

A critical role for Caribbean community organisations.

Introduction

It was not that long ago when a conservative leader and prime minister declared that there is 'no such thing as society'. Then she was talking about the over reliance of people in need on the government to do everything for them; she felt that there were individuals and families who did not need to rely on the government and the notion of society as safety net had rendered people who should be more capable over reliant on government. Several years on the same conservative party is touting the idea of big society and asking us all to come and join them in government by contributing our ideas on how Britain can be mended again but this time round with a virtuous partnership of the private, public and the voluntary and community sector.

The Charity Commission defines voluntary and community organisations as "independent organisations, which are established for purposes that add value to the community as a whole, or a significant section of the community and which are not permitted by their constitution to make a profit for private distribution. Voluntary organisations do not include local government or other statutory authorities."¹

For the concept of Big Society to be embraced by all, it must be inclusive and recognise all communities. The concept must extend beyond local areas to encompass communities of interest that are legitimate manifestations of society in present day multicultural Britain and include the organisations that provide services to their communities.

The Caribbean community forms a subset of the Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) community in Britain and is also referred to as West Indian, Afro-Caribbean, African Caribbean and Black British Caribbean. For the purposes of this report Caribbean people are defined as persons of origin from the various Caribbean islands as distinct from people of African descent who have come into Britain directly from Africa. Their numbers have been established around 804,000.

A study conducted by Equinox Consulting in 2008 presents a better understanding of the state of the Caribbean voluntary and community organisations in England and offers an exciting example of how communities of interest voluntary and community organisations play vital roles in the lives of their communities. The findings show why these organisations hold the key to the solution of perceived intractable problems faced by their communities and therefore must be counted as part of the Big Society. It portrays how their cultural focus helps to meet the needs of their communities.

Objectives

The rationale for the study was the concern that the once vibrant Caribbean voluntary and community sector that had provided appropriate services to the Caribbean communities was in decline and had been subsumed by the wider black and minority ethnic construct and therefore had lost its relevance. There was a further concern that as marginalised organisations they were missing out on government assistance packages directed at supporting the community and voluntary sector and the impact of these programmes could not be measured without a baseline.

The objectives of the study was therefore to establish baseline information about the state of the sector, make recommendations as to how they can be better supported to contribute positively and in a meaningful way to the communities and report on the implications to policy makers and funders.

Methodology

The literature on equalities faced by the Caribbean community and government views on the voluntary and community sector and initiatives to encourage the sector were reviewed to provide a context for the study.

It was also important to establish information sources for the identification of Caribbean voluntary and community organisations. In the past when local authorities provided grant funding there were directories of black community and voluntary organisations but now in the absence of a single source of information about Caribbean community organisations, several sources were contacted for assistance. These included: Race Equality Councils, Local authorities including Greater London Authority, Government Offices in the regions, The Regional Development Agencies, All local Councils for Voluntary Services operating in England, The regional voluntary sector consortia, The Black and Minority Ethnic regional voluntary sector agencies and panels, Black and Minority Ethnic infrastructure organisations such as: Black Training and Enterprise Group, Ethnic Business Development Corporation, Bristol Development Agency, Black Neighbourhood Renewal and Regeneration Network, Black Londoners Forum, Race on the Agenda, Long established African Caribbean organisations, Community Empowerment Networks, Policy organisations and health networks. The most useful sources were the charity commission online register and Guidestar UK, the online register of charitable organisations.

A total of 850 Caribbean organisations were identified and sent either postal or questionnaire by email; 75 voluntary and community organisations responded to questionnaires.

In depth interviews telephone interviews were held with 25 leaders of the community, who were also involved in voluntary activity, to determine the needs of the African Caribbean community.

