2023 Social Fabric Index

How does the strength of community vary across the UK?



ONWARD≫

About Onward

Onward's mission is to develop bold and practical ideas to boost economic opportunity, build national resilience, and strengthen communities across all parts of the United Kingdom. Our vision is to address the needs of the whole country: young and old, urban and rural, for all communities across the UK – particularly places that have too often felt neglected or ignored by Westminster.

We believe in an optimistic conservatism that is truly national – one that recognises the value of markets, supported by a streamlined state that is active not absent. We are unapologetic about standing up to vested interests, putting power closer to people, and supporting the hardworking and aspirational.

We do so by developing practical policies grounded in evidence. Our team has worked at high levels across Westminster and Whitehall. We know how to produce big ideas that resonate with policymakers, the media and the wider public. We work closely with policymakers of all parties to build coalitions of support. Most importantly, we engage ordinary people across the country and work with them to make our ideas a reality.

Thanks

Onward is a small non-profit that relies on the generosity of our donors and patrons to do our work. We are indebted, in particular, to our Founding Patrons: Martyn Rose, Michael Spencer, David Meller, Bjorn Saven, Richard Oldfield, Robert Walters, Tim Sanderson, James Alexandroff, Jason Dalby, Graham Edwards, John Nash and Theodore Agnew. Without this philanthropic support, our work would not be possible.

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About Social Fabric

Onward's Repairing our Social Fabric programme seeks to understand the changing nature of community in different parts of the UK, and explore how we can repair the social fabric of different places in meaningful and practical ways. It is chaired by Lord O'Shaughnessy, and the steering group includes Miriam Cates MP, Jon Cruddas MP, Ailbhe McNabola, Harriet McCann, Anna Round, Frank Soodeen, Alex Smith, Richard Clark, Chris Wood, Richard Oldfield, and Cassie Robinson.

We are grateful for the past support of Vidhya Alakeson, who stepped down from the steering group upon her appointment as Director of External Relations for the Leader of the Opposition.

Contents

Summary	5
How does community vary across the country?	7
Relationships	11
Positive Norms	15
Physical Infrastructure	20
Economic Value	23
Lessons from the 2023 Social Fabric Index	26
Technical annex	31

Summary



2023 Social Fabric Index

The language of levelling up and the left-behind has become commonplace. As has the objective, now enshrined in the Government's Levelling Up White Paper, to "restore a sense of community, local pride and belonging, especially in those places where they have been lost." But it is difficult to fix what you can't measure. Hard data is scant and we lack the measures to quantify the feeling of decline and rootlessness that many communities experience.

Onward published the first Social Fabric Index in 2020 to fill this gap. The Index defines what we mean by community strength and quantifies it using robust metrics. It combines a range of data on the aspects of community which matter most to people to understand how the UK's social fabric varies geographically.

This paper provides an updated map of community strength for local authorities across the UK, using the most recent data. Below are the four key findings from our 2023 Index:

- 1. The places with the most frayed social fabric tend to be concentrated along the North East coast from the Tyne to the Tees, the M62 corridor, and from East London along the Thames Estuary to Thanet. Kingstonupon-Hull has the lowest score in the country.
- The Home Counties has a high concentration of places with strong social fabric. But there are other clusters of strong communities in the rural West Midlands and across much of northern Scotland. The strongest social fabric is in East Renfrewshire.
- 3. Social Fabric Index scores are broadly unchanged from 2020. It seems that community has been resilient through the pandemic, with the scores for Relationships and Positive Social Norms remaining stable.
- 4. Economic Value has declined across the board. This is mostly driven by insecure housing, unemployment, and inactivity. Secure tenancies have become less common in every single local authority except five.

This contrast - resilient communities in a damaged economy - should guide the action of policymakers. Bottom-up approaches to economic development and regeneration could harness will the energy of community groups to build a stronger economy. But social problems will not always be addressable through economic interventions alone. And conversely, we cannot always rely on community renewal to reduce unemployment or boost incomes.

How does community vary across the country?

