Community Dialogue Tool

Lurgan Town Project

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Executive Summary

This report presents the findings of a research project, the Community Dialogue Tool, which has been commissioned by the Southern Education and Library Board (SELB) as part of its wider Lurgan Town Project (LTP), a strategic approach to community relations.

The aim of that project is to identify and address perceptions and experiences of sectarianism, segregation and community cohesion amongst young people in and from Lurgan, as part of the wider process of peace building in Northern Ireland.

54 Focus Groups and 1,242 questionnaires, conducted with young people between the ages of 14-21, inform the findings of this research report. They have implications for educators, service planners and providers as well as politicians.

35% of Protestants and 19% of Catholic young people prefer to describe their identity as Northern Irish rather than British or Irish.

84% of the respondents to the questionnaire had not yet been born when the ceasefires were declared yet the legacy of the conflict was present in all their lives and had been learned from families and communities rather than experienced.

The high level of the young people's sectarian segregation is based primarily on their experiences of the schooling and housing systems. Many participants feel that wearing uniforms in different areas of the town encourages sectarian abuse and attacks.

87% of respondents report that all or most of their friends come from the same community background. Young people in Lurgan recognise the need for dialogue between communities and consider the biggest single issue impacting on them is that of segregation. Many commented on the lack of commercial social facilities which are young-people focussed in Lurgan and therefore choose to socialise and shop outside Lurgan. Limited public transport to rural areas further restricts young people's capacity to socialise in the town. 68% of respondents said they would like to have a cinema in Lurgan.

Recreational drug and alcohol use is widely accepted as a norm by those over the age of 15 with the lack of 'anything to do in Lurgan' offered as reason for its prevalence.

The three public facilities used most often by young people are:

- local parks - 61%,
- the swimming pool (which is due to relocate) - 58%, and
- the local leisure centre - 56%.

Protestant young people are slightly more inclined than Catholics to use the swimming pool (52% compared to 44%) and local parks (59% compared to 51%). The same proportion of Catholic and Protestant young people report using the leisure centre (56%).

Restricted social interaction impoverishes young people's perceptions of and engagement with the town's assets and their potential for good neighbourliness, mutual understanding and respect. Only 8% see the town centre as a shared space or a place to meet whereas the majority wish to see more politically neutral entertainment in open air public spaces in the town centre.

Sectarianism tends to be interpreted by young people as the defining motive behind many negative actions — meaning there is no room for 'normal' school rivalries or gender teasing. Tensions between young people tend to be predominantly seen through a community lens and horseplay across the community divide is usually interpreted as sectarian harassment.

66% of young people think that community relations in Lurgan Town are poor or very poor with only 2% reporting they are good or very good.

63% feel that the display of flags increases tension in Lurgan, and 20% avoid walking through areas in school uniforms if flags are being displayed. Many Protestants who choose to wear a poppy in school or within their own community would not wear one in other shared spaces for fear of 'causing offence' and commented on how the use and interpretation of national flags for political ends undermines their sense of being able to display pride in their identity.

Key issues affecting young people in Lurgan are considered to be segregation (67%), drug use (67%), fighting with the 'Other' community (66%), crime (61%) and racism (39%). The impact of homophobia is an issue that was raised in a number of focus groups, as were concerns about self esteem, suicide and self harm. Economic dependence, university fees and a lack of local employment for young people feed into their readiness to stay or leave the Lurgan area.

35% of young people avoid particular areas in Lurgan because of their reputation and 31% of respondents reported not feeling safe walking in or out of their own area at night or at weekends. The reimaging and landscaping that has taken place on some estates has had a positive impact on some young people's willingness to visit or work with those communities, though 32% of all Catholics reported being afraid of going into the Mourneview Estate.

Many young people consider the older generation to be 'bitter' and that families' focus on the past is the key inhibitor to their building cross community relationships.

59% of respondents believe that parading contributes to community tensions, whereas only 17% feel that attending parades or being a member of a band is a positive experience. Only 5% of respondents said they attend 12th July parades. Very few make any distinction between church parades and a more militant parading culture. The majority feel that bands exert a negative influence on members beyond the parading arena and in some instances had

impacted on which youth clubs young men felt able to attend.

35% of young people said they never used youth service provision. Much good work is ongoing within the uniformed sector and on some estates, but there is duplication of services with parochialism proving challenging for practitioners and service users alike. Those who attended church-based youth facilities are as likely to have engaged in cross community activities as other young people. 40% of Protestants using youth services say they prefer to use church-based youth provision as opposed to 2% of Catholics.

98% of young people have access to the internet with 40% of respondents saying this is where and how they are most likely to engage with young people from a different community background. The arm's length nature of 'friendships' they develop on line indicates a level of superficiality in contact. Many report that they had experienced anonymous sectarian and other abusive postings.

Young people do not feel that there tends to be any alignment between public consultation and any further actions being taken in relation to issues affecting them. However, the Young Ambassadors' Programme and the Craigavon District Youth Council are well placed to provide a tried and tested formal, effective and independent route for non-politically aligned young people to be heard by both statutory service providers and elected representatives.

With the exception of 'A' Level politics students, very few participants are interested in politics, though almost 50% of respondents said that when they were going to vote, their choices would be based on the choices made by their families or friends. Their political focus is, in the main on the constitutional question, rather than 'bread and butter' economic and social concerns.

38% of participants have had some form of Police contact during the previous 12 months. The PSNI are committed to a number of valued youth engagement programmes and these account for

14% of those contacts. Many young people have little confidence in how the Police respond to young people making complaints about adult anti-social behaviour in the public spaces that they like to use. The PSNI were unable to provide the researchers with data and other information about cautions, arrests and convictions relating to young people in Lurgan. Many young people spoken to consider themselves to be 'demonised' and 'harassed' by the Police, in some instances producing multiple warrants by way of evidence. 61% of young people believe the PSNI to be 'evenly balanced' between the Catholic and Protestant communities though 9% of Protestants feel the PSNI are 'too Catholic' whereas 41% of Catholics feel the PSNI are 'too Protestant'.

While some sports clubs and events provide explicit cross community contact opportunities, the nature of competitive sports and links to sectarian behaviour can act as a deterrent for some young people to engage in sport, as both participants and spectators. The nature of how sports are offered in schools can reduce the opportunities for young people to engage in, understand and appreciate diverse sporting activities and achievements.

Participants to the research considered that any regional, national and international media coverage of Lurgan are predominantly negative news stories which significantly feed into their feelings of lack of pride or desire to stay in the area.

1. INTRODUCTION

This report presents the findings of a research project the Community Dialogue Tool, which has been commissioned by the Southern Education and Library Board (SELB) as part of its wider Lurgan Town Project, a strategic approach to community relations.

The aim of the Lurgan Town Project is to identify and address perceptions and experiences of sectarianism, segregation and community cohesion amongst young people in and from Lurgan, as part of the wider process of peace building in Northern Ireland.

The aim of this report is to provide the Lurgan Town Project with an evidence base to help realise that goal and to further suggest ways as to how community relations might be improved in the area. Consequently, this report refers to the cultures and activities that young people value and to the leadership role that all those stakeholders in young people, including local government and elected representatives, play in furthering this through the development of practice and policy.

The report is laid out in sections which reflect subject areas included in the terms of reference for this project which are supplemented by additional issues raised by the young people. However, there is an overlap in these themes. So, on occasion, data relating to issues can appear in more than one section. For example, matters relating to drug and alcohol misuse might be found in the two sections looking at community safety and anti-social social behaviour and material on the wearing of poppies occurs both in a section on identity and also in one on shared or mixed spaces. The quantitative findings on each subject area are supplemented by quotations from young people who participated in the 54 focus groups and in most instances they are identified by gender, age and community/religious background. Those used have been picked as random examples to illustrate those points which will have been made on a number of occasions.

Context

The context in which the Community Dialogue Tool has been developed is relevant.

On census Day 29th April 2001, the population of the Lurgan Neighbourhood Renewal Area (NRA) was 9,691 people[1] and the demographic characteristic of the people living there as follows:

- 56.2% were aged 16-59 years;
- 18.8% were aged 60 and over;
- 48.5% of the population were male and 51.5% were female;
- 86.2% were from a Catholic Community Background;
- 12.7% were from a 'Protestant and Other Christian (including Christian related)' Community Background;
- 37.2% of persons aged 16 and over were single (never married);
- 12.9% of households were lone parent households with dependent children and
- 16% of households were lone pensioner households.

A Lurgan Vision Framework and an Action Plan were approved by the Department for Social Development in March 2007 and the Action Plan prioritised the following key areas: promoting health and well being, education and social exclusion, promoting community participation, improving the physical condition and environmental quality of the area, supporting the local economy and increasing employment opportunities.

Much of the housing in the Lurgan NRA was developed in phases between the 1950s and the 1990s and most of the estates and housing enclaves now have active community groups. A number of these estates and the town centre, however, have experienced problems with rioting, anti-social behaviour and an underlying sectarian tension over recent years, which serves to deepen existing local divisions and patterns of segregation. An invisible dividing line in the centre of the town demarcates predominantly Catholic Nationalist

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[1] Information sourced from: http://www.ninis.nisra.gov.uk/nra/report.asp?NRAName=Lurgan&devOffice=Regional%20Development%20Office accessed 18th March 2012. Data from the 2011 Census is not yet available.

and Republican North Lurgan from predominantly Protestant Unionist and Loyalist South Lurgan.

Some significant capital commitment has been directed in recent times to address dereliction and by association aspects of community cohesion and wellbeing. June 2011 saw a £2 million pound investment in the town through the Lurgan Public Realm scheme to address neglect in the Lurgan town centre – this included £1.75 million from the Department of Social Development and £200,000 from Craigavon Borough Council with an additional in-kind contribution from the DRD's Road Service. A further £390,000 has been directed at the town with £150,000 granted through the Restore project in partnership with the Chamber of Commerce and £190,000 Urban Development Grant. The "Meanwhile in Craigavon" partnership between the Lurgan and Craigavon Chambers of Commerce is currently involved in recruiting social enterprises, community business and other projects onto a programme aimed at filling vacant shop units and thus both addressing dereliction and generating new forms of income.

Despite this investment to address deficits in the area, the town's social capital remains in the red. Individuals, groups and communities are in different stages of readiness to work together. Both single and cross community work is undertaken with young people in schools, training and youth service provisions to address segregation and sectarian tension in the area. However, during the course of the Community Dialogue Tool process, a number of high profile, nationally and internationally reported news items taking place within the Craigavon Borough Council area had a noticeably negative impact on participants' perceptions of community relations. Furthermore, a number of local and regional reports addressing sectarian related crimes and sectarian division, specifically in the Lurgan NRA had a demonstrable impact on the participants' responses.

Community Relations 'Speak'

Linguistic variances and semantic preferences in communities can influence young people's responses to questions and interpretation of events. In our focus groups, for example, the majority of those from unionist/loyalist backgrounds refer to 'Band Parades' or 'Orange Order Parades' often coupled with the aspiration that these events will become more carnivalesque and inclusive of wider society. However those who self-describe as coming from nationalist/republican communities were much more likely to refer to the same events as 'Marches' and in so doing made a clear association with the martial focus of parading that was also present in the use of military-style uniforms. They in turn tended to use the term parade only when referring to Gay Pride or St Patrick's Day.

It is also noteworthy that some of the terminology used by the research team in the questionnaire, the focus groups and in workshops was not always familiar to all young people. For example the terms sectarian, paramilitary and the names of some paramilitary groupings were confusing to some respondents. As the findings in this report indicate that most young people are more ready to engage with one another than their previous generation was, it might then be suggested that their lack of familiarity and concern with the language of community relations is a good thing and that reflects adult rather than young people's concerns.

2. METHODOLOGY

The research for this report took place over a 10 month period from October 2011 to August 2012 during which time the ICR team sought to explore:

· Perceptions of the town;
· Levels and forms of segregation and division;
· The nature and location of shared or mixed spaces;
· Community safety concerns;
· The nature and causes of anti-social behaviour;
· Key trigger events that increase community tensions;
· Experiences of education in Lurgan; and
· Youth Service Provision in Lurgan.

A mixed methodological approach was applied which included participant observation, questionnaires, focus groups, interviews, training sessions and workshops. The focus of discussions was adapted or centred on particular issues depending on context, day to day factors, organisational constraints and the ramifications of external local and regional political events. So, for example, in some focus groups held in November, the symbolic wearing of poppies was an issue that young people focussed on, but did not consider the point at any other stage during the consultation. Similarly conversations featuring the St Patrick's Day parade in the town only took place in groups convened in March, just as other discussions of racism and sectarianism would be triggered by incidents being reported in the media at that time.

Steering Group and Practitioner's Forum

The researchers were well directed throughout the process by a Steering Group (convened by the SELB) and they also met a number of times with a Practitioner's Forum comprising a collaboration of youth service providers in the Lurgan area. The Practitioner's Forum, reviewed the questionnaire before it was piloted and on their suggestions, a series of supplementary questions were inserted in the final version. Both groups were convened to discuss the draft findings of the research and then fed into the recommendations.

Throughout the duration of the Lurgan Town Project members of the steering group and practitioners' forum have been involved in parallel community relations activities within their own organisations and with other stakeholders in the Lurgan Town Project. These include: Spade and Spade II – a youth work initiative designed by the SELB Youth Service supported by the International Fund for Ireland, Southern Education and Library Board and the Craigavon Borough Council's Community Development Department.

Young Ambassadors

A key point of reference and of on-going support for the research team is the SELB's Lurgan Young Ambassadors Group who currently play a key role as peer educators and have the capacity to support other youth and civic engagement work with young people in the area. The body is co-ordinated by Eamonn Fleming, a Youth Officer with SELB and Manager of the wider Lurgan Town Project. It comprises 23 self-selected young people from diverse backgrounds living in Lurgan who meet on a regular basis to advocate for change in relation to issues relating to their lives. The group has been working together since 2011. The original membership remains intact (with the exception of three members who have moved out of the area) and their commitment to, and help in compiling this report has been invaluable. A number of the Young Ambassadors lobbied successfully for their schools to participate in the Lurgan Town Project survey after ICR had been unable to gain access directly. Based on their own experience of the pilot and other feedback, the Young Ambassadors made changes to the questionnaire.

In addition to attending meetings, community consultations and interviewing members of the young ambassadors, the ICR team were invited by them to observe and in some instances participate in a number of public events, training sessions, workshops, residentials and private meetings which they had organised to advocate for change in approaches to community relations. The 2012 Summer Peace Camp held between 13th and

16th September in Shannaghmore provided the ICR team with the opportunity to observe and work closely with the Young Ambassadors as they fed back the key issues and some interim findings of the research to other young people attending the Camp. Some of the responses of those young people have also been included in this report.

ICR also worked with a self-selected group of eight of the Young Ambassadors exploring the representation of the built environment and the use of public space in the context of conflict. This work involved young people preparing a portfolio of images prior to participating in a one day workshop at the Red Barn Gallery, Belfast with photographer Frankie Quinn. This training was supported by Craigavon Council's Good Relations Programme with cameras resourced by the Community Cohesion Unit of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive.

Throughout these different engagements a number of issues emerged that the Young Ambassadors identified as being of relevance to the Lurgan Town Project. These themes are included in the findings section of this report.

Key Stakeholders

The principal stakeholders in the project are all those young people between the ages of 14-21 living, working, training in and using Lurgan for recreational purposes - this encompasses people with a wide divergence of interests and experiences and with varying degrees of awareness as to the impact of their communities' experiences on others. Other key stakeholders include individuals from political, civic, educational, business and social life including youth service providers and the families and friends of the participants.

Contacts and Sample

In preparation for the Community Dialogue Tool, a series of introductory and exploratory meetings were held with potential participants from the stakeholders and the organisations representing

them and a series of flyers were circulated around estates. Attempts to contact other potential participants were made both by phone, email and letter through organisations, including sports and other social clubs. All schools in Lurgan were invited to participate in the research and consequently young people of school age are well represented in the sample because of the support for the project by a number of schools and youth service providers. Young people over the age of 18 were less easy to access or engage with. Wade Training provided a number of the participants over the age of 18.

Given the sensitive nature of such work, it is perhaps unsurprising that one of the principal challenges in conducting this research was to secure buy-in from potential participants. This was particularly so with some members of the PUL community[2]. A number of those approached to participate talked openly about their reluctance to engage because of fear of not representing themselves well, or of their perspective being misinterpreted and for others, consultation fatigue and a disengagement from political matters proved insurmountable.

ICR participated in a series of private and public meetings and telephone conversations with community activists both locally and in other areas attached to band culture, cultural and historical organisations to address this concern. A concerted effort was applied by individual members of the bands, members of the Young Ambassadors and by affiliated organisations that proved to be of no avail. It is noteworthy that bandsmen and women have a key role to play in forwarding discussions about the nature of how progressive loyalist identity is understood and formulated within their own and other communities not just in relation to contentious incidents. As adults representing their interests were unwilling to engage with the research team, it was considered that they are barrier gatekeepers to those young people who might otherwise have contributed a particular perspective to the Community Dialogue Tool.