Caribbean community and inequalities

Caribbean voluntary organisations are used to supplementing the efforts of statutory sector in dealing with social problems within their communities. In the view of some commentators racial discrimination at the root of these issues has been resolved but this still does not explain why inequalities persist in education, health and social care, housing, crime and safety, the criminal justice system and political representation. Some of these inequalities include:

- ✍ In **education** young black people are more likely to attend inner city schools, they are more likely to attend local authority schools instead of higher achieving religious schools, 40% attend academies that have the worst performing results, they are three times more likely to be permanently excluded and the number achieving A*-C grades at GCSE is 45% compared to the national average of 59.6%. They are more likely to enter universities that were former polytechnics and to gain non academic qualifications.
- ✍ In **health** African, Caribbean and Asian people have a strong history of employment in the NHS, still the largest employer of black people in England; representing 13% of the staff however these are primarily employed at the junior levels. Whilst 10% of nurses are BME only 4% are nursing directors. In **mental health** admissions rate for Black Caribbean men is three times higher than average, and they are likely, by over 40%, to be detained under the Mental Health Act 1983. Referral rates of Caribbean and African patients by their GPs are 60% lower than average but referrals by the police and the Courts are almost double the average for Blacks.
- ✍ In **employment** there seems to be an ethnic penalty with ethnic minority people twice as likely - 6.85% - to be unemployed than whites at 3.4%. Ethnic minority people are less likely to be managers in organisations and generally work in industries that pay less than the national average.
- ✍ In **housing** Caribbean people tend to have the lowest ownership of housing and are three times more likely to live in bad neighbourhoods and 25% more likely to suffer from neighbourhood crime caused by local youth
- ✍ In the **criminal justice system** Black people are six times more likely to be given a custodial sentence than whites, more likely to be refused bail and more likely to be tried in Crown Courts. There are more young Caribbean people in prison than at university 8,000 as against 11,500 in prison, and when in custody black people are more likely to die; of the 23 deaths in custody 16 were from ethnic communities. Only 6% are magistrates and 5% are district judges and there were none in positions above high court judge.
- ✍ In **Political representation** of BME people is extremely low with 15 seats out of 659 in Parliament occupied by people from BME communities. Three MPs are from the African Caribbean community. If BME representation in Parliament reflected the 9% of BME people nationally then this would translate into 60 Members of Parliament from Asian, Caribbean and African backgrounds.ⁱⁱ

Government support

The government COMPACTⁱⁱⁱ with the sector acknowledges that “The voluntary and community sector has a vital role in society as the nation’s ‘third sector’, working alongside the state and the market. Through its engagement of volunteers, the services it provides and the support it gives to individuals and groups, its contribution to community and civil life is immense, invaluable and irreplaceable”.

The Treasury’s Cross Cutting Review confirms that “Britain has a long tradition of voluntary action and service delivery. The philanthropists of the 19th century drove social change and paved the way for tackling illiteracy, poverty and ill-health. Many of the services that now form an integral part of the statutory sector began in the voluntary and community sector (VCS). Perhaps the best known example is the NHS. . The VCS continues to make a significant contribution to service delivery and strengthening communities. It is a key partner in delivering government policies.”

Government recognition is further endorsed by the following statement, “Voluntary and community organisations (VCOs) including social enterprises have a key role to play in this. They grow out of the determination to provide high quality support to particular groups, are often uniquely placed to reach marginalised groups and enable individuals to participate actively in their local communities”^{iv}

Support for the voluntary sector had been given a boost by the government through the funding of the **Change Up programme**. Change Up focussed on the critical issues on governance, workforce development, performance, information and communications technology, volunteering and funding and worked with second and third tier organisations to develop resources and materials that would be used to capacity build and support the front line organisations who deliver services directly to the community

The **Change Up** programme’s objectives was to strengthen second and third tier organisations that provide support to frontline organisations to ensure that they are able to deliver public services at the local level at agreeable costs and to accepted standards of quality.

The government acknowledges the role of Black and minority ethnic community organisations in making profound contributions to service delivery and encourages them to be involved at the regional level and, if necessary, has appealed for special assistance to be provided for organisations in these communities so as to reflect diversity.

This research is intended to determine the state of the sector and its relevance and establish the support mechanisms that will enable the sector deliver better and much needed services to the Caribbean community and be sustainable.

Defining the voluntary sector

Charles Handy^v writing in **Understanding Voluntary Organisations** highlights the difficulty in defining the voluntary sector because no two organisations are alike and he reflected that they tend to be defined by what they are not, “they are not owned by shareholders, non governmental, non profit, non commercial, non statutory, but they are organisations nonetheless and they need to be managed even if the issue of management evokes sentiments of hierarchical officious organisations such as the civil service and the armed forces”. Handy provides five overlapping categories: service providers, research and advocacy, support and assistance, self help and common interest and intermediary bodies.

