshire and Humberside)
 Refugee Council
 Resourcing the Community, Leeds
 Roots Ltd, Leeds
 Russell Street Project, Keighley



Sa Ca Fete Zanfan Donmnik? Bradford
 Salfia Association, Dewsbury
 Sankofa Sistah’s Group and Nubian Men, Bradford
 Solace Surviving Exile and Persecution, Leeds
 South Leeds Elderly Group
 Sports Participation & Cultural Equality, Huddersfield
 St Augustine’s Centre, Halifax
 Stop Hate UK
 Tandem Communications and Research Ltd
 The Diversity Project Limited, Kirklees
 The Thornbury Centre, Bradford
 Thornbury Youth Association, Bradford
 Ujima Women’s Group, Leeds
 United Caribbean Association, Leeds
 University of Leeds
 Voluntary Action Leeds
 Voluntary Action Wakefield District
 Wakefield Community Housing Project
 Wakefield: Study of Minority Ethnic Voluntary & Community Sectors
 West Yorkshire Black Governors Support Services
 West Yorkshire Community Work Training Group
 Woodsley Kashmiri Elders Association, Leeds

*A volunteer helps a refugee on the computer, the Refugee forum, St Augustine’s Centre, Halifax.
 © Paula Solloway*

JRCT proactive initiatives

Introduction

Grant making by the JRCT in West Yorkshire has always taken place alongside developmental activities. These have been varied but can be categorised as:

- Issue-based development.
- Development of the BME sector infrastructure.
- Collaboration with others on racial justice issues.

This section will describe some of the proactive initiatives and the difference they made in West Yorkshire.



*Hamara Centre Your Space
Young Muslim Discussion
Group, Leeds, 2009.
© Paula Solloway*

Issue-based development

Issue-based development took place mainly in the decade from 2000 to 2010 and was focused on and around the asylum process. From 2000, Government policy meant that asylum seekers were dispersed to regions in the UK, including Yorkshire and the Humber. Their arrival meant that local capacity to provide additional services was greatly stretched and often uncoordinated.

JRCT was able to intervene by commissioning a mapping of services in West Yorkshire. This helped raise awareness of the range of services provided and to some extent increased the potential for more coordinated service delivery to asylum seekers and those that were eventually granted asylum.

It wasn't long before new problems emerged. Many asylum seekers faced destitution for what appeared to be a variety of reasons, including the lengthy and labyrinthine process of seeking asylum. JRCT's response, the Destitution Inquiry, is described in one of the case studies below.

Development of the BME sector and strengthening the BME voice and capacity

Over the years a number of JRCT initiatives have contributed to the development of the BME voluntary and community sector. These include:

- Promoting White Trainers into anti-racist training (1994)
- Black Trainers' Directory (1996)
- Wakefield Study (1998) (described below in a case study)
- Wakefield Ethnic Minority Project – a joint initiative with Wakefield Council and Voluntary Action Wakefield District (1999 – 2008)
- Consultation on Strengthening the Black Voluntary Sector Infrastructure (1999)
- JUST West Yorkshire (2003) (described below in a case study)
- Leading Change (2008)
- Power Analysis (2009)

Some of these initiatives have been one-off or time-limited activities that brought benefits to a finite number of organisations. For example, the Leading Change initiative brought a group of about 12 organisations on a 3-day residential programme to develop skill in leading change in racial justice, and to build solidarity. This resulted in the formation of the West Yorkshire Racial Justice Network, subsequently funded by JRCT.

Collaboration with others on racial justice issues

The following joint initiatives helped bring an awareness of racial justice issues to the region. They promoted debate and appropriate responses:

- Multi-ethnic Britain conference (2001)
- UKREN (UK Race and Europe Network) Consultation on World Conference Against Racism (2001)
- Joint JRCT/ IPPR (Institute for Public Policy Research) seminar (May 2000) – Key practitioners and local authorities assembled to identify and compare good practice in involving minority communities in positions of influence and decision making.
- Black and Minority Ethnic Network, later to emerge as the Yorkshire & Humber BME Regional Panel
- Consultation on the EU Article 13: Directives on Race and Employment with JUSTICE and UKREN (2002)
- Consultation on Government Paper – Strength in Diversity, in partnership with The 1990 Trust (2004)

Four key proactive initiatives are described below as case studies. Each one ends with the key impacts of the project and what was learned from it.

Issue-based development took place mainly in the decade from 2000 to 2010 and was focused on and around the asylum process.