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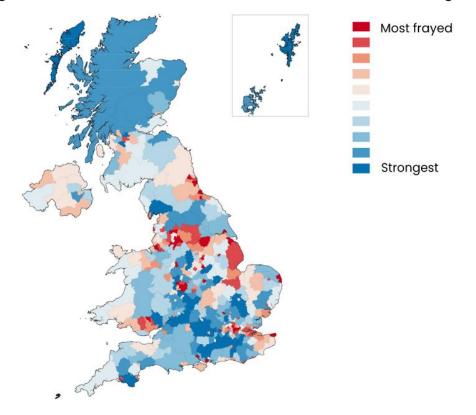
2023 Social Fabric Index

The geography of community is not random. As we showed in our 2020 paper *The State of our Social Fabric*, places with the strongest communities tend to congregate in a few specific areas, and the same is true of places with weaker social fabric.

We find many of the best performers in the Home Counties around the western edge of London - places like St Albans, Elmbridge and Richmond. But there are other clusters of strong communities in the rural West Midlands (Bromsgrove, Derbyshire Dales and Stratford-on-Avon in particular). It is a similar story across much of the Scottish Highlands and Islands; the Glasgow suburbs of East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire are the first and third-highest scoring authorities in the UK, respectively.

We find pockets of fraying social fabric in all parts of the country. But places with the lowest scores tend to be concentrated along the North East coast from the Tyne to the Tees, the M62 corridor, and from East London along the Thames Estuary to Thanet.

Figure 1: Social Fabric Index scores, in deciles from weakest to strongest



Regional polarisation is high. There are three key examples of weaker communities existing alongside areas with strong social fabric. Figure 2 maps these areas.

- The first is the eastern part of the West Midlands. Sandwell and Wolverhampton are both in the lowest decile for Social Fabric, whereas neighbouring Bromsgrove and South Staffordshire are in the highest decile.
- 2. The City of Glasgow is ranked as the 38th-lowest scoring area. But neighbouring suburbs of East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire are in the top three areas in the UK.
- 3. Low scores in East London boroughs like Barking and Dagenham, Tower Hamlets, Newham and Hackney (all in the lowest decile) contrast sharply with the south west. Richmond upon Thames, along with a cluster of authorities bordering Greater London are all in the top decile.

Figure 2: Areas in the top and bottom decile for Social Fabric



The Social Fabric Index was first published in 2020. Since then, it has been used by local authorities and charities to benchmark their area against other places and direct interventions towards the areas most in need. The Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities cited the index in the 2022 White Paper. The original report, *The State of our Social Fabric*, can be found <u>here</u>.

The Social Fabric Index is structured into a simple hierarchy. The overall score is an average of four *threads* and each thread is an average of three to five *fibres*.

Each fibre is a combination of different data sources, for example, the *Group Participation* fibre includes data on the number of community-owned shops and pubs, charities and membership organisations in each local authority. Figure 1, below, illustrates how the threads and fibres make up the social fabric. For a full discussion of the methodology and changes, see the Technical Annex at the end of this paper.



Figure 3: Structure of the Social Fabric Index

Relationships

Getting along and associating with your neighbours



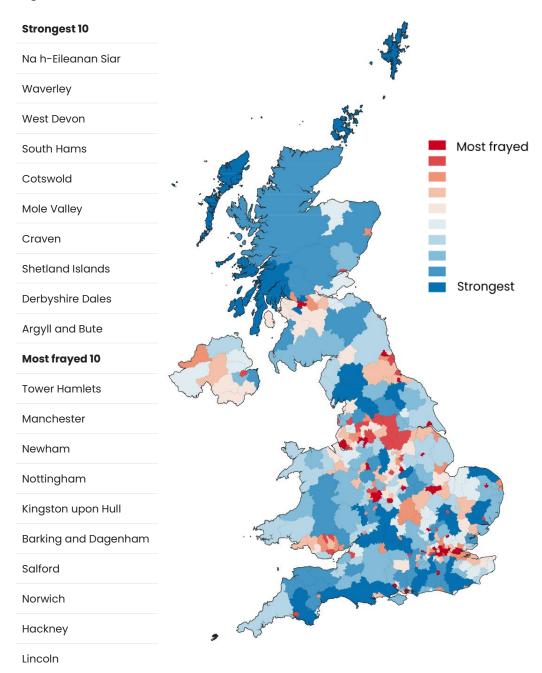
The first thread in our Social Fabric Index is Relationships, which measures the associational life of communities. It brings together a wide range of data, including community ownership of pubs and shops, the number of local charities, rates of volunteering, and neighbourliness.