Despite the existence of Caribbean community organisations since the huge wave of the mass immigration of Caribbean people in the 40s and 50s, there has been very little researching or documenting of the experiences of this sector and the role they have played in supporting their communities; the research has tended to focus on the lumping together the black and minority ethnic community as a whole.

Janice Needham (2004)^{vi} recommended more collaboration between mainstream and BME organisations to take advantage of the specialist BME knowledge of their communities because there is considerable blurring of boundaries in service delivery. Mainstream organisations delivered services to BME communities and vice versa.

Hannah Lownsborough (2006)^{vii} found evidence of certain critical strengths that underpinned effective work such as helping individuals within these communities to connect with the collective and boosting participation in more formal political and civil arenas and described these organisations as fixers, catalysts, brokers, advocates and campaigners and recognised the pressures on these organisations in negotiating with statutory authority for resources to their communities.

Carlton Hylton (1999)^{viii} African Caribbean community organisations however concluded that identity and the need for survival in a foreign land may have been the rationale for setting up these organisations, that have galvanised the spirit of self help, to provide useful services for the community; yet these, who in reality hold the key to community activity that can precipitate change and foster a spirit of positive sense of collective and individual identity continue to be excluded from mainstream community activity. Their survival suggest that there are some lessons to be learnt from how they have kept their community of interest together and their need to provide services that will make them relevant to the needs of the target community they serve.

Exploring the status of Caribbean community organisations based on their identity, need for survival and need for more culturally sensitive services seems a more credible approach to studying the organisations to determine their relevance for culturally sensitive services.

Findings

Caribbean community organisations claim that they operate within some of the most deprived communities, dealing with some of the negative effects of various central and local government policies. Though they perform a useful role to the community they are not provided with the same resources as other minority ethnic groups to enable them deliver services to the benefit of their communities. They question the commitment of funders and commissioners to adequately resource the Caribbean voluntary sector and believe that the sector does not get equitable treatment. Lack of access to funding continues to be a factor that most organisations perceive as the major cause of their struggle for survival; this they attribute to discrimination.

There was a lack of relevant networks to assist organisations and they did not feel supported by their networks and others who could assist.

The perception is that the sector lacks a credible voice to articulate on critical issues and their strategic needs.

Despite the problems there was high optimism that there was still a demand for their services and the sector was still viable. They did not feel threatened by competition but looked forward to a brighter future because they deployed the right strategies for their operations and kept closer to their clients.

Community needs

Five main critical needs of the Caribbean community emerged from the discussions with the community leaders. These themes are

- ✍ Good education for young people to enable them achieve in the school system
- ✍ Job opportunities for all to ensure that members of the community are able to work and provide for themselves
- ✍ Self reliant and set up own enterprises
- ✍ Care for old and look after those who are sick
- ✍ Promote cultural identity thereby upholding their sense of pride

These themes confirm that apart from the need for culturally appropriate services, the need to promote and project cultural identity is very important in keeping the community together so as to be better able to minister to their needs for survival as a community in a foreign country.

The community leaders felt that whilst they had tried very hard to address the problems of the community in the 70s and the 80s, their contribution has not been adequately valued and therefore is a notion now that because of the push to mainstream their peculiar problems. They however contend that in the absence of a specialist approach by mainstream organisations, the problems persist.

They strongly believe that there is still a vital role for Caribbean community organisations in resolving the problems of inequalities that persist within the communities.

Coverage

The regional distribution of Caribbean organisations mirrored the distribution of Caribbean people in the population. The regions tended to have dominant city wide organisations that sought to serve all the needs of the community; in London however there were fewer such borough wide organisations catering to the needs of the community. 95% had local coverage and only 5% had a national presence.

More than half of these organisations have been operating for at least 15 years, 68% had been operating for more than 10 years and the oldest had survived for 46 years. The longevity of these groups is not unusual because of the existence of several since community organisations that support migrant communities. Fryer (1984)^{ix} uncover evidence of 18th century Caribbean community organisations that provided an outlet for the lively social life and that found its voice in active journalism in addition to more elaborate gatherings of music, dancing and community observances of christening, weddings and funerals

Types of organisations

Different types of organisations were identified that matched the different needs of the community. Some organisations provided:

- ✍ infrastructural support services,
- ✍ forum for representation and a voice for Caribbean people
- ✍ resource for information, advice and advocacy
- ✍ relieve poverty amongst Caribbean people and
- ✍ promote the culture and identity of the community

The umbrella bodies 9% tended to provide a voice for the community and promote the cultural identity; the capacity building organisations 16%, support for other organisations.

