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‘Getting to Know You’:

Engagement and Relationship Building

First Interim National Positive Futures Case Study Research Report

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‘Getting to Know You’: Executive Summary

This report represents the culmination of the first phase of the Positive Futures (PF) Case Studies Research Project rather than a definitive set of findings as such. Rather like the PF programme itself it is very much a work in progress which is evolving all the time in the context of the action research approach we have adopted. This approach involves a cycle of action and reflection, with both the projects and research adapting in relation to the themes that emerge from the study as it progresses.

Nevertheless whilst this element of the research has been concerned as much with the establishment of relations with projects and participants as investigating the relationships *between* them, we have begun to identify a number of tentative themes and findings. These themes are presented in a fashion which is intended to guide the future direction of projects every bit as much as to gain abstract theoretical insight.

Yet this recognition of the importance of practicality and direction should not distract from the importance of gaining a wider contextual feel for the programme. For whilst this summary is intended to highlight the key themes emerging from the research and the policy and practice issues associated with them, it is in the detail of the main report that a full appreciation of the PF approach emerges. It is from the more narrative accounts in these subsequent parts that we have drawn the conclusions and recommendations presented here and which will provide the baselines against which we assess future progress. Indeed these accounts are themselves drawn from three regional reports focused on the seven case studies that constitute the overall national research project.

The Case Study Projects

Positive Futures is characterized by a variety of delivery agents employing diverse approaches towards the work of the programme. These approaches can be summarized as follows:

Type	Organisation	Approach	Example
Community based	Voluntary	Radical, innovative and participant focused	Calderdale North Liverpool Southwark
Local authority	Statutory	Traditional, formulaic, 'top down'	Sefton Leeds
Hybrid	Partnership	Pragmatic	Keighley Wandsworth

Identification and engagement

Targeting and referrals

Key Issue: Does PF provide appropriate mechanisms for the targeting, identification and referral of participants?

- Projects adopt a range of approaches towards the targeting, identification and referral of participants.
- The Youth Justice Board's 'YIP 50' list remains a common source of identification.
- Pragmatic 'outreach' approaches are far more consistent with the spirit of the *Cul-de-sacs and gateways* strategy document.
- Opening access to projects and engaging with young people in their own neighbourhoods can be a more effective means of engaging the 'most at risk' or 'hard to reach' young people than institutionalized formal referral mechanisms.
- Successful engagement often relies upon making use of informal relationships with loose networks of partners.

Policy and Practice: There is a need to select credible and flexible lead agencies and for PF projects to be more committed to the use of flexible, pragmatic 'outreach' approaches towards engagement rather than being referral agency driven.

Spaces and places

Key Issue: Are PF projects utilising appropriate sites for the delivery of activities?

- Few of the projects make use of their own base for delivery purposes.
- There is clear demarcation between those projects which focus activity in the local neighbourhood and those who seek out more 'appropriate' or 'glamorous' venues further afield.
- The use of existing local facilities provides a number of significant benefits.
- Where local rivalries and territorialism are present, PF projects can become part of the social processes which define these divisions.
- Sporting activities can also generate transformative spaces which undermine animosities tied to local affiliations and notions of 'race'.

Policy and Practice: The PF approach is committed to the use of supportive and culturally familiar environments. In the main this suggests a preference for the use of local facilities and direction of resources into the immediate

neighbourhood in order to facilitate the transformation of places where there is nothing to do into spaces with something to do.

Kudos, glamour and special activities

Key Issue: Are PF projects selecting appropriate activities to engage young people?

- Positive Futures is about more than offering a conventional youth club facility based approach where there is access to a free pool table.
- Projects increasingly utilise a range of unusual activities, perceived by participants as 'cool', which stretch the definition of PF as a sport based social inclusion strategy.
- Two case study projects make strong use of their partnership with Premiership football clubs and have been able to exploit their glamour very effectively.
- In our case studies we have found a committed engagement with dance and dance instructors.
- Those who are not directly associated with the project but who participants meet in the context of the activities can also provide added attraction.

Policy and Practice: The use of activities which would not be defined as sports in conventional terms is a welcome development in the context of *Cul-de-sacs and gateways* emphasis that 'young people are more likely to engage...if you start by teaching them something *they* think is worth knowing or like doing'.

Staff

Key Issue: Do project staff have the appropriate skills and personal qualities necessary to deliver PF?

- There is no such thing as an archetype 'community sports practitioner'. Rather all of our case study projects employ a disparate array of staff with distinct skills and backgrounds.
- A typology of staff identities is beginning to emerge which we have characterized as 'the boss', 'the buddy', 'the teacher', 'the joker', 'Mr Cool', 'the geezer' and 'the expert'.
- Staff may play to or utilise different aspects of these characters or even occupy a number of positions simultaneously depending on the group they are working with.
- There is a stronger identification amongst participants with members of staff who are of their area than those who are not.
- Successful relationship building may be *assisted* by sports competency, but is *primarily* driven by the young people's identification with the socio-cultural background and approach of the workers.

- Projects' capacity to create the right cocktail of characters with the necessary blend of skills to work in this multi-dimensional field will define their success.
- In recognising that personality and life experiences are not sufficient qualities for the delivery of a strategically-led sports-based social inclusion programme PF has sought to develop a comprehensive programme of training
- The Workforce Training Initiative has undoubtedly had an impact in terms of the level of staff expertise and confidence in relation to dealing with aggressive and abusive behaviour and substance misuse.

Policy and Practice: Effective engagement relies upon a range of staff competencies, experience and personalities. In this context it is vital that staff and projects recognize that everyone can learn new and develop existing skills through a broadening of their roles and engagement with appropriate training.

Role models and peers

Key Issue: Does PF generate effective role models for young people?

- For all of the project staff's appeal they are not seen as 'stars'.
- Sessions are not developed around the achievements of staff. Individuals are employed because of their coaching and/or youth work skills.
- There is little evidence, at this stage, to suggest that participants aspire to emulate staff in terms of 'modeling' their own behaviour.
- PF stands in defiance of a wider populist appeal to the celebrity role model and seeks to invert the hierarchical, elitist social formulations it implies.
- Where young people have moved through a project and progressed to become employees, utilising the enthusiasm and example of the 'converted', these new staff *can* become aspirational and realistic role models

Policy and Practice: The capacity to inspire young people into transformative action is tied to the identification of realisable goals which capture the imagination. In this sense there is no better role model than those who have graduated from being project participant to project employee themselves.

Girls, young women and sport

Key Issue: Can PF appeal to girls and young women as readily as to boys and young men?

- What emerges from our research is a mixed picture which is diverse, contradictory and unstable in its direction.

- In some circumstances a lack of engagement by young women is understood as a consequence of female characteristics rather than wider social arrangements which contributes to exclusionary practice.
- In other contexts young women who participate are challenging both the general decline in youth participation in sport *and* the assumptions about what sports are female appropriate.
- A growing range of more innovative approaches and activities have been employed across the projects to engage girls and young women.

Policy and Practice: More imaginative approaches which defy conventional classifications and extend beyond an understanding of sport for sports sake can be fruitful in engaging female participants. A specific training package which can draw out the detail of these approaches to engaging young women and challenging stereotypes would be beneficial.

Relationship Building and Personal Development

Non-authoritarian approaches

Key Issue: Can the PF approach be distinguished from more authoritarian approaches associated with 'adult-youth' relations in other contexts?

- Focusing on the approach of staff, rather than on the activities offered, in accordance with the programme's own strategy document it is clear that there is no PF 'model' as such.
- There is a flexible approach which is dynamic and alive to individual personalities and circumstance.
- Whilst misbehaviour is sometimes met with sanctions, there are no fixed disciplinary regimes.
- Many of the more successful staff adopt an inclusive, 'familiar' and non-authoritarian approach to engaging with the young people.
- Largely, a two-way relationship is sought which is made more equitable through negotiation, explanation and, if necessary, contrition.
- In other contexts we have identified clashes between the cultural norms of agencies and those of participants

Policy and Practice: Through building relationships on the basis of mutual trust and understanding there is a greater potential to influence young people who have not responded well to more authoritarian approaches.

Gaining 'respect'

Key Issue: In what ways does PF rely upon or contribute to a culture of 'respect'?

- In the context of PF 'respect' can be deployed as a 'resource' in order to engage and develop rather than demonise and isolate young people.
- The respect that is central to PF is both the sort of respect that involves a *meeting* of minds - between neighbours, across generations, between young people and the police – and a sense of *self respect*.
- While the notion of respect is an intangible dynamic between staff and young people, it is also part of a known and reciprocal agreement.
- Relationships which demonstrate mutual respect mainly involve members of staff that do not prescribe, or solely prescribe, strict guidelines to the participants on what is expected of them.
- Sustaining an image of 'cool' can involve blindly accepting disruptive behaviour which, whilst maintaining a willing accommodation provides no guarantee of mutuality in the generation of respect.
- For front line staff it is not sufficient to just be 'one of the lads'. There is a requirement to offer something more, to stand out from the crowd; to be inspirational without breaking with the world that is being engaged.

Policy and Practice: For PF it is important to build relationships on the basis of mutuality, with meaningful and appropriate interventions into people's lives organised through problem sharing; the acceptance of criticism; co-operation and sharing of advice; consistent friendly acknowledgment outside of the context of PF; being available; and providing help and assistance.

PF and the 'cultural intermediary'

Key Issue: To what extent do PF projects provide 'gateways between what are often seen as alien and mutually intimidating worlds'?

- What PF projects seek to achieve is direct interpersonal contact with those young people that have in some way become separated from 'mainstream' society through a detachment from other social agencies, institutions and groups.
- Our research suggests that PF coaches are often seen in different ways to many of the other agents associated with this agenda such as teachers, police officers, probation officers and youth workers.
- What effective PF workers and their projects are concerned to do is to *understand* people on their own terms through reference to more personal experience rather than policy led language games. The cultural intermediary then acts as both an interpreter and a go-between.

- Programmes like PF offer the potential for an alternative means of organising and releasing the potential of socially marginalised young people by engaging in a new orientation towards agitation and action.
- In the context of those projects with locally determined, overly structured approaches, workers can struggle to realise their potential as cultural intermediaries and can be forced into the position of one-way ‘translator’.

Policy and Practice: Whilst many social interventions have sought to identify and impose alternative ways of living on those who find themselves at the blunt end of the process of social exclusion, our research suggests that PF coaches can achieve positive outcomes through an engagement with young people on their own terms and through their cultural reference points.

Developmental Gateways: Progression and Pathways

Key Issue: To what extent do PF projects open up opportunities for personal development and the widening of participants’ horizons?

- Whilst individual 'progress' is an intensely personal concept, PF has become concerned to be identified as providing more than a programme of diversionary activities and has sought to generate pathways which link to opportunities for accreditation, training and ultimately, employment.
- We have identified an almost endless diversity to the ways in which projects approach the issue of progression, accreditation and legacy.
- The differences are generally reflective of the host agencies culture rather than any ideological distance from PF’s wider aspirations.
- There is a range from those projects which incorporate no real assessment of participants, to those which actively develop progressional routes involving movement through the organization from user to provider.
- Those projects which offer progressional routes from user, to volunteer, to paid worker represent an ‘ideal’ for others to move towards.
- Short term activity programmes that have fixed cut off points without clear progression routes are less likely to have a lasting impact.

Policy and Practice: There is a need for an emphasis on long term engagement and the avoidance of short term activity programmes with no clear progression routes. The ability to judge success is then reliant upon the establishment of realistic participant baselines and the continued monitoring of progress both in terms of the more quantifiable securing of accreditation, training and employment and the more qualitative reflection associated with session debriefs.

Health, lifestyle and substance misuse

Key Issue: How far do PF projects address wider issues associated with health, lifestyle and substance misuse?

- Our research has recorded two main ways in which projects use sessional activities as a vehicle for tackling issues around health and fitness. The formal - referring to programmed workshops and the 'informal' occurring responsively to individuals or issues arising in a session.
- At projects which themselves offer services to young people in relation to their drug use, PF staff and their colleagues are ideally placed to both identify and address issues of substance misuse.
- At other projects where there is less experience of direct drugs work, expertise is regularly bought in and creative ways to address the issues sought out.
- PF staff have received training in substance misuse through the PF Workforce Training Initiative which several workers have reported as giving them much more confidence around the issues.
- We have also observed the ways in which PF has addressed wider aspects of participants' health and wellbeing in relation to the emphasis placed on fitness in the development of sporting lifestyles.
- In other contexts the 'natural' linkage between sport and physical fitness/nutrition is not always exploited as well as it might be.

Policy and Practice: In the adoption of the more 'formal' approaches towards health and substance misuse education it is important not to replicate mainstream educational styles that have proven alienating in other contexts. 'Alternative' and culturally appropriate styles of learning which capture the imagination of young people should be utilised.

Sustainability

Key Issue: Are PF projects sustainable?

- As projects become more established the better the methods of working in partnership become. This in itself creates greater sustainability, as the project embeds itself in an interactive network of delivery, and is able to meet the needs of other organizations and draw down further funding.
- Whilst security of funding over sustained periods enables greater development of the work and therefore greater value in terms of effective delivery, funding continues to be short term whilst requiring considerable but economically stringent outcomes.
- However, ultimately all of the case study projects are located within wider programmes of activity. In this sense, whilst there may be strategic concern over future funding sources, project workers do not seem to worry about the future funding of PF.
- There is a general feeling that whether PF continues in its current form or not that government funds will be available for sports related work of this type.

- The general confidence in the PF programme relates to its strategic approach which embraces a clear strategy document, the Workforce Training Initiative and a robust research and evaluation framework

Policy and Practice: If effective participant progression routes are to be built it is vital that projects can themselves grow and evolve over significant periods of time. This will require a consistent strategic approach and appropriate forms of non invasive monitoring and evaluation which can be integrated with the Government's wider vision for children's services, *Every Child Matters: Change for Children*.

Part One. Introduction and research methodology

1.1 Preface

'Positive Futures is primarily about reconnecting marginalised young people with local services and opportunities, and ensuring that the multiple issues associated with problematic substance misuse continue to be addressed. Young people remain our highest priority and Positive Futures is contributing to this effort in a way that the young people themselves find attractive and meaningful' says Home Office Minister Caroline Flint.

On a minibus driving round an estate in Halifax, the official party line is translated by a Positive Futures (PF) worker:

'The kids don't know or care what project they're on. Why should they? They just know us (the workers) and that they get the chance to do stuff they wouldn't otherwise'.

'Messing about' on the water

We picked up the minibus, the one with no radio, the windows that rattle when you stand still and the engine that almost drowns out the noise of the participants. We drive around the area, making stops at Sherbourne, Mountside, Henfrew and the Marchant Estates, as well as the Ginnel Flats, to pick up the young people. The group attend PF as part of their alternative curricula.

We knocked Del out of bed, and, eventually, he came through the door complaining of a sore back, after play fighting with a friend the night before. We went to collect Ginny, but her Mum told Haley, one of the workers, that she was 'in Bradford.' Haley was shaking her head as she came back to the minibus to let us know. Apparently, 'in Bradford' is short hand for Ginny and her mate Karen, who was also meant to be with us today, going off to the city and getting up to things her Mum would prefer not to think about, before returning a few days later. Haley said she had seen Karen recently. She had spent a month with an uncle and looked better. 'The last time I saw her, she looked like she hadn't slept for a month, spotty, dirty clothes and she smelled.' She has spent some time in a home, her mother wants nothing to do with her and her father only has sporadic contact.

Stan did not answer when Rod knocked on his door. We learned the next week that he was getting out of bed as we were pulling away and he had lost Nathan's card so couldn't call us. Nathan had feared that Stan was sleeping rough. Occasionally, after a family flare up, he crashes at some local allotments.

Ronnie had moved house and, although via Del, we worked out which street he was on, cruising up and down and beeping the horn didn't bring Ronnie out. He had called the project, but left an incomplete 'phone number and his school had no contact details for him.

The drive to the canal is short, and the young people were quiet. We nipped into Aldi on route to pick up provisions, as we were being joined by another small group of young people who were with

Jack, a part time worker. Hiring the barge is an expensive activity by local PF standards, so the groups are merged, partly in an attempt to introduce the young people to each other, partly as an exercise in value for money and partly because, as we knew not everyone due to be picked up would make it, there were bound to be spare places.

On deck went through the safety drills; the skipper, Todd, asking the participants to think of things it might be dangerous to do on board. They dutifully listed running, jumping, leaning over the side and smoking below deck, as they buckled up their life jackets. Todd steered us away, and quickly had a line of young people eager to manoeuvre the boat along the narrow canal. In the excitement of steering, none of the young people saw the horn until the end of the trip when one of the crew disconnected it after a member of staff started to drive the young people mad by sounding it!

Tipper said he had never been on a barge before and asked the names of some birds along the bank. After pointing out a swan and a goose and, thanks to the skipper's more intimate knowledge, a moor hen, he asked 'so, is a moor hen like a duck or a bird?' Bry asked Todd, why he was wearing steel toe caps on a barge. Todd replied 'it's so I don't hurt my feet when I kick kids up the arse.' The lads laughed.

The two groups were getting along famously and Alistair explained how the canal is neutral territory, 'no one's ground.' They were soon grumbling when Haley announced it was down to them to make lunch. She set them off, getting out pans and knives, and soon she was able to come up top when the young people set up a production line of frying, buttering, slicing and brewing.

On the way back, we only ran aground once, and made it back to the berth on time, with Morgan, a barge volunteer, and the participants running ahead to open bridges; we even had time to do a little fishing over lunch. Morgan said he would not fish; he has no problem with people catching a fish as long as they eat them, but hates throwing them back. He asked Ed 'would you chase a little lamb, throw it round and then let it go?' Bry looked bemused and walked over to Del who was teaching people to cast.

The journey back was relaxed; Del snoozed, and Mary and Rod were quiet. After we dropped everyone off, we went back to park the bus.

There was some trepidation beforehand amongst staff that the young people might become bored and fractious, that the groups might not mingle well, but they were keen to try something new. There is a plan but it is adapted in the face of changing circumstances. It's not all high octane stuff and staff are prepared for glitches, whilst working from a stand point of hope that the young people will enjoy the activities and engage with them and each other. Staff fulfilled different roles to ensure the success of the day; Alistair was in the background, Haley chivvied people, Nathan kept a watchful eye whilst chatting to one or two young people, Todd stood at the back, coaching the participants to steer and chatted with them during lunch, when they asked him about his past on boats, whilst Morgan played the river guide.

We offer these establishing scenes in order to provide a glimpse of the front line work of a Positive Futures (PF) project in all its unquantifiable complexity and to

offer something of the style of reportage associated with our research. For this is the first of three interim reports which form part of the national PF Case Study Research commissioned by the UK Home Office. This research is focused on seven case study projects located across Yorkshire, Merseyside and South London which reflect the diversity of organisational and delivery cultures within the wider PF national sports-based social inclusion programme, currently delivered through 108 local partnership projects throughout England and Wales.