	Community-owned shops or pubs per capita
Community	Amateur sports clubs (CASC) per capita
Assets	Charities per capita
	Membership organisations per capita
	Share of people who participate in a local organisation
Membership and	Share of people who regularly attend religious services
participation	Share of people who volunteered in the last year
	Share of people reporting Gift Aid donations
Neighbourliness	Share of people who say "this is a close-knit neighbourhood"
	Share of people who say "people around here are willing to help their neighbours"
	Share of people who say "people in this neighbourhood can be trusted"
	Share of people who disagree that "people in this neighbourhood generally don't get along with each other"

Table 1: Structure of the Relationships thread

The map in Figure 4 below, shows a clear rural-urban divide. The local authorities with the highest scores are overwhelmingly rural, or collections of smaller towns. The top scorers are places like Waverley, Cotswold, Mole Valley, East Renfrewshire, and South Lakeland. Conversely, large conurbations like London, Greater Manchester, and the West Midlands tend to have the lowest scores for Relationships.

Figure 4: Relationships thread, in deciles from lowest score (red) to highest score (blue)



This rural-urban divide is compounded by regional divisions. The south of England tends to have disproportionately more authorities in the top quintile for Relationships. 34% of districts in the South East are in the top quintile, rising to 41% of districts in the South West. Not a single area in the North East makes it into the 20%, and only 8% of the North West's authorities are in the top quintile.

Region	Bottom Quintile	Top Quintile
South West	7%	41%
Scotland	9%	38%
South East	8%	34%
West Midlands	20%	20%
East of England	18%	18%
East Midlands	14%	14%
Yorkshire and The Humber	43%	14%
Wales	14%	9%
Northern Ireland	9%	9%
North West	33%	8%
London	47%	3%
North East	42%	0%

Table 2: Proportion of each region's local authorities in the top or bottom quintile for the Relationships thread score

Although cities tend to have lower scores on this thread, London outperforms other conurbations on Community Assets and Group Participation. But the average London borough has a Participation score 20% above the national average, driven in particular by higher rates of religious attendance, volunteering, and charitable giving through Gift Aid.

Positive Norms

The cultural behaviours that build a strong society



The Positive Norms thread encompasses the behaviour, traditions and norms that make up a strong community. We include measures of criminality, family formation, the proportion of people who pursue further and higher education, healthy life expectancy, and democratic participation.

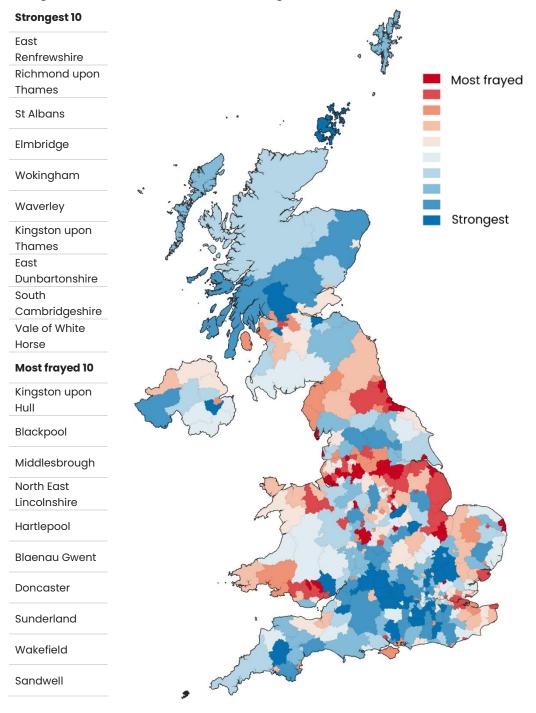
Education	Proportion of people with NVQ4 or higher
Crime	Number of police recorded crimes per capita
	Proportion of children born to married parents
Family	Proportion of households with children
	Teenage pregnancies (19 or younger)
	Healthy life expectancy
Health	Suicide rate
	Proportion of people who live on their own
	Share of people who believe 'people like me have no say about what the
Democracy	government does'
	Turnout at general elections
	Turnout at local elections

Table 3: Composition of the Positive Norms thread

There is a clear geographic pattern to the strength of Positive Social Norms. Eight of the top ten areas are located in the Greater South East. The remaining two are commuter suburbs on the edge of Glasgow (see Figure 5, below).