Proactive case study 1

Community Care Consultation

The introduction of the Community Care Act by the New Labour government in 1990 raised serious concerns among the BME community in West Yorkshire. These included changes to the funding for community care; the development of a 'contract culture' for providers and the implications for BME-led organisations competing successfully for contracts; lack of consultation; and lack of adequate resources.

- **Mobilising grassroots** in active struggle to obtain funding and become providers of services to communities.
- **Adopting a multi-faceted approach**, in this case working with public bodies to encourage more effective consultation with the black community.
- **Encouraging greater networking** and strategic involvement from the BME voluntary and community sector organisations.

Impacts

The project:

- Identified and highlighted live issues from BME community perspectives.
- Published a report setting out issues.
- Established a network to take concerns forward.

Learning

We have learned that:

- Listening to community groups enables funders to recognise issues of common concern.
- Funders can provide space for grantees with common concern – at very little extra cost
- A strategic network can have more impact than individual organisations.

The strategy included mobilising grassroots in active struggle to obtain funding and become providers of services to communities.

JRCT was able to take the initiative in helping to mobilise the community to be involved in raising awareness and planning action. A planning group comprising individuals from various sections of the BME communities was engaged to consider how best to respond to the changes. This group organised a conference in October 1993 as part of its strategy to involve the wider population.

The conference's primary aims were:

- To inform.
- To develop a West Yorkshire-wide network on community care.
- To help identify resources that might help BME organisations become service providers under contract.

A conference report setting out the issues was widely disseminated and a network established to steer further work on the issues that had been highlighted.

In achieving its aims, the planning group recognised the importance of having a broader strategic involvement. This first consultation helped set the blueprint for future community consultation and engagement. The strategy included:



Kevin McFadden at the Black History Month Conference at the West Indian Centre in Leeds. © Joan Russell

URBAN

Proactive case study 2

The Wakefield Project

JRCT always intended its programme to fund activity addressing the issue of racial justice throughout all of West Yorkshire. However, in reality there were few applications from Wakefield, and even fewer grants were made there. There was a sense that the BME sector in Wakefield was weak and lacked infrastructure support. But there was no real evidence to support this perception, or to establish any need for funding in Wakefield.

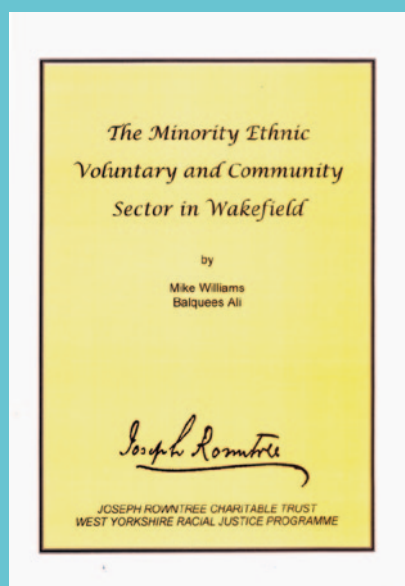
In 1998 JRCT was prompted to explore this matter. Balquees Ali and Mike Williams were commissioned to carry out a study into the sector and produced a report entitled: *A study of the Minority Ethnic Voluntary and Community Sectors in Wakefield* (Balquees Ali & Mike Williams, 1997). The main findings confirmed that the minority ethnic community in Wakefield was small and fragmented; the voluntary and community sector was underdeveloped; and the statutory agencies were unable to reach out to the BME communities. The report concluded that

'In general, people from the minority ethnic communities are not aware of how to access the levers of power, and influence policy.'

The report recommended a partnership arrangement and funding to support the BME voluntary and community sector.

JRCT followed up by starting discussions with some key stakeholders, including representatives from Wakefield Council and Voluntary Action Wakefield District (VAWD). The parties were soon able to negotiate a partnership that would support infrastructure development. This was overseen by a steering group that included representatives from JRCT, BME organisations, Wakefield Council, VAWD and other public bodies.

In general, people from the minority ethnic communities are not aware of how to access the levers of power, and influence policy.



At the start of the project there were about three functioning BME voluntary and community sector organisations and currently there are four. So during the life of the project, about 20 organisations came, acted and went.

This was the start of a nine-year relationship with Wakefield. A development worker was appointed in December 1999 to liaise with the statutory agencies and support the development of the BME voluntary and community sector. Although this work did not stimulate more applications to JRCT, it prompted much activity in the BME voluntary and community sector. About 20 new organisations became active and most, with the help of the development worker, were able to access funding from other sources. Collaborative work between different sections of the community was also attempted, but eventually differences in approach proved to be obstructive.