The research is being led by a team in the Faculty of Health and Wellbeing at Sheffield Hallam University in collaboration with the Manchester Institute for Popular Culture at Manchester Metropolitan University and the Centre for Urban and Community Research at Goldsmiths College, London. It was commissioned with a view to assessing, at different stages of individual project's development, the impact, organisational and process elements associated with these interventions. In practice the benchmark for this assessment is represented by the extent to which projects reflect the principles and objectives outlined in the PF strategy document *Cul-de-sacs and gateways* (Home Office 2003) which sought to generate an understanding of 'the Positive Futures approach'.

Utilising a series of sporting metaphors this document was divided into five parts:

- the state of play: the current picture
- rules of the game: the positive futures approach
- taking the lead: drugs strategy directorate
- team games: how positive futures meets the needs of its partners
- passing on the baton: ensuring continuity

As such, in this first interim report we are concerned to address both 'the state of play' by introducing the case study projects and setting out a sense of the current picture against which any progress might be assessed; and also considering the relationship between project activity and 'the positive futures approach'. *Cul-de-sacs and gateways* articulates what might be seen as a discrete and alternative perspective towards the use of sport in wider social interventions which breaks with conventional sporting and youth justice models of social development:

The Positive Futures programme has been built up around young people's involvement in sporting activity but it is not concerned with the celebration, development or promotion of sport as an end in itself. Nor does it merely attempt to use sport as a simple 'diversion' or alternative to time spent engaging in drug use and crime. Positive Futures is a relationship strategy based on the principle that engagement through sport and the building of mutual respect and trust can provide cultural 'gateways' to alternative lifestyles (*ibid*:8).

Our focus here then will be on the capacity of projects to engage their target groups, build relationships and generate environments characterized by mutual and self respect. We will consider the extent to which projects are able to act as

'cultural intermediaries, providing gateways between what are often seen as alien and mutually intimidating worlds' (*ibid*:9) and opening up new lifeworlds, forms of belonging and identity. This will involve consideration of how participants are targeted, how local geographical, demographic and cultural contours are navigated, the style and delivery of project activities, their appeal to particular target groups and the characteristics and approaches of project staff.

Sticking with the themes raised in *Cul-de-sacs and gateways*, in our next report we will turn our attention to the organisational contexts in which projects operate in terms of leadership, vision and partnerships in order to identify the most appropriate vehicles for the implementation of the PF approach. Finally, on the basis of our long term, qualitative evaluative framework, in our third report we will consider the experiences of participants and neighbourhoods and the contribution of projects to the 'journeys' they travel over the course of the research. As such, the fundamental principle which guides the research is to ensure that the voices of local residents, community groups and involved professionals are at the heart of the evaluation. In this way, as the research progresses, we aim to unravel and establish a fresh conceptual framework which will help us to better understand the role that sports based projects of this type can play in wider social inclusion and regeneration initiatives.

1.2 The projects

The seven case study projects included in the research are located in three regional clusters. Three in West Yorkshire - Calderdale, Keighley and Leeds - which are the focus of the research based at Sheffield Hallam University; two in Merseyside - North Liverpool and Sefton - which are the focus of the research based at Manchester Metropolitan University; and two in South London - Southwark and Wandsworth - which are the focus of the research based at Goldsmiths College. They operate over areas varying in size from a small post code area to an entire local authority and are characterized by a diverse range of organizational styles and histories of involvement in interventions of this type.

1.2.1 Calderdale

In Calderdale, Lifeline is the lead agency for the PF project which was one of the second wave launched in 2002. Lifeline itself preceded the development of PF and is a voluntary sector, non profit making organization which is a registered charity and company limited by guarantee. The principal activities of the company are to assist people and their families and dependents affected by the misuse of drugs and to provide a training and advisory service to those who deal with the misuse of drugs and sexually transmitted diseases. The organisation is indiscriminate in its work with people who want to stop using drugs and those who want to continue using drugs. They have a number of bases across England, particularly in the North West, Yorkshire and the North East and work on the street, in people's homes, in bars and clubs, in prisons and in schools.

They take a holistic view, rather than a purely medical or criminal justice approach, towards drug problems. As a consequence, the organisation sees itself as developing innovative responses in terms of initiatives, projects and service development. They describe their approach as pragmatic, not taking a moral stance by condemning drug use. Their activities include partnership work, harm reduction, service delivery, development work including joint work with drug users, research, innovative pilots, community involvement, social inclusion and education and volunteer work.

In Halifax, where Lifeline has an office in the town centre, a combination of high crime levels and deprivation inspired the launch of a PF project focusing on the HX2 8 post code area. Although the Drug and Alcohol Advisory Team (DAAT) took the lead on bidding for PF monies, it identified Lifeline as its preferred lead agency. This decision was influenced by the fact that Lifeline had carried out substance misuse work in the area previously which had been commissioned by the DAAT, so the commissioners had experience of Lifeline's ways of working, feeling that their pragmatic approach was well suited to the delivery of a PF project. Nevertheless the project embraces a wide range of partners although the key relationship is with the local Youth Inclusion Programme (YIP).

The focus for the project's work is in the nearby deprived Ovenden Ward which includes the neighbourhoods of Furness, Wheatley, Lee Mount and Shroggs Park and the Illingworth and Mixenden Ward 3 miles to the north.

1.2.2 Keighley

Like Calderdale, the Keighley project was launched during the roll out of the second wave of Positive Futures in 2002. It is co-ordinated by Bradford Youth Offending Team (YOT) replicating a long standing involvement by YOTs in the delivery of PF, following their initial nomination by the Youth Justice Board to lead some of the first wave of projects.

The estates that they chose to focus on in Keighley which include the Brackenbank/Guardhouse, Braithwaite, Parkwood, Lund Park and Woodhouse, have some of the highest overall incidences of crime in the district and have been identified as suffering 'multiple stress' according to Bradford's crime and disorder audit (Bradford, MDC, 2001).

The YOT was from the outset keen for services to be *delivered* by organisations with deeper roots in local networks than their own, and with more experience of delivery, but felt that they could offer the project much in terms of strategic direction and management. As such the YOT now buys in work from the Youth Service (YS) and the Joint Activities Service (JAS), whilst itself providing the overall management for the project. JAS is a voluntary sector organisation, established in 1987 by Keighley Magistrates, to support young people in the

community and help them avoid coming into contact with the legal system. It operates across the Bradford area, often supporting YIPs and their partners, working with young people who truant, have been excluded, or who have offended, providing sporting opportunities, as well as access to education and training. The PF project is now based in the JAS office in Keighley town centre which is home to a number of voluntary sector organisations.

1.2.3 Leeds

Leeds Positive Futures was initially developed as a partnership between Leeds City Council's Learning and Leisure Department and Nacro during the roll out of the third wave of PF projects. The drive behind the establishment of this partnership was: to reduce anti social behaviour, youth offending and problem drug misuse within specific targeted neighbourhoods of Leeds. At the onset, Leeds PF was largely based around the two West Yorkshire Police local Basic Command Units (BCU) of Milgarth and Killingbeck which cover much of the six deprived inner city wards of Burmantofts, City and Holbeck, Harehills, Richmond Hill, Seacroft and University. Despite the breadth of delivery and diversity of the partnership, the project was intended to operate as one entity, being jointly managed by the two main partners. In line with this approach, both organisations appointed co-ordinators to oversee the management of Leeds PF. Both coordinators were based at the City Council Leisure Department's Action Sport Office on Reginald Road in Chapeltown to the north west of the city centre.

The partnership approach was initially characterised by the pairing of complementary skills and styles which helped to shift the ethos of the project's work away from straight sports delivery. However this was soon undermined by the secondment of the Nacro co-ordinator away from the project and the failure by Nacro to provide a ready replacement. Subsequently, Leeds City Council, has been asked to submit a new project plan for delivering PF until March 2006 which will involve an overhaul of the current partnership arrangements and, by implication, a new Service Level Agreement.

1.2.5 North-Liverpool

In planning for around eighteen months, North-Liverpool Positive Futures (NLPF) was funded in the third phase of projects and became operational in February 2004. It is now being delivered through a local voluntary community sports organization - the Vernon Sangster Community Sports Centre - although other local partners include the Youth Offending Team, DAAT, Liverpool Football Club Community Team, Liverpool City Council, Connexions and Merseyside Police.

NLPF initially covered six wards in north Liverpool, namely Anfield, Breckfield, County, Everton, Melrose and Vauxhall. Due to the electoral boundary changes of 2004 the wards and some of their names have since altered and so the project now covers five wards covering largely the same areas:

Anfield	(Takes in Anfield, part of Breckfield and Tuebrook wards)
Central	(Takes in part of Everton, Abercromby, Kensington and Smithdown)
County	(Part County, Melrose and Warbreck wards)
Everton	(Part Breckfield, Everton, Kensington and Vauxhall wards)
Kirkdale	(Takes in Vauxhall, Melrose and part of Everton ward)

However there are currently limited data relating to the reworked boundaries and therefore this report, in line with the activities of NLPF itself, will focus on data and titles relating to the pre 2004 wards.

1.2.5 Sefton

Sefton Positive Futures (SPF) was established in 2002 as one of the second wave of PF projects and is delivered through the Sports and Recreation Section of Sefton Borough Council's 'Leisure Services' department. SPF are based within the Netherton Activity Centre, which is a local authority sport and recreation centre. From the outset SPF helped to deliver the Sefton 'Active Communities' programme. The 'Active Communities' programme aimed to 'create healthier, safer communities in Sefton by providing access to sport and leisure opportunities for the most vulnerable groups'.¹

Up until April 2005, the team came under the banner of Leisure Inclusion Services (LINCS) although a recent re-structuring exercise has since resulted in the entire team being branded as 'Positive Futures' although funding comes from a range of sources, including the NRF, DAT and PCT in addition to PF itself. Although SPF core funding is predominantly aimed at working in Sefton wards which fall into the top 20% most deprived according to the IMD, the range of funding streams and wider responsibilities to the local authority 'Leisure Inclusion' section means that they actually deliver activities Borough-wide. Nevertheless the majority of work is centered around the more deprived south end of the Borough, in the Netherton and Bootle areas.

1.2.6 Wandsworth

Sport and Further Education (SAFE) represents the partnership which is responsible for the Wandsworth PF project. SAFE is a partnership between Chelsea Football Club and Cranstoun Drug Services which came together in the third wave of Positive Futures development, commencing work in Autumn 2003. Cranstoun are a national voluntary sector drug agency with a multi-million pound annual turnover who work across the country in a variety of settings, from prisons to residential units. The organisation is based in Wimbledon, a short drive from Battersea and has a track record of working in Wandsworth. By contrast Chelsea are one of the country's leading Premier League football clubs whose base at

¹ PF Sefton publicity on the Local Authority website, <http://www.sefton.gov.uk>

Chelsea Village, Stamford Bridge, is just across the river from Battersea. At the club, PF is located in the Football in the Community arm, which sees the project as a chance to develop its work and make it more financially viable.² While the name SAFE in theory represents the partnership between the two agencies, in practice it is rarely used and it is the Positive Futures brand that appears most frequently, while the Chelsea logo also features strongly.

Perhaps reflecting the contrasting profile and status of the respective partners, their approach to working with young people offers a further juxtaposition of styles. Cranstoun's expertise lies in working with young people on the margins, and finding practical strategies with which to draw them back in. Chelsea are experts in the delivery of football coaching, although young people who are more easily reached better suit their style of working and deployment of resources. Equally the conventional disciplines associated with football development mean that Chelsea coaches prefer to work with partners and young people who demonstrate 'commitment' and initial sessions are often designed to assess their level of commitment.

Chelsea then, bring the magnetic appeal of brand plus the experience of successfully running numerous and varied coaching sessions, while Cranstoun brings a public gravitas to their work with young people, and some real ways of both understanding and delivering issue based work with those who are most challenging

At the outset the project had two co-ordinators, one employed by Chelsea and one by Cranstoun who both have very different skills, experiences, and approaches to the work. Whilst we will return to the issue of partnership working and organisational issues in the next report, it is clear that the contrast in interpretation of PF objectives plays out across the work of the project and that tensions have risen up through each organisation. Ultimately this resulted in a decision to divide the project budget so that each managed their own portion of the funds. It was hoped that this would allay some of the immediate difficulties, and create a more equitable balance of power, thus enabling a more co-operative partnership approach to delivery. Nevertheless it seems that, for now both organisations will continue to deliver according to their own priorities .

The SAFE focus, according to the original delivery plan, was intended to be on three wards in the north of the Borough – St. Mary's, Latchmere, and St. John's. While both partners have connections to these areas, neither are based there.

² This initiative predated the arrival of billionaire owner Roman Abramovich at Chelsea, at a time when the various elements of the club were highly motivated to generate income in light of a long history of financial losses. It is not yet clear to what extent the 'new' face of Chelsea and its current affluence has affected the outlook of the 'community' arm, which is something we intend to watch as the research develops.

1.2.7 Southwark

Kickstart is the lead agency in the Southwark PF project which launched in 2001 and is the only first wave project amongst our case studies. Kickstart preceded the development of PF and began life as a voluntary sector organisation in 1997 with the intention of conducting 'Estates based youth intervention' work. It is part of a national umbrella organisation, Crime Concern, which manages some fifty community based projects across the UK.

Having begun as a Safer Cities initiative managed by Crime Concern its initial remit was to reduce anti-social behaviour and the fear of crime through targeting the 8-16 age group on the Rockingham estate in Southwark. Now the organisation seems to be constantly engaged in a process of change, usually involving growth. In the different narratives presented to us it is suggested that outreach and detached work on some estates around the Elephant and Castle neighbourhood led to work with local agencies such as schools to deliver football-based interventions for young people on these estates. It seems that structured, issue based (e.g. sexual health, anti-racism, drugs, cross-generational respect), social and personal development programmes were then built in which were increasingly formalised, leading to the development of a more structured 'case work' approach to track young people's progression and provide access to locally delivered accredited training.

Despite this 'formalisation', Kickstart have remained a 'grassroots' organisation, with young people's relationships with the project often evolving through different levels of involvement from participant to volunteer, sessional worker and full staff member. In this sense Kickstart embodied many of the characteristics of the PF approach prior to its association with the programme. It now has a team of over 40 paid staff plus an additional 10-15 part-time and voluntary workers, many of whom have come up through the organisation from an initial participant role.

Kickstart's PF work is frequently knitted into other parts of its delivery programme so cannot always be separated out from other elements of activity. Its programme is diverse and is delivered in a wide variety of community-based settings. Kickstart itself is now housed in a small row of shops on the Heygate Estate only a few minutes walk from where the organisation began. From here the area of operation reaches into the edges of Bermondsey to the north east, into the Aylesbury Estate in a southerly direction, and to the west they are currently extending their activities across the borough boundary into Lambeth.

1.2.8 Summary

Whilst we will return to the question of modeling the various structures of PF in our next report what is immediately clear is that the organisation of PF is essentially a locally negotiated enterprise embodying a variety of management

approaches which have given rise to a diverse and distinct set of project management styles amongst our case studies. Broadly speaking, from our case study examples, these can be divided into three main types as presented in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Positive Futures organizational types

Type	Organisation	Approach	Example
Community based	Voluntary	Radical, innovative and participant focused	Calderdale North Liverpool Southwark
Local authority	Statutory	Traditional, formulaic, 'top down'	Sefton Leeds
Hybrid	Partnership	Pragmatic	Keighley Wandsworth

Whilst such 'ideal type' classifications do not fully reflect the specificity of the individual projects they do identify discernable differences and enable comparisons which facilitate the research and analysis. However, in practice whilst all the projects involve broad partnerships with a range of agencies their character is typically defined by the lead agency, its cultural style and its staff.

For the Calderdale project, its location within an agency which purports to be radical and pragmatic in its work with drug users has led to an ambitious desire to make the project an exemplar, learning from the good practice of others whilst not wanting to conform to an established pattern of operation. By contrast the Sefton project operates along more traditional strategic lines which are defined as much by the history of local authority sports and leisure provision and wider programme objectives as the internal ethos of the team. The SAFE partnership in Wandsworth brings together a culturally diverse and seemingly irreconcilable set of agencies which necessarily involves a degree of pragmatism in both the way that the project is managed and delivered.

Despite these different management styles, all of the projects have felt the need to reshape themselves, in the light of local issues through the course of our research. Later, we shall see that the same is true in terms of targeting young people and the activities that are delivered. Regardless of the driver, the multi agency nature of the projects and the links they have forged with other agencies enables them to adapt to these changing local conditions.

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 A participatory approach

The Positive Futures programme draws on models which have been developed in relation to broader crime prevention and reduction programmes (Nichols, 1997;

Robins, 1990; Purdy & Taylor, 1983). Nevertheless existing research approaches have struggled to provide much in the way of 'hard' evidence that such prevention or treatment interventions have a significant impact on patterns of drug use or crime (DCMS, 2002; Collins, 2002; Nichols, 1997; Robins, 1990; Coalter, 1989). What evidence is available tends to come from internal assessment or isolated independent evaluation, is often overly quantitative, short term and does not clarify what causes measured reductions in drug use and offending behaviour. Furthermore, whilst there are reasons why sport and leisure activity might influence such behaviour, the objectives and rationales have rarely been made clear, leaving the measurement of outcomes an uncertain exercise.

One of the points of departure of this research then is our contention that meaningful evaluation of initiatives such as those being examined here requires a methodological strategy that goes beyond simple quantitative analysis. It is only when the quantitative method (used sparingly and effectively) is utilised to support a qualitative approach that we can achieve an evaluation which communicates the social structures, processes, 'feelings' and context in which participants find themselves, and in turn how they themselves respond to such pressures.

As such, the fundamental principle which guides our research is to ensure that the voices of the young participants, local residents, community groups and involved professionals are at the heart of the evaluation. Without the active participation of stakeholders, evaluation is an empty procedure which offers few benefits to fundholders and policy makers. This means developing participatory methods, and it means looking at impacts on the wider resident community, not just users of a particular service.

Our research then is underpinned by a commitment to a Participative Action Research (PAR) approach. PAR provides a family of research methods united by a set of principles and a style. It is cyclical, moving between action and critical reflection and seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of concern to people and their communities. It aspires to empower participants through this collaboration, by promoting the acquisition of knowledge to achieve social change, whilst attempting to circumvent traditional hierarchies associated with researcher/researched dichotomies. In this sense PAR is characterised by a dynamic relationship between theory and practice during the life of the project since:

'... most of our knowledge, and all our primary knowledge, arises as an aspect of activities that have practical, not theoretical objectives; and it is this knowledge, itself an aspect of action, to which all reflective theory must refer.' (MacMurray, J. in Reason. & Bradbury, 2004).

Participatory research then is not just concerned with using participatory techniques within a conventional monitoring and evaluation setting. It is about radically rethinking who initiates and undertakes the process, and who learns or benefits from the findings since it involves the implementation of a local process rather than the imposition of an externally defined set of procedures. It seeks to shift control of the planning and management of the research process in the direction of local people, project staff and other stakeholders and away from senior managers and outside 'experts'. It engages those at the heart of the research in the design, analysis and use of findings and leads to the development of flexible, locally appropriate methods of enquiry rather than externally defined, fixed methods of assessment.