Contrast this with the ten lowest-scoring areas. Many are distributed around the "Red Wall", such as Grimsby (North East Lincolnshire), Doncaster, Hartlepool and Wakefield. And all of them (except Blaenau Gwent) are in the North and Midlands of England.

Figure 5: Positive Social Norms thread, in deciles from lowest score (red) to highest score (blue) and the 10 strongest and weakest areas



Areas with higher Family scores have a high proportion of households with children, a higher proportion of children born to married parents, and lower rates of teenage pregnancy. The top five areas are: Harrow, Hertsmere, Kensington and Chelsea, East Renfrewshire, and Wokingham. These highscorers seem to be a mix of (1) affluent suburbs and small towns, and (2) ethnically diverse and highly religious London boroughs. Most of the UK outside the central south of England scores poorly, and especially places on the coast.

In what is becoming a familiar story across our Index, we find that healthier places are often located in the south of England and North Yorkshire, while the lowest scorers congregate in Scotland's Central Belt, "Red Wall" England, South Wales and around the Tyne and Wear sub-region. All but two of the bestperforming areas, which rank in the top quartile for every Health indicator, are in or near London's commuter belt. Only Cheltenham and Selby fall outside this area. These places have low scores across the board, for healthy life expectancy, suicide rate, and loneliness.

The Democratic Participation fibre measures the health of democracy, firstly by participation in elections and secondly as people's sense of political efficacy. Participation is measured as the most recent turnout rate at a local election and the turnout rate at the 2019 general election, imputed from constituencies to local authorities using ward-level populations.

Political efficacy is measured using a survey question, which asks the extent to which respondents agree that "people like me have no say about what the government does." We used a linear regression model and local authority demographic profiles to estimate the proportion of people in each district who disagree with that statement.

These two metrics are moderately correlated (r-squared=0.52). This tells us that places in which more people feel like they have no political voice also have a lower turnout rate at elections.

We find that democratic norms are strongest in places like Richmond upon Thames, St Albans and East Renfrewshire. And these norms and behaviours are weakest in places like Kingston-upon-Hull, Sandwell and Hartlepool. Figure 6, below, shows that many of the places with the lowest scores are located around the "Red Wall", places in which people have felt left-behind and ignored by Westminster politicians for decades.

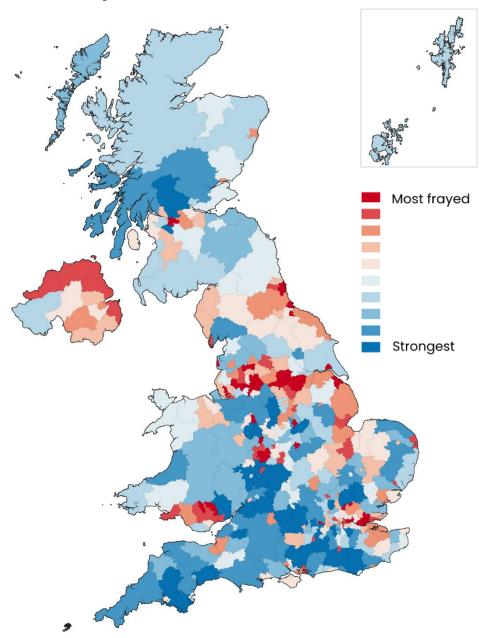


Figure 6: Score for the Democratic Norms fibre, in deciles from lowest score (red) to highest score (blue)