However the focus of 80% of these organisations was to provide direct specific and specialist services to their local community.

Services

There is a tendency for multiplicity of services; most of the organisations provided more than one thematic service to the community. Organisations that had originally been set up to provide welfare support and advice are now using their knowledge of their communities to provide direct services that in line with the funding priorities of the local authorities who now no longer provide funding for general advocacy work.

The most popular services provided to meet the needs of the community were Education 68%, Welfare and Advice 52%, Advocacy 45%, Training 47% and Health and Social care 42%.

Crime and Safety 19%, Housing 14%, Enterprise and Employment 22% were not typical reasons why organisations were originally set up; but since these have become pertinent issues within the communities more and more organisations are focussing on these themes.

Clients

Caribbean organisations target their comprehensive range of services to all the different client groups within the community.

The youth 67% was the most popular client groups that benefited from services of Caribbean community organisations; adults were the focus of 63% of the organisations, children 53%, older people 53%, women 45%, and disabled 29%.

The greater focus on the youth suggests that Caribbean community and voluntary organisations are constantly adapting their services to match the social needs of the communities that they serve.

Governance

Most of the organisations, 77% were membership organisations that have grown from self help and general welfare organisation; the membership on average 50 persons though there were some who had as many as 200. However the membership was not growing and it was increasingly difficult to attract younger members. All the organisations had written constitutions, a large majority 70% were registered charities and some were incorporated as limited by guarantee and thus the different names for the governing body – management committee, trustees, board of directors were all used. Only one organisation had adopted the social enterprise construct.

Most of the organisations were properly run and adhered to the principles of good governance, holding annual general meetings on time 83% and ensuring that elections were carried out in such a way that the transition from one executive to another was smooth 81% – perhaps a reason why the older ones had survived to this day.

Bad governance was rejected by 71% as the reason why the sector was in decline.

Workforce:

Most of the organisations, 75%, employed less than 5 members of staff but as many as 22% employed no staff at all. The work was augmented mainly by volunteers, 81%; though volunteering is also now sadly on the decline because they had not managed to attract young ones. Though they believed that they had the capacity to deliver their work load they also agreed that recruitment of quality staff was a problem because they could not match salaries on the open market. The organisations had used both formal and informal methods to recruit staff; and whilst they recognise the need to train staff budgets were almost always too tight and the time off for the workers to benefit from training was also an issue

The organisations believed that supervision of staff and volunteers were areas of concern and that inadequate supervision affected the efficiency in delivery of the organisations.

More than half 57% were concerned with inadequate staff. The issues were about competence and training.

Capital, ICT and Performance:

All the organisations had premises from which to operate though 64% needed improvements and others needed additional space. For others it was more about more secured tenure after several years in the premises.

Most however felt that they would have preferred decent affordable premises with stable tenure and there was a concern that they now paid market rates for lower standard of premises to the same local authorities who fund them.

The capital in use was adequate for most 53% organisations. Most of the organisations had access to computers and indeed the vast majority - 89% also had access to internet facilities and used information technology proficiently for a variety of tasks including letters, newsletters, databases and accounting.

The organisations all felt that they were performing at the optimum and they 70% had devised strategic business plans and the various policy documents now demanded by funders.

By far the most popular quality system that respondents were working towards is the Practical Quality Assurance System for Small Organisations (PQASSO).

Caribbean organisations used a variety of methods to review the performance of their organisation. Most organisations were aware of the need to monitor performance so as to improve delivery for maximum efficiency and effectiveness but whilst some had deployed formal methods, others had informal methods. A mixture of internal and external methods was also deployed; but only 24% had an external review.

Funding

Caribbean community organisations are small when defined by their income with 83% receiving less than £150,000. Significantly 16% of those who responded received funding under £10,000 with only one organisation in receipt of funding in excess of £500,000. The average funding was around £50,000 for groups that employed staff; though the groups claimed they received funding from a variety of sources, their funding base was not sufficiently diversified and more than 69% of the organisations received their funding exclusively from local authorities in the form of short term grants.