1.3.2 Access, engagement and resistance in the research process

In terms of access to the projects themselves, in the context of an invitation from the national PF team, all of the projects were keen to be involved in the research at a management level and have facilitated our access and integration into project activity. As such we set up initial meetings with key members of staff and then began to build an outline of each project and to understand how they were structured and how their services were delivered. We also tried to communicate what exactly we were intending to do and why. It has been important at each stage of the research process to reiterate to staff that our presence is not one that is intended to inspect, but instead that we are willing to participate in the work of the projects. In doing so, we gain better understandings of what sessions are offering, how they engage with the young people who attend, and what enables them to achieve such engagement. Despite this, in the research role we have regularly been misinterpreted. The principal field workers in each of the case study project locations - including two white women in their thirties with a history of involvement in community development initiatives, a white woman with extensive observational field research experience and a black man in his thirties from Zambia with experience of delivering sports based social interventions - have been referred to by both staff and young people as evaluator, coach, assistant coach, student, Positive Futures official, etc. We have found that the best way of tackling these misconceptions is not further explanation but a continuing attendance at particular sessions.

Understandably the participants typically have no deep interest in the research as such. Sometimes they will ask what we have been doing at other projects, but, for the most part what usually follows is that the researcher becomes a part of the expected set up, helping to run sessions and engaging in activities and conversations with them. Accordingly, initial questions become less relevant, and importantly relationships with staff and young people begin to develop, moving beyond the unease associated with conceptualisations of the *inspector* and *inspected*, or *observer* and *observed*.

Typically we have experienced a mix of slight disbelief and genuine enthusiasm when the research has been explained to staff. Disbelief that the research will last for two years and involves researchers being a part of the projects and enthusiasm because of the way this participatory approach contrasts with the kind of 'monitoring' (usually snap shot and quantitative) that workers are used to.

In the context of community based projects, the ethos of the lead organisation has typically been that they embrace research/evaluation as a means of improving delivery and are in any case increasingly accessing the views of service users to shape their activities. However, this has not always translated into a capacity to spend 'meaningful' time with the young people because of the way that sessions are structured. In several case study settings participants are for the most part bussed in, with a few making their own way. When they arrive they tend to get involved in activities immediately and after the sessions they leave straight away. There are no obvious breaks built into the sessions, so it has taken longer to build up relationships with the young people who attend.

In these contexts the structuring of activities is not seen as problematic by workers, in terms of their own engagement with participants. However, for the purposes of the research, it has meant that we have had to be flexible and adapt our tactics. This has involved accompanying young people on the minibus; attending residential and events; arriving before and staying after sessions to speak with young people who arrive under their own steam; and beginning to make arrangements to meet some young people outside the confines of PF activities.

In other contexts, particularly those characterized as 'hybrid' in an organizational sense the delivery of PF is rather more fragmented, with one agency holding the funds and buying in services from partners. In this context a lack of communication between the agencies made early attempts at arranging to spend time in these locations problematic. At one project we also experienced some initial reticence from staff about our presence at the sessions because they were attended by only a small number of young people. However, once we began building up relationships, and stressed that the evaluation is not about the *quantity* of young people engaged, they became more comfortable with our attendance. As for establishing contact with young people, at this project, it has been easier to spend more time talking with participants, as activities tend to last much longer and have breaks built in. As such, despite having spent less time in the field at this venue, some stronger relationships have been built up.

In the context of the local authority led projects, alongside a determined desire to be involved in the research, we have experienced much stronger sensitivity towards its wider purpose. Whilst in one context the Principal Development Manager is keen to be able to use the research reports as both evidence of good practice for publicity and as feedback to relevant stakeholders this is allied to a concern to obtain copy approval over anything being written about the project. At

the same time whilst there is a concern about how they are going to be represented, there is little enthusiasm for maintaining the project's anonymity in the context of an associated inability to use the research to promote the organisation's work. In another local authority context where the co-ordinator is much more relaxed about the research it has taken more time to secure the trust of front line project staff whose perception of monitoring and evaluation is informed by a fear of invasive management control tools. With time and more elaboration of the researcher's role by the coordinator, relationships have improved as the project workers' own relationships with their work and participants have developed.

In this sense the research process is itself revealed as a dynamic in the process of project delivery and despite our commitments to democratic forms of participation we are not naive enough to fail to recognise the ways in which it *can* be mobilised as a management tool. In a meeting with their supervisor in one of our case studies, project workers asked for more clarification concerning the role of the researcher at certain sessions where it was difficult for them to participate. The project co-ordinator then explained how the research was focused on the process of relationship building between participants and project workers. Since the meeting the project workers appear to have responded by spending more time conversing with participants and attempting to get to know them better.

There may also be wider structural factors at play here since in a context where activities tend to be organised in such a way that the journey to and from them provides the primary opportunity to develop conversations with young people, it has taken longer to build relationships than both we and perhaps the project staff might have hoped for. As the work has developed and relationships have improved staff have become less apprehensive about the research and have helped the researchers with greater access to the young people who attend and by engaging in interviews themselves.

We are also conscious of the ways in which the personal biographies of the research team have impacted on the research process. Issues of ethnicity and gender have affected our ability to gain access and build relationships in different contexts. In one white working class district, where a black researcher's role has become identified as that of an assistant coach there have been no problems engaging with young people. Equally in the context of the multicultural make up of the project staff other black members of staff have identified on the basis of a common racial background and engaged in conversation centered on issues of racism and prejudices on the basis of a perception of common experience. Yet in other delivery contexts, where there is some history of black on black tension between those of west African and Caribbean heritage, a degree of animosity has been displayed which has necessitated a more cautious approach to the building of relationships.

In targeting sessions then, we have looked at the whole programme of delivery in the various locations and tried to cover a good cross-section of this in relation to age, locality, different staff, session type, ethnicity and gender. Where necessary we have looked at increasing our research team to take account of how we are represented in relation to gender and ethnicity. For instance, a white female researcher attended a football coaching session over several months where all of the participants were young men aged 16-25 and the majority were Asian. While she got to know many of them, and assisted at sessions, she felt that despite being friendly and considerate with her they would relate very differently to a male researcher. The plan is therefore to organise an informal focus group session with some of them and, while the female researcher will attend, to bring in an Asian male youth worker to lead the session.

The above example is also illustrative of the way in which we have drawn on the research tools available to us, and selected these after having had sustained contact with a group of young people. That is, we try to tailor our research to fit those involved in each session, with consideration about what is most likely to feel comfortable for them, and ultimately what we think will work best.

1.3.3 Research techniques

Our emphasis then has been on qualitative accounts of the local perception of projects. We have been using low-key, resident-friendly participant observer methods to get behind the quantitative data that typically defines such neighbourhoods in the eyes of social policy analysts and commentators, to understand the changes in the areas and the lives of people who have been touched by the process. The use of a participatory approach enabled us to quickly gain a feel for issues specific to the individual projects and broader local concerns which have an impact on how the projects operate. The swift identification of these issues allowed us to concentrate on them immediately, whilst the relatively long term nature of the research means that we have time to capture and explore how these issues develop and are addressed whilst also focusing on new themes as they emerge. In the same way that Positive Futures aims “to build and maintain long-lasting relationships with some of the most marginalized young people”³, it seems that this research can only hope to reference some of the experiences and impacts of the project on young people through the investment of time and relationship building.

A variety of methods of enquiry have been mobilised, located predominantly around the actual lived experiences of project staff and the participants and residents in the selected areas. Our approach is to adapt the methods we use depending on the group we are working with, once we have got ‘a feel’ for what might be most appropriate. For example, we employed the use of a questionnaire with two year groups of girls in a secondary school who had just completed a 6 week programme of football coaching. Given the limited time available, the size

³ *The State of Play*, Positive Futures progress report, Home Office Sept. 2004

of the groups, and the fact that for many English is a second language, the questionnaire format was chosen for its simplicity. Elsewhere extensive participant observation has been conducted on housing estates; at training sessions, matches and competitive tournaments; on trips and residential away from the estates; in the more informal 'social' locations inhabited by project staff, participants and residents; as well as in policy forums and conferences. Where full participation has not been possible the role of sessional facilitator was useful in allowing for an unobtrusive observational platform. This type of activity includes the administration of registers, aiding with the setting up of the session and carrying kit. There were also certain sessions when the researchers took on more of a non-participant role. This tends to occur more within those sessions which are very regimented, have strict time frames and involve an external professional.

Thus, within the activity sessions the role as researcher differs between participatory, facilitatory and passive observer. Alongside attendance at the activity sessions, time was spent with the Positive Futures staff within their offices. The time spent with the staff enabled an understanding of the routine and non-routine activities in which they engage. This also allowed for a deepening relationship with the staff which in turn aided accessibility and their cooperativeness.

These approaches have enabled us to produce detailed 'thick' descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of the organisational contexts in which the work is situated, the engagement strategies employed, particular sporting practices and the social worlds that surround them. This strategy has been utilised in order to elicit material on the particular style and function of sport and associated social activities in a variety of contexts as well as naturally occurring data on the ways in which sport interacts with participants and residents' everyday lives. Once the observations reached a plateau in terms of being new or noteworthy it was felt that the research could then progress onto utilising other methodological techniques.

In each of the case study locations we have identified a sample of participants, groups and activities which we intend to track through the course of our research. The selection of our samples is informed by the different ways in which young people participate in project activities. Engagement might involve many different individuals with fleeting and momentary contact with a short term activity or series of one-off events, through a defined group's involvement in a discrete package of time limited activity linked to a particular project such as a dance group, to the ongoing progressive involvement of specific participants in the development of the project (see Figure 1).

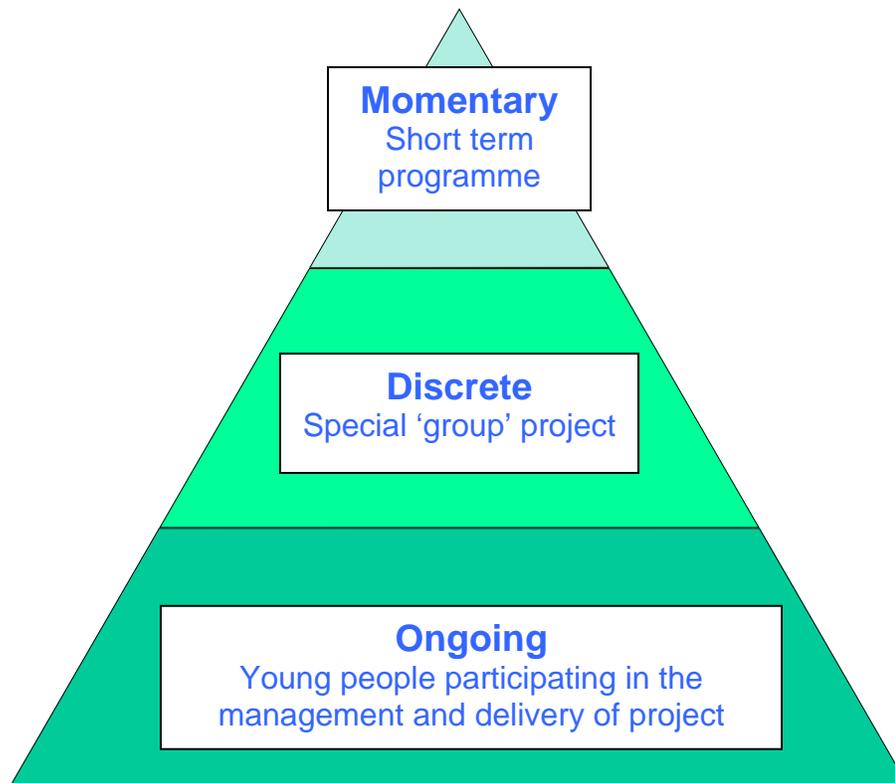


Figure 1: Participant sample frame

We have then sought to identify short term activities with a rolling base of participants, a discrete activity with a consistent group of participants, and a series of individuals who are heavily involved in a range of activities at each case study project. We intend to track these activities and the individuals involved in them over the duration of the research project⁴.

Within such situations another type of active role was often adopted. A combination of intermittent life history interviews with our sample of participants and project staff as well as group qualitative interviews and discussions are being conducted. These are, in the main, loosely structured and in certain situations take on the form of informal discussions rather than recognisable formal 'interviews' in order to capture what has been described as 'naturally occurring data'. These interviews have themselves been augmented by the use of a range of participative techniques which have sought to engage participants and residents in the research process in more innovative and self determined ways. Through the use of these approaches we have sought to establish how a variety

⁴ Given the adaptive action research approach that we are employing our choice of 'groups', 'activities' and 'individuals' may be subject to change as the research develops although we are confident that we will be able to monitor the progress of a core sample of participants and activities in each case study setting.

of individuals and social groups talk about the place of sport within their lives and to account for the 'taken-for-granted' assumptions about how 'facts' and 'realities' come to be represented and the different ways in which communicative resources are used (Atkinson, 1990).

As the research has developed we have engaged young people more directly into the research through the use of a range of innovative visually based methods, such as using maps, photo-diaries, disposable cameras, mock TV talk-shows etc. The use of photography can be efficacious in entering into a dialogue with young people about their lives and neighbourhoods.⁵ This seems particularly pertinent given our interest in the impact of the activity on young peoples lives beyond the point of engagement. We are beginning to explore the possibilities of this format and have asked some of the young people at projects to carry disposal cameras with them, so that they can take photographs of places they hang out and have fun, people they respect, places they would like to visit (participants are encouraged to tear a page out of a magazine if it shows something they cannot capture locally e.g. an image of a role model, a holiday destination) and places that are considered off limits locally. The approach has been embraced with great enthusiasm by some, though not all, participants who have chatted with the researchers about what they intend to take pictures of and why those places and people mean so much to them. Working through the images produced by the young people, along with conversations with staff and more general interaction with the young people, means we are building up a richer sense of the backgrounds and every day lives of the young people we are working with, as well as making links between PF activities and how they might impact on lives outside of the project and vice versa.

Linking to the disposable camera work, we aim to collaborate with a number of young people, using large local maps to identify places in their locality which they and others perceive as dangerous, safe, fun, mysterious etc... Again, this approach will help us to better imagine the lives of young people outside of PF and may also help to demonstrate to local projects how certain venues are perceived by participants which may have an impact on their attendance at sessions.

In order to build on the more quantitative data emerging from the existing PF monitoring and evaluation framework we have also included an archival dimension focused on documentary sources relating to referral patterns, partnership structures and the role of sport in local community development processes. We have surveyed local archive sources to establish the social characteristics of the environments and estates where the studies are based, including racial and ethnic make up and other demographic factors, patterns of migration, housing, the local economy and histories of community organisation.

⁵ See for example *Finding the Way Home*, Back, Cohen and Keith (1996), the work of Laura Davidson at the Westminster Institute of Education, or the work of Diane Reay and Helen Lucey on inner city children in London.

We have also been able to build up a picture of the areas in which PF operates by speaking to people who live and work there, as well as by examining media portrayals of them. This material has been used to situate the place of sports based social interventions within the social ecology of the areas and to explore sport's relationship with particular regional histories and notions of neighbourhood. In this way we hope to achieve a certain latitudinal 'breadth' and longitudinal 'depth' in the study.

Part Two. Starting blocks: Baselines and Background

Up the Elephant, through the Mill and around the Mersey: The research locations

Both in terms of establishing a sense of the context for the research and with a view to the long term trajectory of the study and our desire to explore the journeys travelled by projects, staff, participants and neighbourhoods it is important to capture some kind of baseline picture. Whilst such a picture is never static or complete and as such cannot be imagined to represent a ‘year zero’ from which to generate a linear measuring stick it is important to get a sense of where things ‘are at’. To this end, we will highlight here the socio-historical ecology, demographics and cultural context associated with the locales in which each intervention is operating through the use of a range of empirical evidence and thick narrative accounts⁶.

Whilst all suffering from multiple forms of deprivation, the areas in which the projects are based are extremely diverse and reflect starkly different historical legacies. Some were once affluent, thriving places whilst others have a longer association with the ongoing chaos of metropolitan transformation and hardship. Whilst each of these areas might often be described by interventionist agencies, the media and the general public *as they are now*, as if the locales were static, these descriptions limit the ways that readers think about places and the people who inhabit them and may not reflect the way that life is experienced in these neighbourhoods. Since this research is attempting to trace the *journeys* of projects, participants and staff it is apposite then to locate the projects within the local histories that are themselves the product of the areas’ own journeys.

2.1 From mills and ginnels to suits and vindaloo: The Yorkshire case studies

Our three Yorkshire case studies are all located in the West of the county, or what was once know as the West Riding. This is a region that in modern terms was defined and developed as a consequence of the rapid expansion of the wool, textile and associated clothing trades. Whilst characterized by the stunning natural beauty of the Pennine hills, moorland and valleys it is a region that is also scarred by its industrial heritage, both physically and socially. This pain is most

⁶ The baselines represented here are drawn from the three regional interim reports produced respectively by the Sheffield Hallam University, Manchester Metropolitan University and Goldsmiths College research teams. These regional reports present a more detailed picture of the localities and offer a fuller picture of the participants whose journeys we are following. These will provide the baseline for our subsequent assessments of both the young people’s development and the influence of the projects in that process.

obviously expressed in the former industrial centres of Leeds, Bradford and the wool towns scattered along the Calder valley.

2.1.1 Calderdale

Calderdale along with Bradford, Kirklees, Leeds and Wakefield is one of the five metropolitan districts of West Yorkshire. Flowing from high Pennine moorland, the River Calder and its tributaries create a rugged landscape, with the river key to the development of the textile industry. As far back as 1475, the region had become the country's largest producer of Kersey, a hardwearing, weatherproof cloth and was England's third most prosperous woolen textile manufacturing district. With the onset of the industrial revolution in the late seventeenth century, these industries grew rapidly as Yorkshire became the heartland for the production of woolen cloth and the domestic system of production was superceded by mass industrial output.

With manufacturing increasingly organised on the basis of factory production, for the majority, the pace of work was no longer driven by the rhythm of the household but directed by the obligations and constraints of an employer's work schedule. By 1800, the proliferation of mills was beginning to make its mark on an increasingly urbanized landscape and with the introduction of steam power, the textile industry moved to the more accessible valley bottom settlements of Todmorden, Hebden Bridge, Mytholmroyd, Sowerby Bridge, Halifax, Elland and Brighouse, leaving more ancient communities isolated on the hillsides as millworkers gravitated to the towns. By 1850, the population of Halifax had risen to over 25,000 and there were 24 mills in the town.

This 'boom town' initially had little in the way of public amenities and in 1843 was described as a 'mass of little, miserable, ill-looking streets, jumbled together in chaotic confusion'⁷. The new factories stood next to back-to-back slums along the Valley floor, with double-decker terraces clinging to the steep hillsides. As in other parts of the country, friendly societies and co-operative groups, trade unions and reformers, industrial paternalism and the new municipal authorities helped to address some of these issues. Model villages and co-operative club houses emerged, whilst institutional Victorian civic pride was expressed in an increasing range of public buildings and amenities. Schools and mechanics institutes, hospitals, almshouses and a union workhouse, parks, public baths, cemeteries, gas works, the public library and a museum were all built in the town and the proliferating satellite communities which were increasingly linked by canal, rail, horse and tram.