However, other dedicated work to engage the PUL community had success through contacts made by

[2] This is not an uncommon challenge for researchers – see also Trew, K., et al 2009: 189.

the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, local lodges, sporting organisations, schools and the Lurgan Youth Annexe who attempted to facilitate connections with a variety of other appropriate groups and organisations.

Questionnaires and Focus Groups

A four page questionnaire, comprising 46 questions, was modified with the language refined after the analysis of a pilot completed by the Young Ambassadors group. It was subsequently distributed through schools, youth groups and training centres and a copy of the final version is to be found as an Appendix to this report.

In total 1,242 valid questionnaires were analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). These had been completed by young people between the ages of 14 and 21. Overall, 894 young Catholics (72%) and 290 young Protestants completed the survey (23%).[3] Originally 310 Protestants completed the survey, but 20 were under 14 and had to be removed. It is relevant to note the imbalance in the amount of Catholics and Protestants who responded is in part due to the readiness of some schools within the maintained sector to participate.

· 49% of respondents were aged 14-15;
· 35% of respondents were aged 16-17;
· 15% of respondents were aged 18-19;
· Less than 1% of respondents were aged 20-21; and
· Less than 1% of respondents were over 21
· 39% of the respondents were male; and
· 61% of the respondents were female

As there is a significant imbalance in the numbers of Catholics and Protestants who participated in the process, figures in the findings section of this report, are given in percentages (%) rather than in numbers.

54 Focus groups were held with young people between the ages of 14 and 21.

Interviews

In addition to those interviews identified earlier and conducted with key stakeholders, additional conversations were held with community relations practitioners, researchers and trainers working and delivering services in the Craigavon Council area. Follow up conversations, informal and formal interviews were also held with them including a diverse range of youth service and sports providers, the majority of schools in Lurgan town, three youth-directed training organisations, the Orange Order, elected and unelected political representatives and local government officials, traders and those with commercial interests in Lurgan, representatives from the Police Service of Northern Ireland and the Northern Ireland Housing Executive.

Literature Review

A short literature review was undertaken with a focus on young people and community relations, shared spaces and policing in Northern Ireland and other contested areas and in the following section we examine what some of that research has evidenced.

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[3] In addition, 39 young people were from a 'mixed' community background (3%), while 14 were from an 'Other' background. Five of those from an 'Other' community background were from the Muslim community. Six young people did not provide an answer to the question on community background.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

It is perhaps surprising that there is a relative absence of research into, and any thorough evaluation of, youth work practices in relation to societies emerging from conflict (Smyth 2007). Smyth notes the emergence and coexistence of three distinct forms of youth work in Northern Ireland in the late 20th and early 21st century which he defines as peace keeping, peacemaking and democracy building. He charts these phases back to the impact of the Corrymeela Reconciliation Centre by Ray Davey in 1965, which is a significant starting location as its practice in the early day of the conflict helped shape and define the work of many current youth practitioners and other community relations practitioners in Lurgan as a result of their own first-hand experiences of the space and its ethos. Smyth considers this peace-keeping stage to be particularly characterised by 'diversionary' youth work which he suggests has a tendency to lead to cross community contact, exemplified by summer schemes, outings, sporting competitions etc, with short term contact between youth clubs often characterised by international camps and local residences. Peace-making youth work, it is suggested, requires a higher level of specific training for staff as it often features in depth, facilitated discussions of a difficult nature in programmes such as those with local history and cultural components to allow for a deeper understanding of diversity and sectarianism. And, in the third point of his typological triangle, Smyth points to peace building which he defines as democracy-building youth work.

The trans-generational impact of conflict on young people in Northern Ireland still remains a fertile field for academics and policy researchers to harvest. However the experience of young people in Northern Ireland is the topic of many studies, including their segregation from one another based on community background due to restricted access to shared housing and education (Murtagh 2003). And yet, there is no clear understanding of the extent and impact of segregation on young people, partly because of the fluid nature of friendships. Madeleine Leonard (2011) found that 75% of young people in her research at Belfast interfaces suggested they had a friend from the 'Other' community. However research conducted by ICR on behalf of the Community Relations Council at eight interface locations in Belfast found that the term 'friend' is a 'plastic' one used by young people indiscriminately and can be applied readily to people they have not met more than a handful of times and have no in depth or long term relationship with (Bell 2012).

Within the school context, since the introduction of EMU in early 1990s (see Smith and Robinson 1992), the tailoring and reviewing of community relations delivery in schools have provided all those with a stake in young people's education with a series of opportunities to embed equality and diversity in education. The Department of Education's latest policy was issued in March 2011 with further guidance issued in relation to CRED (Community Relations Equality and Diversity) in 2012. Whilst there is a shared and common curriculum within the different schooling systems (Trew et al 2009, Barton and McCully 2003, 2005), it has been argued that the teaching of history in Northern Ireland depends to a marked degree on the type of school attended. This in turn can allow pupils to reinforce existing cultural and political views (Austin (nd), Barton and McCully 2004) and reinforce the constraints and internalisation of a particular set of community normative values (Connolly 2011). These are often first formulated within the family sphere, and it is noteworthy that a survey by Bell, McCaffrey and Hansson (2010) of 958 young people found that 52% cited their parents as the single greatest influence on their knowledge and understanding of the past.

Gallagher (2011) builds on his own contributions (2004, 2008) and those of others internationally to argue that there is no single process or model to address educational cohesion and division in divided societies, but that decisions to address them should be founded on "interaction, justice and a recognition of the value of diversity alongside a sense of a common good." In relation to the educational disadvantage that is reported from within PUL communities, Purvis et al (2011)

points to the significant differing community dynamics and organisational mores as well as historical emphasis and value placed on education within CNR and PUL working class communities and further suggests that, in part, the governance of schools attended predominantly by Protestants is different, with perhaps less emphasis placed on driving achievement and standards or challenging under-performance.

One study into the link into unemployment and exclusion of disadvantaged young people in Northern Ireland notes as a key finding that sectarianism is a norm that has been a barrier to employment (Hargie 2006). Almost all the respondents to that study reported that while they thought young people would be willing to work in a mixed ethno/political and neutrally located work place, a very small minority of respondents believed that young people would be willing to work in an area where they were a minority. Based on a model of agency and cultural transmission, Shapiro (2004) suggests that in Romania, after living in a closed society for 45 years, few people had the expertise to address conflict management or knew how to live successfully in a diverse society and subsequently argues for the need for young people to be encouraged and supported to develop such leadership skills.

As in other jurisdictions, young people in Northern Ireland perceive they are demonised by wider society and in particular by those in authority positions (Hall 2008), with 85% of young people surveyed in the 2010 Young Life and Times survey feeling that young people are judged negatively simply because they are young (ARK 2010). Relationships between young people from both majority communities and the police are particularly problematic. Almost 10 years ago, a region-wide survey of 1163 young people was undertaken on behalf of the Policing Board, (a comparable size to the questionnaire undertaken for this project) which looked at young people's experience and perceptions of policing (Hamilton et al 2003:90-91). Findings raised a number of issues as to ways in which young people felt they were treated badly by the police and how their

views were rarely taken into account in any formal way. Recommendations were made that the Policing Board initiate some form of ongoing consultation with young people. The suggestion of a consultative body of young people, or having devolved consultations, or regular surveys of young people's attitudes has not been taken up and a more recent, but smaller survey of 212 young people (McBride 2011), had comparable findings in terms of levels of poor interaction and levels of trust. Feelings of disillusionment with policing in both PUL and CNR communities is not simply a reproduction of cultural norms within communities, but rather, suggests McGrellis (2004:75), "are derived in events witnessed and/or experienced by children and young people in their communities".

McGrellis (2004) further suggests that community restorative justice programmes and policing do not necessarily provide any more positive experiences for young people: "what might be considered to be strong social capital can lead to abuse and there can be a thin line between some attempts at community policing and what is perceived by others to be rough justice, paramilitary exiling and 'rough justice'. See also Feenan 2002, Hansson 2005, Radford 2010) and McAlister et al (2009) who cite PSNI statistics indicating that between 1999 and 2009 there were 1,958 casualties from punishment shootings and assaults.

Bell (2012) considers the responses in other jurisdictions to the way in which young people are perceived when using urban public spaces and, in terms of laying claim to public space, it has been suggested that young people experience greater difficulties than adults do (Leonard 2006: 227). Furthermore, while some commentators focus on how social segregation "has produced considerable fear and immobility in particular in rural areas." (Rural Community Network 2007:12), others (Maguire and Shirlow 2004), suggest that while the legacy of the conflict influences fear and mistrust in rural Northern Ireland, this risk is diminished and "for many an 'idyllic' relatively carefree childhood is experienced. The majority of children in rural Northern Ireland appear to be allowed levels of unsupervised spatial freedom."

4. Models of Good Practice

Despite the learning to be gained from international exchange and good practice, there are cautions in transferring models from one sphere to another. What works for civic activism in jurisdictions emerging from conflict such as the Balkans or Cyprus are to a great extent culturally relative and determined by the international and organisational beaurocratic structures from which they have emerged. Trying to apply the solutions required for conflict management in rural areas in sub Saharan Africa, for the reintegration of child militia in Burundi, or the conflict transformation work between Palestinians, Israelis and Bedouins in the Middle East is to the main part as inapplicable in Lurgan as attempting to associate the impact of loss from the Northern Ireland conflict to the traumas experienced by undocumented and unaccompanied children seeking asylum from wars elsewhere. In these latter instances the most essential youth work interventions are aligned to relief and alleviating the impact of poor economic prospects and enforced migration and while there will always be learning to exchange, the *modus operandi* and needs of the young people do not easily equate. Similarly, projects such as CeaseFire which successfully act as an agent for social change in those urban areas of the United States dominated by inter-ethnic and gang-related knife and gun crime, cannot be assumed to be an appropriate model to graft onto the young people of Lurgan whose have a different relationship to violent crime and armed groups. However, there may be similarities to be drawn from the Public Science Project at the City University New York which has been delivering participatory, social-justice led action research projects for, by and with young people from diverse community backgrounds in partnership with community activists, former prisoners and educators.

However, local problems require local solutions. The priority issues that young people wish to advocate or mobilise around differ and are dependent on their socio-political context as much as on the resources available to them. Nonetheless what can connect young people in all of these situations, is the promotion of their empowerment and the shared benefit to be gained from different training and skill sets such as personal development, strategic and project planning, fundraising, literacy, negotiation and leadership skills.

The learning developed by the award-winning Public Achievement coaching-led programme at the Centre for Democracy and Citizenship in Minnesota has subsequently been adapted for use in Northern Ireland, Turkey, Eastern Europe and Israel. The paradigm that is currently favoured regionally in Northern Ireland has a specific focus on new and traditional media, as well as an emerging programme on community policing. However there is also some considerable value to comparing how young people set and administer the parameters of the programme in other jurisdictions to see if there are transferable prototypes that could also be applied here through other organisations.

The YouthVoice NYC project provides an alternative model of youth advocacy from within a civil rights framework through its Resilience Advocacy Project (RAP) which draws heavily on environmental regeneration and arts-based initiatives. The priority is to strengthen low-income young people to move out of poverty using partnership working with libraries, parks schools and after schools programmes. Their work to address stereo-typing of young people by private enterprises and statutory service providers has been drawn on to change the discriminatory 'stop and frisk' policing policies that appear to resonate with young people in Lurgan and which, in the United States, enabled the Trayvon Martin shooting to be legitimated by some people.

In Cyprus, the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research focuses on the training of teachers on inter-communal discussion, workshops, and projects when trying to promote a resolution to the discrepancy in historically understanding the weighted rhetoric of 'the other' as 'the enemy'.

And, working within the framework of separate education, the 'Pathways to Reconciliation' programme has developed in Israel-Palestine to address issues of conflict by addressing 'the other' within the individual, the community and broader society (Biton and Salomon 2006). As the Youth Annexe/Clann Eireann and St Michael's/Lurgan College collaborations exemplify, formal and informal educational programmes managed between previously unconnected provisions, can provide fertile ground for the advancement of good practice and the Community Relations in Schools programme provides both tailor-made and a tried and trusted baseline of resources that might be drawn on by youth providers within the Lurgan area to complement their existing skills set.

A variety of local and international models working on sports initiatives provides the opportunity for reflection on local practice and the benefits of focusing on team building and inter-dependence rather than competition in play. Play for Peace, active in South Africa, India, Guatemala and the Middle East has been described by its Executive Director, Michael Terrien as 'a process of community building' — which it achieves for children by the breaking down of cultural barriers through participation in and for adults by their role in the facilitation of cooperative games. A number of other international exemplars can be drawn on with foundations and statutory organisations working together with private enterprises and the business community to promote cultural diversity programmes through collective reward and mutuality: for example, Harmony Through Hockey, the Philadelphia/Iowa initiative, provides young people with team building and sporting equipment privileges by connecting team-players to a sporting league as a return and incentive for their civic service activities; the Israeli based Freddie Krivine Foundation provides opportunities on both mid and long-term co-existence programmes for children from Palestinian, Jewish and Bedouin backgrounds to train and coach both at home and overseas.

5. FINDINGS

5.1 Perceptions of the Town

The majority of young people consulted with as part of this research perceive Lurgan to be a highly divided town in which they are aware of a Catholic 'north' end and a predominantly Protestant 'south' side. Both the Celtic Bar and the Church of Ireland are often referred to as signifying the 'dividing line', which many young people are reluctant to cross as this indicates they would be entering the territory of the 'other' community. The flying of the Union Flag at the Victor Stewart's shop at the southern Mourneview-end of the town and the flying of a Tricolour at the entrance to the Shankill estate beside McDonalds at the opposite end of the main street are physical symbols of the divide.

Young peoples' perceptions of segregation extends to different estates and residential areas in the town and specific estates will be considered more fully later in this section. However, as an early indicator of this, it is noteworthy that when a number of young people living on single identity estates shared in the focus groups that they had either a parent or (more often) a grandparent living on their estate who came from another community background, this was often met with disbelief by other participants in the groups. The researchers take this as an indicator of an expectation in communities that families are lacking in diversity and mixed family backgrounds are rarely common knowledge even amongst friends: **"My granny's a Protestant — that's my dad's Mum. But my dad was raised Catholic"** (Boy 15 C), **"Are you serious?"** (none of the other participants in the focus group believe him and joke) - **"Does she support Rangers?"** (Boy 15 C).

Table 1 gives an indication of the general perceptions of the make-up of areas in which the young people lived:

Table 1 indicates that equal proportions of young Catholics and Protestants live in areas in which

they perceive their 'own' community to be predominant (78%). It is significant that perceptions of the town being 'mixed numerically' but segregated physically were compounded by a general consensus among young people that community relations in the town were poor. The following table highlights perceptions of community relations in the town.

The majority of young people feel that community relations in Lurgan are not good. Two-thirds of all young people feel that community relations are either 'poor' or 'very poor' (66%). Only 2% of young people feel that community relations are either 'good' or 'very good' (97 respondents).

While young Catholics are more inclined than young Protestants to describe community relations in Lurgan as 'average' (34% compared to 21%), young Protestants are more likely to believe relations between the two main communities are 'poor' (38% compared to 34%), or 'very poor' (27% compared to 17%). There are also slight differences in perceptions between young males and females: young males are slightly more inclined to perceive community relations as 'poor' and 'very poor' than are young females (39% and 32% compared to 23% compared and 17%

respectively). Age also appears to be a factor which may influence perceptions of relations between Catholic and Protestant communities in Lurgan: younger respondents aged between 14-15 years are slightly more likely to view community relations as 'very poor', than were those aged 18-19 years old (21% compared to 15%).

Undoubtedly, the perceptions of segregation and poor community relations impacts upon how young people travel around and about Lurgan, as well as on the shops and services they feel comfortable in accessing. This in turn has both a short and longer term impact on the economic regeneration of Lurgan as patterns of behaviour take hold and become embedded.

Access to Services

Residents in the Lurgan Neighbourhood Renewal Area[4] (NRA) have good access to many resources such as a range of educational provisions, a diverse natural and landscaped environment, social and private housing, youth service facilities, public health and transport services as well as a wide range of private and public leisure and sporting facilities.

Table 1: Community background and demographics of areas

Would you describe you area as?	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Mainly Catholic	58	78	2
Mainly Protestant	21	2	78
Mixed	16	15	15
Don't Know	5	5	6
Missing	Less than 1%	Less than 1%	Less than 1%
Total	100	100	100

N.B. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Table 2: How would you describe community relations in Lurgan

	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Very good	1	1	1
Good 7	7	5	
Average	31	34	21
Poor 35	34	38	
Very poor	20	17	27
Don't Know	6	6	6
Missing	Less than 1%	Less than 1%	2

N.B. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

While some of the public services have higher than regional averages in terms of accessibility times principally because of their use by those from outlying rural areas, in operational terms access is also compromised due to many potential service users being reluctant to go into some of the areas in which the provisions are situated. The reality is therefore, that the movements and use of resources by young people can be segregated and severely limited by way of cross-community contact.   Such restricted social interaction impoverishes young people's perceptions of and engagement with the town's assets and their potential for good neighbourliness, mutual understanding and respect.