Physical Infrastructure

The quality of the lived environment and access to facilities and services



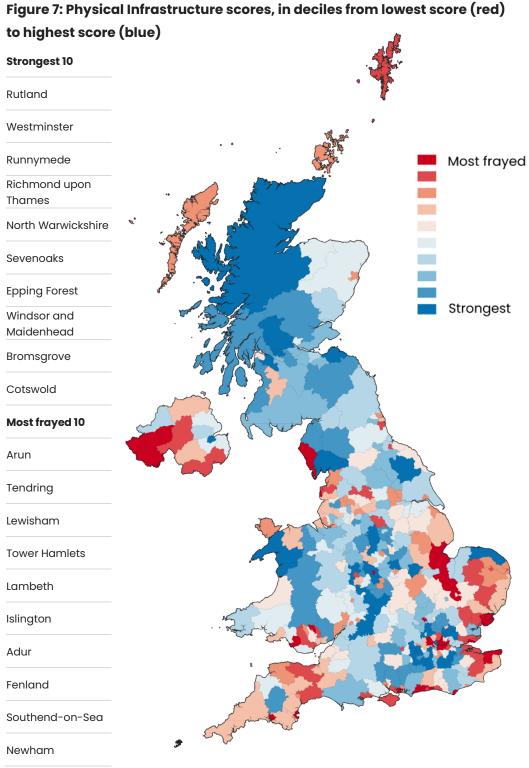
This thread quantifies the physical assets that are present in communities which facilitate, structure and organise people within a community. It includes measures of green space, digital and transport connectivity and the prevalence of assets such as pubs, libraries, and convenience stores.

Green space	Hectares of public green space per capita
Connectivity	Broadband speed
	Broadband coverage
	Area reachable by public transport
	Area reachable by car
Local assets	Leisure centres per capita
	Libraries per capita
	Cafes/restaurants per capita
	Bank branches per capita
	Public houses and bars per capita
	Art galleries and museums per capita
	Convenience stores per capita

Table 4: Composition of the Physical Infrastructure thread

We know that connection is important for our ability to maintain relationships and access community spaces. Our Index uses real travel time data to approximate how far residents can travel by car or public transport within an hour. The best-connected places tend to be around London and its commuter belt, as well as other cities. Local authorities with the highest area reachable by car are overwhelmingly located around Birmingham, a major highway hub. In contrast, looking at the local authorities with the largest area reachable by public transport, unsurprisingly the top 10 local authorities are all in London while the bottom 10 are largely rural areas spread out evenly across the UK.

The pandemic showed us the value of digital infrastructure too. When physical distance is a barrier to socialising, a reliably good broadband connection can function as a guard against loneliness. Rural communities understand this better than most. Places with the lowest scores for digital connectivity are in the Scottish Highlands and Islands, as well as rural Cumbria and Norfolk. More generally, we find that the more urban a local authority is, the higher its score for digital connectivity.



2023 Social Fabric Index

Economic Value

The material welfare of people and communities



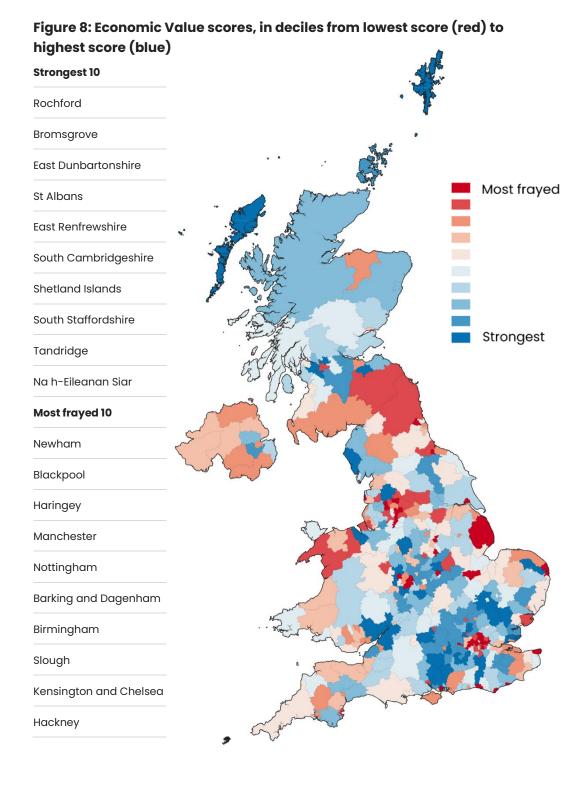
The fourth thread in our Social Fabric Index is Economic value, which measures the economic strengths of an area. It brings together a wide range of data, including satisfaction with hours worked, unemployment rate, economic inactivity, the claimancy rate among young people, average incomes, and prevalence of secure tenancies.