An overwhelming 96% agreed that funding was a problem for the Caribbean voluntary and community sector, and 73% felt that this was because of a shift in government policy and priorities away from Caribbean community organisations. The shift to bme overarching bme organisations was worrying for 53% and but only 34% felt that a shift and more reliance on local issues negating the important provision of culturally sensitive services is hurting the sector.

Reasons for funding problems

Despite the problems with access to funding as many as 39% of respondents said that their funding had actually increased in the past three years, albeit from a very low base.

For the 41% those whose funding had remained the same or decreased several reasons were cited. These included:

Changes in priority of funders due to tightening of their budgets and a move away from ‘single tone’ funding of specific ethnic groups to BME organisations

Inability to justify their capacity to deliver because they are unable to show their ability to handle the funding or deliver to scale

Inability to identify the right sources because they suffer from access to relevant information. They therefore apply for funds for which they are not eligible and the fact that the funders do not have sufficient understanding of the value of Caribbean organisations

Lack of resources to meet tight deadlines of different funders with different applications forms

Lack of Fundraising skills and therefore not able to develop credible funding applications and lack of resources or unwillingness to buy in expert assistance to help

SWOT analysis

A strategic analysis of the sector uncovers a sector that was over optimistic about its chances of survival but one that has over the years been forced to adapt to changes that have been dictated by the harsh changes in funding regime. The table below summarises the strategic analysis

<p>Strengths – the major strengths that needed to be built on were the commitment of membership, the involvement of users, the deep local and community knowledge of the organisations and their excellent track record in serving the community.</p>	<p>Weaknesses – the major weaknesses were the narrow focus on the Caribbean community, the problems of a negative image that Black organisations cannot deliver, a general lack of resources and the fact that organisations have become funding led and heavily reliant of statutory funding.</p>
<p>Opportunities – newer priorities and emerging issues may lead to a wider role for Caribbean community organisations and since respondents believe that there is increased demand for their services, viability of the sector may yet be assured. Respondents however believe that the opportunities are mainly in partnership and collaborative working that would lead to unlocking more funding for the sector.</p>	<p>Threats – despite these opportunities, the threats to the survival of the sector are very real. Changes in priorities may render the sector irrelevant as competition emerges from the most unlikely sources from larger organisations, combined with a lack of resources and a lack of access to funding these issues will threaten the sector.</p>

Conclusions

The following conclusions can be made of the state of Caribbean community organisations based on an analysis of the findings.

Caribbean voluntary and community organisations though originally set up to mediate the integration and support needs of immigrant Caribbean communities have adapted well to changes in demand for services and continue to play a meaningful role in the lives of their Caribbean communities as well as the wider community in England.

Caribbean community organisations have a competitive advantage in dealing with Caribbean users of services because they have in-depth knowledge of the community, are better able to reach the community, and are committed to delivering culturally sensitive services where identity is important to the users. They have demonstrated their track record with proven results in areas such as underachievement in education, unemployment, crime and safety, housing the homeless, support and care of the old, equalities and integration, and community cohesiveness.

Whilst continuing to maintain focus on Caribbean communities, they will need to show that they can provide services not only to the wider BME communities but also to the wider mainstream community as funding deserts small community organisation in favour of more efficient mainstream organisations. It is only through this collaboration that sustainability and viability of the sector will be achieved.

They need to be supported to enable them engage high quality staff in the delivery of services, adopt good management practices, to develop strategies that will enable them to collaborate with other organisations to provide these services.

Despite the problems of funding and intense competition from larger organisations who are more efficient, the general feeling of respondents is one of a bright future for the sector.

It was clear that the sector lacked a coherent voice to advocate on their behalf and in the absence of no one organisation that would provide capacity building services and assist with renewal through the encouragement of younger volunteers the sectors existence remains threatened especially in the face of not being able to convince funders of the need for a stand alone sector.

But they do not feel adequately supported by second tier capacity building and facilitating organisations that, in their view, should be helping them; this support and assistance is crucial in several areas: in advice information and guidance to overcome their problems with strategic planning, staff development, fundraising to enable them to be sustainable and robust.