The questionnaire revealed that there were a limited number of places where young people from different religions/communities were able to meet. The main ways young people said they meet or contact people from a different community background are through social networking (500 young people or 40%), the local shopping centres outside the Lurgan area (381 young people or 31%) and school (372 young people or 30%). Young Protestants are more inclined than are young Catholics to suggest that they use social media to 'meet' the 'Other' side; while 44% of Protestants said they use social media to interact with Catholics, only 29% of Catholics said they similarly use social media to contact Protestants.

It is noteworthy that the principal ways through which young people engage with one another across the community divide are either 'virtually' through social media, or in relatively short-term cross-community projects conducted in schools. There is little scope in this Community Dialogue Tool to assess the quality of those relationships and it is pertinent that the use of questionnaire data alone is unable to explore the subtleties of language used in focus groups and interviews which might indicate the sustainability of such relationships.

Other places recorded in the questionnaire as spaces in which young people come together across the community divide will be explored more fully in later sections, but it is noteworthy at this time that only 99 young people or 8% spoke of the town centre as being such a space and only 86 young people or 7% recorded Lurgan Park. Two youth provisions stood out as potentially shared spaces, LINKS (262 young people or 21%) and the YMCA (235 young people or 19%). However, although equal proportions of young Catholics and Protestants said that LINKS was a facility that both communities could use (21% respectively), 23% of Catholics and only 8% of Protestants said that the YMCA was a venue for everyone in the town.

Young people also reported that they prefer to shop and socialise outside the town. This appears

to be principally because they consider Lurgan to have limited commercial options geared to, or which are attractive to them. Most young people spoken to over 17 who lived in Lurgan Town and who did not use youth clubs and groups there, indicated a preference to travel to Lisburn, Cookstown and Portadown and, less regularly, to Belfast to socialise both during the day and in the evening rather than spend time in Lurgan. Although only 15 young people (1%) on the questionnaire stated that they avoided the town centre during the day, 74 young people said they avoided the area around the bus stop at night (6%).

Many young people spoken to as part of the focus groups were living in rural areas and small townlands and villages close by, only using Lurgan town for schooling. It was noticeable that young people who are resident in more rural areas appear to be much more likely, than those living in the town, to record that they have better established relationships with people from communities other than their own. They tended to indicate a much less polarised set of experiences and friendships than those living in the town:

"I go to Craigmore, it's a Methodist youth club. I don't have a problem going in there at all. Like I say the area I live in is 97% Protestant – but they all know who I am, where I go to school and they all see me on the bus coming to Lurgan in my uniform." (Girl 16 C)

One young person spoke of her fear when she was asked **"What side of Lurgan do you live in?"** by adult passengers she was sitting beside on a train to Lurgan.   While on reflection she recognised that the intent behind the question was probably benign and well intentioned, the girl discussed her anxiety at the time and how **"it wasn't 'normal' to have to think about those things with a stranger."** (Girl 16 P) As such, a number of places in Lurgan were avoided by people because they were fearful of those areas as indicated in Table 3:

While the majority of young people (63%) recorded that there is nowhere in particular that they are afraid to go in the town, the two most avoided areas are the Mourneview and Kilwilkie estates.[5] Clearly community background is an important factor in this regard, with 95% of those young people who avoided Mourneview being Catholic and 71% of young people who avoided Kilwilkie being young Protestants.[6] Of the 59 young people who reported avoiding Lurgan Park,[7] and majority were much more likely to come from the Catholic community (52 respondents or 88%).

Lurgan is considered by many of the young people living there, or using it for school, work or training, to be somewhere in need of a facelift:

"I think businesses struggle – there's shops closing down all the time." (Boy 15 P) **"I don't want to identify with it anymore."** (Girl 16 C) **"If people ask where you're from you say, 'near the Lough', or 'near Armagh' – cos it's more normal."** (Girl 16 C)

Unsolicited broad, negative perceptions of the town and its residents peppered the focus groups, **"People are drunk all the time". "There's no jobs for young people". "Houses are all run down and look bad"** and comments such as these were significantly more commonplace than positive views which often had to be teased out of the respondents.

Young people who accessed Lurgan primarily to attend school and who lived outside the area discussed the environment and ambience of the town in negative terms:

"If you live in areas you get used to the murals, people that live there it doesn't bother them, but for people like us, it's intimidating. It's not even going into their areas, it just feels uncomfortable. In the country people don't know if you're a Catholic or a Protestant." (Girl C 16)

[5] It is important to note that the fact that there were approximately three times as many young Catholics who completed the survey as did young Protestants. This probably explains why Mourneview is clearly the most avoided area. Had the situation been reversed it is likely that a predominantly Catholic and nationalist area would have been the most avoided. Nevertheless the percentages within Catholic and Protestant respondents indicate that clearly community background is a key reason why they will not go to a particular part of Lurgan.
[6] These statistics are different to those referred to in table 3.
[7] This amounted to 5% of the total sample (1,242 respondents).

Table 3: Are there any areas you don't go to in Lurgan because you are afraid?

	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
None	63	64	58
Mourneview	21	28	2
Kilwilkie	9	3	26
Other	4	3	6
Shankill	3	1	7
Taghnevan	2	1	6
Town centre	1	1	1

N.B. Percentages do not total 100% as young people could write in more than one area in which they may be afraid to go to. The total number of Catholic and Protestant respondents do not correspond with the overall totals in the table as these figures do not include individuals from 'Other' or 'Mixed' community backgrounds.

It is not uncommon for those researching young people's perceptions and experiences to find that responses are framed by what contributors perceive the researcher wishes to hear. Consequently, in some focus groups, researchers would try and 'proof' for this tendency by drilling down into negative statements with leading questions; participants were asked directly what made them proud of their area and the mixed responses ranged from **"nothing"** through **"the number of churches"** **"the Park"** and **"my school"** but the overall sense was that Lurgan was an area in which young people had little or no civic pride and they had internalised a negative perception of the area: **"Whenever you hear anything about Lurgan on the English news, it makes you feel bad about this area, you don't want to be associated with it."** (Boy 17 C)

Estates' Reputation

Lurgan comprises a series of areas and estates with reputations of being 'hard line' and evoking fear in some outsiders. Much of young people's reluctance to move in and out of these and other unfamiliar areas is based on hear-say and second hand narratives rather than on their actual experiences. Almost one–third of young people (394 young people or 32%) avoid areas or public spaces in Lurgan because of the area's reputation, while 145 young people (12%) avoid particular areas in case they are 'discriminated against':

"I wouldn't chance it like. Nothing's happened, but I wouldn't chance it. And it's the same with them, they wouldn't come up here." (Boy 17 P)

There is a general consensus that it is easier for girls than boys to move in and out of estates:

"It's easier for girls, boys wouldn't really do that. If a Catholic boy walked into (names an estate) they'd get beat up straight away." (Boy 17 C)

However, whilst those living on the estates seen as problematic are aware of the negative reputation they have, many are defensive of any external criticism of their area and consider that they are being unnecessarily demonised because of the actions of a few:

"I live in Kilwilkie and it's really not that bad. It's not as bad as Mourneview up the town. It's only the bus shelter crew who are the ones who drink and do drugs." (Girl 15 C)

The questionnaires reveal that, in addition to a sense of 'pride' in one's own estate, almost half of all young people surveyed (49%) 'never' feel unsafe walking in and out of their own area. Almost one-third of young people (31%) feel unsafe walking in and out of their own area at night at the weekend, the same percentage, as those who feel unsafe when walking on their own. Clearly safety at night at the weekends is much more of a concern for young people than it is during the week, as only 11% of young people indicate that they feel unsafe in their own area at night during the week. There are few differences in perceptions of safety when analysed by community background, but feeling safe in their own areas appears to be more of a concern for young women and girls than it is for young men and boys.

The following sub-sections highlight perceptions of the Mourneview, Shankill, Taghnevan and Kilwilkie estates in turn.

Mourneview

Located in the south side of the town, the Mourneview estate was often referred to as being the most predominantly loyalist area in Lurgan. Opinions of Mourneview continue to be coloured by a legacy of paramilitary activity that was associated with the area for many years, in part because of loyalist feuds in the area, but also because of the notoriety of some residents and former residents. Nonetheless, there have been a number of demographic changes which have altered how the estate is perceived by its residents. Furthermore, it has been extensively reimaged with an increase in urban art taking the place of the reduced paramilitary, historical and cultural murals and flags. The traditional site of the "Eleventh Night" bonfire has been re-sited and the Youth Annexe provision situated on the estate is increasingly involved in cross-community initiatives with Kilwilkie residents. In particular young people from the youth club have been involved with Clann Eireann youth club in a series of cross-community activities. Nonetheless, a significant number of young people, (and overwhelming they are young Catholics), remained fearful of venturing into the area as highlighted by Table 4:

The questionnaire responses clearly indicate that Mourneview, even during the daytime, is an area that almost one-third of young Catholics (32%) are fearful of going into. The statistical data was also supported by various comments in the focus groups and highlighted Catholic parents' concern for the safety of their children:

"See if I was to tell my mummy or daddy I was going into Mourneview, they'd say 'I don't like you going in there'. It's not because it's a Protestant area, it's that they're afraid of something happening to me. I think it is because of my name - it's so Catholic. You'd know straight away from my name that I was Catholic. But I just go in anyway, just to rebel against them (laughter)." (Girl C 18)

One Protestant girl of 15 who had grown up on a Catholic estate in north Lurgan and still went in and out of that area to go to school talked about once having **"loads of Catholic friends".** But since moving into Mourneview was conscious of seeing less of them. Whilst she acknowledged that some of this was to do with the logistics of living out of the area, she also felt that Mourneview was not perceived to be 'safe' for Catholics. This perspective was borne out by others in the same position:

"Yes, they come round to my house and I go to theirs. But like I know they feel uncomfortable walking through it (Mourneview)." (Girl 18 P)

Shankill

As there is one school, a McDonalds and a Tesco store located in the Shankill area, many young people use the area. Table 5 indicates young people's perceptions of the Shankill area:
Although the Shankill estate does not seem to hold quite the same levels of fear among young people as Mourneview, it is clear that young people are more worried about venturing into the Shankill area at night or at weekends (25% and 14% respectively). This may be linked to the views expressed amongst some young people during the course of the research that the Shankill area has a particular reputation

Table 4: Are there any areas that you avoid at particular times of the day/year?

	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Mourneview day	25	32	5
Mourneview night	43	51	21
Mourneview weekend	30	39	8
Mourneview summer	26	33	6

with young people for drug use:

"It's all the Skanks live in Shankill. It's very druggie" (Girl 15 P), **"Shankill's bad for stabbings"** (Boy 16 C), **"It's the most area you'd find drugs in."** (Girl 14 C), **"They tie shoes on the electric wires outside my window to let you know that there're dealers there. You don't know which house to go to, but you just hang about there and they'll find you."** (Girl 16 C)

The area is viewed to be predominantly home to those from Catholic/Nationalist/Republican backgrounds, however it is also noteworthy that at the time of collecting data, The Foyer at Mount Zion, Lurgan's mixed residential project for young people in transition, was based in Shankill. Comparing the responses given in a focus group which took place with Mount Zion residents to those in other focus groups reveals very different attitudes to cross community interaction from those participants. Those in the facility, and who in the main were living in adverse circumstances, provided much positive peer support to one another and were much more inclined to seek out ways to actively socialise across the community

divide more so than others living in the area:

"Being in here doesn't mean I'm homeless like people say – it means I've actually got a home. And being in here means I can be friends with whoever I want to be with for a change." (Boy P 17)

It is regrettable that when the facility closed down in September 2012, residents had been given little time to prepare for the sometimes difficult transitions many then had to make. An acute sense of loss was experienced by a number of residents as cross-community friendships built on shared experiences were fractured and in some cases unable to be sustained specifically because they were relocated into single identity estates.

Some young people claimed that the Continuity IRA were actively discouraging them from drinking in the Shankill area **"You're not allowed to drink there now, we were asked to move on - the Continuity shifted us"** (Boy 15 C). There was also some confusion as to the allegiances or motivation of some of the young people who were

Table 5: Are there any areas that you avoid at particular times of the day/year?

	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Shankill day	7	3	18
Shankill night	25	19	34
Shankill weekend	14	9	25
Shankill summer	1	4	19

perceived to be potential 'trouble makers' in the area **"We were just casually driving that way with my dad. It was about 7 o'clock and the next thing you know all these boys came out from nowhere. With the hoods up and the scarves up."** (Boy 16 C)

Taghnevan

Statistics drawn from the survey indicate that avoidance of the Taghnevan area is predominantly an issue for Protestants - 41% of young Protestants said they would avoid the area during the day whereas only 1% of young Catholics said they would avoid the area in daylight.

Considerable work has been undertaken by the youth and community centre in Taghnevan to address social exclusion by developing a strong outreach component of the youth work undertaken in the centre and this will be discussed more fully in the section on youth service provision. However there remains a tendency for young people to demonise or speak derogatorily of those who were seen as a 'problem' on the estate and unconnected to the youth programme:

"The 'shoppies' just hang around doing nothing." (Girl 14 C)

Despite a perception by some people that Taghnevan is a 'no go' area for the PSNI and for Protestants, a number of community activists have been working closely with the PSNI and youth service providers outside the area over the past few years to improve relationships and communication between them and residents.

During the course of the data collection a feud between Lithuanian residents resulted in the rape of a young woman on the estate. This was mentioned in several focus groups a number of times throughout the course of the research period:

"My granny lives right across the Road from the flats in Taghnevan and a girl was gang raped there, Lithuanian men and her husband was made to watch." (Girl 15 C)

The event clearly had an impact on young people's perceptions of the estate irrespective of where they lived:

"I used to go in there but I wouldn't ever go there now." (Girl P 16)

And young residents now view both the migrant workers on the estate and the flats in which they live as threatening:

"The flats is full of alcos and druggies you wouldn't go near them." (Girl C 18)

Kilwilkie

Located near the train station in the north of the town, Kilwilkie, in many young people's minds is an estate which has a reputation of being connected closely to dissident republican activity. Table 7 indicates perceptions of venturing into Kilwilkie by young Catholics and Protestants.

While 40% of young Protestants suggest they would not go near Kilwilkie during the day, only 5% of young Catholics avoided the area during the day. However, more than a quarter of young

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Table 6: Are there any areas that you avoid at particular times of the day/year?

	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Taghnevan day	7	1	41
Taghnevan night	20	12	36
Taghnevan weekend	12	5	32
Taghnevan summer	8	2	23

Catholics reported avoiding the area at night (26%).

For some young people it was particularly difficult to untangle what was a fear grounded in their experience of the area and what was supposition in relation to the Kilwilkie area. In one focus group comprising young Protestants participants talked about never going into Kilwilkie because of **"the IRA and the IRA signs".** However at the time of conducting the report, there was only one IRA sign in Kilwilkie and all the graffiti and murals were either predominantly either anti-PSNI, commemorating Hunger Strikers, or expressing support for the activities of dissident republicans. When informed of this, all of the young Protestant members of the group back-tracked and acknowledged that they had never actually been on or through the estate. However other Protestants were able to talk in a more informed way about their fears and negative experiences: **"I was away on a trip with a youth club and we had to drop off a Catholic boy there. I was s***ing myself. The second time I walked in for 5 minutes like just around the street with my granda delivering Christian leaflets like and I had to beg him to go home. I didn't feel safe at all. And this was probably 1 o'clock in the afternoon."** (Boy 15 P)

Other participants' perspectives were rooted in their day to day experiences of living in, or passing through, the estate and it is noteworthy how acts of violence are normalised: **"My mummy hates stopping at the railway lines 'cos they used to get you out of the car and burn it. I saw a bus burning there once, and it's not like they were going to throw a bomb at me, so I wasn't scared and when the choppers come over and shine on us in I'm like, "Get away."** (Girl 14 C)

Other young people from Kilwilkie reported feeling frustrated by the negative media portrayal of the area as being a 'hotbed' of dissident republican activity and blamed this reputation on some impressionable youth who were being negatively influenced or 'manipulated' by older individuals. In one focus group, several young people felt that while the community police were 'OK', they expressed a concern that 'you couldn't be seen talking to them on the street like, not in Kilwilkie' (Boy 16 C), as they would not feel safe to be seen doing so.

Movement through the Town Centre
Some participants to the research talked about how their families discouraged them from going into the town:

"A few months ago there was really bad trouble and my mummy told me not to go up the town even though I was OK about it." (Girl 15 P)

And a broad range of responses in focus groups indicated the significant reluctance of some young people to traverse the town and use the centre, irrespective of parental advice.

"If I was to go to Waves I'd walk through Lurgan Park. There's no way I'd walk through the town." (Girl 15 C) **"I would never walk through the town in my uniform, cos that's**

Table 7: Are there any areas that you avoid at particular times of the day/year?