Made	Share of people who are satisfied with their working hours
	Unemployment rate
Work	Share of 16-64 population who are economically inactive
	Claimant rate for 16-24 year olds
Income and	Median gross weekly pay
saving	Share of people who put away money for savings
Housing	Share of people in secure housing (ownership and social rent)

Table 5: Composition of the Economic Value thread

The first thing that stands out about this map is London's poor performance. Why is this, given what we know about the London-centric nature of the UK economy? The reason is that Economic Value measures the aspects of community that are more economic in nature, rather than productivity. Consider the Income and Savings fibre. Average incomes are high in the capital, but relatively few people can put aside money for savings, driven mostly by the higher cost of living. Unemployment and dissatisfaction with working hours are also high in London.

London performs very poorly on the Housing fibre, which measures the prevalence of secure tenancies (ownership and social rent) compared to insecure tenancies (private rent). Its average score is around half that of other regions and 88% of its authorities are in the bottom quintile nationally. In contrast, the West Midlands and Scotland both do consistently well; a third and two-thirds of their local authorities are in the top quintile, respectively. Other regions are more internally polarised, such as the South East, which is simultaneously over-represented in the top (19%) and bottom quintile (17%). The coastal authorities of Hastings, Brighton, and Portsmouth contrast sharply with rural inland areas like East Hampshire and Tonbridge and Malling.



Lessons from the 2023 Social Fabric Index



Community strength is about more than bricks and mortar

Although each thread is weighted equally, and therefore makes an equal contribution, we find that the correlation between the overall score and Relationships is far stronger than it is with Physical Infrastructure. A simple linear regression shows that 79% of the variation in the Social Fabric score can be explained by variation in the Relationships score. But this figure (the r-squared value) halves to just 34% for Physical Infrastructure. In other words, it is less about *what* an area has but *who* it has that makes it a strong community.

This echoes our findings from the 2020 Index, which showed that the quality of the built environment, and access to facilities and services, does not determine a community's ability to forge strong local relationships or foster positive social norms. Similarly, the strength of an area's social fabric is not really a function of its wealth. There is no correlation between an area's median income and its Social Fabric score.

The weak effect of Physical Infrastructure and Economic value on an area's Social Fabric Score tells us that social problems are not always addressable through economic interventions alone. And conversely, community renewal will not be enough to reduce unemployment or boost incomes.

But there is a very strong relationship between our Social Fabric score and the English Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). Both measures capture different, but related, aspects of deprivation. Aside from Physical Infrastructure, our Index is a measure of more intangible goods, like community strength and social norms.

In stronger communities, people are more trusting

Our previous work on social trust demonstrated a clear link between the strength of the social fabric and the willingness to trust strangers. The full report, *Good Neighbours*, and accompanying data are available <u>here</u>.

The strength of this association is driven by a high correlation between social trust and a number of ingredients for a strong community life: high rates of volunteering, religious attendance, and participation in local groups, stronger families, good health, and low crime.

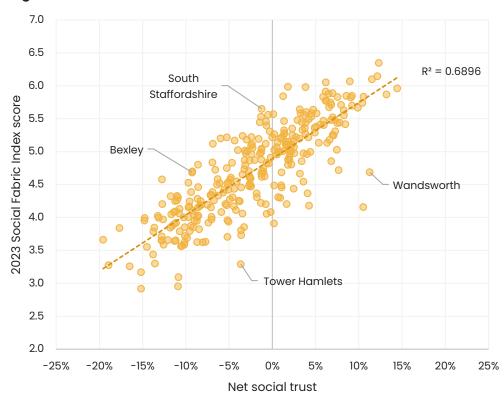


Figure 9: Social Fabric Index score vs net social trust

This relationship likely runs both ways. More trusting citizens are more engaged in community life, and a stronger society facilitates greater levels of trust. This further highlights the importance of non-economic factors in understanding why some areas feel that their communities are fraying.