Whilst the sector has survived to date, the study discovered several areas where critical support is required for survival. The vital support needs fall into the following categories:

- ? **strengthen internal operations** to be more efficient through policies and procedures
- ? assistance in **employing competent personnel** and finding committed volunteers
- ? **training staff** to enable them provide excellent services
- ? encouraging organisations to engage in **collaborative working relationships** within and with organisations outside the sector
- ? hands on assistance with **identification of newer sources and development of funding applications** to unlock and diversify the funding base of these small organisations

Four important roles of African Caribbean organisations emerge from the Equinox Consulting study to show that Caribbean voluntary and community organisations play a meaningful role in the lives of Caribbean communities and in local areas with large Caribbean populations, beyond the role of other mainstream community organisations.

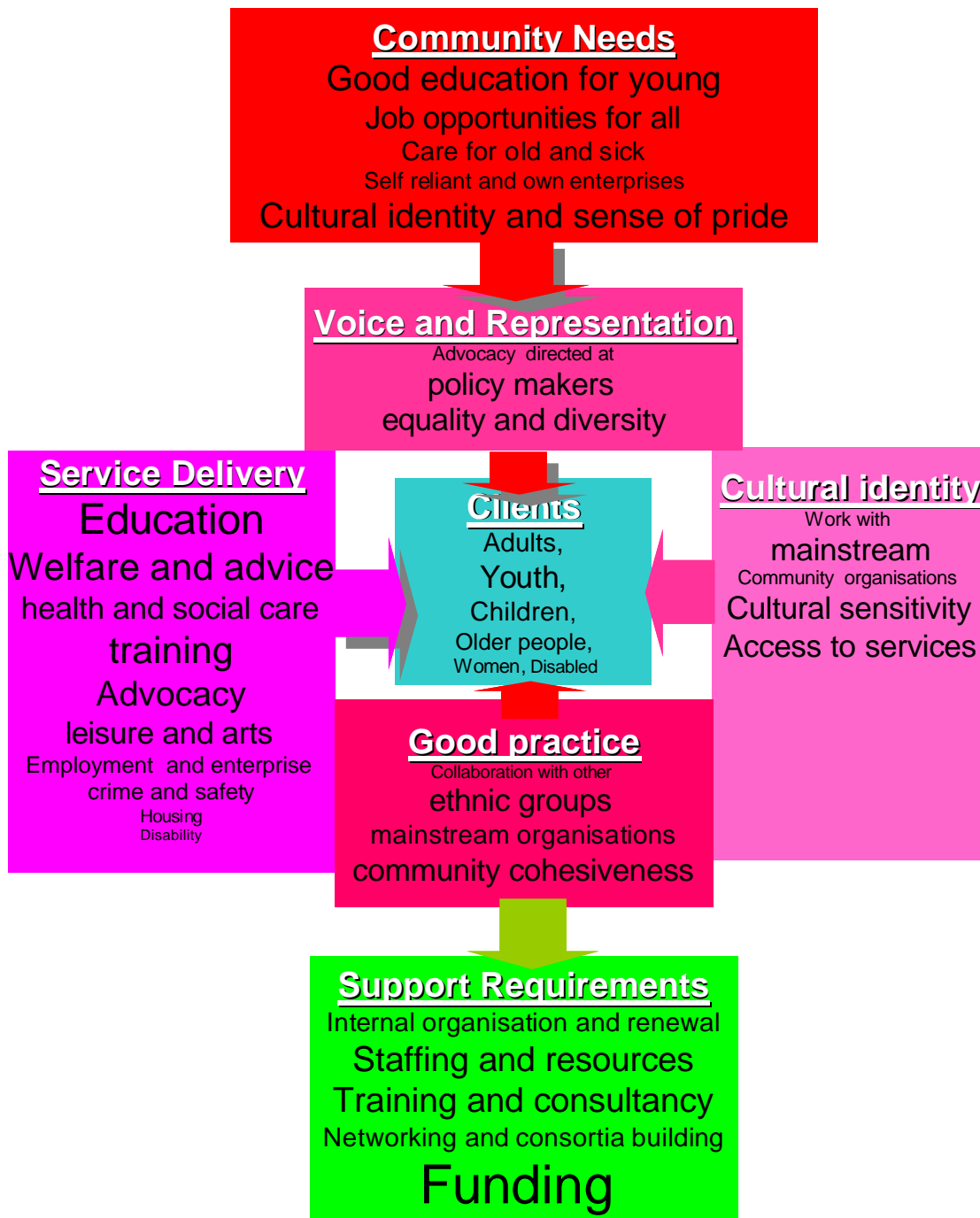
A **service delivery** role that is in accordance with the reasons why they were set up to provide support to the community in the face of lack of specialist and supplementary services that are required to provide a supportive environment to the lives of people of Caribbean origin in this country.