	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Kilwilkie day	13	5	40
Kilwilkie night	33	26	38
Kilwilkie weekend	21	15	61
Kilwilkie summer	15	8	32

where all the Lurgan Junior High ones are." (Girl 16 C)

"There's like a split. See as soon as you get to William Street/North Street, past the Celtic club that would be our (Catholic) end and then there is the middle of the town and on past that is like Mourneview. The town centre's nice like. But you wouldn't walk through it on a Friday night like. Not by yourself. See Castle Lane where the Old Tescos is? Definitely not there 'cos there's a load of people would stand out there out the back of Heaton's and if you were walking past they would just come over." (Boy 15 C)

Respondents, however, did recognise that some events being organised by the Chamber of Commerce had a very positive impact in the town and welcomed more of the same. Many people talked about the visit of The Risk and lamented that there are not enough similar events organised in the town centre:

"It was good cos there were creepy snowmen running around hugging you! It stopped us from just drinking." (Girl 16 C)

In response to an invitation to choose one facility for Lurgan that would make life better for young people the following suggestions were made: 844 young people (68%) felt that Lurgan needed a cinema while 246 young people (20%) said they felt Lurgan needed an ice rink and these were also spoken of frequently within focus groups.

Although only seven young people said they would avoid the town centre altogether, for some respondents there were particular shops or bars in particular they were reluctant to use. Only small numbers of young people avoided pubs in and around the town centre as a result of their community background – with 41 young people (3%) in total reporting avoiding pubs. However it is noteworthy that less than 17% of our sample was aged over 18. Had our sample been targeted at older individuals it is likely that this figure would have been much higher. Those young people who

did specify which pubs they stayed away from included, eight young Protestants who reported avoiding the Celtic Supporters' Bar while the Cellar Pub, Fa Joe's, the Ashburn and the Royal British Legion were similarly avoided by very small numbers of young people (fewer than ten individuals each) who said they would feel 'unsafe' as a result of their community background.

Young people avoided particular areas of the town including the centre for a variety of reasons. The principal reason for avoiding an area was rioting (563 young people or 45%). This was followed by the reputation of an area, which almost one-third of young respondents said would make them avoid an area (394 young people or 32%). The use of an area by drug takers and heavy drinkers was a concern for a significant proportion of young people (378 young people or 30%).

Young Catholics were more inclined than young Protestants to avoid areas when there was a parade held there (28% compared to 13%). Young Protestants were more likely than young Catholics to state that 'fighting' in an area would make them avoid it (41% compared to 26%). Similarly, young Protestants were more likely to suggest that they would not go to a particular part of Lurgan because of the area's poor reputation (42% compared to 29%). While young Catholics were equally likely to avoid an area because of either a paramilitary or a police presence (12% respectively), young Protestants were much more inclined to avoid an area because of a paramilitary presence rather than being worried about the police being there (25% compared to 11%).

Racism as an inhibitor to movement
In a number of focus groups young people talked about finding it uncomfortable to admit that they were scared by individuals from minority communities as they felt they would be considered racist for doing so but nonetheless did appear to want to discuss their fears and how this impacted on their movements through the town. A total of 483 young people (39% of respondents) felt that racism was one of the main issues impacting on young people in Lurgan. Victoria Street was a

frequently named area that young people (and older family members) no longer felt safe in: **"We are moving out just because of all the trouble - it was fine up until a couple of years ago and then a lot of foreigners moved in and now there's a lot of drug use and all."** (Girl 17 C)

Victoria Street was also frequently described as a street which was home to feuding Travellers; that respondents found this **'scary'** and one group of young people who lived in Kilwilkie talked about feeling intimidated there when Travellers were drinking heavily and by whom they talked about having been **'bottle attacked on the road'.** However, it is noteworthy that when pressed, the young people involved had not reported this or other incidents to the PSNI.

5.2 Identity

Table 8 highlights how young people view their national identity:

Clearly community background impacts upon whether or not young people feel either 'British', 'Irish' or 'Northern Irish'. Only 3% of Catholics felt British and only 2% of Protestants felt Irish. Although one-third of young people (403 respondents) felt 'Northern Irish', young Protestants (35%) were more likely to feel 'Northern Irish' than were young Catholics (19%).

Families, Conflict and their impact on Identity

Families remain the primary influencers in both young people's identity formation and decision making. They are also key in perpetuating the community myths that fuel division and segregation. 1042 young people or 84% of the respondents to the questionnaire had not yet been born when the ceasefires were declared, consequently the role of the conflict in their lives was predominantly learned rather than experienced and sectarian segregation was primarily based on either family narrative or community myths. The impact of the family on how young people learned about politics and history and were encouraged or blocked from building relationships across the community divide was evident in the focus groups. It is therefore unsurprising that one of the most significant and recurring themes arising in a great many (if not all) of these was the role that families play in cementing cultural identity and how this was often done through the lens of the conflict:

"My mummy always goes on about the trouble and how it was them 'uns." (Girl 14 C)

"All my family lived in Belfast before we came here and when I was a wee girl my Granny used to take me up to the riots and make me look at it, all the big water cannons, it was really scary, big water cannons and gunshots everywhere. My granny was a real alcoholic, she'd knock back a big bottle and then take me up to these riots." (Girl 18 C)

Table 8: National Identity and Community Background

	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
British	17	3	58
Irish	56	74	2
Northern Irish	33	19	35
Other[8]	3	3	3

N.B. Totals do not correlate with 100% as young people could pick multiple identities.

In one focus group comprising all Catholic young people, five of the participants had a close relative (parent, grandparent, uncle, aunt) who had been shot **"My dad just told me about it"** and in the same group two participants talked of a bomb being left at their homes and another about their uncle being shot dead **"I wasn't born when he was shot."**

The trans-generational impacts of such events were clearly and frequently articulated in the groups: **"It's affected my family a lot. It was before I was born but you can still feel it in everything today."** (Girl 16 P)

Asked whether or not the participants in that focus group would talk to their own children about the conflict, responses were mixed - those who had direct contact through the loss of a family member were often reticent: **"No, not till they're older, they shouldn't have to worry about it when they're young."** (Boy 17 P) Those who had not suffered direct losses but whose parents often discussed it were less concerned: **"My mummy always talks about it. I like hearing about it. My mummy always says 'you don't know how lucky you are that you can go out late at night 'cos she couldn't do that because of the Troubles. I think it's good to talk to young people about these things."** (Girl 15 C)

Some of them spoke in the third person about 'others' experiences, **"The prejudice comes from their parents, from their mums and dads telling them stories about what it was like when they were younger."** (Girl 21 C) and it was only when focus group facilitators drilled down deeper into these statements that young people revealed their statements were also rooted in their own family perspectives. Many participants described older family members as 'bitter'. This was not put across as a judgement, but rather a statement of fact and something that was normalised both in the family and the community, **"My mummy is very bitter"**, **"My mummy would be more bitter,"** (Two Girls 16 P), and while many of the young people found it difficult to accept the perspectives that coloured their families' view of

other communities, they still found themselves profoundly limited by such views in practical terms:

"I'd never have one of my Protestant friends back at my house, my ma'd have a nervous breakdown, or my daddy would, cos my daddy doesn't really like Protestants because he grew up in a Catholic area with the Troubles and all." (Girl 18 C)

The influence of the family on inter-community friendships and relationships was far-reaching and was coloured by the family's experiences of the conflict and segregated living over a number of generations.

For many of the participants there was a sense that **"That was the past though, it's different now."** (Girl 19 P) A great many of the young people from different community backgrounds have no compunction or concern about moving in and out of each others' estates, but acknowledge that this independence is not easy for their families. **"I don't think people would want to bring me into their houses. There's some. Like my friend's cousins and aunties wouldn't let me in but my friend would."** (Girl 15 C)

A standard question in all of the focus groups was to ascertain whether participants had ever been out with someone from across the community divide. Many of those who had, spoke about the difficulties they had in broaching this with their families. **"I'd be dead if I brought them to the house."** (Boy 16 P) **"You wouldn't ever bring them home."** (Boy 16 C)

One of the recurring reasons given for young people being unable to share their cross community relationships with their family was because of the previous generation's connections to the conflict:

"My granny was blew up by the UVF cos my uncle was in the IRA and he did something really, really bad – but that means I couldn't bring a Protestant boy here – no fear". (Girl 17 C)

For some, the duplicity and deception involved in keeping relationships going in these circumstances proved to be unsustainable:

"I was seeing a local guy who joined the Army. I have a Republican family and he joined the British Army so I had to travel round to see him. And so we hid it. It's kind of sad, cos what if I wanted to marry him one day? I wouldn't ever be able to. Whenever he's home we have our wee kisses and our cuddles – and then he goes away again, back to the army. It's because of the guys in my family, I wouldn't really be able to tell them. I don't worry as much as he does, I let it go over my head, but he worries." (Girl 19 C)

Cross-Community Friendships

The realities of growing up in a divided town, coupled with potential peer and family pressure meant that it was difficult for young people to sustain relationships and friendships across the divide. Indeed, in relation to cross-community friendships, more than one-quarter of all young people said that 'all' of their friends were from the same community background as themselves (26%). Additionally, 61% stated that 'most' of their friends came from the same community as themselves. Table 9 documents the results:

There were few differences between young males and females in terms of which community background their friends tended to come from. Young males however were slightly more inclined than young females to say that 'all' of their friends were from their 'own' community background (28% compared to 24%).

Although the majority of young people said that they would 'feel fine' in terms of hanging out with young people from a different religion (737 respondents or 59%), 189 young people (15%) said they 'wouldn't know what to expect' if they met members of the 'Other' community. Young Protestants were slightly more inclined than young Catholics to be wary of not knowing what to expect from cross-community encounters (22% compared to 13%). Young males were also more likely than young females to say they 'wouldn't know what to expect' (21% compared to 12%). A further 82 young people (7%) said they had 'never' had the opportunity to meet on a cross community basis while 60 young people felt that they would have nowhere in Lurgan for them to meet safely (5%). When asked about whether they would consider going into youth provision on estates such as Mourneview, Taghnevan or Kilwilkee, the majority of participants found the idea inconceivable:

Table 9: How many of your friends are of the same community background as you?

	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
All 26	27	25	
Most 61	61	61	
Some	11	10	10
None 1	1	1	
Don't Know	1	Less than 1%	2
Missing	1	1	1

N.B. The total number of Catholic and Protestant respondents do not correspond with the overall totals in the table as these figures do not include individuals from 'Other' or 'Mixed' community backgrounds.

"I would be terrified to go there and that's only because I feel that people would judge you and always pass remarks. I don't have a problem with them, but I just couldn't do it." (Girl 18 P)

Despite this, it should be pointed out that the vast majority of young people (80%) indicated that they would at times socialise with young people from a different community background than their own. Young Protestants were less likely than young Catholics to indicate that they did hang out with other young people on a cross-community basis (70% compared to 83%). Young Protestants were also slightly more likely than young Catholics to say they 'didn't know' if they hung out with other young people from a different community (17% compared to 11%). Young females were more inclined than males to suggest that they did hang out with other young people from the 'Other' community (86% compared to 72%).

Political Influence
It is a general truism felt within the youth service that all stakeholders in youth work traditionally benefit from a clear divorce between party politics and youth work activities. But in Northern Ireland this can be more difficult to ensure than in other jurisdictions because of the commitment of dedicated political activists to all aspects of their community's development. During the period of research the Young Ambassadors group was involved in a series of formal and informal engagements with elected representatives. It appeared that both the young people and the politicians were keen to optimise these opportunities and exchange useful information. Feedback to SELB indicated that the opportunity to hear first hand from young people appeared to be valued by elected representatives and politicians, similarly, the young people talked about feeling 'heard':

"I don't know if I want to join the party yet, but being able to discuss the matters and feel as though they actually want to do something about it is impressive." (Girl 17 P)

Along with the Young Ambassadors' Programme, the Craigavon District Youth Council is an established model of good practice in providing a voice for young people in the Southern Education and Library Board area. Both groups are currently well-placed and used to providing a formal route for non-politically aligned young people to be heard by both statutory service providers and elected representatives. However, it is noteworthy at this time that the continued effectiveness and *raison d'etre* of these independent groups is likely to be compromised by the introduction of a party-nominated member youth council within Craigavon Borough Council. The risk of destabilising and duplicating the work of their own body did not escape the attention of some of the young people attached to the Young Ambassadors group:

"We're already doing this work, it seems dismissive to bring another group in, and it's just a way for the politicians to keep on building up their youth wings it's not really about young people at all." (Girl 18 P)

Perhaps reflecting the age of the participants, only 236 (19%) of respondents to the questionnaire were registered to vote (although a further 141 or 11% did not know if they were registered to vote or not). Other than those focus groups convened with 'A' level students of politics, participants in the focus groups were not interested in raising issues about politics or political parties.

Irrespective of their voting status, many of the young people had a clear understanding of the existing power struggles on estates in Lurgan for both elected and unelected representatives. Some reported that a pressure to vote was being put on some families and in some communities:

"See even if you don't want to vote here, they will make you. My brother didn't want to vote and (name withheld) came up and called at my door – he's part of the IRA." (Boy 15 C)

Unsurprisingly, the evidence from the survey data indicates that if young people were going to vote they intended to vote for political parties aligned to their own community background. While 64% of young Protestants said they would vote DUP, only 1% of young Catholics said they would vote DUP. Similarly, while 53% of young Catholics would vote for Sinn Féin, only 1% of young Protestants indicated they would do likewise.

One-third of the respondents, (412 respondents) stated that they would vote for these parties because that is how their families voted. A further 197 (16%) young people indicated they would vote this way because that was who they thought their friends would vote for. A further 339 (27%) young people said they expected to vote this way because the parties 'stand for issues that are important to me', though it is unclear whether or not this is related to the constitutional question or rather 'bread and butter' economic and social concerns.

Culture of Band Parades and Marches

Parading and band culture is often cited as being a marker of identity throughout Northern Ireland. Both in the focus groups and in the questionnaires, young people indicated how they felt that disputes over parades impact negatively upon community relations and in perceptions of their own cultural identity. 738 young people felt that parades could increase community tensions in Lurgan (59%) with similar proportions of young Catholics and Protestants indicating this (60% and 62% respectively).

In the focus groups band culture and parading was described almost exclusively throughout the duration of the research as belonging to a Protestant, Unionist or Loyalist culture. And the questionnaire data shows that 844 (68%) of respondents didn't attend any band parades. It also revealed that young Catholics (76%) were much more inclined than young Protestants (40%) to state that they didn't attend any band parades at all.

Only 56 young people reported attending the Twelfth of July or Scarva (5%), and 98% of these

young people were young Protestants. 29 young people attended other Loyal Order parades (3%), 29 young people were involved with BB/GB/Guides or scouts parades (3%) and 24 young people (all Catholic) attended Easter commemorations (2%). Seven young people, all young Catholics, reported attending Gay Pride events in Belfast and elsewhere.

During the course of the research, youth workers and the Young Ambassadors attended events in Brownlow House, the home of the Lurgan Loyal Orange District Lodge at which parading was discussed. Evaluations of these events indicated they had gone some way to provide an informed understanding and myth-busting session about identity, local history and the Loyal Orders. But generally, there was considerable confusion about the relationships between and accountability of the bands to the Loyal Orders and the perceived role of 'Orangeism' in the identity of young Protestants.

Discussions in focus groups did not indicate that young people made any distinction between those people who attend Protestant church parades to worship and those who attend parades aligned to militant loyalism thus conflating two distinct identities. Responses also indicated that there was limited understanding of the different types of parading culture not just by young people, but also by the wider community:

"I went with one of my Protestant friends – she's really into her own tradition and she loves the parades so I went with her one time to Waringstown and when my daddy found out he rang me and said "Get out of there now" - but it was boring, just wee old men going to a church." (Girl C 15)

However some young Protestant people who attended parades talked about the centrality of the faith component at church-parades:

"They hand wee leaflets out at the band parades I go to, they have tracts with a couple of verses on it then talk about it – I'd

take it like, but I wouldn't read it. I'd put it in the pocket and give it to the mum and that. If you turned it away you'd sort of feel bad" (Boy 15 P)

Members of one focus group that was convened with representatives from a Junior Orange Lodge were clear that they wished to distance themselves from the bands' reputations which they perceived to be a negative component of the parading culture. Conversely, they saw parading as opposed to band culture, as a positive expression of their identity.

Irrespective of what their community background was, the majority of comments levelled against the bands and the role they play on parades were predominantly negative. Outside as well as inside the parading arena, bands were seen to exert a negative control over their membership which extended into other aspects of their identity:

"I knew Protestant boys who would have come here (youth club named) but they always did watch not to be seen to be walking in here because of the bands they were in. And then one day they got caught coming here too and they were told not to come back by the bands and they didn't and they haven't. They told us 'the Band says we can't come back' and they didn't because they just look up to the big boys. Like, I'm still friends with them. I would still go into Mourneview and see them. But it's sad." (Girl 20 C)

Conversely, 211 young people surveyed felt that being a member of a band or attending a parade was a positive experience (17%) – and young Protestants (26%) were more inclined to believe this to be the case than young Catholics (15%). Despite the focus in discussions being on parades associated with the Loyal Orders, the most attended parade was Saint Patrick's Day which 604 young people (49%) reported attending. However, of these 604 young people only 8, or just over 1%, were Protestant and 96% were Catholic. Despite attempts to address this imbalance by the organisers, who talk of the event being **'open to everyone and celebrating Lurgan's diversity'**, the event is not perceived by young Protestant people to be inclusive or welcoming to them. Furthermore, some Catholics see it as much as a showcase for the GAA as a marker of their identity: **"Like if you are part of St. Peter's or Clann Eireann you can be a part of it, but the rest of us just come up to watch it. There's a parade in the morning and then the football in the afternoon."** (Boy 17 C)

Little mention was made by young people of the role Republican band culture plays as a marker of local, national or political identity in Catholic, Nationalist or Republican communities despite 17% of young Catholics reporting attending republican band parades. However one former member of a Republican band talked about his membership clashing with his friendships within a cross community youth provision: **"I left the band - I thought – what's the point me going out on Easter Sunday and singing all sectarian stuff and then try and come in here and pretend to be mates? Like shouting "f" youse ones, when in here you are happy as Larry."** (Boy 15 C)

Sexual Orientation
None of the focus groups were convened exclusively with young lesbian gay and bisexual (lgb) people, however a number of lgb people were present in groups and were keen to point out that unlike some other young people, friendships between young lgb people were less likely to be constrained by religious or political backgrounds. Groups also contained young people with lgb family members and their experiences will be looked at in the section on Community Safety.