In spite of the survival of red-brick housing estates from the 1930s; the impact of 1950s slum clearance and urban renewal programmes; the emergence of high-rise flats and shopping centres in the 1960s; and fly-over and motorway

⁷ http://www.calderdale.gov.uk/wtw/timeline/1810_1850/1810_1850_6.html

construction in the 1970s; the physical shape and layout of the area today is very much a product of the 18th and 19th century industrialization of the textile trade.

Although the manufacture of machine tools, quarrying, confectionery and the financial sector have extended Calderdale's commercial and industrial base, the 20th century was largely a period of economic decline for the area. One consequence of this decline was the arrival of many families from South Asia who moved to Halifax to work in the ailing textile industry during the 1950s and '60s. The post second world war economic boom and the introduction of the British Nationality Act in 1948 saw many immigrants, particularly from the Punjab, Gujarat and Mirpur arrive to take up work in the sector. To help bear the costs of increased mechanisation, textile factories worked round the clock, with Indian and Pakistani men working the unpopular night shift, whilst largely white women worked during the day. When the sector went into recession in the 1970s and '80s, the Asian workforce was disproportionately affected.

Nevertheless, perhaps reflecting the adaptability of migrant communities many of these workers successfully made the transition into the service sector which is now Halifax's primary source of employment (particularly financial services). As such, the emergence of pockets of extreme deprivation and high levels of economic inactivity in the town, which accompanied the collapse of the textile trade, are particularly focused in areas of Halifax with predominantly 'white' populations. According to 2001 census data the Ward of Ovenden, part of the area in which the Calderdale PF project operates, has a population of 12,328. Almost 97% of the population here is defined as white; whilst unemployment runs at 8.6%; 41.8% of residents have no qualifications and 19.6% have a long term illness. 65.8% of tenants receive Housing Benefit and 7.4% of children receive free school meals, compared to 51.6% and 3.3% across the district. At 12.5%, lone parent households are almost double the 6.6% average for the wider area. Whilst children from such households are too often cited in negative statistics, and therefore any conclusions need to be carefully drawn, the fact remains that where a sole adult is responsible for both income and childcare there is likely to be pressure on both these roles. In the neighbouring Ward of Illingworth and Mixenden the population is 12,619. Again the residents are overwhelmingly defined as white (98.0%); whilst 7.8% of people of working age are unemployed; 19.6% have a long term illness and 39.8% have no qualifications. 58.8% of tenants receive Housing Benefit and 5.3% of children receive free school meals. At 9.1%, lone parent households again exceed the 6.6% average for the wider area (www.statistics.gov.uk).

These areas are characterised by a mix of terraced and semi detached housing, much of it previously local authority owned, but now operated under the auspices of the Pennine Housing Trust. Wandering through the area it is not uncommon to see white goods and rubbish dumped in gardens and on open land whilst the bus shelters are regularly vandalised. The few shops that remain in the area provide the means to navigate the day rather than to celebrate a lifestyle, selling pop,

cigarettes and alcohol. There are a number of voids on the estates, but the area, partly because of the presence of some well maintained gardens and facades, the activity around the shops and the relative absence of high rise blocks of flats, feels much less dispiriting and claustrophobic than some areas in which PF operates. After school, young people walk in small groups, and hang around in gardens and on open ground. Buses serving the area are busy with people carrying shopping bags from the retail conglomerates located further afield.

Whilst it would be inaccurate to say that unkempt streetscapes are ubiquitous, there is a consistency to the deprivation in the area, a relentlessness to the surroundings which fuels the area's poor reputation externally. Indeed it has recently been represented as a 'dumping ground' for asylum seekers, with a local practitioner referring to the undesirability of the area as a place to live, stating 'it's the only place the council can put them'. Lazy implicit associations are freely made in local reports between its social problems and a perceived moral rectitude amongst local residents:

'The doctor pointed out that the Calderdale PF area is one of the areas worst for health... "This stems from unhealthy lifestyles, such as inactivity, alcohol, diet, smoking, obesity and communicable diseases - for example, increasing rates of sexually transmitted diseases.'" (Halifax Today, November 3, 2004)

Whilst the young people involved in PF have nothing specifically negative to say about the area, apart from the assertion that there is 'nothing to do', this wider institutional hostility, sense of isolation and perception of racial inequality both fuels and is fuelled by local electoral support for the far right British National Party which saw the election of a BNP Councillor for the Mixenden Ward in 2003. One resident stated that 'I wouldn't normally think of voting BNP, but this time around I had no choice. We need to sort this estate out, but none of the other parties did anything about it. I voted BNP because I believe they can sort it out' (Irish AFA, 2003).

The Calderdale Crime and Disorder Audit (2001) reveals some of the substance of these perceptions which are reflected in the finding that most incidents of civil disorder in Calderdale were recorded in Ovenden, Illingworth and Mixenden and three other Wards. The highest rates for violent crime outside of the town centre are in Ovenden and Mixenden and two of the three highest rates for burglary were recorded in these districts whilst Mixenden features amongst the three areas reporting the highest incidence of vehicle crime. Three of the four highest incidences of criminal damage offences were recorded in the areas covered by PF whilst Mixenden had the most recorded complaints of anti-social behaviour regarding abandoned vehicles in Calderdale. Consultations with young people revealed that 31% avoided going out at night for fear of becoming victimised, with their concerns predominantly focused around burglary and vandalism (Calderdale Crime and Disorder Audit 2001). It was this combination of high crime levels and deprivation that led to the instigation of a PF project in the area,

focusing on the HX2 8 post code area, which includes Ovenden, Illingworth and Mixenden.

2.1.1.1 Project staff and current delivery

Initially the project itself, which we introduced in section 1.2.1 above, employed full-time Co-ordinators for the 10-16 and 17-19 age groups, a full-time Modern Apprentice working with 10-16 year olds, a worker shared half-time with the YIP who works with 10-16 year olds, staff from partner organisations, sessional staff and, occasionally, volunteers. However, the long term sickness and eventual departure of one member of staff, the departure of another member of staff and the cessation of funding for a Modern Apprenticeship meant that, in March 2005, the project decided to restructure. So, from mid 2005, the staff structure will comprise:

- Co-ordinator
- Full-time Project Development Worker
- Half-time Project Development Worker
- Support Worker/Modern Apprentice
- Intermediate Labour Market Administration Worker
- Larger pool of sessional staff/workers from other agencies

With the exception of one worker, the staff in Calderdale came to the Project experienced in working with young people, many with complex needs. The majority are from the local area, with some having attended the schools that current participants attend. They come from a variety of working backgrounds.

'Bob', the co-ordinator, has a background in industry and then, via volunteering, substance misuse work. He is a keen sportsman and tries to get involved in sessions, especially fitness and football. He has participated in the PF Workforce Training Initiative, including project management, and has a Diploma in Youth/Community Work. 'Harry' is ex Forces and also works in a local school, delivering lessons to lads who have been identified by the school as 'problematic'. He prefers to work with males, his rumbustuous, matey style seemingly more suited to engaging with the lads. He loves being a front line worker and can speak disparagingly about managers and policy makers. 'Gemma' came to the project straight from college and is obtaining on-the-job accreditation, as well as attending PF Workforce Training Initiative sessions. With a background in youth work and victim support, 'Andrea' says she sees things 'from both sides' in terms of the impact of offending behaviour. She works primarily with females, although she also helps to run sessions for males. She is attending university part-time to obtain further youth work qualifications, and is supported in this by her employers. 'Jeff' has also attended PF training sessions and, like 'Andrea' and 'Judy', is known to many PF participants through work on other projects in the area. He is equally comfortable working with males and females. 'Judy' is the oldest member of the core delivery team and frequently takes on the role of the

organiser, arranging transport, checking contacts, completing paperwork etc. She has a deep knowledge of youth issues, both nationally and locally and experience of years of initiatives addressing the 'problem' of youth.

The workforce is 'young' with the oldest member of staff in their forties. With one exception, all are from the town, some coming from or close to the PF area. Most enjoy sport and participate in activities, although the female members of staff tend to take on the role of organiser, and encourager, rather than consistently engaging in activities.

The current programme of activities is outlined in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Activities timetable for Calderdale PF

Day	Am	Pm	Evening
Mon		Fitness 1 – 13-16 year olds Youth club 10-13 year olds	
Tues		Football coaching mixed 10-13 year olds	
Wed		Fitness 2 – mixed 17-19 year olds Trampolining – female 10-16 year olds	Street dance – female 17-19 year olds 5-a-side football 13-16 year olds
Thurs		5-a-side league over 16s	5-a-side league over 16s
Fri		Fitness 3	

In addition to these activities, there are occasional music and creative industries workshops on Tuesdays and Fridays and residentials and trips during school holidays.

2.1.1.2 Participant sample

As mentioned earlier, for each project we have sought to identify a short term activity with a rolling base of participants, a discrete activity with a consistent group of participants, and a series of individuals who are heavily involved in a range of activities and we intend to track these activities and the individuals involved in them over the duration of the research project.

Momentary: Younger Lads Football

Replacing a multi sports session which ended in late 2004 a new group which uses but is not driven by sport, with a cohort of individuals referred by schools

because of problems around behaviour, low self esteem, a lack of confidence, engaging in or being the victim of bullying etc...has been established. Those who participated in what was the multi-sports session have been offered football on a Tuesday between 4.00 and 5.30 pm at Shenley School and most still attend. The session is staffed by a football coach, senior worker and two further members of staff and attended by around a dozen young men; it has been running since the project began. The session does not offer accreditation. Some of the young people involved in this session may remain with the activity for some time, whilst others will go on to engage in other PF activities or be referred on to non PF activities.

Discrete: Girls Dance/Trampolining

In May 2004 staff decided to divide an existing mixed sex multi-sports session for 10-16 year olds, with all the girls bar one switching to dance and eventually trampolining. The sessions are staffed by two workers, and delivered by an instructor. Via YIP, accreditation is available to participants. The attendance of around a dozen has remained constant and the sessions are held at Shenley School on Wednesdays between 4pm and 5.15pm.

Some group members engage with what is offered more than others. Some were annoyed that dance was replaced by trampolining and, as staff provide a stereo at sessions, some take the opportunity to chat and try out dance moves, between, or instead of, trampolining. Some members have formed a real bond, building on existing relationships, and asked for a girls-only residential which will take place now that external funding has been secured. Some of the girls have also taken part in community cohesion work at the YIP, attending a day care centre for older people, and have taken part in arts and craft sessions.

Ongoing: Individual participants

A total of eight individuals including three girls and five boys have been identified. They are all white except for one of the boys who is of mixed racial heritage. Three of the participants are on the 'Top 50' list and they came to PF through the YIP, school and self referral. Some of them are also members of the groups which we will be tracking. However group membership is not static, and because of the age of participants, their desire to take part in other activities and the project's aim to offer pathways to participants, many of them will move on from these groups. We are keen to track their journeys along subsequent routes.

2.1.2 Keighley

Situated on the eastern edge of the Pennines in West Yorkshire, along with Shipley, Bingley, Ilkley, the City of Bradford and various outlying villages, Keighley makes up the City of Bradford Metropolitan District.

Keighley (Chiceha) is mentioned in the 'Doomsday Book' but it was with the opening of the Bingley to Skipton section of the Leeds-Liverpool Canal that it began to develop industrially and, by 1780, Keighley had the first cotton mill in Yorkshire. By 1847, the main railway line from Leeds reached the town, providing much improved transportation of goods. Throughout the 19th Century Keighley grew rapidly with 10% of the total production of worsteds in Britain being made in the town, large quantities being sold at Bradford and Halifax to merchants from Leeds. A population of under 6000 in 1801 had risen to over 42,000 by 1901.

In terms of the 'cultural' growth of the town, Keighley Library was opened in 1904, mainly thanks to the largess of Andrew Carnegie. The town has had a number of theatres, including the American style 'Queens Theatre' built in 1880. The Mechanics Institute housed the Municipal Hall, School of Science and Art and Trade and also the local Grammar School. Keighley College now occupies the site where the Institute stood before it was destroyed by a fire in the 1960s. The present railway station was opened in 1883 and Platform 4 retains many original features, which invoke a nostalgic image of a former age captured in films such as *The Railway Children* and *Yanks*, and TV series such as *Last of the Summer Wine* and more ironically *The League of Gentlemen*, which have used it as a location. A five minute walk from the station passed a row of what were once grand shops is Scott Street, where the PF office is now located.

Like Halifax, in the post second world war period Keighley developed a substantial Asian community, which followed the same pattern of migration as experienced in Calderdale. Again, as local industries declined, whereas many British Asians diversified into the service sector, some sections of the town's white working class communities, who had in many cases worked in the textile and associated manufacturing trades for generation after generation, were less adaptable. This concentration of skills around one industry, and the tendency for families to remain within the area, has helped to define the nature of local debates around 'race' which are often framed within an economic context whereby 'they' are seen to take 'our' jobs; 'they' have a monopoly within certain business sectors; and 'they' own certain parts of town. We will return to these issues later in the report.

Nevertheless despite the decline of the textile trade manufacturing remains the single largest source of employment in the town, with the sector producing food, metals, machinery, wood and furniture, as well as textiles. As with Calderdale though, there are high levels of economic inactivity and crime in parts of the town. The estates from which PF draws most of its participants have some of the highest overall incidences of crime in the district, specifically around violent crimes, criminal damage, drug offences, disorder, domestic violence and homophobic incidents. This combination of high crime levels and deprivation saw the instigation of two PF projects in the district, one at Holmewood in Bradford and one in Keighley which covers the Brackenbank/Guardhouse, Braithwaite, Lund Park and Woodhouse Estates which are spread over three electoral wards.

National media reports on the town, invariably focus on tensions between white and Asian neighbourhoods, fuelled in no small part by the BNPs high visibility in the area⁸. Overall in the Keighley West Ward which stretches from the town centre southwards and westwards embracing the areas of Braithwaite, Guardhouse, Laycock, Fell Lane, Exley Head, Bogthorn, Ingrow and Bracken Bank, 96.3% of the 15,784 residents are defined as white compared to 78.3% for the district. Whilst the Brackenbank and Braithwaite/Guardhouse estates are predominantly white, the Woodhouse and Parkwood estates are home to a number of asylum seekers. More generally 6.4% of people of working age are unemployed and 39.6% have no qualifications, compared to 35.1% across the district; 18.8% of residents have a long term illness. At 9.6%, lone parent households are slightly higher than the wider area average of 7.4%. 21.4% of the housing stock is social, compared to 16.3% across the district. 37.2% of households do not have access to a car, against an area average of 32.5%

Keighley Central Ward covers Keighley town centre and stretches as far north as Utley to include the commercial and residential areas in the northern part of the town. The area has 16,276 residents and a substantial number of residents from black and minority ethnic groups, 41.6%, compared to 21.7% for the district. 32.8% of the local population defines itself as Pakistani, compared to 14.0% across the district. The Lund estate and Lawkhome Lane areas have particularly large Asian populations. The area also has a youthful population, with 26.5% of residents being under 15 years of age. 10.2% of those who are economically active in the area are unemployed compared to 6.9% across the district, and 44.1% have no qualifications, compared to 35.1% across the area. 20.0% of the total Ward population has a long term illness and an additional 11.1% have health described as 'not good,' slightly higher than the district averages of 18.5% and 10.1%. 65.9% of the housing stock is owner occupied, compared to 71.7% across the district. 41.8% of households do not have access to a car, against an area average of 32.5%.

The areas are physically characterised by a mix of terraced, semi detached and high rise local authority housing stock. When the research commenced in August 2004, the estates had a proliferation of Cross of St. George flags hanging from upstairs windows, with one or two set on poles in gardens and some of these remain. As in Halifax it is common to see rubbish dumped in gardens, although this is not ubiquitous and some gardens are neatly fenced and well maintained. A programme of work focused on improving the housing stock and local environment means that, at least cosmetically, the area, and in particular the Brackenbank estate, has become more attractive since the research began.

There are a few general stores in the area and contraband cigarettes can be bought from a number of houses. There are a number of voids on the estates

⁸ The BNP leader Nick Griffin stood as a parliamentary candidate in the 2005 General Election, securing 4240 votes

and the area seems claustrophobic, with a lack of uncluttered open green space amongst the steep twisting roads. After school finishes, young people often walk around in groups, hanging around the entrances to flats, climbing up railings, and gathering around front gardens. A practitioner from a neighbouring Borough typifies perceptions of the area 'I always hated the place; even driving past it made my heart sink. It's like there was some kind of cloud over it'. Another nods in agreement when a colleague says that some young men who have been in the local Young Offenders Institute (YOI) say that they preferred that experience to living on the estates.

Nevertheless a Neighbourhood Action Plan has been developed for part of the area by the Braithwaite, Guardhouse and Upper Highfield Action Plan Committee, made up of local agencies and residents. Via local consultation this identified the need for a strong residents group to promote the good things on the estate, raise the self esteem of residents and make it a place that people want to come to. It revealed a perception that many of the area's problems were actually caused by a few people and emphasized the need for more youth activities (Bradford Vision Neighbourhood Renewal Team, September 2003).

Following this consultation an action plan was drawn up which is more specific and far reaching in its demands. It has called for more youth provision through clubs, child diversion projects; the setting up of a resident – led youth club (Innit mega); a partnership with local schools to create after-school activities; and the setting up of a youth council; the promotion of a neighbourhood magazine and notice-boards; support for local projects; upgrading of local play areas and creation of new ones; the creation of a residents group and more representation in Keighley and Bradford to do with housing and environment issues.

Nevertheless, as in Halifax, whilst 'Youth' has been identified by agencies and residents as an explicit 'problem' which needs to be 'actioned', there is nothing terribly negative said about the area by the young people themselves, other than that there is 'nothing to do' there. Something which PF is keen to address

2.1.2.1 Project staff and current activity

The project itself, which we introduced in section 1.2.2 above, employs a:

- Part-time Co-ordinator working 3 days per week and seconded from Bradford YOT
- Full-time project worker
- Part-time project worker working 4 days per week
- Part-time project worker/instructor who works 2 days
- Part-time project worker who currently works 1 day per week with a planned increase to 3 days.
- Youth Service workers who deliver sports activity sessions
- Sessional workers who deliver more specialised activities

'Barbara' is employed by Bradford YOT and based in Bradford at the Young People's Support Unit where she has non PF duties, although she attempts to link the two areas of work. After graduating, she became a social worker and then moved into the youth justice field. She is a gentle persuader, cajoling staff into trying new things, and a pragmatist, trying to carry out the balancing act of shaping the project so it engages the most hard to reach participants, with the resource implications this has, and attempting to deliver as much locally, and sustainably to as many participants as possible. She is respected by staff, 'Haley' saying 'I've got so much time for her. I can learn a lot from her.' 'Nathan' is the full-time project worker. Although he has been a volunteer on a local youth project, this is his first paid post in youth work, having worked in a skilled manual post before. He has attended PF Workforce Training Initiative sessions and is a keen footballer, helping to run an evening session, and an outdoor pursuits enthusiast. He is a passionate advocate of the right of the young people on the programmes to experience a range of challenging activities and bristles when he hears that some workers, and the wider public, see PF as rewarding bad behaviour. 'Haley' works 4 days per week. Part of her remit is to engage young women, but she also works with males. She has done youth work in the past and is passionate about the young people she works with. Like 'Nathan', she has also attended PF training sessions and, despite claiming to have no sporting skills, happily engages in whatever sports the young people are participating in.