A role of **projection of culture and identity** is essential if culturally sensitive services are needed to assure the Caribbean community that they are also able to add to and influence the culture of this community and to resolve issues of underachievement and under representation

A **sharing of good practice** role that assists other Caribbean community organisations to perform better and that works with other ethnic minority and mainstream community to provide for community cohesion in this country

A **representation** role that continues provide the forum for the exchange of views with the community and t makes representation to the authorities, campaigning for race equality and championing diversity in service provision and access to services. This will provide a much needed voice for the community.

Role of African Caribbean voluntary and community organisations



Recommendations

Several practical recommendations flow from the literature review, findings and conclusions of this important study that is meant to provide a baseline of the state of the sector. These recommendations are necessary when implemented will make for a more sustainable and viable sector that will help to tackle some of the problems relating to inequalities within the Caribbean community and make for a fairer society in terms of delivery of services to a community which still bears the all marks of disadvantage.

Revisit single theme agenda – Caribbean organisations continue to play a very useful role in the delivery of services to their target communities. In some areas they are the only ones that are better able to deliver effective services that need cultural sensitivity. A mechanism for channelling funding to them based on these crucial roles is required to resolve some that go to the heart of the needs of the community in social services and health promotion, educational underachievement, training and employment, community safety and crime prevention. The problems within communities are resolved at the level of the communities and not at the national level.

Forge closer links with communities of interest – Caribbean community organisations play a representative role for the communities, in some areas they have the ability to reach out and mediate with their communities in a better way than one size fits all services. On problem issues they tend to be at the heart of their communities, forge closer links should come with ensuring that funding that is meant to resolve problems of these communities gets to them.

Provide procurement support – organisations are encouraged to be involved in service delivery without any support during the tendering process. This disadvantages small Caribbean groups who may only be able to bid for small contracts to provide services to local communities. A mechanism for procurement assistance will level the playing field; this may mean unbundling contracts and designing specifications to encourage consortia bids.

Core funding – core funding is required to strengthen groups especially those who are able to demonstrate that they have access to project funding but need to develop the institutional capability of their organisations. Some special ring fenced at risk funding will benefit organisations that are developing pilot projects focused on the community

Provide direct funding to assist organisations interested in forging consortia to deliver direct services. This funding will be useful for sorting out issues related to role demarcation and the reporting process.

Voice and representation – assist in providing more support for Caribbean community organisations by highlighting some of the

problems they face and mediating with the authorities to resolve some of these problems

Consortia formation – assist smaller organisation who want to be involved in the formation of consortia by providing them with consultancy support to help resolve transactional problems of their involvement

Set up a brokerage service to link smaller organisations with larger ones so that they can be mentored and assisted in their delivery of services

Training and consultancy – obtain funding to provide a targeted service to these groups to help resolve issues of bid writing, operational management and reporting to funders.

Training and consultancy support – assist organisations with support in training of staff on a variety of technical, operational and strategic service delivery issues and providing link officers to help with monitoring performance and evaluations issues.

i <http://www.charitycommission.gov.uk/publications/rr13.asp>

ii The State of Race Equality in London 2006, Equinox Consulting

iii Compact on Relations between Government and the Voluntary & Community Sector in England - Cm 4100 – November 1998

iv THE ROLE OF THE VOLUNTARY AND COMMUNITY SECTOR IN SERVICE DELIVERY. A CROSS CUTTING REVIEW. September 2002

v Charles Handy Understanding Voluntary Organisations – Penguin Books 1988

vi INFRASTRUCTURE FOR BME ORGANISATIONS IN LONDON Janice Needham and Jean Barclay On behalf of Government Office for London September 2004

vii Demos Report, Change within – the role of African Caribbean and minority ethnic community organisations – Barrow Cadbury Trust

viii African Caribbean Community Organisations – the search for individual and group identity Carlton Hylton Trentham Books 1999

ix Staying Power – the history of African Caribbean people in Britain – Peter Fryer 1984