Rural versus Urban
None of the participants spoken to made any reference to being connected to rural institutions such as the Young Farmers. Young people from rural areas who used Lurgan only to attend school talked about feeling under less peer pressure to grow up as quickly as their friends who lived in the town:

"They were roaming the streets but we had more 'funner' things to do, we lived by the Lough so we could go fishing. We were kept children for longer. Like some of them started drinking when they were 10. At that age we were going out playing in haystacks, jumping in and out of making huts while they were drinking and smoking." (Girl 16 C)

They commented on how the things that they did 'normally' were most often the activities that people in towns were taken away to do – conversely, they had no desire to emulate what they saw as an urban youth culture: **"When I stayed with my friend all we did was hang around outside her house and watch people go up and down the street."** (Girl 14 C) **"If you live in areas you get used to the murals, people that live there it doesn't bother them, but for people like us, coming, it's intimidating, it feels uncomfortable. In the country people don't know if you're a Catholic or a Protestant."** (Girl 17 P)

One Catholic participant from a rural background who lived in a predominantly Protestant area, was keen to describe how she felt that living in a rural area enabled her to make more contact with those from a PUL background than she felt she would do if she was living in the town. She discussed how she never felt threatened or isolated from other young people – rather to the contrary, felt that other people were particularly keen to seek out her friendship.

Church

Participants were not asked to record whether or not they were regular church-goers. Nonetheless, many respondents to the questionnaire and participants in focus groups indicated that they were users of faith-led youth services. Many Protestants commented on how attending initiatives such as Christian Union were a valued part of their social life. Unsurprisingly, their attendances were not purely rooted on spiritual grounds, but both young people and their families recognised that they provided spaces, sanctioned by parents, where they could 'safely' meet members of the opposite sex from the same community background as themselves.

5.3 Shared And Mixed Spaces

Throughout the world, rivalries in the use of space are not uncommon for young people and are no less pertinent in Lurgan where young people are predominantly aligned to one of two 'tribes'. Some young people were clear that they considered the youth clubs they attended to be much more of 'shared spaces' than the town centre itself and the nature of how youth clubs are perceived and used will be considered in section 4.8.

Many young people did express a 'fear' of being with people from a different community background, although 59% said they would 'feel fine' hanging out with someone from a different religion. Young Catholics were more inclined than young Protestants to say they would 'feel fine' hanging out with other young people from a different community background (63% compared to 46%). Young Protestants were more likely to suggest that they 'wouldn't know what to expect' from such meetings (22% compared to 13%). Young Protestants were also more likely to indicate that their family, friends and paramilitaries would be against such cross-community meetings (11%, 12% and 11% respectively for young Protestants compared to 4%, 4% and 3% for young Catholics).

Young people talked of a variety of reasons for avoiding particular public spaces or areas. Some tended to be open about a self-selected segregated lifestyle implying that any reluctance to mix was a proactive life-style choice rather than one based on fear of the 'other':

"There's people over there from Kilwilkie and from Mourneview that don't even come up town because they just don't want to be in the same areas as a Protestant or a Catholic." (Girl 17 P) **"I just wouldn't want to be friends with a Protestant – there's nothing we have in common and I've enough friends."** (Girl 17 C)

The use of the word 'want' in such instances is used to validate segregation and separatism and as such exemplifies how easily a culture of polite avoidance is normalised and acceptable thus providing a fertile environment for discrimination and sectarianism to flourish.

The three public facilities used most by young people were:
· local parks - 756 (61%),
· the swimming pool (which is due to relocate) - 726 (58%); and
· the leisure centre - 690 (56%).

Protestant young people were slightly more inclined than Catholics to use the swimming pool (52% compared to 44%) and local parks (59% compared to 51%). The same proportion of Catholic and Protestant young people reported using the leisure centre (56%).

But yet it was the shopping centre (381 young people or 31%) and school (372 young people or 30%) where young people indicated that they were most likely to connect with young people from different backgrounds.

Parks and Outdoor Spaces
When young people talk about 'The Park', despite there being some three parks in the Lurgan area, it is invariably Lurgan Park to which they refer. Lurgan Park is an area that young people overwhelmingly enjoy and there were many variations on the following: **"The Park is lovely, it's really, really nice, in the summer time we love it."** It is seen to be a space shared by young people from all backgrounds.

All young people 'know' that there are unmarked areas within Lurgan Park which young people from different community backgrounds prefer to use or feel comfortable in – but not all young people were aware of the micro-geographies or the 'theirs' and 'ours' nature of the park. The following discussion that took place in a focus group comprising Catholic girls aged 15-16 indicates the confused and embedded nature of segregation in how the park is perceived:

Girl 1: "What side is Protestant?"
Girl 2: "Our side. Beside the fountain park, that's our side."
Girl 1: "No that's their side. Our side is beside the golf course."
Girl 2: "Well then we were in their side."
(Laughter)   (Group of Catholic Girls 15-16)

There were a number of discussions in focus groups relating to being chased in or feeling under threat in the park:

"Last year there were 15 girls and there was one boy with us and there was about 10 of them and we thought he was going to get hit so we stood in front of him because we didn't think they'd hit a girl – anyway they didn't and they were more interested in us than him." (Girl 16 C)

"During the day I'd go to Lurgan Park but not at night. Just the stories you hear and stuff. People getting battered, I got beat up there by an 18 year old when I was 14. There was all 18 years olds slabbering to us. They found out we were (names religious background)"

However, while there had been some serious and potentially serious incidents, there was also a sense that while these activities were much talked about as sectarian, they were perhaps not as regular occurrences as some might consider and some of them were less about sectarianism and more about sexual and gender play:

Girl 1: "Once I got chased round it one time and now my friend's going with the fella that was chasing me the whole way round Lurgan Park. Like I thought he was going to hit me and all. And now she's going with him and all and I'm sitting with him up in her house." (laughter).
Girl 2: "Is he Protestant? I didn't know that!"

It is noteworthy that Girl 2's response focuses not on the threat of physical violence, but rather on the boy's faith or perhaps community background.

Accompanying the sectarian and gender rivalries - there are some community safety issues which arise and which impact on when and how comfortable young people feel using public parks, in particular Lurgan Park:

"Some people drink in it and go there for sex, but not drugs so much." (Boy 17 C)

It was described as a place to be avoided by some at night and somewhere to be approached with caution by others who recognised that like in the town centre, there is an invisible dividing line:

"Both Catholics and Protestants go there to drink but Protestants go to their end and Catholics stay at this end. And when something kicks off, they meet in the middle" (laughter) (Girl 17 P)

"The Park is nice, but not at night, there's loads of drunks and druggies." (Girl 15 P)

Not all young people surveyed were aware of the existence of some parks, perhaps, as in other areas of Northern Ireland, because some parks are 'sectarianised' in the public conscious due to their location. Furthermore, some had acquired local names to describe them rather than their formal name:

"Lord Lurgan Park? Where's that? Is that the same as Lurgan Park?" (Girl 14 P)

"Allen Hill Park? Is that the one has no lights in it? When it gets dark at night like and it locks up early." (Boy 14 C)

Oxford Island, though perceived to be a shared public outdoor resource was not referred to at all during the consultation other than as being used as a 'place to chill' by Catholics after the St Patrick's Day parade. Alongside that use was an expectation that young people would invariably incur negative PSNI attention: **"Everybody ends up at Oxford Island but the Police and all come 'cos there's older ones there with cars and the Police and all chase them."**

Virtual Space

The use of IT and new media and technologies can provide a virtual shared space where young people are able to keep a direct yet arm's length contact across the community divide. Only 8 young people (1%) said they did not have internet access compared to the 1225 who said they did have internet access (98%).[9] 1024 young people used their home computer as their main access to the internet, while 176 used their phones as their main access to the internet.

The arm's length nature and anonymity of virtual relationships and new technology was recognised as also allowing people to 'voice' sectarian comments that were not being 'policed' or stopped by service providers:

"Someone posted 'I like you a lot, but you hang about with a pile of Huns and I was annoyed about reading that." (Boy 15 P)

"I got called a Hun on Facebook. I'd commented on someone's page and it made me annoyed that they'd said it." (Boy 15 P)

In response to a question about whether they use social networking, instant messaging and websites or forums to connect with people from a different religion or community background the results indicated that the principal way young people said they met or contacted people from a different community background was through social networking (500 young people or 40%). Focus group participants recognised that when friends become only 'virtual' friends, the relationship is limited:

"You would talk on the mobile – but you wouldn't ever phone their homes." (Boy P 17)

Some young people recognised that the benefits of being 'public' on Facebook enabled positive contact that might not otherwise be possible:

"We done EMU with Lurgan Junior High for three years, it was really good, but then it stopped for a while. We took turns going to each others' schools – then we went on trips, to Stormont and to Armagh folk museum and stuff like that. I'd still see them on Facebook, like, but I wouldn't like really see them if you know what I mean." (Girl C 16)

However:

"I don't hang about with them anymore. If you see them on Facebook you'd say hi, but you would never go out to meet with them. They live somewhere else and you just wouldn't be bothered going over there." (Girl C 15)

For others, there was a concern as to their vulnerability in terms of using public sites to identify their whereabouts: **"I just posted, "See you'se up at the Park" – then them ones all came down because they knew we were there – and they knew that they could make trouble because we was there."** (Girl 17 C)

The anonymity allowed by new media also allowed for other derogatory, offensive and insulting comments to be made:

"People would say things on Facebook and then wouldn't say it to your face." (Girl C 17)

"Yes, there's girls I know from (names a school) and they put photos up of people taking the piss out of them. They made this thing up "Santa goes Hohoho when he passes (names school)" but then they still want to go with you. And there was another one completely aimed at a girl who got pregnant and it said "Hang your blazer up after a long day being in Labour." (Girl 15 C)

"I know someone who's been in hospital and she's really not well and someone wrote, 'She's the ugliest thing I ever seen in my life'. It's not her fault that she's skinny. She just laughed it off, but you know deep down it really hurt her." (Girl 16 C)

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[9] There were also nine missing responses.

Reimaging and Symbols

Recent years have seen a number of reimaging programmes which has resulted in the repainting of murals on some estates and the reduction in the flying of paramilitary flags throughout the Lurgan area, but both the Union Flag and the Tricolour still dominate at certain times of the year and on some established sites. These are rarely seen simply as a symbolic pledging of national allegiance, but rather as an intimidating way of demarcating territory. Many young people can only get to their schools by first having to cross areas where flags are flown.

The research team were surprised by the level of candid and frank concern that participants displayed regarding their fears about flag-flying in public spaces. Many spoke about how as uniformed school pupils, the experience of walking through areas with national flags being displayed is both frightening and daunting; **"If you're walking to school and see flags you're scared"** (Boy 15 P), and many spoke of the lengths they would go to avoid walking even short distances through areas, preferring to either spend money on a bus, or taking a longer route to circumvent areas with flags and grafitti.

120 young people (20%) said they would avoid particular parts of the town as a result of the display of flags or emblems. A further 787 young people (63%) felt that the display of flags, emblems and graffiti could increase tensions in the town. While 19% of young Catholics avoid specific areas as a result of the display of flags and emblems, a slightly higher 26% of young Protestants said they would avoid areas if there were particular flags and emblems on display. This may be because the Union flag was more prominent in the town centre.

Some young people were impervious to the impact that flags being erected had on others **"I know my area's Protestant because there's a Union Jack up my street, it makes me proud to be British."** (Boy 15 P) Others were unable to recognise others' desire to fly national flags: **"I just stand near the Vintage, the Credit Union and just stand there with me arms crossed whenever I see flags going up. It's a disgrace they put any flags up on their churches. They shouldn't be allowed to."** (Boy 17 C)

Some young people in one focus group were keen to initiate a competition to design a Lurgan Flag or Standard which they hoped might become a focal point for all schools and public buildings. When this suggestion was put to participants in other focus groups, it was generally well received.

Few people raised the issues of poppy wearing – but in one focus group with Protestant young people who were otherwise happy to both celebrate their culture and regularly mix with Catholics, a number of participants agreed with the respondent who was reluctant to wear his poppy on his sleeve and commented: **"I would only wear a poppy where I felt safe. I would never wear a poppy out with my friends who weren't Protestant. That part of my culture is not acceptable to them."** (Boy 15 P)

Parading and Marches

Parading and contested marches were the fifth most cited reason for young people avoiding particular parts of Lurgan with 301 young people (24%) saying that they avoided specific areas for that reason. More than a quarter of young Catholics (28%) would avoid areas for that reason compared to 13% of young Protestants.

5.4 Community Safety Concerns

Young people suggested that they avoided certain places in Lurgan because they 'knew' it was unsafe for them by the way people looked or by **'what you hear about it'**. But as well as an area's reputation in terms of sectarianism, other community safety issues were raised.

Whilst Lurgan Park was known to be a place where trouble flared between young Catholics and Protestants as discussed in section 4.3, many young people considered it to be an almost acceptable part of youth culture that you might run into 'others' in the park. Understanding and tacit accepting of the fact that as part of that process, there would need to be a way found to negotiate yourself out of a potentially ominous situation. What appeared to cause much more unacceptable concern to young people in the park was the increasing numbers of older people drinking in the space:

"There's grown men that hang around in the park – they're all skinheads with tattoos". (Boy 15 P)

The fact that many of these were identified as foreign nationals appeared to fuel their lack of confidence in using the area:

"Polish men can be quite scary when they drink in the park. They try and come and talk to you and shout." (Girl 18 P)

As part of wider discussions about diversity, concerns about the safety of young people who self described as lesbian, gay or bisexual (lgb) was raised in a number of focus groups. Lurgan does not have the reputation of being a 'gay-friendly' town and many young people were outwardly homophobic. A significant number of young people displayed overt and blatant homophobia, **"I just wouldn't want them near me – I would move if one sat beside me, it's not normal."** (Boy 19 P)

A number of other participants demonstrated concern about how their church's teachings influenced their responses to lgb people and were reluctant to construe their responses to, and avoidance of gay people as homophobic but rather, suggested that their behaviour was based on unfamiliarity and politeness: **"It's not that I have anything against them, but it's that I wouldn't want to say anything that might offend them."** The majority of respondents in focus groups made very generalised and unsubstantiated statements: **"All the YMCA ones are bisexual"** (Girl 14 P), **"There's none in Taghnevan."** (Boy 15 C)

Whilst none of the focus groups were convened exclusively with young lesbian gay and bisexual people, a number of lgb youth were present in groups when outwardly homophobic comments were made and this led the conversations into issues about feelings of safety for others in the group. The impact and fear of both direct and indirect homophobia on families was brought up as a community safety issue in a number of focus groups:

"My brother moved away from Lurgan because of being gay - he'd loads of grief. He moved to Derry cos it's accepted there but no one accepts it here and so he was scared. Some of our family don't know yet. All my friends accept him, but it's all of the older generation who don't accept him. There's groups like everywhere that don't accept gay people and in a country area like Lurgan it's not accepted – he'd just get beat up." (Boy 16 P)

Drugs and Alcohol
The community safety issues that arise with drug and alcohol misuse by young people are well rehearsed. The families of some young people were aware that young people were drinking alcohol underage and felt they were promoting responsible drinking by allowing them to drink at home from the age of 15 onwards:

"Oh my mummy would rather we had a drink in the house than went out cos there's always trouble and it's not safe." (Girl 15 C)

Many respondents spoke of St Patrick's Day and of loyalist band parades as being times when they would expect to drink publicly **"We always go to get full on St Patrick's." "That's what band parade's about – you expect to get full and for a bit of trouble."** (Girl 16 C)

Drug experimentation was reported to be widespread amongst young people over the age of 16. Young people who openly talked about their own or their friends' use often blamed the lack of engaging youth activities for young adults as their reason for being involved in regular drug use:

"There's drugs 'cos there's nothing to do and everyone takes them." (Girl P 17)

"Everyone's trying them, you can buy Es for a pound a pop like." (Boy P 17)

"It all starts at school 'cos your mates do it and then you try it and everyone's doing it." (Boy C 18)

"In my school most people took them". (Girl C 18)

In a number of focus groups convened in schools participants talked about the increase of drug sales at lunchtime round the back of schools. Young people from rural areas talked about: **"There's no drugs in our area, anybody wants drugs you'd go to Lurgan to get them. We know people in school who would get them."** (Girl 15 C)

There appeared to be a lot of tolerance in particular given to smoking marijuana **"Everyone smokes weed, but I don't think weed's bad like."** (Girl 16 C)

Feeling Safe in Own Area
Table 10 records particular times of the day or week when young people said they may feel particularly unsafe in their own areas.