By 2008 VAWD, which had overall management responsibility for the development post, had a new director. This change, along with a combination of limited resources and a lack of commitment to the partnership, meant that different priorities emerged and the post ended.

Since then, many of the organisations that had emerged have ceased to exist, although there is no evidence of a causal link. At the start of the project there were about three functioning BME voluntary and community sector organisations and currently there are four. So during the life of the project, about 20 organisations came, acted and went.



Impacts

The project has:

- Identified and highlighted gaps and opportunity.
- Promoted nine years of partnership with the local authority.
- Brought additional attention to BME communities.
- Generated additional funding for BME-led organisations.
- Introduced BME work into the local authority strategy, though this was not sustained over time.

Learning

We have learned:

- That the terms of partnership need to be established and agreed at the beginning.
- The difficulty of sustaining partnership when the partners' priorities change and when key staff move on.

Proactive case study 3

JUST West Yorkshire

In reality, grant-receiving organisations were mostly concerned with addressing injustices through service provision and they made very limited attempts to develop infrastructure and strategies.

One of the initial and enduring purposes of funding under the West Yorkshire Racial Justice Programme was to address the issues of strategic thinking and organisational capacity. In reality, grant-receiving organisations were mostly concerned with addressing injustices through service provision and they made very limited attempts to develop infrastructure and strategies.

In 2003 JRCT set up a think-tank to address these more fundamental issues.

It began this process by bringing together a group of 12 people to address the question: *what practical steps are needed to promote real racial justice in West Yorkshire?*

The group was drawn from across the region and included men and women from different ethnic backgrounds, of different ages, and with a range of professional expertise. All were committed to justice, had a sound understanding of race issues, and were keen to find effective ways of working for change.

The group launched its actions with a three-day residential meeting in March 2003. JUST West Yorkshire was thus established with the following aims:

To work strategically with individuals and organisations that reflect all areas and sections of society in West Yorkshire, in order to promote racial justice and achieve greater race equality. JUST promotes a strategic approach to work that will ensure racial justice is embedded into policies and practices across the region, and will achieve outcomes that have a long-term impact.

In the early stages of development, JRCT supported JUST both financially and practically as the group developed its strategy and governance structure.

The transition between setting up and becoming independent was not without some difficult practical challenges. Although JUST was progressing well in carrying out the work it wanted to, there were issues of time commitment, resulting in active membership waning at times.

There were also issues about how the organisation should develop structurally – what relationship ought to exist between JRCT and JUST? And what capacity did JRCT need to provide in order to enable JUST to flourish?

In 2006 JUST acquired charitable status and became a company limited by guarantee. This enabled the organisation to move to a position of operating independently of JRCT.

In the period between its inception in 2003 and independence in 2006 JUST had some key achievements. They were able to raise awareness and engage communities in key issues around rights, education and identity. There were conferences, including Citizenship, Race and Identity in March 2004; The New Race Agenda in September 2004; and The impact of the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) in March 2006.

JUST also conducted research to record and analyse the experiences and perceptions of young BME West Yorkshire voters in the 2005 General Election (completed October 2005). JUST commissioned Young People on citizenship, Race and Identity: Evaluation of a Pilot Project Using the 'Trial and Error'



Educational Resource by Trevor Gordon, 2007, published by JUST West Yorkshire. (Trial & Error is a resource for classroom teachers who want to develop young people's awareness of racism, identity and diversity issues. The Department for Education and Skills funded its development to support the teaching of Citizenship in the curriculum.)

To date the organisation has extended its remit to include civil liberties and human rights. Some of the issues are dealt with through conferences, consultations and written analysis. For example, one study researched the effects on racial justice and civil liberties of the Government's agenda, including the Big Society, the Equality Bill, Community Cohesion and Anti-Terror legislation. Whilst still exploring the implications for racial justice derived from central government policies, JUST has also mounted vigorous challenges to local authorities' lack of effective impact assessment before implementing cuts to public services.

JUST also hosts a growing racial justice network that is responsible for a bulletin that reaches more than 5,000 organisations and individuals.

Impacts

The project has :

- Identified and advocated on key community issues.
- Researched and published data for community activists (e.g. *Racial Justice and the 2005 General Election* by Elaine Allison & Dr Carl Hylton; *West Yorkshire Public Sector Cuts: The Impact on BME Voluntary and Community Sector* by Ratna Lachman and Fatima Malik, 2012).