But there are outliers. Wandsworth and Bexley have the same Social Fabric score, but levels of trust are far higher in the former than the latter; net trust falls from +11% to -9%, respectively. South Staffordshire and Tower Hamlets have similar levels of social trust but, while the former is in the top decile for Social Fabric, the latter is in the bottom decile. Across the board, Tower Hamlets scores lower than South Staffordshire, particularly for areas like crime, democratic norms, neighbourhood cohesion, and secure housing.

Communities have proved resilient; the economy has not

Broadly, the Social Fabric scores for 2023 are unchanged from 2020. Most places that ranked highly in the first Index also do so in the updated version. But there are some patterns, which we explore below.

Economic Value has declined across the board. This is mostly driven by insecure housing, unemployment, and inactivity. But most other aspects of the social fabric have remained stable. Physical Infrastructure is the least surprising. The number of pubs, libraries or convenience stores in an area does not change much from year to year. But, looking over a longer period, the number of pubs has fallen by 26% since 2001 and the number of libraries declined by 28% since 2005.

Across a range of indicators like the community-owned businesses, amateur sports clubs, and membership organisations, community has proved resilient. Within the Positive Norms thread, we saw a small increase in the proportion of people who live alone but also a moderate rise in the share of households who have children. The changes here are small and there is no clear geographic pattern to them.

The quality of work and employment has worsened almost everywhere

The average Work score has fallen by 11% since 2020. The fastest unravellers have seen their rank fall by over 100 places. Local authorities in the South East make up a disproportionately large share of these, 11 out of the 27. Dartford has been hit the hardest, falling a massive 258 places in the ranking. Fylde and Chichester follow, falling 225 and 220 respectively.

In order of magnitude, this is driven by a rise in the claimant rate for 16-24 yearolds, a rise in unemployment, and rising economic inactivity. In every single local authority, the claimant rate among young people has increased.

Unemployment increased in 77% of areas and inactivity has increased in 60% of areas. However, most local authorities have seen a small increase in the proportion of people who say they are satisfied with their hours they work.

Housing has become less secure

Since 2020, the average housing score has worsened by 9%. This decline is not a result of a few outliers but a near-universal decline. In fact, the Housing fibre score has worsened in every single local authority except five. London started with some of the worst scores in 2020 but has managed to fall even further. Of the ten authorities that have worsened most, seven are in London. This is making it harder for people to put down roots and forge connections in their community.

-7.68% to -4.42% -4.42% to -3.51% -3.51% to -3.08% -3.08% to -2.55% -2.55% to -2.21% -2.21% to -1.86% -1.86% to -1.49% -1.49% to -0.94% -0.94% to -0.80% -0.80% to 10.1%

Figure 10: Percentage point change in the proportion of people living in a secure housing tenure

Technical annex



2023 Social Fabric Index

How is the Index constructed?

The Index has four layers. The Social Fabric score is an average of the four threads. Continuing the metaphor, each thread is an average of several fibres, which are made up of indicators. To make the indicators comparable across the index, the raw data is normalised between 0 and 1.

Our approach was qualitative and quantitative, leaning heavily on those aspects of community and social life that people themselves identified as important to them. We did this through a series of deliberative workshops in all four nations of the UK between February and July 2020.

Social fabric is notoriously difficult to measure, far more so than purely economic variables like employment or income. Having narrowed our focus following the deliberative workshops, our selection of indicators was limited by the following factors:

- 1. What is available at the granular level of local authorities?
- 2. What is measured consistently across all parts of the UK?
- 3. What is updated regularly every year or every few years?

What did we change from the 2020 version?

For this latest version of the Social Fabric Index, we set out to:

- 1. Improve coverage and skewed results by removing variables with missing data.
- 2. Reduce our reliance on imputation of local authority data from national surveys, which are essentially a function of an area's demographic profile rather than a direct measure.
- 3. Incorporate more accurate measures as new datasets become available.

This means that the data used to construct this new index will differ from the data in the original. But, to ensure comparability, we reconstructed a 2020 comparison using the new variables. So, each local authority has scores for 2020

and 2023 on a consistent set of indicators. The table below shows the updated structure of the Index.