Almost half of all young people surveyed 'never' felt unsafe walking in and out of their own area

(49%). However, almost one-third of young people felt unsafe walking in and out of their own area at night at the weekend and when they were on their own. Feelings about a lack of safety at night on weekends is much more of a concern for young people than it is during the week, as only 11% of young people indicated that they felt unsafe in their own area at night during the week. There were few differences in perceptions of safety when analysed by community background, but feeling safe in their own areas appears to be more of a concern for girls than it does for boys. Table 11 records young people's perceptions of safety in their own area by gender.

Young females indicated that they are more likely to feel unsafe walking in and out of their own area when they are on their own than young males (40% compared to 18% of males). Young females are also more inclined than young males to feel unsafe walking around their own areas at night on weekends (37% compared to 23%). Young males are also more inclined to suggest that they 'never feel unsafe' walking around their own areas than are young females (65% compared to 39%).

In terms of age, young people aged between 14-15 years old were more likely to be afraid walking around their own areas on their own than are those young people aged 16-17 or 18-19. Comments in focus groups about community safety helped researchers to understand that much of the fear on particular estates was not unfounded or solely based on an areas' reputation for anti-social behaviour, but rather on actual experiences of being intimidated by low level bullying and anti-social behaviour, irrespective of the time of day and particularly for children at the lower end of the age scale participating in this research: **"I hate walking home past the bus shelter. They mess with you, I still get a wee bit scared. And they'll shout at you when they have drink on them, like 'Come here' and all."** (Girl 14 C)

Public Transport and Staying In Touch
Many young people commute in and out of Lurgan to attend school. The wearing of school uniforms on buses is considered further in Section

Table 10: Do you ever feel unsafe walking in and out of your own area?

	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Never	49	48	51
At night at the weekend	31	31	32
When I'm on my own	32	32	32
At night during the week	11	11	14
During the daytime	1	1	1
When with friends	1	1	1
Missing	2	1	2

N.B. Percentages do not total 100% as young people could tick more than one answer. The total number of Catholic and Protestant respondents do not correspond with the overall totals in the table as these figures do not include individuals from 'Other' or 'Mixed' community backgrounds.

4.7 on Education but it is noteworthy here that the timing at which they access public transport impacts on young people's feelings of safety as well as on their opportunities to socialise and 'be young'. A focus group conducted with young Catholics from Derrytrasna who use public transport to and from school in Lurgan, focussed on their frustrations and the safety issues associated with existing public transport:

"There's only three buses a day and two of them are before 10 o'clock. We have to get the first bus home after school so you can't do anything really – you can't meet your friends or do any clubs 'cos if you miss the bus you're stuffed and it's just not safe." (Girl 16 P)

A significant majority of those spoken to as part of the research were all mobile phone owners. Texting and talking were considered key to being able to connect and build relationships. However, a number of focus group participants from some rural areas commented on the poor mobile signals in their areas which not only restricted their opportunities to socialise, but could leave them feeling vulnerable and isolated:

"See if you can't get a signal and you've missed the bus, or someone doesn't turn up – it can be difficult sometimes. It's not like you can go to a phone box, or ask to borrow someone else's phone." (Boy 16 C)

Table 11: Do you ever feel unsafe walking in and out of your own area?

	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Never	49	65	39
At night at the weekend	31	23	37
When I'm on my own	32	18	40
At night during the week	11	9	13
During the daytime	1	1	1
When with friends	1	1	2
Missing	2	2	1

N.B. Percentages do not total 100% as young people could tick more than one answer.

5.5 Community Tension Triggers

There is a long history of tension between young people, other residents and the police in Lurgan. Young people feel they are demonised by older people and the authorities and are often accused of being the principal protagonists for anti-social activity in Lurgan. They consider this accusation to be a reflection of how wider society tends to relate to and demonise young people and in no small way contributes to the escalation of community tensions in the area. By way of a counterpoint to this perspective and, as discussed in previous sections, a number of respondents raised concerns about how intimidated they are by what they perceive to be adult anti-social behaviour in public spaces that they like to use. They considered that this is rarely a topic for discussion which warrants any attention in the media or by the police.

No focus groups were convened exclusively with those who had been imprisoned or who had been arrested for sectarian related offences. Some of the participants discussed being responsible for graffiti and urban art in the town. A number of the participants in focus groups conducted on Kilwilkie had been charged and arrested and many produced multiple warrant sheets for minor driving offences. They felt that they were being targeted by the police and that this increased tensions between their peers and the PSNI.

Alcohol use was something that the majority of young people had experimented with by an early age. The sharing of fake identity and alcohol was a big part of many young people's social life. The questionnaire statistics indicate that 135 young people (11%) had their first alcoholic drink by the age of 11 or 12 (although this may have involved a sip of their parents' drink at dinner). More than one-fifth (22%) of young people had their first drink aged 13-14, while 116 young people (9%) had not yet sampled an alcoholic drink. 462 young people (37%) said that they 'never drank', while 264 young people drank at weekends (21%).

Some young people were very open about owning anti-social behaviour as it specifically related to substance abuse: 773 young people (62%) felt

that drug use was an issue which increased tensions in Lurgan, while similar numbers of young people felt that underage drinking could increase community tensions in Lurgan (762 young people or 61%).

Lurgan Park is seen to be a place where many young people chose to go specifically to drink with an end result in mind of either socialising or fighting with others using the same space:

"You start off with your carry out and you're at one end, but once you're drunk you meet in the middle." (Girl 16 C)

"You go out to get drunk." "Anytime we go and buy drink you aim to get drunk and you expect there to be some big drama at the end." (Girl 16 P)

There was an unashamed degree of pride in the level of alcohol consumption that they undertook:

"I think we're nearly beating England here (laughter) **- must try harder."** (Girl 16 P)

Given the perceived centrality of young people to anti-social behaviour in the town, different members of the research team met with the PSNI on a number of occasions and asked them to provide figures for the numbers of cautions, arrests and convictions there had been in Lurgan over the previous five year period in relation to young people and anti-social behaviour. It is noteworthy that this was not forthcoming, nor was it possible to acquire figures for any attacks on young people. Young people's relationship with the police will be discussed further in the following section.

The term rioting appears to have different meanings for different groups of people varying in degrees of severity. On all occasions rioting was understood to be aimed at the police rather than at other communities. One group of young people in their late teens discussed making paint bombs for fun when they were younger and how the highlight of an otherwise dull day on the estate would be to lob them at a passing Landrover:

"I've never been caught, but when we were younger, if one just drove past you'd be waiting to just throw things at it and then everyone started doing it for the craic." (Boy 19 C)

The PSNI response to policing in the community was often perceived to be heavy handed particularly in response to low levels of violence. A number of events throughout the year can act as a catalyst to trigger an increase in anti-social behaviour, not least band parades. Addressing this can only reach a successful conclusion with the buy-in of the bands forum, community activists and the Loyal Orders.

Sporting Events

Several groups were specially convened with participants who were active sportsmen and women and whose dedication to their sport was paramount. They discussed how sport can provide a structured way for young people to engage with one another and how there are opportunities for participants from different communities to meet at sporting venues and events in Lurgan. However as sport, rather than community relations is the focus of clubs and their membership, young people acknowledged that brokering gaps between communities is not a priority for the majority of clubs and that the segregated nature of how sport is taught and accessed in schools and communities means that despite a desire by some to engage in cross-community sporting events, there are too few opportunities to do so.

Adults connected to sports clubs are keen to point out the many cross-community events and programmes that they were involved with to address sectarianism and racism in sport, as well as their shared use of pitches and facilities providing the researchers with many examples of when this does occur. One such example cited was the Game of Three Halves initiative between the Irish Football Association, Ulster Rugby and the GAA, run by PeacePlayers International. The programme brings together Catholic and Protestant young people who are coached by staff from the three sporting governing bodies. In between the sports coaching stations, PeacePlayers International hold community relations sessions with the young people discussing flags and emblems and the negative impacts of prejudice and stereotyping. The programme builds upon PeacePlayers previous work, which traditionally uses basketball as a means of bringing together Protestant and Catholic children and young people to talk about community relations issues in a safe and managed environment.

Young sportsmen and women from different communities and schools rarely play on the same team and the competitive element can sometimes prove to be the opportunity for spectators to vent their frustrations through crowd responses:

"I got chased one night by Glenavon fellas – there was a match and there was about 90 of us 'cos Lurgan Celtic were playing Glenavon in Mourneview. You keep up your adrenalin buzz after the match that way." (Boy 17 C)

Young participants were keen to try and find solutions to this and suggested optimistically that this might be addressed through restructuring teams and matches:

"We need to learn how to play in the same teams, not play against each other because you get too competitive and that means you're only playing to beat someone rather than play with them." (Boy 14 P)

A number of football players as well as spectators talked about no longer being interested in playing against certain teams because of anti-social behaviour:

"I've had lots of abuse and of people throwing things at me. One time I was playing football with my team, Glenavon at Craigavon City and they just threw money and plastic bottles. I was pretty scared because you couldn't go nowhere, you were just on the pitch." (Boy 16 P)

5.6 Relations With The Psni

The questionnaire data indicated that 466 young people (38%) had been in contact with the PSNI during the past twelve months. Levels of contact were broadly similar amongst young Catholics and Protestants (38% and 37%). Young males were more inclined than young females however to have had contact with the police (47% compared to 32%).

In terms of why they had been in contact with the PSNI, 176 young people (14%) had been involved in education programmes, 157 young people (13%) had been stopped and questioned, 58 had been the victim of a crime (5%), 55 young people had witnessed a crime (4%), 43 young people had been arrested (3%), while 26 had been asked to produce driving documents (2%). Of those 157 young people who said they had been stopped and questioned by the PSNI, 108 were young Catholics (69%) and a further 125 young people said they had been asked to move on by the police (10%).

Interaction between the police and young people can be divided into three types:

a) adversarial (eg being told to move on, being stopped and questioned or asked to produce documents):
b) cooperative (eg being a victim of or witness to crime); and
c) social/educational outreach (eg taking part in events sponsored or attended by the police).

During the course of the research, this last category (c) was much evident with a small team of officers (both in uniform and non-uniformed) present and actively engaged with young people at a number of events attended by the research team. PSNI officers were keen to evidence the extent of their outreach work with young people and there was much mention of the success of programmes they partnered or led on. There were many young people happy to endorse the value of participating in programmes such as YEP (Youth Empowerment Programme) and who were comfortable in conversation with individual officers.

However their attendance at events was sometimes met with a mixed reception and on three occasions the research team witnessed young people leaving the room specifically because they did not want to be in the police's presence. Adults minimised this as acts of bravado — but the young people demonstrated deep rooted and conflicted emotions about the police service as an institution when discussing this with the researchers later. In one focus group a young person talked extensively about having no reluctance or remorse about the validity of killing police officers; his views, whilst not endorsed by others in the group, were uncontested. Only a small number of those spoken to in focus groups talked openly about having had family members in the police.

A number of young people felt that the police were even handed and spoke courteously to them. However, a general 'gripe' within focus groups was to complain about how the police would tend to only initiate conversations with them in order to question them about, or to remove alcohol from them - and a number were reluctant to recognise that their underage drinking constituted an offence:

"They're not too bad but they shouldn't be allowed to take your drink and pour it out in front of you if they don't give you your money back — it's not up to them." (Girl 17 P)

The PSNI were unpopular with a number of young people who felt that their backgrounds or the area in which they lived or they socialised in meant they were 'targeted' by particular officers. Some discussed how the reputation of particular family members coloured the police's view of them unfairly:

"My dad has the same name as me, and he would have been known to them. So whenever they picked me up they were brutal and all the time kept going on about my dad and trying to provoke me." (Male 20 C)

Other young people who had no previous

interaction with the Police and had no particular interest in them, tended to be of the general view that the PSNI had a reputation for not intervening in conflict-related settings, including when violence or rioting is taking place:

"I've never had anything to do with them, but if you seen them when there's rioting at the railway line, they don't really do anything to stop it until it actually stopped of its own accord." (Male 18 C)

"They're not hands on enough. They're afeared for themselves I'd say." (Male 15 P)

"Whenever someone's getting stuck in, they just stand back and let them beat the ** out of each other rather in case they get a dig."** (Girl 16 C)

When discussing how the PSNI don't 'put their selves out' in a riot or potentially violent situation, one Protestant male who had family members who had served in the Police suggested that their health and safety was more important than that of citizens:

"They don't want to get hurt — but they shouldn't avoid it. The RUC would have handled it - year's ago - they'd have dived on and hit them with one of them auld batons, but now they just stand back and shoot 2 or 3 auld rubber bullets in the air." (laughter)

It is noteworthy that when the RUC was renamed this participant would have been aged three and so it is likely that this statement is based in part on family and community narratives.

There were mixed perceptions of the Police Service as an impartial organisation. 761 (61%) young people believed the PSNI were 'evenly balanced' between the Catholic and Protestant communities. While 80% of young Protestants believed the PSNI were evenly balanced, only 54% of young Catholics believed the police were balanced. And while only 9% of young Protestants felt the PSNI were 'too Catholic', 41% of young Catholics felt the PSNI were 'too Protestant'.

"They always think you're up to something. If you're up the roundabout they always stop you — but you never hear about them doing that at the more Protestant end of the town.

The police trust them more. They're more from their community." (Male 15 C)

As discussed previously in the section on identity, young people's perspectives were often based on family narratives being passed through the generations.

One Catholic young woman (aged 15) talked about her perspective of the police being biased towards Protestants solely due to her mother's experiences many years ago:

"My mummy lived down in Gawley's Gate, way way out in the country and when the police used to stop you and ask you where you lived, my mummy used to have to say Aghalee, because one time she didn't say Aghalee and they kept her there all through the night because she didn't say Aghalee. Even though that was back in the Troubles I still think it would be true now."

Relationships between young people and the police could sometimes be fluid. A group of Catholics aged 15-16 were asked whether they felt comfortable talking with the police who were keen at the time of the research to work with young people in their own environments. The response was as follows:

Q: **Do you feel comfortable talking to the Police?**
A: **Oh yeah.**
Q: **What about here?**
   (on the Kilwilkie estate)
F 1: **Well, no.**
M 1: **It depends who was watching.**
F 2: **Yeah, it would depend who seen you talking to them — the police are 'targets' — so they will think you are telling on them and they will target you and you might be dead the next week.**

5.7 Education

1178 of the respondents to the questionnaire were currently enrolled at school (95%). In terms of training provision, 17 young people attended Southern Regional College while a further 16 young people attended WADE Training. The majority of young people in the survey were studying for GCSEs (680 young people or 55%). A further 385 young people were studying for AS or A2 levels (31%).

372 (30%) young people said that school was the main way in which they met people from a different community than their own. Young Protestants (36%) were slightly more inclined to say that they met Catholic young people in school than the reverse (28%).

Because entrance to grammar schools is done on academic criteria, an ethos of elitism is invariably attached to them. De facto, many of those who do not 'make the grade' express feelings of disappointment at not being selected. In relation to the Dixon Plan which saw selection at the age of 14, some young people commented on how break up of friendships at that later age was more devastating than were they to have occurred earlier:

"She said when she went to St Michael's she'd not change and now she doesn't talk to us or nothing – it's really, really sad 'cos we were friends for so many years." (Girl 15 C)

The role that this played in sporting activities was also noted: **"We never could get a really good team together – we split up when we moved up here and now we don't get a chance to play any more." "It's a real pity because we would have been better if they were on it."** (Boy 16 C)

The research team were unable to gain access to pupils through the integrated school in Craigavon, but a number of those young people spoken to had been educated from within that sector and each of them were committed to sending their children to integrated schools.

A number of those who had not been at integrated schools talked about wishing there were more integrated schools:

"There should be a whole lot more integrated schools especially around Lurgan where there's so much conflict." (Girl 16 P)

"I don't think I'd want to rear my kids as Catholics, I'd definitely send them to an integrated school." (Girl 20 C)

Others felt concerned about what they saw as being potential areas for conflict in the integrated sector:

"If you have shared school you shouldn't have religion class or people should be in different classrooms." (Girl 16 P)

"If there was Protestants in the school people would be arguing about what you believe in and all, and there'd maybe be fighting and things." (Girl 15 C)

As none of the focus groups were conducted with young people attending integrated schools participants tended to be educated within a predominantly single identity context. When asked where young people felt they would educate their own children, a wide range of responses was received. Their views were on a spectrum that ranged from a number who endorsed the system in which they were being educated, and a considerable amount of others who felt that a more integrated system would be preferable.