'Ian' works two days a week, as an instructor/worker. He is from a social work background and knows the families of some of the people involved in PF. He is in his 60s and, after 'a lifetime of paperwork', his role at the project is mainly to deliver outdoor pursuits, with 'Nathan' and 'Haley' picking up his administration. He loves outdoor pursuits and his delivery of sessions reflects this, as he shares his passion for the activities with the young people who respond well to him. For a short period of time, to address the need to work with more young people, 'Jack' has been working one or two days per week at the project, with plans to increase this to three days. However, he is due to leave the project shortly, an issue which is currently being addressed. The project also has workers from the Youth Service who deliver football, as well as sessional workers who deliver more specialised activities. The current programme of activities is outlined in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Activities Timetable for Keighley PF

Day	Am	Pm	Evening
Mon	Multi sport 1 – female Multi sport 2 - male	Multi sport 1 – female Multi sport 2 - male	Football 1 – mixed ages
Tues	Multi sport 3 - mixed	Multi sport 3 – mixed Football 2	Football 3

Wed	Girls group – 13-15 year olds	Girls group – 13-15 year olds Youth club Football 4	Youth club
Thurs	Multi sport 4 & 5 – male Fitness	Multi sport 4 & 5	Motor Education
Fri	Outdoor pursuits mixed age mixed sex	Outdoor pursuits mixed age mixed sex	

This timetable has recently changed, with fitness being added because of the availability of a community sports coach and because the project wanted to work with Looked After Children, identified locally as a 'hard to reach' group. A football session for young women was also established which is being delivered by a local women's football club, to boost the number of sessions available, address issues around transport and provide young women who wish to play competitively with an exit/progression route.

In addition to these activities, there are residentials and trips during holidays.

2.1.2.2 Participant sample

Momentary: Multi Sports

The Tuesday multi sports group has six young people and two members of staff who collect participants from their homes. Activities offered include snow boarding, bowling, pool, table tennis and barging. Some activities, such as snow boarding, are accredited and a number of participants have already gained Level One and Two qualifications; one has obtained Level Three. This activity, which began in late 2004, runs 'all day' from 10.30-3.30pm but, in an effort to provide better 'value for money' and to involve more young people, the session will be trialled as a half day one, repeated in the afternoon, with participants making their own way to an agreed meeting point. Those who attend have partial school timetables and are often referred onto other PF or non PF activities, rather than remaining with the group indefinitely. This allows for new participants to be engaged by the project and provides developmental pathways.

Discrete: Youth Club

In early 2005, to cater for the needs of younger participants, the project established a 'youth club' on Wednesday after school. Here, up to six young people meet or are collected and brought to a local authority run youth centre to play pool, table football, basketball and to chat, before moving on to another activity, such as orienteering, bowling, museum visits etc. The sessions are staffed by two workers. At the moment, no accreditation is offered to participants.

Ongoing: Individual participants

A total of seven individuals including three girls and four boys have been identified. They are all white except for one of the girls who is of mixed racial heritage. Again they have been referred from a variety of sources including self referral. Some of the young people above are also members of the groups which we will be tracking and as with Calderdale we are keen to track their journeys along subsequent routes.

2.1.3 Leeds

Its location to the east of the Pennines by the River Aire led to Leeds gradually developing as the centre for the marketing of textile products which were being produced in surrounding towns such as Keighley, Halifax and the other Calder Valley milltowns. By the early seventeenth century, Leeds was known as the centre of textiles and clothing in Britain. This process was intensified with the onset of the industrial revolution when Leeds emerged as one of the powerhouses of the industrial world, a centre of the wool trade to rival Manchester's domination of the cotton industry. Along side the textile industry, other industries such as pottery, brick making, coach making, coal mining and clockmaking had become established but by the twentieth century clothing had become the city's defining trade which now employed close to a third of the workforce. Major clothing producers and retailers emerged such as John Collier, Hepworth and Montague Burton which specialised in the 'made to fit suit'. During the interwar years Montague Burton employed no less than 10,000 workers at its famous Hudson Road factory on the east side of Leeds supplying the growing chain of Burton menswear retail outlets.

Whilst, ironically it was far flung cheap labour rather than mechanization which ultimately threatened this mass industrial employment, the long standing recognition of the vulnerability of labour to the vagaries of the market revealed by the following excerpt from the Leeds Woolen Workers Petition in 1786, seem just as pertinent today:

How are those men, thus thrown out of employ to provide for their families; - and what are they to put their children apprentice to, that the rising generation may have something to keep them at work, in order that they may not be like vagabonds strolling about in idleness? for... our conceptions are, that bringing children up to industry, and keeping them employed, is the way to keep them from falling into those crimes, which an idle habit naturally leads to (Harrison, 1965:71-72).

For it is in the corridor of inner city wards coming out of the city towards the east, which used to throng with the sound of workers walking to and from the giant clothing factories concentrated in this part of the city, that PF now seeks to provide a remedy for the social ills which have accompanied the subsequent decline of the clothing trade. Today, in the face of a rapid and unrelenting

economic transformation which has seen the closure of the Burton factory and others like it, it is Leeds central train station which wakes up to the rushing footsteps of commuters coming into the city of Leeds to work in the vibrant, cosmopolitan central business district. In recent times the city of Leeds has experienced a construction boom that has transformed its image and diversified its employment base across the distribution, financial, insurance, legal, information technology and public services.

In this sense, the urban landscape of Leeds, so evocatively portrayed in Richard Hoggart's (1957) account, has changed physically out of all recognition in the face of 'urban renewal' slum clearance schemes and the predominance of the motor car in late twentieth century Britain. But as the construction boom, refurbishment of buildings and the offer of new entertainment facilities enriches the lives of some residents and the city as a whole falls down the Government league table of deprivation, the gap between the affluent suburbs and poorer neighbourhoods has widened. As Long and Blackshaw (2000) point out, whilst "the ginnels, snickets⁹ and 'permanent half fog' [of Hoggart's account] may have gone, along with the 'dark and lowering canyons between giant factories' (p58-9) ...the physical and social and economic problems associated with inner city areas have not'.

All six of the wards covered by the Leeds PF project, which sprawl out to the east of the city, are ranked in the top 8% of most deprived wards in the country according to the Index of Multiple Deprivation. Out of a total population of 117,028, according to the 2001 census the six wards collectively have 26,713 young people which equates to 18.9% of the total population of young people living in Leeds. Over a third (10,971) of the young people living in households which claim state benefits in the city are resident in these six wards¹⁰. Similarly, whilst the unemployment rate for the city at the 2001 census was 3.3%, it was consistently higher in the target wards, ranging from 5% in University to 6.7% in City and Holbeck. Educationally of the 3,343 young people who attained 5+ GCSE's A* - C Grades in Leeds in 2002, only 290 were from these six wards. University ward had the lowest number of those that attained GCSE's whereas Harehills had the highest number compared to the other five.

The areas are nevertheless characterised by dramatic variation in terms of ethnicity with Seacroft (97.4%), Richmond Hill (95.79%) and Burmantofts (91.91%) having predominantly white populations whilst the other three wards are far more multicultural. Harehills is the most diverse ethnically with 40.35% of the population from black and minority ethnic groups compared to 8.15 % in the city as a whole. In University ward 26.45% and in City and Holbeck 15.46% of the population consists of those from black and minority ethnic groups. In places these distinctions are more nuanced. The Harehills ward on the inner north east

⁹ These are narrow passages between houses or paths between bits of land - important parts of local communications.

¹⁰ Leeds Benefit Service 2002

side of the city includes the district of Gipton which is more exclusively populated by white residents. Within local narratives Gipton is seen as distinct from Harehills which is popularly understood as an area with a high proportion of Asian residents. The majority of those from minority ethnic groups are low-income working class Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. The demarcations are most obviously evident in the composition of housing that different ethnic groups occupy. Whilst the older style back to back terraced housing is more commonly occupied by Asian residents, the local authority housing estates in Gipton and modern semi detached housing in the area as a whole are more typically occupied by white residents.

More generally it is clear that the economic benefits that have swept through Leeds over the past decade, reflected in the five city wards that are in the top 20% of *least* deprived wards in the country, have by-passed much of this inner city populace. It is in this context that the fear that children of local residents will become vagabonds strolling the streets of the city once again has been re-awoken.

Writing for the Observer newspaper prior to the 1997 General Election which swept new Labour to power, Sue Townsend sought to describe the council housing estates that had visibly deteriorated over the previous 18 years of Conservative government and found herself focusing on this part of Leeds.

When I arrived at the station I asked a cab driver to take me on a tour of the poorest housing estates in the city. He drove me around Gipton, Halton Moor and Osmondthorpe, and explained that these places were normally no-go areas for him. He was sick of getting 'skanked' for the fare and he found the speed bumps, mainly to deter joyriders, to be an inconvenience. Even in the dark I could see that these areas were in deep trouble. The next morning I caught a bus to east Leeds and walked about. There were streets full of derelict and fire-gutted houses. In some places there were no pavements; the York stone paving slabs had been lifted in the night and sold down south for patios. That night I wrote: 'If a Martian were to land its spaceship on the Gipton estate in Leeds and were to get out and walk about for an hour, the visitor from space would surely conclude that it had stumbled on some primitive, emerging society. You could never suppose that the poverty of the people and of the landscape were the consequence of any form of governance.' (Observer, April 24, 2005)

Wandering the areas targeted by PF today reveals the characteristic municipal built semi-detached housing into which people were re-housed from the city centre back-to-back slums after the war. Now, many of those homes have themselves long since fallen into disrepair with void buildings secured by brown metal sheets erected by the local authority a common sight. In Chapeltown and Gipton, police sirens are frequently heard and police vehicles and officers patrol the streets vigorously. Despite the young people hanging around the various neighbourhoods and the perceived 'risk' of anti-social behaviour, in Chapeltown their presence seems unwelcome. 'Coppers live in this neighbourhood on street corners, always watching us, as if the 24/7 CCTV is not enough' comments the

caretaker at the Martin Luther King Centre. Many residents feel intimidated by the presence of police patrol cars, officers on bikes and horses, feeling that the approach is heavy handed, the product of an externally generated and racially defined image of the area as a haven for crime and substance abuse.

It is in these locales that the young people do not seem to be a part of the city's revival. Though compared to other cities in the UK, Leeds has a low level of unemployment, census statistics show that the inner city wards have the highest rates whilst many residents feel that they are being discriminated against or sidelined by employers. Though employing bodies prefer to suggest that the problem is the mismatch between the skills and experience of the unemployed in these areas and the specifications for those jobs that are available Chaudhary (1994) states that some employers would rather not employ people from certain inner city areas in what has come to be referred to as the 'post code prejudice'.

Yet on her return to Leeds prior to the recent 2005 General Election even Sue Townsend, in search of the next installment of her spectacularised account of urban decay, was pleased to report the partial progress on at least some of the estates that had so depressed her eight years earlier, revealing how:

There were no burnt-out or derelict houses. On the contrary, many of the houses were clad in scaffolding - new windows were being fitted. The brickwork was being pointed up and painters were carefully applying fresh coats of white paint to doors and lintels. (Observer, April 24, 2005)

It is in the context of such attempts at regeneration that, as we outlined earlier, Leeds PF emerged. The project has its roots in the city council's Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy which placed an emphasis on the use of sport as one of its regeneration strategies. As such Leeds PF's culture is reflective of local authority operations and has easily slipped into the wider regeneration partnerships which place an emphasis on the use of sport as a diversionary activity which can contribute to the control of anti-social behaviour in these locales.

2.1.3.1 Project staff and current delivery

The project itself, which we introduced in section 1.2.3 above, employs a full-time co-ordinator and three community based staff as well as two volunteers, 'Zaza' and 'Gabor'. The project also makes regular use of staff based at two centres where PF sessions are delivered.

The three community based staff 'Natalie', 'Frank' and 'Wesley' come from backgrounds working with 'at risk' young people at non-governmental organisations and via sports development and for one member of staff, this is their first post after graduation. The two male staff, 'Frank and Wesley' have extensive experience as sports coaches gained in the sports development field. Both still carry out non PF work in local schools as playtime physical activity instructors and assessors of sports related NVQ courses. Initially this orientation

towards sport development seemed to create a barrier to them engaging in the ethos of PF which is not so concerned with strictly interpreted sport development philosophies. However, over the life of the research, changes in their attitudes have been observed. The Co-ordinator has developed new initiatives, moving the emphasis from school based activities to community initiatives and working with Looked After Children. This, along with training, has led these staff to attempt to engage more with participants. 'Natalie', who was previously contracted to work 30 hours per week through her employment with Nacro is now employed as a full-time worker employed directly by the project. A new post is to be established which it is hoped will concentrate on developing links between sporting activities and accredited education and training programmes. The current programme of activities is outlined in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Activities Timetable for Leeds PF

Day	Am	Pm	Evening
Mon		Multi-sport Girls horse riding Street dance-seniors Open Football	Basketball Woodhouse Football Mosque Centre Football
Tues		Education Extension Project Drug Education Football Street dance-juniors	Street dance-seniors Outreach Group
Wed	Diving Youth Activities Bus Boxing		Primary School Wall Climbing session
Thurs		Education Extension Drug Education Workshop BMXing Hate Crime Drama Refugees & Asylum Seekers	Youth Centre - Basketball
Fri	Stadium Learning Support Education Extension Project Evaluation	Multi- sport activities	

2.1.3.2 Participant sample

Momentary: REACH Project

The REACH Project has worked in partnership with PF since its inception. It works mainly with young people from minority ethnic groups who have been

excluded from school. The young people are referred by the educational authority to the centre. The centre provides tuition in Maths, Science, IT and PE. It is a 12 week programme after which referrals are meant to proceed to colleges, though some have spent almost a year at the centre. PF is currently working with a third new group since the onset of research. PF provides access to organised physical activities for the young people at the centre on Wednesday mornings.

Discrete: Street Dance

The group operates at Green High School and is popularly referred to as the 'McKnight Dance group'. The dance instructor, McKnight, is a dancer himself and has a strong hold on the group. A lot of referrals have been made by one of the teaching assistants at the school who is the instructor's elder sister. The group is diverse in terms of the racial and national mix with participants from Eritrea, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Holland and Syria as well as Leeds. The group meets every Monday at 3:15. The participants which number between 12 and 19 are currently all girls but two boys who felt out of place did used to come.

Ongoing: Individual participants

A total of six individuals including three girls and three boys have been identified. One of the girls is from Eritrea and one of mixed racial heritage whilst one of the boys is Asian. In the main they have been referred by schools or the education authority. Some of the young people are also members of the groups which we will be tracking. Through the dance sessions one has taken on a volunteering role with the project and now assists with some sessions.

2.2 From docklands to parklands: The Merseyside case studies

In many ways Merseyside and its principle administrative centre, Liverpool, can be defined by its waterfront location facing across the sea from England to Ireland and the Americas beyond. The river Mersey and the docks that were built along its banks from Liverpool up to Bootle provided the economic basis for the development of the region, whilst also contributing to the social hardships to befall the area over many centuries.

2.2.1 North Liverpool

As far back as the fourteenth century Liverpool was an important military base and port for some of the earliest colonial assaults upon Ireland and profited thereafter from the associated trade and plundering. By 1700 the city had its own Customs House and had grown into the third biggest mercantile port in the country after London and Bristol with a growing system of docks capable of housing the transatlantic trade ships bringing tobacco, sugar and cotton from the 'new world'. This enterprise, which led to the rapid expansion of the city, with the population rising from 20,000 in 1707 to 80,000 in 1806, was part of the

triangular trade that saw slaves taken back across the Atlantic from Africa to the West Indian colonies. By 1750 Liverpool had become the main slave trade port in Europe which left an indelible mark in terms of the wealth it brought to the city's slave merchants but also in terms of those slaves and black seamen who were brought back to Liverpool and helped to establish what is a long standing, if geographically concentrated black presence in the city. This legacy of Liverpool's strategic port location and human routeway also brought thousands of starving and destitute Irish refugees to the city following the 'potato famine'. During 1847 over 300,000 Irish people came to Liverpool with the intention of emigrating to America although over 80,000 ultimately remained in Liverpool and have had a lasting impact in terms of the city's cultural and religious orientation.

Despite the impact of the famine, poverty had in any case been with Liverpool since its earliest times but with the development of the port in the eighteenth century the number and condition of the poor became much more severe. The poverty in Liverpool was itself underpinned by the use of casual labour on the docks with the chance of earning a regular wage remaining pretty slim for the thousands who relied on the incoming ships for making a living. Many of these dockers lived in the working class districts of Everton and Vauxhall which meet the waterfront to the north of the city.

The Port of Liverpool declined in the 20th century although it remained an important shipping centre. However, with the post-1960s decline in manufacturing and decreased reliance on manual labour in the face of changes in global patterns of production and distribution, the city faced an economic collapse in the 1980s. Riots in the city centre (Kettle 1982), combined with a radical left wing council in direct conflict with the Conservative 'Thatcher' government of the time, and a series of cultural representations of the city as a 'problem' (e.g. television series, *Boys From the Blackstuff* and *Brookside*), left an impression of a city with an isolated, pariah status.

Whilst some aspects of the city's popular culture - notably the football stadium disaster at Heysel in 1985 - did not help this image, the success of its football teams and of the city's artists in both the popular music and film sectors have been a source of pride and inspiration (Brown, Cohen, O'Connor 1998). The urban renaissance of the city centre since the mid-1990s is in part a recognition of this cultural strength, epitomized by its status as European Capital of Culture 2008. However, it is these twin dynamics of economic hardship and cultural production and consumption which are hugely influential on the 'structure of feeling' (Taylor et al 1996) of the city, and on the lives of its young people.

Another key element in the identity of Liverpool is its reputation for a strength of 'community' and the areas of North Liverpool targeted by PF have long been renowned for their 'community spirit', be it real or imagined. A local historian Terry Cooke, writing in the 'Scottie Press' - itself proclaimed as Britain's longest running community newspaper and promoting the neighbourhoods and

businesses of the Scotland Road and Vauxhall area - describes the importance of 'community' in the inter and post war period and notes how the community engagement was often centered around leisure pursuits:

Going to the pub was much more than going somewhere to drink beer, for the 'local' was a community meeting place where the residents from the side-streets could enjoy good humoured chat and genuine friendship. Many of the regular customers cultivated deep friendships with each other which were to last a lifetime. There was a tremendous social atmosphere and a feeling of belonging, with customers participating in the pub football, darts and billiards teams. Several times a year the customers organised coach trips where they all went off on day trips together. The customers were mainly working-class and for many of them times were harsh, with some families experiencing real difficulties. But throughout their dilemma they remained clannish as a family unit (Terry Cooke, www.scottiepress.org.uk)

This perspective fuels a perception that this sense of 'community', rather than being protected by the interventions of outside agencies has in fact been undermined by 'regeneration' projects. Cooke notes his own interpretation of the effect this regeneration has had upon the 'community',

When the demolition of the area commenced in the early 1960's, residents were re-housed on the Estates on the outskirts of the city. But that didn't prevent them returning each weekend to have a drink in 'their locals' with lifelong friends. Over the years there has been several 'demolition projects' implemented which have seen the once bustling neighbourhood reduced to almost a derelict area. (*ibid*).