We also had to contend with local authority boundary changes. Our Social Fabric Index is intended to be useful to policymakers, which necessarily means that it should reflect the current structure of administrative geography. Since 2020, Buckinghamshire, North Northamptonshire, and West Northamptonshire have been created from smaller authorities. So, both the 2023 version and the retrospective 2020 version use current local authority boundaries.

To test the impact of our changes, we compared each district's score in both the original index and the updated version using 2020 data. Figure 11 below shows that the correlation between the original index and our amended version is very high, which indicates that the changes have not had a large impact on the scores. We have successfully simplified the index and improved coverage and quality without changing the underlying concept that our overall metric is designed to measure – namely, community strength.

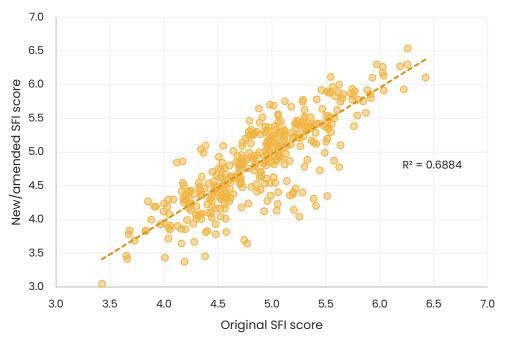


Figure 11: Correlation between the original index and our amended version

	2020	2023	
Indicator	Index	Index	Source
Satisfaction with working hours	2019	2021	ONS
Unemployment rate	2019	2021	Annual Population Survey (model based estimates)
Share of 16-64 who are economically inactive	2019	2021	Annual Population Survey
Claimant rate for 16-24 year olds	2019	2021	ONS
Median gross weekly pay	2019	2021	Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings
Share of population who put away money for savings	2019	-	Understanding Society
Share of people in secure housing (ownership and social rent)	2019	2021	ONS, NRS, NISRA
Share of people with NVQ4 or higher	2019	2021	Annual Population Survey
Number of police recorded crimes per capita	2019	2022	
Share of births to married parents	2019	2020	ONS
Proportion of households with children	2019	2021	Annual Population Survey
Teenage pregnancies (19 or younger)	2019	2021	NRS, ONS, NISRA
Healthy life expectancy	2019	2020	ONS
Suicide rate	2019	2021	Public Health Scotland, NISRA, ONS
Share people who live on their own	2019	2021	Annual Population Survey
Share of people who believe 'people like me have no say about what the government does'	2018	2021	Understanding Society
Turnout at general elections	2019	-	House of Commons Library
Turnout at local elections	2017- 2019	2020- 2022	House of Commons Library
OS Greenspace hectares per capita	-	2022	Ordnance Survey
Broadband speed	2019	2022	Ofcom
Broadband coverage	2019	2022	Ofcom
Area reachable by public transport	-	2021	Onward, Network Effects
Area reachable by car	-	2021	Onward, Network Effects
Leisure centres per capita	2019	2021	UK Business Counts
Libraries per capita	2019	2021	UK Business Counts
Cafes/restaurants per capita	2019	2021	UK Business Counts
Bank branches per capita	2019	2021	UK Business Counts
Public houses and bars per capita	2019	2021	UK Business Counts
Art galleries and museums per capita	2019	2021	UK Business Counts
Convenience stores per capita	2019	2021	Association of Convenience Stores

Table 6 cont.

Indicator	2020 Index	2023 Index	Source
Community-owned shops or pubs per capita	2019	2022	Plunkett Foundation
Amateur sports clubs (CASC) per capita	2019	2022	HMRC
Charities per capita	2019	2022	Charity Commission, OSCR
Membership organisations per capita	2019	2021	UK Business Counts
Share of people who participate in a local organisation	2018	2021	Understanding Society
Share of people who attend religious services	2017	2021	Understanding Society
Share of people who volunteered in the last year	2019	-	Understanding Society
Share of people reporting Gift Aid donations	2018	2021	HMRC
Neighbourhood cohesion: Share of people who agree that "this is a close-knit neighbourhood", "people around here are willing to help their neighbours", "people in this neighbourhood can be trusted", and disagree that "people in this neighbourhood generally don't get along with each other"	2018	2021	Understanding Society

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