None of the participants had been educated through the Irish language sector but some valued the richness that educational opportunity would bring:

"I would love to send my child to an Irish school – I don't think I'd want them to learn about religion but their culture is very important." (Girl 16 C)

Cross-Community Engagement
The history, value of, and their own commitment to cross community programmes since the EMU

programme onwards was raised by a large number of educationalists throughout the course of the research. The researchers were provided with a number of generic and tailored resources developed to address cultural diversity. The majority of young people from all the schooling systems were keen to take part in activities that might bring themselves into contact with people from other schools:

"See if you could work in groups like community service, but not community service, it would be good. So for example, we could do Enrichment and instead of going to a Day Care Centre just from our school to work with the older people, we could do it with another school too." (Girl 16 C)

The majority of young people being educated through CCMS were keen to establish links with others being educated in the state system. During the course of the research, a programme was being built between Lurgan College and St Michael's which was due to culminate in a joint residential trip to the Vatican. The research team were able to observe and engage with both staff and pupils involved in the trip as they prepared for it both in the school environment and whilst attending a residential principally focussed on building good relations and recognising and addressing issues which caused community tensions such as parading, flags, policing. All participants spoken with found the experience a positive and enjoyable one – many spoke of the benefits of the programme and contact being developed over a long period of time which was unusual:

"We didn't just dive into it – it's taken weeks and months to get to know people, and this residential just consolidates that the trip is going to be all the better for that." (Boy 16 P)

History Lessons
In addition to the role families play in embedding politics and community history in young people's consciousness, the role of the education system in this process was highlighted by the participants "**We learn about it in our history class. We**

learn about the rioting and all, and the police were involved." (Girl 15 C)

School Uniforms
During several focus groups the researcher's were told how pupils believed wearing uniforms encouraged sectarian attacks: **"I remember it was snowing once and they were throwing snow balls at us, just because of our uniforms."** (Girl P 14)

Sectarianism tends to be seen as the default motive and a defining feature of any negative or ambivalent action. Consequently, there is no room for any other 'normal' interpretation such as local school rivalries or simply 'pranking' about and actions that might be seen as joking, or relatively harmless in another situation or location can escalate into dangerous myths. This can be exemplified in two people's responses to the same incident:

"They would always wait so they could throw snowballs at our school buses when they come up to the station" (Girl 15 P)

"Aye, and they always put stones in the snowballs just so they can smash the windows of the bus." (Boy 15 P)

Bullying
Young people discussed how schools had undertaken rigorous anti-bullying work and some schools displayed posters of Lifeline and Contact NI. However for some young people it was not always possible to pick up on or stop some people's bullying and they felt that existing policies were inadequate to address the levels of bullying experienced by some because of the implications outside the school gates:

"I used to get bullied by XXX – she used to spit on me. She spat on me because I was eating cheese beside her and she hit me on the back of my head and pushed my face into my food and I got it all over me. Everyone knew it – but nobody could do anything about it because of who she was and her family." (Girl 17 C)

'Banter', 'slegging', 'slabbering', 'teasing' are all seen to be part of day to day dynamics in schools and not automatically as bullying. Because, in the main, schools are segregated in terms of religion and sometimes gender, the principal form of diversity to be found within schools tends to be in terms of ethnicity or national background. Teasing was rarely interpreted as being racist either by the perpetrators or by those on the receiving end:

"I don't know why they were slabbering at her - probably because of something she done in class, not because she was Polish." (Girl 16 C)

"Bitchiness is the biggest thing in this school – it doesn't matter who you are or where you come from." (Girl 15 C)

Sport in Schools
A number of projects had been run in schools to try and widen out the appeal of sports not traditionally played in those schools: **"I wouldn't mind doing the rugby – but the school doesn't do it"** - yet these did not appear to be sustained due to a variety of structural challenges.

5.8 Engagement with Youth Service Provision

Although 430 young people (35%) said they never used any youth provision, many other young people made regular use of the many youth groups and facilities in the town.

The Practitioner's Forum, which was heavily involved in the questions included in the survey used for this research, comprised members from The Links, Clann Eireann, The Lurgan Youth Annexe, Taghnevan Youth Club, Lurgan YMCA, the Jethro Centre and members of the Southern Education and Library Board and Craigavon Borough Council. Focus groups were held in each facility and the views expressed below were drawn not just from those attending these, but from other young people who may or may not have used the facilities (See Table 12 below).

Youth work in Lurgan is right at the intersection between community relations, cultural education and civic participation with a number of converging models of practice spanning rights based approaches and psycho-social personal development. Senior practitioners from there are respected by their peers from outside the area:

"I would say they have been at the cutting edge of youth work for years now"

"He has developed some of the most innovative work in Northern Ireland" (Comments from youth workers in Belfast and North East Education and Library Board areas).

The youth sector in Lurgan and the surrounding area is rich with professional and committed staff and volunteers who regularly receive in service training. They work in many of the well-resourced youth service provisions which are to be found both in the town centre and in its surrounding estates. Much good work is on-going with the uniformed sector and within church and faith based spaces. In some cases estates can have more than one provision and this can mean that projects tend to compete for membership and

issues of competition and parochialism can serve young people both positively and negatively providing a challenge for practitioners to consider how their resources might best be maximised.

An audit of youth services in the area would uncover a duplication of services which practitioners argue is essential because of the location of some of the facilities. There is a culture of parochialism on some estates with young people reluctant to engage in projects out of their residential areas despite incentives such as free transport to do so.

In an ideal world, youth service provision would be spaces which young people from diverse backgrounds feel confident about sharing. In Lurgan this is rarely the case. There are myriad opportunities for young people to meet others from different facilities and communities at a variety of well-resourced resources, indoor and outdoor locations, at drop-in sessions and as part of homework and after school facilities with additional opportunities to take part in organised and informal activities in both uniformed and non-uniformed provisions, based at sports clubs, in church and at secular locations. However, the reality is that with relatively few exceptions, youth work tends to be best attended when delivered within single-identity situations. Consequently, many service providers work with young people from one of the main communities and while there is an aspiration to improve communication and interaction among young people from different communities, the youth workers suggest that this can often prove difficult to initiate, organise and sustain. As much of the youth work taking place in Lurgan is flourishing in single-identity situations, flexibility and organic growth outside that context is limited.

As a result, lip service to joined-up and partnership working is paid in the face of continued sectarian segregation. A recent DFA funded collaboration between Clann Eireann and the Youth Annexe in Mourneview provides a welcome counterpoint to this. Yet despite this and rhetoric to the contrary, the status quo is maintained by those for whom

territorial fiefdoms, parental conservatism and community norms feed into a limited capacity (and in some instances desire) to deliver sustained cross community and inter-practitioner working. All too often the rationale of **'they won't come out of the area'**, **'there's been an incident that's set us back'**, **'we've tried, but they're just not interested'**, **'we couldn't guarantee they'd be safe when they leave'**, were offered to the researchers as legitimate reasons for youth service providers not being able to be pro-active in building bridges with other young people. And despite an often cited 'it's the parents who are reluctant' the constraints of the youth service practice determine that there are relatively few trans-generational programmes or family-led initiatives to build confidence.

The youth service uses a community relations terminology as a frame of reference for programmes of work: 'inclusion', 'diversity', 'reconciliation', 'participation', 'civic engagement' are familiar buzz words to adults and young people alike. However in practice, youth workers appear to find these difficult to translate from aspirational aims into practical outcomes. This is partially because of limited resourcing, but also because of not being able to find a successful way to challenge the status quo in some communities which are constrained by a fear of change. Single-identity organisations and schools are prepared to partner with others around short term set piece encounters, for example the creation of a shared identity mural, a cross border trip based on exploring contested histories, or a residential to introduce different sporting traditions. But these encounters are rarely sustained or built on and if so, they require considerable amount of negotiation, subsidy, intervention, management and facilitation by adults already constrained by budget and funding restrictions, inflexible calendars, schedules and existing organisational work-plans allow little room for spontaneity. The paucity of rigorous and reflective evaluations of the curriculum does not appear to help critique programme development and practices nor to stop any existing inconsistencies, gaps and inefficiencies in organisations.

Some young people are serial youth service travellers moving from one facility to another over the years for a number of reasons that also apply to young people elsewhere, namely:

· friendship changes;
· activities being introduced or dropped;
· family pressures to use other services;
· friends moving away;
· moving house/school;
· tiring of a facility's routine - which is described as 'boredom'.

However many others are less interested or confident at moving between facilities and can have an unfounded and untested fear of other provisions that relate to inter-community tensions in Lurgan rather than specific facilities:

"There's no Protestants use it any more — you wouldn't want to be the only one walking in." (Boy 18 P)

Some young people talked about certain youth clubs having the reputation for attracting specific sub-groups:

"If we went down there, you'd just get looked at cos like you're a chav and you'd feel so uncomfortable like. They call us chavs." (Girl 16 C)

"There's another youth club up there where all the Goths go — that's the YMCA. They're not really Goths, like grungers, rockers but they're not like us. They wouldn't wear colourful clothes, like they'd all be in black." (Girl 16 P)

"Only the churchy ones goes to Jethro Centre. It's all very nice and churchy — I know cos I went once — that was enough for me." (Girl 17 P)

Some young people are encouraged into engaging in the youth service by detached youth workers:

"They would be more to get people off the streets and if you talk to them they try to bring you away on trips. And they encourage you to do like sleepovers and all in the clubs. Like the girls all stay over and if they've got any funfairs you'd go to it, and you'd go to the cinema and ice skating too." (Girl 14 Catholic)

It was suggested by one youth worker that some young people were reluctant to engage with formal youth work provisions which they consider to have an implicit and strong religious component in their programme. However it is a common misconception that the users of facilities like the Links, YMCA or Jethro Centre with links to a Protestant Christian tradition all come from that community background. The user profile of young people attached to these projects is mixed and not static. Perhaps surprisingly in the case of the YMCA project which has its roots in evangelical Christianity, the current profile of users is around 80% Catholic.

140 (11%) young people referred explicitly to using church based youth provisions. A further 262 young people (21%) attended LINKS which is affiliated with the Emmanuel Church, while 235 young people (19%) had been to the YMCA in the centre of the town and 117 (9%) attended Jethro Centre; all of which have an explicit faith based remit within their curriculum. Although equal proportions of young Catholics and Protestants said that LINKS was a facility that both communities could use (21% respectively), 23% of Catholics and only 8% of Protestants said that the YMCA was a venue for everyone in the town.

It was noticeable that young people in focus groups who attended church-based youth facilities were as likely to have been engaged in cross-community activities as other young people. Significant cross-community work was being attempted by youth and family workers in faith settings primarily with their membership. Those who attended youth facilities associated to Protestant churches were unlikely to socialise in places where alcohol was consumed and so the youth club became the central core of their social life rather than just a facet of it.

The questionnaire results and the focus groups identified that many young Protestants (40%) prefer the church-related youth groups to other youth service provisions. Conversely, only 2% of Catholics used church youth clubs. The reasons for this disparity are unclear. Focus group discussions indicated that attending church-based facilities tend not to bring young people into conflict with their parents but still gives them the opportunity to meet people from the opposite sex:

"I met my boyfriend there"

"We go there cos there's just a wee bit of worship and a wee talk for about 10 or 15 minutes and after that then you get to relax with your friends – that's how you get to meet boys (laughter)**."** (Girl 15 P)

The geographical location of some provisions on estates which have long established community hierarchies based on loyalist paramilitarism or republicanism are considered by some to be inaccessible not simply because of poor inter-community perceptions and experiences, but also due to intra-community hurdles.

This can be for a variety of reasons including:

· perceived political allegiances of the organisers;
· activities taking place there;
· activities not taking place there;
· access and routes into and out of centres or sports facilities;
· other users coming from a different sub-groups;
· assumptions that the provision is only for those from a single-identity background;
· a combination of all of the above.

Despite having good amenities and facilities on estates, some young people who are resident there, and in particular those who come from different sub-groups (LGBT youth, Scene kids, Grungers, Goths and Indies etc) choose to socialise outside their areas precisely because they want to actively disassociate themselves from other young people in the area and associate with other like-minded young people.

However it is noteworthy that the financial costs of socialising outside their residential areas can be problematic for all young people and particularly so for those who are living independently, are

Table 12: Do you use any of the following youth services?

	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Sports club	13	12	8
Clann Eireann	12	14	-
Church Youth group	11	1	14
Jethro Centre	9	2	26
LINKS	9	5	8
Scouts/Guides	6	Less than 1%	3
Youth Annexe	5	Less than 1%	9
Taghnevan Youth Club	5	4	-
YMCA	4	4	3
Community Centre	4	2	Less than 1%
Drop-in	4	1	2
BB/GB	2	Less than 1%	2
I never use any of these	35	41	17

unemployed, disabled or have been relocated onto particular estates after living in supported accommodation in other areas. Consequently youth service providers often find themselves in the role of bus driver more often than they would like. The manager of one youth provision stated:

"Bonds can't necessarily continue when people are relocated into what are distinct Catholic or Protestant areas. All the good work that they do in terms of engagement and understanding of each other is undone as soon as they are housed on an estate where they become enmeshed."

Despite good intentions, a number of the projects or clubs which are explicitly set up to be cross community, can sometimes find themselves 'top heavy' with membership from one community:

"I used to go to XX. It's like a cross community project and you did different activities and we went on a residential. There was only four of us were Catholic and the rest were Protestant — there were 20 of us. I'd see them around, and say hello, but we weren't all that close."

However as a result of focus groups which took place in a number of these provisions, it was also apparent that former adversaries across the community divides were often enabled to become friends as a direct result of attending the provisions: **"He hit him before (indicates two boys in the room), but now they come here and they are friends."**

A considerable number of young people in focus groups who were reluctant to move out of their areas to engage in programmes and activities that would bring them in contact with people from other communities, talked about their lack of 'trust' in people from other communities. Levels of trust appeared to be low and much of the talk in focus groups was based on supposition and assumptions rather than being rooted in events which people had participated in. Interviews and discussions in focus groups, with statutory service

providers and with the Young Ambassador group, indicate that there is often an expectation that those young people who are living in the most disadvantaged areas are at risk of engagement with criminal justice agencies and that those who have disengaged from youth service provision are the most likely to be sectarian and engage in sectarian behaviour:

"The chavs down the bus centre, they would start if a Prod came into Kilwilkie - they would actually go ape shit like, they would go mad so they would, and they don't even know why they don't like them." (Girl 17 C)

However these assumptions must be tempered with the findings of the survey and other focus groups which indicate that sectarian attitudes and behaviour are evident amongst young people irrespective of their circumstances:

"I don't want anything to do with them. You can't trust them. Because you don't know them or what they're thinking, one text and they could have a group of people round them." (Grammar School Boy 18)

None of the members of one focus group comprising young males between 15 and 18 who lived and went to a youth club on a Catholic/Republican estate had ever met any Protestant boys and did not want to. Whilst none of them had been subject to any attacks or sectarian behaviour, they remained clear that they would not feel comfortable meeting Protestants/Loyalists.

5.9 Young People's Additional Concerns

Young people were keen to raise issues in the focus groups that were not determined by the terms of reference. While segregation was the primary concern (see Table 13), many other concerns were outside the area of segregation and conflict. The context in which they were living, including fears of limited job prospects and the uncertainties of their academic and economic future, were dark shadows hanging over many, irrespective of their backgrounds. It is noteworthy that many talked about how they were actively (but unsuccessfully) seeking part time employment to prepare for the university fees that were being introduced at the time of the research. The fees, in turn, were impacting on the choices they felt they could make in terms of whether they could study further and, if so, whether they would stay or leave Lurgan. Economic dependence was raised often with conversations revealing different levels of understanding about their eligibility for EMA, job seekers allowance and other benefits related to work and study.

How to develop and sustain self esteem in different situations was an issue that young people talked about frequently. For some of the participants, acknowledging things they were unhappy about in their personal appearance and degrees of friendships were issues that weren't particularly high on their agendas but yet were raised spontaneously in a number of groups. The issue of suicide was raised on a number of occasions.

"My friend's 17 and she's two kids." (Girl 16 C) In several groups, where girls had friends who had been pregnant, there were conversations about sexual relationships, being a young parent and of choices to be made in these circumstances. These did not occur in groups with boys in them.

Arguably as a process of self-preservation, young people displayed limited sympathy and empathy for those who participate in self harming behaviours but recognised it was something that occurred frequently: **"There's loads of people in our school do it. Someone of them might have problems but most of them they're just attention seeking, they roll up their sleeves to be seen."** (Girl 17 C)

Consultation fatigue was an issue that arose on a number of occasions: **"I don't know how many questionnaires like this we've filled out and nothing gets done." "When we were in St Mary's about 6 years ago we started doing it and then it makes you just not bother to fill them out properly."** Young people did not feel that there would necessarily be an alignment between the consultation and any further actions; it was suggested that consultation was more about lip service rather than any actual decision making about their lives: **"They'll just do what they were going to do all along. You spend so much time doing it and then they ignore us"** and **"They'll put on things in the town for younger people and families, but there's nothing for us."** (Boys C 19)

While the use and misuse of alcohol has been considered both in relation to the PSNI and in terms of community safety, young people were keen to expand on this and consider how alcohol use was prevalent in the town. They identified a number of spaces where they go to drink undisturbed by adults and it was reported by many as both a matter of fact and also with a sense of pride that: **"If you walk up XXX on a Sunday morning, there's just rows of half empty Buckfast"** and that **"Sunday's are so quiet because everyone's hung over!"** (Boy 15 C)

Fear of Offending and Avoidance

Earlier in the report it was acknowledged that as a result of myriad reasons, including schooling and parental pressure, many young people do not take the opportunity to meet with other young people from across the community divide. Young people often talked about how not knowing someone from a different community meant that they were afraid of 'causing offence' and of not knowing how to respond to others. Consequently they

Table 13: Areas of most concern for young people

	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Drug Use	67	70	62
Segregation	67	64	76
Fighting with 'Other' community	66	63	74
Crime	61	60	69
Employment/Unemployment	42	46	32
Racism	39	34	49
Money	38	38	37
Mental Health	17	16	17
Transport	9	8	11

actively avoided seeking out relationships with people from different community backgrounds. This response is interpreted by the research team as exemplifying what might be described as a culture of 'polite avoidance' – a process which validates young people living their lives in silos.