Now, whilst Liverpool city centre is enjoying something of a renaissance associated with its upcoming status as European City of Culture 2008 and an associated transformation of former industrial premises into retail, entertainment and residential complexes, the benefits of this shift have so far failed to have a significant impact in the north of the city.

The neighbourhoods in which PF operates, which include the six former wards in the north of the city of Liverpool, namely Anfield, Breckfield, County, Everton, Melrose and Vauxhall, can be characterized as predominantly white and working class. Despite the heavily urbanized environment in the 2001 Census the percentage of residents who described themselves as white was significantly higher than the national average, ranging from 94.9% of residents in Everton ward to 98.5% of the resident population of County ward. More generally unemployment levels as recorded in the 2001 census show that each of the six wards recorded around double the national average with the highest rates in Breckfield with 8.8% and Vauxhall with 9% unemployment. All of the six wards are within the top 4% most deprived wards in England and Wales according to the Index of Multiple Deprivation with Everton, Vauxhall and Breckfield coming 4th, 6th and 12th nationally. Particularly acute scores were registered in relation to income, employment and health with Everton having the highest indicators of

deprivation against these criteria of any ward in the country. Vauxhall had the 4th worst income score, the 3rd worst employment and health scores and the 8th worst indicator of child poverty.

In the immediate vicinity of Anfield Road, a stone's throw from Liverpool Football Club's stadium, where the project was based until recently and around the new premises on Tetlow Way, a small industrial estate adjacent to Everton Football Club, the streets consist of Victorian terraced housing stock. These houses are substantial in size and are solidly built however many have been left to deteriorate and large numbers are derelict and boarded up.

There is much evidence of vandalism such as graffiti, broken windows and the tipping of rubbish and furniture. Walking along the main high street, it is difficult not to notice the prevalence of people who appear to be in their thirties or forties who walk quickly in pairs or in groups of three or four keeping their heads down so as to prevent making eye contact and who PF participants perceive to be, and repeatedly describe as 'smack heads'¹¹. Although not personally intimidating, inverting the conventional authorial lines of description many of the young people have commented that they do not like these 'smack heads hanging about'.

The PF staff perceive the area they work in to be one of high crime and ultimately base this on experiences such as witnessing a group of young lads stealing a laptop from a man who was walking near to the project office. Lucy (PF activity development worker) grew up in the local area and has told of how she remembers her house being burgled frequently as she was growing up. However the team do not appear to let this perception of crime interfere with how they go about their work. Moreover they are keen to work directly in a local notorious housing estate and are about to embark on some targeted street based work there.

2.2.1.1 Project staff and current delivery

The project itself, which we introduced in section 1.2.4 above is an expanding team which is known and branded as 'Positive Futures'. It currently employs:

- Manager
- Coordinator
- Activities Development Worker/ Administrator
- Activities Development Worker

'Maureen', is the figurehead and is very active in the local community. She manages the Vernon Sangster Community Sports Centre, based within Stanley Park and is also a governor at a local school and the chair of the Anfield and Breckfield neighbourhood council. 'Kate', the co-ordinator is in her mid 30s and

¹¹ A local vernacular expression for dependent opiate drug users with a street presence.

lives in and is from Merseyside rather than the immediate local neighbourhood. From a background in business management she moved into outdoor education and youth work before taking on the new role at PF. She is enthusiastic and 'believes' strongly in the work she is doing. This enthusiasm is apparent to the young people who relate comfortably with her. The Activities Development Worker, 'Richard' is in his early 20s, and has moved to the area from London. He got into PF via a background in Christian youth work and working on missions abroad in the middle east. He has previously worked locally in a youth work setting. As with 'Kate' he also shares a very strong 'belief' for the work. He is extremely committed and is happy to work during unsociable hours and in 'notoriously' dangerous areas. His strong Christian beliefs are apparent and although not directly delivered through his work, the young people are aware of his beliefs as he openly discusses them. His outgoing, youthful personality makes him popular with the young people who engage well with him. 'Richard' works alongside 'Lucy', also in her early 20s, who is identifiably local to the area. She lived just off the main high street for most of her life and previously attended a local school and used to 'sit off' in the same places as the girls on the programmes. 'Lucy' is very confident with the young people, she can handle their attitude and banter and the young people follow her guidance more readily than some of the other workers. Her shared social background and common experiences do help with her engagement and she has built up a close bond in a very short space of time.

The project currently employs eleven sessional staff who deliver a range of sport and arts activities such as dance, football, boxing and fishing. These include 'Wendy', a 21 year old local woman currently at University studying a dance degree. She has admitted to 'going off the rails' herself for a few years when she was younger, is street wise and can easily handle groups of thirty teenage girls. 'Andrew' is a local man in his early forties. Small and stocky he has his own amateur boxing club in another area of the city. A very experienced boxer and trainer, some of his lads have gone on to win titles. He has a very authoritarian and strict approach but offers encouragement to the lads. His character and manner earn him the respect of the young people who dote on what he says and are very obedient in his presence. 'Jerry' is a nineteen year old local lad and football coach who came up through the PF programme so has similar experiences, understandings and social backgrounds to the participants who engage with him easily. Recently he has been out of contact with the project due to problems with a lack of reliable income and not receiving his CRB clearance.

The activity sessions currently being delivered are detailed in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Activities Timetable for North Liverpool PF

Day	Am	Pm	Evening
Mon			Street dance
Tues	Football coaching	Football Focus	Boxing

Weds		Street Dance Football	Street Dance Football
Thurs		Boxing Dance	Boxing Dance
Fri	Spiced up sport girls	Spiced up sport - girls	
Sat		Soccer Saturday	

2.2.1.2 Participant sample

Momentary: Football Programme

Football Focus was previously run over a 12 week period in partnership with LFC as a Tuesday full day activity. Through this a number of participants have become involved in the PF football on Wednesday and Friday evenings. The group of a dozen or so lads are all from the Langy Estate and aged between 13-16. They are also likely to be taking part in PAYP over the summer and are participating in camera-based work for the research.

Discrete: 'Spiced up Sport'

The 'Spiced up Sport' girls programme started on 13th May 2005. This course is aimed at teenage girls who are either excluded, at risk of exclusion or those that have issues with drugs and/or alcohol misuse and sexual health. The group includes six girls from Anfield Comprehensive (aged 14/15) and six girls from 'Notre Dame Catholic Girls Arts College (final year - aged 16). They were recently introduced on an organized evening out and bonded well as a group. In addition to the ongoing spiced up sport activities the group will also be participating in the PAYP six week 30 hours per week schedule over the summer. We will be following their progress from this initial engagement right through the summer and beyond.

Ongoing: Individual participants

A total of five individuals including one girl and four boys aged 10 to 15 have been identified. Again they have been referred from a variety of sources including pupil referral units, anti-social behaviour units, individual schools and parents. Some are also members of the groups which we will be tracking and as elsewhere we are keen to track their journeys along subsequent routes.

2.2.2 Sefton

In many ways Sefton is defined physically, culturally and historically through its proximity to the city of Liverpool and the Mersey estuary. As a coastal district with 22 miles of coastline stretching the entire length of the Borough, the sea and waterways have played a significant part in the historical make up of the area

which far predates its administrative birth in 1974. As Cox (1990) reveals 'The origins of its settlement relates primarily to the sea, from the growth of the Port of Liverpool to the development of Southport as a seaside resort.'

However, other than the waterfront there appears to be little in common between these two localities at opposite ends of the borough. Southport, once a thriving Victorian seaside resort, today still boasts seven miles of golden sands which are home to the popular 'Southport Pleasure Beach' theme park. The renowned 'Lord Street' is a mile-long boulevard of Victorian tree-lined buildings, now housing stylish shops, cafes and bars. The town is also famed for its numerous prestigious golf courses including Royal Birkdale and Formby Hall.

By contrast, the boundary between Bootle at the southern end of Sefton and Liverpool is indiscernible in every way except for the local authority road signage indicating the administrative border which is shared with the Vauxhall ward of North-Liverpool. Bootle was largely shaped by the construction of the Northern Dock System which was constructed in the late 19th and early 20th Century. More recently the Royal Seaforth Container Terminal was completed in the early 1970s and, still a thriving working dock today, it was the expansion of the Port which fuelled wider development in the area:

The pressure of development arising from the expansion of the Port of Liverpool from the 1970s onwards led to the rapid colonisation of the coastal area... Most of this development is less than 150 years old, and nearly half less than 40. In this period the population grew from a few thousand to the present 300,000. (Cox, 1990:33).

Bootle town centre is centred around the 'Stand'¹² shopping arcade and a pedestrianised shopping precinct but, whilst bustling and vibrant, the area suffers from severe social deprivation. This deprivation is starkly felt in the context of the contrast with other parts of the Borough. The northern villages and towns such as Southport, Formby and Ainsdale are rich in ecological heritage and natural beauty whilst also being synonymous with affluent residents, expensive housing and exclusive leisure clubs.

Whilst the project team nominally work on a Borough wide basis, along with three or four pockets of deprivation further north it is the deprivation in the south which provides the focus for their work. As such the project concentrates its work in ten wards which are clustered around the Bootle and Netherton areas.

These neighbourhoods, which include Ainsdale and Cambridge to the north and Church, Derby, Dukes, Ford, Linacre, Litherland, Netherton and St Oswald to the south, can be characterized as predominantly white and working class. Despite the heavily urbanized environment, in the 2001 Census the percentage of

¹² Site of the disappearance and subsequent murder of two-year old James Bulger on 12th February 1993.

residents who described themselves as white was significantly higher than the national average, ranging from 98% of residents in Linacre to 99% of the resident population in Netherton. More generally whilst unemployment levels as recorded in the 2001 census are below the national average in the northern wards of Ainsdale and Cambridge at 2.8% and 3.3%, in Linacre, in the heart of Bootle and on the border with North Liverpool, the rate reaches 8.9%. All but three of the ten wards are within the top 10% most deprived wards in England and Wales according to the Index of Multiple Deprivation with Linacre by far the most deprived coming 56th.

The project offices are based within a local authority sports centre which embraces sports facilities, a library and a social club as well as administrative offices. The centre is located in the overwhelmingly white working class neighbourhood of Netherton which is characterized by a sprawling local authority housing estate. Whilst rated as the 326th most deprived ward nationally according to the IMD scores there does appear to be some sign of social mobility. This is characterised through private ownership of homes and subsequent 'home improvements' such as block paved driveways and imposing gates and walls. The houses all have front and rear gardens and therefore the area feels quite open and does not have a 'built-up' appearance. There is a busy and well used parade of local shops down the road from the centre.

2.2.2.1 Project staff and current delivery

The project itself, which we introduced in section 1.2.5, was previously titled, 'LINCS' (Leisure Inclusion) and came under the councils' Leisure Services department. Now under the Positive Futures banner the team has eleven staff:

- Principle Development Manager Positive Futures
- Development Manager Positive Futures
- Development Manager Positive Futures (Looked After Children)
- Development Manager Positive Futures (Disability)
- Development Officer PF (Community Safety)
- Development Officer PF (Looked After Children)
- Development Officer PF (Children with disability)
- Development Officer
- Assistant Development Officer PF
- Assistant Development Officer PF
- Administrator Assistant

The Principle Development Manager 'Dan' is in his mid thirties. His background is in leisure service management and the management of sport centres. He also has a youth work background. He is not currently based in the PF offices, but in separate offices with the Leisure Services directorate. 'John' the Development Manager is in his late 30s. He has a regional accent but is not immediately local. He lives in the borough but to the north in a more affluent area. An avid rugby

player he is predominantly office based, with very little contact with the young people. 'Tim' who is more involved at the front line as a Development Officer again has a regional accent but is not local to the immediate area. With a university education and experience in local authority sports development he has been employed by the project as a sports coach. 'Sarah' is also a Development Officer and has no local affiliations. With a more obvious middle class background, she attended private school and then university. She has previously worked as a coach for Manchester United on their international programmes and now has responsibility for Looked After Children with the PF project. Although her background is quite different to that of the young people Sarah integrates well with them and over time has built up good relations. The project employs additional sessional staff including 'Val' who is in her early 40s and has a strong local accent. She has two teenage sons which helps her ability to integrate and communicate with the lads.

The activity sessions currently provided by Sefton PF are detailed in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Activities Timetable for Sefton PF

Day	Am	Pm	Evening
Mon	Impact	Impact	XL Programme
Tues	BAP Impact	BAP Oakfields	Impact
Weds		Oakfields	Impact
Thurs			XL Programme
Fri			Youth Only Zone
Sat			Youth Only Zone

2.2.2.2 Participant sample

Momentary: XL Programme

PF run diversionary activities on Monday and Thursday nights, titled Experiential Learning (XL) programme. It runs for a twelve week period and utilises a variety of more unusual sporting activities including golf, climbing, BMXing, swimming, ice skating, karting, theatre, DJing, circus skills, snowboarding and themed film nights. These activities predominantly take place out of the immediate area and are accessed by transporting the young people by mini-bus.

Discrete: BAP

Sefton PF, being a Council service, have responsibility for 'Looked After Children'. All the kids in either care homes or foster placements are included in

the PF referral scheme as they are seen as more at risk of exclusion, and a large number of them are not attending mainstream school.

The Council has an 'alternate curriculum' and part of this curriculum is run in association with PF and the 'Coast and Countryside'. The Bio-diversity and Access Project (BAP) is a PF placement scheme for those children (amongst others) who are 'looked after' and excluded from school. They are taken out to the rangers' workshop on the coast and learn various skills and techniques associated with conservation.

Ongoing: Individual participants

In addition to the group activities a total of four boys_aged 10 to 15 have been identified. Again they have been referred from a variety of sources including pupil referral units, school mentors and care homes. Two of the young people are involved with the BAP programme and two with the XL programme. However we hope to build up our contacts with these young people away from these activities in order to build a broader picture of the impact of PF in their lives.

2.3 From the Costermongers to So Solid: The South London case studies

The two London case studies are both in boroughs bordering the south banks of the River Thames. South London has for centuries had a special place in the popular imagination as a place of misery, poverty, violence, savagery, dirt and excess. Historian, Peter Ackroyd, writes that the southern bank of the Thames was a 'boundary zone to which London could consign its dirt and rubbish.' In the eighteenth century, it was the repository for 'stink' industries that had been banished from the City of London – the tanneries, the timber yards and the factories for vinegar, dye, soap and tallow. And later, when the bans had been lifted, dangerous and odorous trades were sited along the bank between Lambeth and Deptford – glue, leather, brewing, pickling, lime – so as not to pollute the body of respectable London. Other pollutants – prisons, orphanages, asylums and madhouses – were built south of the river too. 'It was, in every sense, a dumping ground.' (2000:691-4) 'This, in the words of Blanchard Jerrold, was the 'dead shore'; yet not so dead that there were no inhabitants of the area, living off the detritus which the Thames offered. These were the people of the river' (ibid:552). The areas where our case studies operate, and the lives of young people who live there, have had a special role in this narrative.

Today, this part of South London remains something of an indeterminate zone that marks a transition between the 'centre' and the more residential inner London ring. It sits on the edges of the congestion zone, and most of what you see from the main roads is commercial and office buildings. The areas of housing are often separated and isolated by major roads and rail systems funnelling into the city from across the South East. This means that they seem to build their own

distinctive 'character', which their residents are frequently aware of, carrying this as both a mark of belonging and territorialism. However, regeneration programmes like the development of the Elephant and Castle, and gentrification in parts of Battersea, Borough and Bankside are helping to reshape the area, something we intend to watch more closely as the research develops.

This part of inner South London has traditionally been a heartland of white working class culture – particularly some of the parts of north Southwark and north Lambeth where Kickstart operate, such as Bermondsey and Rotherhithe. Michael Collins' recent book, *The Likes of Us: A Biography of the White Working Class* (2004), draws on the author's own personal and family history around Elephant and Castle, and narrates the stigmatisation of the sort of white working class culture associated with the area. Collins has been described as an intellectual outrider for the BNP by commentators such as Paul Gilroy and Michael Phillips. He both identifies and is part of a vicious circle, whereby liberal opinion identifies white working class communities like Rotherhithe and Bermondsey as racist and the aggrieved response of white residents leads to a victim pathology that easily follows onto racism.¹³

At the same time, these areas have seen the emergence of a new multiracial South London urban youth culture which draws on the black vernacular cultures of America and the Caribbean, as well as on indigenous London youth culture. The emergence of this culture is described by Roger Hewitt in *Black Talk White Talk* (1986) and by Les Back in *New Ethnicities and Urban Cultures* (1996). More recently, this increasingly mongrel culture has been exemplified by multiracial The So Solid Crew, many of whom come from the Winstanley and Surrey Lanes Estates where Wandsworth PF operate.

2.3.1 Wandsworth

A grey Monday morning, and an icy wind is slicing through Battersea's Kambala housing estate in west London, lancing into the young lads huddled in football kit on the field at the end of the road. Beyond Clapham Junction train station are the sturdy metropolitan homes of bankers and lawyers. Here, on the other side of the tracks, it's So Solid Crew country, close-knit, proud enough of itself, but sharp-edged, concrete, bleak.

"We'll warm up now," shouts Mo Abdullah, a cheery guy in his 20s, wearing the tracksuit top of Chelsea, the football club swimming in millions since Roman Abramovich, the Russian oligarch, sailed in two years ago to buy it as his plaything. (David Conn, *the Guardian* February 23, 2005)

¹³ This phenomenon has been examined by Les Back, Roger Hewitt and others. It has also been identified in CUCR research projects in the area (see *Community Solutions: South Bermondsey and North Livesey Neighbourhood Management Pathfinder Action Research Final Report* Spring/Summer 2004).

The focal point for our research is a chain of social housing estates in the north of Wandsworth, with Battersea Tech and Salesians Secondary schools in their midst. To the west lies the infamous Winstanley Estate, with York Gardens and Surrey Lanes adjacent. To the East are the Doddington and Rollo Estates, so the schools are sandwiched between huge chunks of estates, comprising of dense high and low rise post 1950s blocks.

Steps away on the other side of the road going northwards are streets of red brick Victorian houses and flats that look towards Battersea Park and the river. This conspicuous conjunction of wealth and poverty typifies the relationship between these few northerly wards and much of the rest of the Borough of Wandsworth, which is one of extremes. Where once pockets of deprivation could be hidden by the blanket of ward based census data the availability of more focused Super Output Area (SOA) data allows us to trace the perceived differences in environmental landscape through quantification of the characteristics of the lives of residents of a few specific streets.

Looking at the statistical detail presented by the census, the contrasts between the estates where PFs work is focused and the rest of the borough is brought starkly into view. The SOAs which encircle the estates of Winstanley, York Gardens and, Doddington, and around Battersea Technical College, all rank highly in the top 20% of the Indices of Deprivation 2004 whilst those relating to the locality around Battersea Park are only in the top 50%.