- Created a platform for community groups and a focal point for engagement with local and regional authorities.
- Added to other organisations' strategies for change.
- Kept issues alive through its website, conferences and publications, locally and nationally.
- Created and strengthened links between local organisations and national NGOs (e.g. The Inquiry Group set up to explore the impact of cuts on marginalised communities; JUST is an integral part of The Future for Race Equality Group comprising national NGOs).
- Raised awareness amongst the BME voluntary and community sector.

Learning

We have learnt :

- The benefits of the Trust employing skilled, community-based grants staff who can recognise gaps and opportunities.
- That sometimes, grant-makers can be proactive - but success comes from ensuring initiatives are informed by local perspective and meet local needs.
- That acorns can grow to oak trees - a fledgling idea can and will grow and develop
- The value of appointing a visionary, committed individual to the leadership role.
- That a project can be a springboard for other initiatives (West Yorkshire Racial Justice network).



A new book published by JUST West Yorkshire in 2012.

JUST hosts a growing racial justice network that is responsible for a bulletin that reaches more than 5,000 organisations and individuals.

Proactive case study 4

The Destitution Inquiry

In 1999 a radical shift in Government policy resulted in the dispersal of people seeking asylum to areas in the UK other than those where they had gained entry. This led to large numbers of people from many different countries being settled in Yorkshire and the Humber.

Very little new money was available to deal with the additional demands on services. The voluntary and community sector responded as best it could, but was being stretched to the limit. JRCT Trustees began to notice this and after consulting with key players in the sector felt it appropriate to map where the resources were, and whether greater awareness and some coordination would result in a more effective deployment of resources.

This resulted in the publication of *Dispersed: A study of services for asylum seekers in West Yorkshire December 1999 – March 2001*. This proved to be a useful exercise and it was always the intention to re-visit the issue five years later.

In 2005 the Destitution Inquiry emerged out of a group discussion with practitioners working with asylum seekers and refugees in Leeds. The discussion was initiated by the Trust with the intention of finding out what had happened since the study five years earlier. Destitution was overwhelmingly highlighted as a significant cause for concern. The idea of the Inquiry soon developed and a steering group and coordinator were appointed to oversee the work.

Five commissioners were appointed, each bringing different expertise. The coordinator, Ruth Wilson, supported by the steering group, led them through a whirl of fact finding through interviews with policy makers, practitioners and asylum seekers. Alongside this, Hannah Lewis conducted research to provide data that supported their findings.

This work resulted in JRCT publishing the Commissioners' report *Moving on: from destitution to contribution*, and research by Hannah Lewis *Destitution in Leeds: the experiences of people seeking asylum and supporting agencies* (2007).

Although the individuals in the Trust might previously have been involved in various aspects of this type of work from time to time, embracing all these elements at once in a single project certainly took the members through a steep learning curve. Activities included:

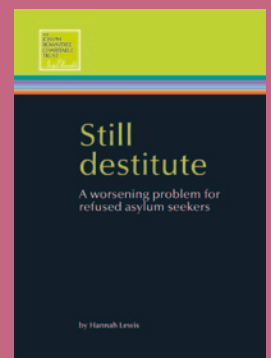
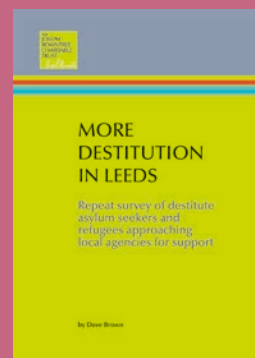
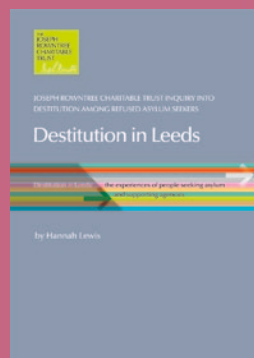
- Managing a large project.
- Lobbying politicians.
- Publishing, disseminating and launching the findings from the Inquiry.
- Dealing with the press and media.
- Engaging with key players nationally and locally.
- Building on this work.

In 1999 a radical shift in Government policy resulted in the dispersal of people seeking asylum to areas in the UK other than those where they had gained entry.

Impacts

The project:

- Developed a campaign strategy - links between national organisations and local organisations were created and/or strengthened.
- Ensured that the experience of West Yorkshire has been heard at national level.
- Produced and published data, useful for local and national activists and also for local authorities and national government.



Three reports tracked the growing problem of destitution amongst asylum seekers in West Yorkshire.

Learning

We have learnt:

- That grant-making trusts can draw on resources that aren't available to local organisations - money, contacts, champions including 'celebrities'.
- The value of developing a strategy involving local and national grantees.
- The need for dedicated staffing and resourcing.