A junior member of an Orange Lodge talked about this segregation being determined mostly by circumstances but also partly by choice. He discussed feelings of not knowing how 'to respond' to Catholics:

"I think I would just feel awkward, in case I'd say the wrong thing." (Boy 15 P)

Avoiding the 'unknown' was also used to justify not engaging with new migrants and people from other ethnicities. The following comment was made in a mixed gender focus group of Protestant 15/16 year olds:

"You have to get to know them first - there's one guy I know, he's 100%, I got on with him the very best – but I tend to stay away from them cos I'm afeard of offending them" (a general discussion in agreement with this statement followed). A number of young Protestants in another focus groups felt that their strong faith commitment and the evangelical traditions within it precluded them from being able to connect easily with those from other faiths: **"Because I come from a Christian background I might say something that would annoy them or hurt them or start an argument or something or cause them to feel uncomfortable in the first place."**

RECOMMENDATIONS

Young people who contributed to the development of this Community Dialogue Tool were clear that they want to play their part in the economic and social regeneration of Lurgan. They see participation in these processes as having the potential to both develop their skills and to increase their and others' civic pride in Lurgan town. To that end, these recommendations have been developed to encourage deeper links between all those stakeholders in young people. They have been formulated with the principles of consultation, engagement and sustained partnership working with young people to the fore.

The recommendations are presented in a format that follows the headings outlined in the findings section of the Tool, but are prefaced by this one overarching recommendation that urges all those stakeholders in the implementation of the community dialogue tool, to sign up to, embed and mainstream engagement with young people into their operational planning and that an annual review of their collaborative work be undertaken.

Perceptions of the Town

There is a need for private and public sponsorship to build on shared public events in the town plaza designed to appeal as much to young adults as they are geared to families and which in turn might be used to lever the participation of young people in civic responsibility duties.

A programme of Civic activities with a focus on shared and common goals be initiated by Council to consider issues of cohesion and to build civic pride and participation amongst young people.

A series of study visits be undertaken with young people to enable them to visit and exchange with other divided and contested spaces internationally.

Identity

Good Relations and Educational providers to scope the potential for a dedicated programme of work promoting inter generational dialogue in families and communities. "Talking about the Past" would aim to address the impact of fear and the threat of sectarian behaviours passed down to young people unintentionally.

As part of any confidence and capacity building programmes with young people, key cultural organisations including Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland and GAA be encouraged to raise awareness and inform debates about local history and culture and the shared and contested components. The forthcoming decade of commemorations can provide an opportunity for Council and youth service to help shape this process.

Shared and Mixed Spaces in Lurgan

A broader participation strategy be implemented by statutory bodies to impart information to young people about consultations and plans in relation to the use and regeneration, design and development of public spaces in particular those used by young people.

Consideration be given to how young people can participate in quality sports and leisure activities including the transport they require to access these facilities in light of the closing of spaces and of the high prices demanded by both public and private amenities.

Consideration be given to the views of young people as to what facilities and location can make the town a more shared and appealing space for them and for the general regeneration of Lurgan.

Community Safety

There is a need to find specific spaces for young lesbian, gay and bisexual and black and minority ethnic people to feel safe in and to raise awareness, through training programmes, of their rights and experiences and develop good relations programmes to reduce fear levels and perceived threats.

Relationships with PSNI

Policing and community safety initiatives need to be genuinely accountable to communities. Police statistics in relation to crimes against and perpetrated by young people should not just be recorded but the numbers of cautions/arrests/warrants issued to young people be easily accessible. The Policing and Community Safety Partnerships must recognise that young people represent a distinct constituency.

Schools

Those young males who are connected to band culture, those who are at risk of social exclusion and of anti-social behaviour will be direct beneficiaries from the reintroduction of educational programmes linked to practical employability related skills - eg Driving opportunities, fork lift licenses, stewarding opportunities.

The process for embedding Community Relations Equality and Diversity (CRED) policy within the curriculum is in place. This needs to be availed of by schools in the town and to be recognised as core in-service training for teachers.

Shared working is taking place. These projects and programmes need to be built upon and where there are gaps initiatives need to be developed and tabled into strategic and action planning as part of any annual school calendar including shared celebrations of achievement.

Work across the education sector should continue to build on collaborative working including the sharing of resources and expertise and joint planning between provisions.

Youth Service

The youth Service should proactively develop with statutory partners more ways to secure the views of young people without destabilising or duplication of existing mechanisms.

A joint forum for statutory service providers should provide a rotating secretariat role to further good practice between youth service providers and other key stakeholders in young people. This should include: supporting the Practitioners' Forum to commit to the co-ordination of an annual programme of activities; shared training for staff; a young leadership programme; and the organisation of a showcase of shared working across youth work providers in the town.

Youth Service Providers should be more rigorously encouraged and supported to share resources and facilities. They should be held to account for any duplication of services including an audit of youth work initiatives that take young people off site to share existing resources in other provisions.

To ensure the sustainability of existing good practice in youth service provisions, the Lurgan Town Project must be mainstreamed into all council business and statutory service providers' operational plans along with award winning resources such as the Before Our Time project.

APPENDIX

Lurgan Community Dialogue Tool

This questionnaire has been designed by the Institute for Conflict Research (ICR) for the Southern Education and Library Board (SELB) and all the information and **contact details will be held in the strictest confidence.**

Demographics

1. Are you? ☐ Male ☐ Female

2. How old are you?

Under 14 ☐ 14-15 ☐ 16-17 ☐ 18-19 ☐ 20-21 ☐ Over 21 ☐

3. In terms of the two main communities in Northern Ireland are you considered to be (tick one)

☐ A member of the Catholic community
☐ A member of the Protestant community
☐ Mixed community background
☐ Other (state) ....

4. What is your postcode (e.g. BT66 1DP)

BT ....

If you don't know your postcode, what area do you live in? (state)

....

5. Would you descibe where you live as (tick one):

☐ Mainly Catholic
☐ Mainly Protestant
☐ A mixed area
☐ Don't Know

6. Do you see yourself as (tick all that apply):

☐ British
☐ Irish
☐ Northern Irish
☐ Other (state) ....

7. Are you currently (tick all that apply)

☐ At school
☐ At college
☐ At university
☐ Working part-time
☐ Working full-time
☐ In full time training e.g. apprenticeship
☐ On Benefits (which ones) ....
....
☐ Other (please state) ....

8. If you are working, what are you working as? (write in)

....

9. Which of the following methods of transport do you use most frequently? (tick one)

☐ Drive myself by car
☐ Get lift by car
☐ Walk
☐ Bicycle
☐ Bus
☐ Train
☐ Taxi
☐ Other (state) ....

Educational Experiences

10. Which school do you/did you attend? (write in)

....

11. Which college/training provider do you/did you attend? (write in if applicable)

....

12. What is the highest level of educational qualification you have obtained or are currently studying for? (tick one)

- [ ] Essential Skills
- [ ] GCSE's
- [ ] AS/A2 levels
- [ ] NVQ
- [ ] Degree
- [ ] Other qualification (state) ....

Living in Lurgan

13. How would you describe relations between the Protestant and Catholic communities in Lurgan? (tick one)

- [ ] Very good
- [ ] Good
- [ ] Average
- [ ] Poor
- [ ] Very poor
- [ ] Don't know

14. Are there any places in Lurgan that you do not go into because you are afraid? (Write in name if any)

Street(s) ....
....

Shop(s) ....
....

School/college/work ....
....

Pub/club ....
....

Playing fields
....
....

Park or leisure centre ....
....

Youth club/community centre ....
....

Doctors/Dentists/Health services
....
....

Training service ....
....

15. Do you ever feel unsafe walking in and out of your own area? (tick all that apply)

- [ ] During the daytime
- [ ] At night during the week
- [ ] At night at the weekend
- [ ] When with friends
- [ ] When I'm on my own
- [ ] Never

16. Have you ever been verbally abused or physically attacked by other people because of your religion or political beliefs? (tick one)

- [ ] Yes, once or twice
- [ ] Yes, sometimes
- [ ] Yes, often
- [ ] Yes, every day
- [ ] No, never

17. Have you ever been verbally abused or physically attacked while wearing school uniform in town? (tick one)

- [ ] Yes, once or twice
- [ ] Yes, sometimes
- [ ] Yes, often
- [ ] Yes, every day
- [ ] No, never

18. Have you ever avoided an area/public space because of the following (tick all that apply)

- [ ] Name calling (slabbering)
- [ ] Physical harassment by others
- [ ] Graffiti, flags or emblems
- [ ] Rioting in the area
- [ ] Parade held in an area
- [ ] People may discriminate against you
- [ ] Older people go there
- [ ] Used by drug takers/heavy drinkers
- [ ] Used by paramilitaries/armed groups

□ Because of a police presence
□ Fighting
□ No one else you know goes there
□ Reputation of an area
□ Other (state) ....

19. Are there any areas that you avoid at particular times of the day/year? (tick all that apply)

	Day	Night	Week-end	Summer
Allen Hill	□	□	□	□
Avenue Road	□	□	□	□
Black Path (Taghnevan)	□	□	□	□
Kilwilkie (Clendinnings)	□	□	□	□
Mourneview/ Grey Estate	□	□	□	□
Millenium Way	□	□	□	□
Monbrief Playing Fields	□	□	□	□
North Lurgan Community Centre (bus stop)	□	□	□	□
Underpass at Portadown Road (Subway)	□	□	□	□
Shankill	□	□	□	□
Taghnevan	□	□	□	□
Town centre and bus stop	□	□	□	□
Other (write in where)	□	□	□	□

....
....

If you avoid any places or areas in Lurgan, why do you avoid them? (write in)
....
....
....
....
....
....

Social Life

20. How many of your friends are of the same religion/community background as you? (tick one)

□ All
□ Most
□ Some
□ None
□ Don't Know

21. Would you ever hang out with young people from a different religion/community background? (tick one)

□ Yes
□ No
□ Don't Know

22. How would you feel about hanging out with young people from a different religion/community background? (tick all that apply)

□ Wouldn't know what to expect
□ Never had the opportunity to meet
□ Wouldn't have anywhere to meet safely
□ Afraid of being verbally abused
□ Afraid of being beaten up
□ Parents/family wouldn't like it
□ Friends wouldn't like it
□ Afraid of paramilitaries/armed groups
□ I don't want to meet other young people
□ Don't Know
□ Feel fine about it
□ Other (state) ....

23. Where are the areas in Lurgan where young people from different religions/communities can meet? (write in)

....
....

24. Do you use any of the following youth services? (tick all that apply)

☐ YMCA
☐ Jethro Centre
☐ LINKS
☐ Youth Annex
☐ Clann Éireann
☐ Taghnevan youth club
☐ Sports club (name) ....
☐ Scouts/Guides
☐ BB/GB
☐ Church youth club (name) ....
☐ Community centre (name) ....
☐ Drop-in (name) ....
☐ I never use any of these

25. Where else do you go to meet your friends? (state)

....
....

26. Where do you meet/contact other people from a different religion/community? (tick all that apply)

☐ School
☐ University
☐ Work
☐ Café/bar
☐ Shopping centre
☐ Where you live
☐ Town centre
☐ Youth Club (name) ....
☐ Social network (Facebook, Bebo, Twitter)
☐ Instant messaging (BBM)
☐ Websites/forums
☐ Never meet
☐ Other (state) ....

27. Would you take part in a virtual cross-community programme? (tick one)

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't Know

28. Which of the following facilities would you use? (tick all that apply)

☐ Community centre
☐ Lesiure centre
☐ Library
☐ Local parks
☐ Multi-use game area (MUGA)
☐ Oxford Island/Discovery Centre
☐ Ski-golf centre
☐ Swimming pool
☐ Other (state) ....

29. At what age did you have your first alcoholic drink? (write in)

....

30. How often do you drink alcohol? (tick one)

☐ Daily
☐ Weekly
☐ Weekends
☐ Monthly
☐ Special occasions
☐ Never

31. Do you attend any of the following parades? (tick all that apply)

☐ Loyalist band parades
☐ Republican band parades
☐ I don't attend these parades

32. Are there any other parades that you attend? (e.g., St.Patrick's Day, Loyal Orders, AOH, BB/church, etc) (write in)

....
....

Community Environment

33. Which of the following can increase community tensions in Lurgan? (tick all that apply)

- [ ] Underage drinking
- [ ] Car crime
- [ ] UVF/UDA/LVF
- [ ] IRA/INLA
- [ ] CIRA/RIRA/Oglaigh na hÉireann
- [ ] Éirìgì
- [ ] Drug dealing
- [ ] Drug use
- [ ] Hoods
- [ ] Rioting
- [ ] Sporting events (Rangers/Celtic, GAA game)
- [ ] Parading (St. Patrick's Day, July 12th etc)
- [ ] Bonfires
- [ ] Policing
- [ ] Putting up flags/emblems/graffiti
- [ ] Verbal abuse/slabbering
- [ ] Other (state) ....

34. Do any of the following have a positive impact on young people? (tick all that apply)

- [ ] Attending pubs/clubs
- [ ] Being involved with paramilitaries
- [ ] Drug use
- [ ] Being a member of a band/attending parade
- [ ] Getting involved in community work
- [ ] Volunteering
- [ ] Cross-community contact
- [ ] Sporting events
- [ ] Dance, theatre, music
- [ ] Outdoor pursuits
- [ ] Community policing
- [ ] Putting up flags/emblems
- [ ] Other (state) ....

35. What are the main issues affecting young people in Lurgan? (tick all that apply)

- [ ] Crime
- [ ] Drug use
- [ ] Employment/Unemployment
- [ ] Fighting/violence with the 'Other' community

- [ ] Mental Health
- [ ] Money
- [ ] Racism
- [ ] Segregation (Protestant/Catholic division)
- [ ] Transport
- [ ] Other (state) ....

36. Would you be interested in participating in any of the following activities? (tick all that apply)

- [ ] Accredited training programmes
- [ ] Arts/drama/music activities
- [ ] Community work in your area
- [ ] Computer/ICT training
- [ ] Drug/alcohol awareness programmes
- [ ] Parenting programmes
- [ ] Other (state) ....

37. If you could select one new facility for Lurgan from the list below, what would it be? (tick one)

- [ ] Cinema
- [ ] Climbing wall
- [ ] Ice rink
- [ ] Outdoor pursuits centre
- [ ] Skate park
- [ ] Ten pin bowling
- [ ] Theatre/arts
- [ ] 3G football pitch
- [ ] Other (state) ....

38. Have you been in contact with the PSNI over the last 12 months? (tick one)

- [ ] Yes   - [ ] No

39. If yes, why was this? (tick all that apply)

- [ ] Education programmes e.g. 'Stranger Danger'
- [ ] Victim of a crime
- [ ] Witnessed a crime
- [ ] To produce driving documents
- [ ] Stopped and questioned
- [ ] Asked to move on
- [ ] Arrested/Lifted/Scooped
- [ ] Other (state) ....

40. Overall I believe the police to be (tick one)

☐ Evenly balanced
☐ Too Catholic
☐ Too Protestant

41. Are you registered to vote? (tick one)

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't Know

42. Do you think the voting age should be lowered? (tick one)

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't Know

43. If you were going to vote, who would you vote for? (tick one)

☐ DUP
☐ Sinn Féin
☐ Ulster Unionists
☐ SDLP
☐ Alliance
☐ Green Party
☐ Other (state) ....

44. Why would you vote this way? (tick all that apply)

☐ Information from the party
☐ Positive personal experience of the party
☐ Friends vote this way
☐ Family vote this way
☐ They stand for issues important to me
☐ Other (write in) ....
   ....

45. Do you have internet access? (tick one)

☐ Yes   ☐ No

46. Where would you be most likely to use the internet? (tick one)

☐ Home computer
☐ Library computer
☐ School computer
☐ Youth club computer
☐ On my phone
☐ Other (state) ....

If you would like to be in with the chance of winning an I-Pod Touch we need to be able to contact you. If you would like to be contacted if you win the prize draw, please provide your email address or phone number:

....
....

Please note that these details will ONLY be used for the draw.

Thank you for completing the questionnaire – for further information contact Katy Radford or John Bell at ICR on 90742682, k.radford@conflictresearch.org.uk or j.bell@conflictresearch.org.uk

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Lurgan is town that is marked by division. The majority of
young people live highly segregated lives, often in a shadow of
the legacy of conflict. This report explores their experiences,
perceptions and aspirations. As a community dialogue tool, it
draws on a data gathered from over 1,200 young people on
issues including identity, the use of public space, youth service
provision, community safety issues and policing, to inform
service planners and users alike of the shared concerns of
young people from diverse community backgrounds.