Winstanley, Battersea Tech., and York Gardens all rank in the top 7% nationally in terms of low income, while Winstanley and East Winstanley rank highly in relation to health deprivation and disability. In terms of age range, Battersea Tech and Winstanley had consistently high numbers of young people aged under 17 making up 27.05% of the population in Battersea Tech and 31.12% of that in the Winstanley Estate compared to 17.05% for Wandsworth as a whole. Winstanley, Surrey Lanes and Battersea Tech all have a large number of lone parent households, which account for the residential circumstances of at least one fifth of the population. In terms of economic activity the areas that stand out statistically as recording multiple highs are Battersea Tech, Winstanley Estate, and Surrey Lanes. These areas also tended to have higher numbers of people working part-time and lower numbers working full-time compared with the averages for both Wandsworth and London. Winstanley had the highest numbers of economically active unemployed people, closely followed by Doddington, Battersea Tech, and Surrey Lanes. York Gardens and Surrey Lanes had the highest percentages of unemployed people in the 16-24 age bracket at 30.88% and 28.92% respectively.

Wandsworth is atypical in that it has the highest 'White British' percentage of the population (64.78%) of all the Inner London Boroughs (average 50.50%), and is higher than the average for London as a whole (59.79%). The proportion of the population in all 'Asian' categories, is low in Wandsworth, and similarly low across our SOAs, with distribution fairly equitable amongst them. This was not

the case with those grouped as 'Black British: Caribbean', 'Black British: African', and 'Black British: Other'. The statistics were consistently and considerably higher in Battersea Tech, Doddington, Surrey Lanes, Winstanley, and York Gardens than the other more affluent districts of North Wandsworth around Battersea Park

Overall the census and other statistics inevitably reinforce observations that can be made by spending time in the areas they correspond to. There are visible patches of 'difference' that stand out against the rest of Wandsworth. This connecting stratum of estates, flats, blocks, maisonettes, and houses, instead of providing the springboard of modern affordable housing, have through the decades distilled and intensified a range of social issues, (partially locatable in indices of deprivation) into small and specific areas. It is through this identification and ranking that areas become the focus of both concern and funding streams, and therefore that one of the Positive Futures projects is located here. However it is from this point that the questions really begin about how a young person growing towards adulthood, for example living on Doddington and going to Battersea Tech, (and therefore already impeded by the weight of statistics that point to multiple difficulties and barriers) can find routes through a maze of blank walls, dead ends and blind alleys. How might they negotiate paths that lead progressively forward, while at the same time resisting the pull of places where temptations (and peers) offer more immediate / easier attractions.

2.3.1.1 Project staff and Current Delivery

Whilst initial observations suggest one of the successes of SAFE is that they employ staff who have the qualities necessary to engage young people, one of the points of contention has been Chelsea's desire to reach as many young people as possible and Cranstoun preferring to limit numbers and ages, but target users more precisely. As these tensions have come to a head the point in time at which we are writing this report marks a change in the approach to delivery. It seems both organisations will continue to deliver according to their own priorities and objectives. Chelsea will continue with their absolute focus on football, utilising links already made with host organisations, and finding alternative ways of providing the additional workshop style learning for which they have previously relied on Cranstoun. The strength and style of the partnerships forged will be crucial, as Chelsea do not have the experience of delivering these elements.

Now that the project has been split up into discrete elements of work divided between Chelsea and Cranstoun it is most useful to think of the project's staff in similar terms. The Chelsea PF Co-ordinator is 'Jack' who is line managed from the London Development Office and ultimately by the Director of Chelsea's Football in the Community programme. 'Jack' grew up in Deptford in South London, not far from Millwall's stadium. He played for their youth team before

moving into community coaching work and has since made a career move to Chelsea. He relates well to the young people he works with because of shared South London cultural frames of reference. He combines his informal cockney approach with a strong emphasis on motivation, commitment, sportsmanship, and loyalty. He represents the white working class boy made good, and in keeping with this has moved out into the Kentish London suburbs, travelling every day back into the inner city. Although sometimes involved in coaching he is now more likely to organise and oversee other sessional coaches employed on a casual basis. These include 'Ali' who grew up locally on one of the estates where he now works. His family are of North African heritage and his little brother now attends PF sessions. He is a talented footballer who engages young people using a jokey 'on a level' style. Similarly 'Lloyd', 'Ali', 'Eddie', 'Tyler' and 'Tasha' engage well with the young people but are only paid for the face to face hours, so it is difficult for them to give time to participants (or the research team) beyond their coaching duties.

The PF Co-ordinator at Cranstoun is 'Joe' who is black British, in his late thirties and grew up in South London where he is still resident. He still has family and friends around the estates he works on. He has been keen on football since he was a boy and is currently still signed as a semi-professional footballer. He has recently completed the second stage of his training as a football coach. Previously he served in the British Army, choosing this as one of the few routes open to him to take him out of the neighbourhoods he grew up in. He then worked for a number of years for the police as a liaison between them, young people and the wider community, before moving on to work for Cranstoun as a drugs worker. 'Joe' still holds on to values he honed during his Army days: a sense of the importance of self discipline and the idea that for every problem a solution can be found if you work at it. Cranstoun recently appointed a second PF worker, 'Julie' who has particular responsibility for developing work with girls and young women. Her background is in drugs advice and support work. This is therefore a new area for her and she has spent most of her time to date making links with and meeting representatives of local agencies. Cranstoun don't tend to use sessional coaches where they deliver activities given 'Joe's' own skills as a coach, although they do draw on outside expertise where they recognise this offers something more.

In this way, in addition to the Tooting Southsiders initiative, which engages young Asian men through the provision of football activities, Cranstoun are widening the activities on offer beyond football in order to broaden their attraction for young people. For example, a session of hip hop dance alongside DJ / MC workshops is planned for delivery at Surrey Lane Youth Club. They are also just beginning to deliver estate based cricket in conjunction with the London Community Cricket Association and have worked with the police and Army on teambuilding sessions.

Chelsea FC's current programme of activities, which is focused on the provision of football coaching, is outlined in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Activities Timetable for CFC Positive Futures, Spring 2005

Day	Am	Pm	Evening
Mon			
Tues		Sacred Heart Inclusion workshop Battersea Tech Football - 10-13 year olds	
Wed	Battersea Tech football	Holy Ghost football	Battersea Youth Club
Thurs	Battersea Tech football Salesian College football	West Hill Football Inclusion workshop Battersea Tech 14-16 year olds	
Fri	Ravenstone football	Alderbrooke football	

2.3.1.2 Participant sample

Momentary: Battersea Tech

Battersea Tech is one school which the project has established a strong partnership with. The school was put under special measures in 2003. It has approximately 675 pupils aged between 11 and 18 with a large majority of boys. It has, with additional support, seen significant improvements since then, which is in part borne out by the rising percentages of GCSE passes. Chelsea coaches have been providing coaching in the school for a range of year groups and for both boys and girls although this is offered in a time limited fashion to ensure the widest possible provision.

PF is more generally premised on intensive work with smaller numbers of participants rather than the mass provision approach associated with PAYP. It is also more generally concerned with the wider package of developmental provision rather than simply putting on coaching courses. However, developmental provision can benefit from high quality coaching. The research team will be keen to observe the changing balance between these elements as the project develops.

Discrete: Tooting Southsiders

SAFE's weekly football coaching in Tooting which is led by Cranstoun has been surprisingly open. It began because of an identified lack of young Asian men getting involved in the project, which is echoed by the scarcity of Asian footballers in professional football. It has been extremely successful in attracting this group, with numbers high (at least 25 -30 each week), and ages ranging from approximately 16 to early 20s. Several non-Asian young men began attending

and were made immediately welcome and involved with the activity. We intend to focus on a core of two/three participants in this project as well as monitoring those who come and go. This might be useful in terms of trying to identify why some young people stay engaged while others don't.

Ongoing: Battersea Tech

The Wandsworth project does not currently offer any ongoing provision as such. However, our focus on Battersea Tech where the project has a strong relationship with the school and continues to deliver to different groups with a variety of ethnic, age and gender backgrounds will enable us to track those young people who for example are offered coaching in lessons and then attend ASC provision thus maintaining some continuity of involvement. A new project developed in partnership with Nacro also suggests the development of a fresh approach with more of an ongoing relationship with participants who we intend to engage in the research process.

2.3.2 Southwark

In his semi-autobiographical book on the area around Elephant and Castle Michael Collins charted the futuristic visions of the 1960s that brought about the Aylesbury and Heygate Estates, as well as the much disparaged shopping centre: designs incorporating miles of tunnels and walkways and acres of concrete, which with hindsight created more problems than they ever solved, and in coming into existence meant the literal bulldozing of resident communities. This is now happening again, though one hopes with far greater involvement with local people, and increased sensitivity as to how the built environment will shape the lives of those residents. Collins writes:

The Estate is to be demolished and replaced with new homes. The shopping centre is to be transformed into a new city centre with low-rise terraces, garden squares, and a tower block at its hub. These at least are the developments rumoured to be on the agenda as once again the council, visionaries, planners, architects warm up in the wings. The Elephant & Castle is about to become the canvas for one of the biggest urban regeneration schemes ever to occur in Europe, and to the tune of a cool £600 million (Michael Collins, 2004:258).

However, he also notes the concern of local residents that these developments might mean that they are pushed out: "I've lived here all my life", says Doreen. "I like this area. I want to see everyone here that deserves a decent home get one. But I worry that the only people that might be able to one day live in the area are those that are well off, or those that have everything paid for by benefits. And the people in the middle, like me, will be forced out." The threat for people like Doreen seems to be not as before, of what middle class architects may impose onto working class locals, but that other middle class professionals are attracted

into the area because of the radical changes, thus displacing those currently resident.

The site of Kickstart's current HQ is in the Heygate Estate, and it is nearby on the Rockingham estate that the project began eight years ago in direct response to multi-agency concerns about levels of crime and the needs of young people. Kickstart's working base has moved a number of times since then and both the expansion of the project and the imminent regeneration in Elephant and Castle will mean that this will happen again, but in both recalled history and current actuality this is very much the centre of operations.

The project began working in a compact locality, but has since grown rapidly and now extends over the Lambeth borders in the West, down to Burgess Park in the south, and is currently expanding east into traditionally white working class neighbourhoods around Bermondsey.

The extensive reach of Kickstart's catchment area means that for the purposes of the research, there will be a focus on two specific smaller domains. For this report the original Kickstart locality centering on the Heygate and Rockingham Estates (Area 1) will be examined, while one of the newer areas of delivery in the north of Bermondsey (Area 2) will be introduced. While the heartland of the New Kent Road area holds individual narratives that reflect on the organisational roots and history, the North Bermondsey area illustrates some of Kickstart's more recent developments and current priorities. This section will therefore concentrate on Area 1 while flagging up Area 2 for further consideration in the future as the work is rolled out.

2.3.2.1 Area 1: Kickstart Heartland

The Elephant and Castle Regeneration is ready for action in 2005! Last year the plans for a revitalized town centre with 5,300 new homes, new leisure and shopping facilities and thousands of new jobs were refined and perfected.

Award winning architectural practice de Rijke Marsh Morgan designed the first scheme, a 31-unit mixed tenure development, located at Wansey Street in Walworth. Built and managed by Southern Housing Group, the scheme will provide the first new homes for tenants leaving the Heygate Estate... Speaking at the committee, ward councillor Jane Salmon told the committee: "Wansey Street keeps the promise that we made to Heygate residents to build them new homes that match the highest standards of any development in this borough. I know that local people are desperate to move into the new homes and will be thrilled by the committee's decision tonight."

The £4 million scheme will start on site in spring and the first occupants will move into their new homes in early 2006. (<http://www.elephantandcastle.org.uk/17.3.05>)

While we have named the Kickstart heartland 'Area 1', this perhaps implies an overall cohesion that is not actually the case. The area is severed into two by the New Kent Road as it feeds into the Elephant and Castle. To the west are the grey 1960s blocks of the Heygate, built at a time when off-ground walkways seemed a futuristically practical idea. The blocks have been neglected over decades and now have the shadow of demolition hanging over them. On the other side of the four-lane main road to the east sits the Rockingham Estate which is typically 1950s, consisting of lower brick blocks of flats, interspersed with courtyards and mature plane trees. This will survive the surrounding levelling, and some residents are buoyed by opportunities of buying their flats in what will soon be a remodeled location.

Rockingham and Heygate are each covered by two Super Output Areas (SOAs) each, and as with Wandsworth this is indicative of the density of the housing. Looking at the statistical detail presented by the census, all four SOAs are in the top 20% of those deemed most deprived across England and Wales. In some ways it is quite hard to make wider relevant comparisons, as much of the landscape in each direction is dominated by similar estate-type housing. This only changes close to the River Thames where housing becomes secondary to commerce, though there are small patches of either Victorian philanthropic housing or luxury modern developments. One possible comparative patch is the 'Trinity Church Square' SOA. This is a small area of Georgian terraced streets and squares, that is located just the other side of the Rockingham Adventure Playground from the estate itself. The majority of the housing is privately owned though there is also a Trinity Estate Trust. The area has for many years been a middle class enclave, and a world apart from the Rockingham, a few minutes walk away.

In terms of crime it is also worth noting that the crime score for one of the Heygate SOAs places it in the top 0.5% in the country. However it may be worth stressing the extreme differentials between analogous areas, and that the SOA with the lowest crime score is the part of the Rockingham which is home (and work) to some of the Kickstart team, and the second lowest is that in which the Kickstart head office is centrally located. Overall, in 1998, Southwark was identified as being the 3rd worst inner London borough for levels of crime, but by 2001 this had improved, with levels below the inner London average.

However, the 'rate of crime committed by young people has not shown the same reduction as other levels of crime' (Crime and Disorder Audit 2001), which has therefore led to the proportion of crime being committed by young people increasing. The report also notes that most crimes of which young people are victims, are perpetrated by young people, and that 77% of those found to be committing some form of street crime were aged between 10 and 19 years (*ibid.*). Whilst young people are considered a 'high risk' group in terms of being victims of crime, they have traditionally been the group with the least fear of crime. However, young people's fears are recognised to be different from adults'. In Southwark, through survey work, a third of young people were found to have felt

crime levels had increased, nearly half felt unsafe going out alone, and the three areas of crime that they expressed most concern about were murder/violence, drug dealing, and mugging/assault. There was also anxiety about the fact that most crime happens in parks, shopping centres and housing estates, and therefore spaces which young people are likely to frequent and/or be attracted to.

Despite much of the available housing in these areas being in flats there is a higher than average number of young people resident on both estates, but particularly on Rockingham. In 2001 it was estimated that the 15-19 age group within the Borough of Southwark would increase significantly by 16.6% (Crime and Disorder Audit 2001). All four of the SOAs we are interested in also have a particularly high number of lone parent households.

In terms of economic activity unemployment levels are higher than the London average (4.36%) with one of the Heygate SOAs having the highest level at 7.84%. In line with the overall picture of economic activity, the four SOAs also have high levels of those deemed 'economically inactive' through being students, carers or retired. These rates are particularly high for both the Rockingham SOAs at 44.77% and 45.31% when compared with the London figure of 35.42%. The other statistic worth noting is that in the Rockingham area the levels of unemployment relating to those aged 16-24 years are particularly high, averaging at about a quarter of the working population, whilst about 10% of the total adult population has never worked. In terms of the types of occupation the same patterns emerge, with far higher numbers of people in the lower supervisory, technical, and routine categories and lower numbers of people employed in higher managerial and professional occupations in all four SOAs than in London and Southwark as a whole.

Looking at ethnicity the variances in the relative proportions of different ethnic groups is wide, and therefore the estates that these relate to have distinct ethnic identities. In the two Rockingham SOAs, 'Bangladeshi' was significantly the largest proportion of the Asian groupings. Of the 'Black' group category those defined as 'Black or Black British: African' were the majority in all the SOAs, ranging from 31.36% in one of the Rockingham SOAs down to 13.36% on the Heygate.

These two estates then, facing one another and divided by the New Kent Road, contain Kickstart's beginnings – and represent the issues that gave rise to its work, as well as the progress that has been made since its first intervention. Historically, the Heygate was seen as largely white working class while the Rockingham became home for a greater diversity of people as those from Somali, Nigerian and Bangladeshi backgrounds were moved in by the local authority. Tensions between them escalated, until about a decade ago these were displayed in gang rivalry sometimes involving confrontational entry into the 'others' estate. In recognition of both this and other issues in the area, the Safer

Southwark Partnership was set up. Anecdotally, it is said that while problems were apparent, no-one knew what to do in terms of finding solutions.

It was at this point that a co-ordinator was recruited. He began by going into the estates, running football sessions through which teams were created. Inter-estate football became a means by which territorialism was tackled, and non-hostile movement into the others' turf was made possible – a transformation from violent conflict to friendly rivalry, from 'antagonism' to 'agonism'.¹⁴ In these early stages of the organisational development, important links were made with local agencies and resources, notably REPA (Rockingham Estate Play Association) and Geoffrey Chaucer Secondary School, which many young people from both estates attended.

Eventually, on the basis of the recruitment of staff from different backgrounds, a more formal style was adopted, which included developing relationships with other organisations, such as the Youth Justice Board, and consolidating a clear progression model for young people and volunteers.

2.3.2.2 Area 2: North Bermondsey, “the last part of sacred England”

“Bermondsey is insular, a world in itself. Bermondsey people feel like it's the last part of sacred England, like they're keeping a pure England alive, their own cultural heritage and identity, which is fine, but it creates problems when different types of people are placed there.” Ola, Kickstart

In the last couple of years, Kickstart has extended its influence into the east of the Borough. This began with a summer programme of activities funded by Positive Activities for Young People (PAYP) and based at Downside Boys Club near Tower Bridge. A black member of staff led this delivery with an all black team, and despite some reservations given the majority white local population, he developed a huge rapport with the young people and the wider community. Relationships with Downside have continued, in particular with the Fisher Boxing Club based there which continues to offer boxing training for Kickstart users.

The success of this scheme has become a springboard for further work in the area, though more consideration has been given to the ethnic mix of the staff team. One of the prompts for the necessity of addressing this issue were erroneous views of Kickstart as an organisation providing for young black people as opposed to all young people.

More recently Kickstart have begun a generic youth work session in the depths of Bermondsey at 'The Blue'. One of the members of staff that grew up on the Rockingham is involved in the session. He has expressed his incredulity at the attitudes of some of the young people he works with there, but also believes that

¹⁴ 'Agonism' relates to conflict, especially between the protagonist and antagonist in a work of literature, as in a verbal dispute in a drama, or festive competition in athletics or music.

already there are hints of greater awareness and change, because of the nature of their intervention. This involves directly questioning racist comments, making it clear that 'you can't talk about people in that way' and why, while at the same time offering affirmative experiences. The message is reinforced because there are clear benefits in adapting behaviour and therefore getting positive attention from workers to whom they can relate and aspire.

'There are some, because with the Youth Club for the Blue, that's my new session. We've only just got to know them, and obviously I come in, and I've got a good character about me, I've got a good personality, I'm willing to let them have the dig and stuff, but I'm going to give it back. We'll have a little talk, and we get to know each other. But these people have got a totally different frame of mind to me. A lot of them are really racist and stuff, and I'm totally the opposite of that. I have, I've never actually understood why people are racist and I can't really figure it out. Personally it just shocks me, I just can't believe it, and I've got somebody in the session telling us stuff like 'yeah, we go on Nazi like marches and stuff,' and I'm like 'wow, that is really deep', I can't understand that at all.'