Destitution was overwhelmingly highlighted as a significant cause for concern.



Refugee Council volunteer co-ordinator checking supplies of second-hand clothing at their Leeds Office, 2001. © Paula Solloway

Looking ahead

This booklet depicts a struggle on the part of JRCT to keep racial justice, as an issue in its own right, on the political agenda. Throughout the period covered, the BME community has continued to experience racial disadvantage in just about every area of life. Its voice has become weaker as funding to support the promotion of racial justice has fallen and become harder to access.

JRCT is a relatively small funder and whilst its resources have made a difference to many organisations and the work they were engaged in, the overall impact has inevitably been limited.

In 2011 Trustees again reflected on how the available resources could make a difference in West Yorkshire. This led to changes aimed at deploying funds with a greater degree of focus.

Grants are now awarded every three years, and support particular themes. Most grants are larger than before. Although this means fewer grants, it targets more money at a particular problem. The themes are agreed after a process of listening to and talking with grantees and other experts.

At the same time, the grants-plus activities have been strengthened. The programme is offering grantees a range of activities that aim to:

- Build organisations' capacity.
- Develop new approaches and strategies.
- Strengthen networking.
- Share information and analysis.
- Develop connections with national/ European level projects.
- Create opportunities to work with other grantees with similar aims to build a racially just society.

The programme is not just providing one-to-one support, but is deliberately bringing grantees together. This will create a strong cohort of organisations in West Yorkshire with the capacity to challenge racial injustices and promote race equality. JRCT hopes this will result in collective action, empowered communities and a stronger infrastructure.

JRCT is keen to learn from this new approach. An evaluation process is underway and a report will be published after the first three years of this new phase.



Volunteer and befriender from the Leeds Asylum Seekers' Support Network befriending scheme, 2001. © Paula Solloway

Acknowledgements

Thanks to all the individuals and organisations involved in the West Yorkshire Racial Justice Programme over the years. We look forward to your continued involvement as we enter the next phase of our work.

The following people have served on the Racial Justice Committee and in steering the development of the programme:

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JRCT action on WYRJP and proactive initiatives

External events impacting on West Yorkshire

Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust: West Yorkshire Racial Justice Programme

Report published: *Dispersed: A study of services for asylum seekers in West Yorkshire December 1999 – March 2001.*

Consultation on the World Conference Against Racism, March 2001.

Conference on the *Future of Multi-ethnic Britain* report, April 2001.

2001

Consultation on EU Directive on Race and Employment.

JUST West Yorkshire established.

2003

Consultation held jointly with 1990 Trust on Commission for Equality and Human Rights.

JRCT appointed Courtney Hay as the first Coordinator for JUST West Yorkshire.

2005

Paul Grant commissioned to carry out programme review. Destitution Inquiry. Report by Inquiry Commissioners published: *Moving on: from Destitution to Contribution.*

New West Yorkshire Programme policy.

2007

Hannah Lewis commissioned to conduct survey *Destitution in Leeds* (asylum seekers). Leading Change initiative for grantees.

David Brown commissioned to conduct repeat of *Destitution in Leeds* survey (asylum seekers).

2009

Hannah Lewis commissioned to conduct second repeat of *Destitution in Leeds* survey (asylum seekers).

Power Analysis initiative for grantees.

RJC reviews Programme.

RJC agrees new format for the Programme including grants and grants-plus.

2011

New Programme starts.

Northern disturbances. 9/11 attacks in the US. Start of war in Afghanistan. Ouseley Report on Bradford, published July 2001.

2002

Launch of Yorkshire and Humber BME Network.

Iraq War. Increased numbers of British National Party Councillors elected in West Yorkshire.

2004

Immigration and Asylum Act (2004), in particular Section 9 which denies failed asylum seekers access to benefits and has children taken into care.

7/7 bombings in London.

2006

Cantle's Report resulting on Government's policy promoting Community Cohesion.

Government's anti-terror measures and the Prevent agenda. Increase in Stop & Search. Equalities and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) established. Bi-centenary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

2008

Southall Black Sisters successful legal challenge against Ealing Council for cutting funds to single community organisations.

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry 10 Years On, a review of the literature by Nicola Rollock, 2009, commissioned and published by the Runnymede Trust.

2010

Growth of the anti-Muslim group, English Defence League. Single Equality Act (2010). Black Manifesto published, coordinated by a coalition of NGOs.

Coalition Government austerity measures/local authority cuts.

2012

Two people convicted for the death of Stephen Lawrence.



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