The research team intends to follow Kickstart's delivery in Bermondsey more closely in the coming months, looking at how it meets the new challenges these issues present in a context where the agency has not yet developed the networks and pathways with which to respond.

2.3.2.3 Project staff and current delivery

As Kickstart has expanded the organisation has developed a tiered management structure.

- Senior management team – Five members of staff who have specific areas of responsibility, staff management roles and take a general strategic overview.
- Middle management – Four members of staff with geographical responsibilities in relation to particular funding streams.
- Full-time session leaders and project workers – The five session leaders also have particular areas of responsibility such as 'Serena's' role in young women's development and 'Kilroy's' responsibility for sports development
- Part-time session workers, trainees and volunteers – Kickstart employ a large number of people who work on a part-time basis, usually with expertise in particular areas. The trainees and volunteers are attached to particular sessions, and treated as members of staff in terms of expectations on them to turn up but also in terms of the support and training they receive.

In total the project currently employs 40 members of staff including sessional workers, plus 10-15 volunteers. There has been restructuring very recently with

workers already employed being assigned new areas of responsibility so there is nothing yet written that details each worker and their job title.

Kickstart is engaged in an extensive programme of activities which cuts across a wide variety of programmes. This programme is outlined more fully in Appendix 1 at the end of this report.

2.3.2.4 Participant sample

Momentary: Boys 16+ football

Kickstart's long standing over 16s football sessions provide a context in which we can consider some of the core activity of the agency at the front end of provision and how this translates into ongoing involvement and progression. In this sense we intend to focus on a number of specific participants as well as monitoring those who come and go in order to help identify why some young people stay engaged and progress with the project while others don't.

Discrete and ongoing: Millwall Education and Downside Boxing

The Millwall education day is a new development in which football is a magnet and reward for those 'at risk' of exclusion. The participants start and finish the day with football which provides an arena to release the young people's energy. The additional educational contexts which are not sport focused provide good opportunities to establish stronger and more meaningful dialogue with the young people. We will be interested to see what difference it makes to the participants and if any of those attending then tap into other Kickstart provision.

One of the spaces the research team has spent time in over a number of months is boxing sessions at Downside. Sessions run from about 3.30pm every week night and attract large numbers of young people aged from about 8 years upwards. The majority of those attending are boys, and a large proportion of these are white, though this is not exclusive. Of particular interest has been the introduction of girls into the club in the last year. A small group of teenage girls have been the vanguard of this change. Three of these have so far been involved in using disposable cameras to record different aspects of their lives over a week. We intend to continue this work and hope that these methods will help the young women to talk about their lives and the space that boxing occupies in them.

2.4 'Community', belonging and territorialism

In considering the locations for our research and the nature of the work that PF is involved in within them, an emphasis has been placed, time and again on the notion of 'community'. The term 'community' has in recent times become the focus of renewed interest within popular discourse and amongst academics,

politicians and policy makers. It has become something of a 'buzz' word, wheeled out as both a lament to more certain times and as an appeal to a better future: a term which is imbued with all the richness associated with human interaction. Indeed, something of a 'crisis of community' has emerged in the UK in recent years in which policy makers have sought to blame crime and 'anti-social' behaviour, health problems, poor educational standards, and a variety of other 'social issues' on the decline of community and civic culture more generally.

As Anthony Giddens has pointed out in his espousal of a 'Third Way' for British politics, 'on each side of the political spectrum today we see a fear of social disintegration and a call for a revival of community' (1994: 124). Political leaders in Britain and elsewhere now regularly discuss social problems in terms of their relationship to the 'loss of community', a lack of citizenship or similar themes. In this they draw implicitly and explicitly on a range of 'communitarian' philosophers who have been highly influential in the emergence of political strategies designed to develop social justice, social networks, local communities, and a new emphasis on family, kinship and neighbourhood.

In practice in Britain, this type of thinking has seen a number of policy initiatives which are infused with notions such as volunteering, charitable works, and organised self-care. It has also seen larger-scale policy initiatives which promote community regeneration (both social and economic), community policing, community-based justice and, of course, community sport interventions including the Positive Futures programme.

In this way sport can be seen as a 'political technology' (Foucault, 1977), which can tackle health issues through the promotion of physical activity and health promotion messages; low educational achievement through the delivery of sport-themed educational curricula; crime and 'anti-social' behaviour through the promotion of diversionary activities; and community cohesion problems through citizenship programmes, volunteering and by providing a focus for community identification.

However the contexts in which we are conducting our research suggest the prevalence of existing divided local identities which highlight the difficulties associated with developing a collective sense of identity through interventions such as PF. The school, the peer group, a particular locale remain the most powerful points of identification onto which PF projects have to attach themselves and which may potentially *reinforce* local divisions and hostility. As such it is vital that our research recognises and understands the local sources of identification which characterise young people's sense of belonging and 'community'.

In several contexts we have identified a culture of territorialism. In some areas the 'territories' that are identified by project staff relate to the depiction of a sense of belonging and seclusion which relates to notions of group membership, associated with sharing the same ethnic background. In Keighley, local and

national media reporting has for some time focused on racial tension between white and Asian residents which has contributed to the building of a local mythology presenting young Asian men as a contemporary racially constructed 'folk devil' providing a sexual threat to local white girls.

Whilst 'race' is rarely raised as an issue by PF participants, many of who's musical and cultural tastes are inflected by an appreciation of African-American and Caribbean influenced styles, it is a recurring theme in discussions amongst project staff. Staff are both sensitive to reporting of racially constructed problems in the area whilst also being influenced by the sensitivities they promote. Whilst swift to challenge racist language and assumptions, the reluctance of the parents of some participants to permit their children to use leisure facilities in what they perceive to be 'Asian areas', has prompted the project to avoid some of these venues.

By contrast it seems that the Battersea and Kickstart heartland areas are more heavily characterised by a casual, multicultural, especially amongst young people. This sort of vernacular multiculturalism is again reflected in the music the young people listen to which come under the heading 'urban' music and which are produced by very mixed groups of young people. As noted already, this is exemplified by multiracial So Solid Crew, who come from the Winstanley and Surrey Lane estates:

"Different characters, it's the same as the music innit, it's every element. The name So Solid says it. It's solid--we don't break, we take. So we got Oxide, he's a white guy, we got Neutrino, half-white half-black, Sniper and Trigger, they're Cypriots, they're from Ayia Napa. We're a mix of everything man but we started off black ghetto hustlin' strugglers from the same estates and we just adopted other people from different places." Safe, So Solid Crew, interview in *MurderDog*

Within this broadly multicultural area though, each estate has a very different racial geography, shaped by all sorts of factors, including housing allocation policies and the agency of particular racist or anti-racist residents or families. It is in this context that the work of projects like Kickstart can have a profound influence as evidenced by their work on the Rockingham Estate:

There are black, Asian, Irish and English lads. Before Rockingham United there used to be racial tension on the estates, but not now. Not when kids from all races wear the black-and-red stripes of the team's sponsored kit." (Ros Wynne-Jones 'Team Unites the Races on Rundown Estate', *Mirror*, July 11, 2003)

Even within the domain of inner South London though, Battersea and Elephant and Castle can be contrasted with Bermondsey, where a very different politics of race prevails. Whilst it seems that the white youth there again share key elements of black-inflected youth culture, this can co-exist with extreme forms of

racism.¹⁵ In the context of their practical experience of tackling such problems Kickstart are working to address racist youth culture in Bermondsey, and are interested in mobilising the predominance of black cultural forms in the local youth culture in order to do this.

Beyond the issue of racism, South London has been the site of a number of 'moral panics', focusing on the violent bodies of its working class male residents. In the late 19th century, it was one of the homes of the costermongers, the colourful criminal lumpen subculture which fascinated middle class observers; the Elephant was the site of the Victorian 'Hooligan' panic; and Bermondsey was one of the areas associated with the 'roughs' who rioted during the political unrest of the 1880s. In the postwar years, the Elephant was attached in the popular imagination to the dangerous figures of the Ted and the cosh boy. From the 1960s, Bermondsey was stigmatised through its association with Enoch Powell, Millwall hooliganism, the National Front and Rights for Whites. More recently, Winstanley and Surrey Lanes have been the focus of a renewed outcry around gun culture, after government minister Kim Howells blamed 'idiots like the So Solid Crew' for the deaths of black teenagers in Birmingham.

In the course of the development of these moral panics, images and stories pass back and forth between media representations of violence and official narratives around crime reduction strategies. In turn, these narratives feed local perceptions and interventions.

'Ask anyone about Battersea's Winstanley Estate and one will inevitably be told it is notorious hotbed of drug dealing, graffiti, vandalism and crime. The now derelict Duke of Wellington pub on the Clapham Junction Estate was the centre of the local crack cocaine trade of the mid-1990's. Despite a series of high-profile police and council raids capturing the big dealers, an armed turf war then developed as various smaller gangs vied to take control. Vandalism and petty crime on the 1,100 home Winstanley and neighbouring York Road estates was rife, and police community relations were non-existent.' (Charles Heymann 'Many won't report crime on the estate', *Wimbledon Guardian* July 30, 2004)

In this context the Winstanley and York Gardens neighbourhood became the first area in Wandsworth to join the Metropolitan Police initiated Safer Neighbourhood scheme. A recent survey of 400 residents to identify what local people felt were the prime concerns, and to help set priorities for the Safer Neighbourhood Team, listed the top five issues as:

1. Graffiti
2. Teenagers hanging around
3. Drug Use
4. Vandalism

¹⁵ Les Back names this co-existence of trans-racial affinity with violent antipathy 'the metropolitan paradox' (1996).

5. Drunkenness / Rowdiness

For some young people, the stigma given to their neighbourhoods by these kinds of representation can be turned into a badge of pride. Being 'ghetto', being 'from the south side', can be part of the identity of local young people. This is amplified in the 'urban' music culture the young people orient to, and the images of tower blocks, concrete walkways and graffiti that pervade it.¹⁶

However, this sort of pride can also be expressed negatively in intense territorial rivalries. In Southwark, we have found evidence of a territorialism very much framed by these kinds of collective historical references. As Yolanda, the Kickstart worker responsible for the 'Juice Bar' reflected:

'Well I'd actually say that the Juice Bar is just one estate at the moment because there has always been this territorial thing about the Rockingham and the Heygate estate. I've never seen it in my time. I've heard it from the young people but I think they are just going off something that happening so long ago, they themselves weren't actually involved in it. Because if I was to say to some of my core group who live on the Heygate estate 'Come on I've got [the] Juice Bar, it's a really great session, come over' they won't come over, so I've got a club going on that estate at the same time.'

In North Liverpool a more immediate and intensely felt sense of territorialism and associated conflict has emerged which is directly impacting upon the PF project in the context of wider problems connected to the area's emergent gang culture and organised criminal activity. The principle rift is between the 'Langy Estate' and 'Scotty Road' residents. Scotland Road is a large main road which runs through the Vauxhall Ward whilst the local authority housing estate centred around Lang Road (Langy) falls within the Everton Ward. The two areas meet almost exactly on the site of the Everton Park Sports Center and the Powerleague Pitz pitches where PF runs many of its activities. The graffiti below was written on a pavement within the 'Langy Estate' and is fairly typical of that found in the area.

¹⁶ See the videos of performers like Kano and Lady Sovereign, the record designs of The Streets or Dizzee Rascal, the imagery on youth-targeted TV station Channel U, or the website of record label Run The Road.



A local volunteer described the territorial nature of the area in the following terms:

'There is a real violent edge to the Scotty Rd and Langy area which is centred around a drugs component and a number of big families, They have these little runners working for them who fight over areas and have a rivalry. A lot of youth workers won't even touch this area. If you dare go to the police, they will threaten your whole family even kiddies and women. I've told Richard that he really is working on an island here.

Some lads from Scotty are scared to go and sign on over at Breck Rd. Campion school (on the Langy) had older men, cousins and brothers of school lads coming into the yard threatening lads. There were around eight Scotty Rd lads expelled so it's died down a bit.'

Although this territorial dispute is very localized, the issues of gangland activity and gun crime affect the majority of the six wards in which North Liverpool PF works. Over and over again reference is made to the high number of gun crimes in the immediate area of Anfield which cannot be as easily dismissed as local mythology. Indeed in the summer of 2004 one of the Liverpool FC coaches was shot three times and has only recently left hospital. On Friday 22nd April 2005 a couple of lads from the 'Langy' Estate who are involved in the PF football team were themselves threatened with a gun by Scotty Road lads whilst walking across the Everton Park fields. The following week a participant was attacked whilst playing football with friends at the Powerleague Pitz by some 'Scotty Road'

lads armed with 'clubs, and sticks with nails in'. 'Chris' was hit and had to go to hospital where he was placed under pressure to provide evidence to the police which ultimately he did not provide for fear of being identified as a 'grass' and facing further reprisals.

Whilst such incidents present enormous operational difficulties for the project itself and stretch the commitment of participants, which we will consider in more detail later, for some of the project workers the concern is that gun crime and the associated criminal activity ultimately provides an alternative source of identification and excitement to those presented by sport. As one of the football coaches argued, 'these kids don't look up to football heroes anymore, it's these guys with flash cars and money who run the area. These kids worship them'.

Yet the flip side of this territorialism can be a more affirmative expression of identity, belonging, and pride, and there are examples of this being explored and expressed within the parameters of sport rather than developing into violence. In Calderdale the compactness of the area in which the PF project operates creates opportunities for group identities to be forged and re-enforced around the work of PF. There is little evidence of the territorial rivalry which is apparent in the other locations and many of the project participants knew each other before attending PF activities. Whilst one part of the area has a fairly distinct local identity, the others 'sort of blur into each other' and the area in which the project operates is seen, by the local media and most participants, as being quite unified.

Equally the Rockingham and Heygate estates in Southwark can operate like small and detached worlds. To an outsider they might seem like impenetrable, alienating and even threatening spaces, but to those that live there they are intimately familiar spaces, and thus experienced as relatively safe. A group of young people at a session on the Rockingham Estate were asked about their perceptions of safety in relation to place, through the use of a mapping exercise. The maps they drew all represented the small locality of their own estate. Most didn't even show what the boundaries might be, such as the New Kent Road, but instead just stopped, as if nothing worth noting existed beyond. This 'estatism' seems quite extreme in this example but at times, this can be harnessed in an intervention as Yolanda explained:

'Yeah I think so especially as it is on their estate it gives them ownership of their club for a period of time so they feel it is theirs. No one can go to them 'you can't have it'. So I think it gives them a sense of ownership on their estate as well as in the area, status, once again everybody knows who they are and that's pride. You know they are doing good work and they can promote it.'

Yet in a society marked by increasing 'individualization' it could be argued that PF projects are merely creating 'communities without commitment' or 'thin communities' that people can dip into to satisfy their occasional needs for security without taking on the reciprocal obligations that define 'community' in the

writings of communitarian thinkers. Invoking the sociology of Zygmunt Bauman (2001), the activities associated with PF might be seen as a large peg on which to hang lots of problems, providing events around which people temporarily unite as communities, only to go back to their individualised lives and personal troubles at the end of the game. People 'perform' all the aspects of community and commonality for the time they are together 'as one', but do not necessarily knit themselves into deep reciprocal relationships as a result.

The challenge for PF then is to be sensitive to the qualitative differences that exist within different types of neighbourhood and aware of the fragility of much of what passes as 'community bonding' whilst supporting young people in their search for security, wellbeing and opportunity.

Part Three: Identification and Engagement

Having established a picture of ‘the state of play’ by introducing the case study projects and setting out a sense of the current picture against which any progress might be assessed we will now turn our attention to consideration of the relationship between project activity and ‘the positive futures approach’.

The ultimate aims of Positive Futures are ‘to have a positive influence on participants’ substance misuse, physical activity and offending behaviour,’ via the objectives of ‘widening horizons providing access to lifestyle, educational and employment opportunities within a supportive and culturally familiar environment.’ In the following sections we wish to focus not on the extent to which the programme has achieved these objectives but to consider the ways in which projects have set about the task and the extent to which we can talk of a ‘positive futures approach’ through consideration of the key themes that have emerged at this stage of the research. This will involve consideration of how participants are identified and targeted, how local geographical, demographic and cultural contours are navigated, the style and delivery of project activities, their appeal to particular target groups and the impact of social distinctions associated with gender and ‘race’ and the characteristics and approaches of project staff.

3.1 Targeting and referrals

In many ways the PF approach towards the identification of participants reflects the historical legacy of the national partnership out of which the programme emerged. As an initial combination of projects and agencies associated with Sport England’s Active Communities Programme and the Youth Justice Board’s Youth Inclusion Programme individual PF projects had distinct approaches towards the identification and engagement of participants from the start. As the programme has developed these evolved into three broad types.

Table 12: Identification and referral approaches

Identification tool	Referral mechanism
‘Top’/YIP 50	Agency/partner referral
Outreach	Open access/self referral
Pragmatic	Hybrid

Whilst never developed with PF in mind, one common source of identification of participants for PF projects is the Youth Justice Board’s ‘YIP 50’ list, which consists of the 50 young people in each neighbourhood aged 13–16 years who are described as being ‘engaged in crime or at most risk of offending, truancy or social exclusion’¹⁷, as defined by local partner agencies. Five of our case studies make some use of this approach although it is most strictly adhered to in two

¹⁷ www.youth-justice-board.gov.uk

locations where the projects are led by a Youth Offending Team and a local authority. Whilst participants in these locations *are* identified from sources beyond the YIP or 'Top' 50 list, these typically come from formally constituted partners.

All of the young people engaged by one of the local authority led projects were specifically targeted and referred by partner agencies. As the Development Manager John notes 'it's all referral. There are no open access to any of our activities...it's all targeted very much to those who are maybe excluded or at risk of exclusion' with referrals coming primarily from school learning mentors, YOTs, Connexions and the Youth Service.

In the YOT led case study, whilst participants are drawn primarily from 3 estates, the project's Focus Group, attended by a mix of front line and senior staff, meets quarterly and uses a matrix to identify the young people from these neighbourhoods who they perceive to be engaged in crime or at most risk of offending, truancy or social exclusion. If a young person is known to an agency, they are allocated a 'x' on the matrix, and the 50 young people with the most crosses form the 'Core 50' group. A referral pro forma is then completed by the key partner agency before the young person is 'allowed' to join the project.

In many ways this mode of operation most clearly identifies projects with a 'top down' approach, identifying those young people who are perceived as problematic in the eyes of welfare institutions who then direct them towards some form of correctional programme. A status which was recognised by one of the participants in the local authority led project who seems able to identify not only who is involved but also how selection is determined by rather vaguely authority figures.

'I think it's made for like kids that like, I'm not sure but, one of them is like for if they are going to get in trouble with the police and like they are getting into trouble and as they said before they're like, in danger or getting kicked out of school or home and that. So I think that is one of the reasons. Cos [the programme leader] gave a couple of examples before didn't he.'

Whilst the young person's own satisfaction with the activities he was engaged with might reflect a perception of the scheme as offering 'goodies for baddies', this does not detract from the distance between this approach and the suggestion in the PF strategy document, *Cul-de-sacs and gateways* that: 'In each area the problems and opportunities faced by marginalised groups of young people themselves provide the template for the development of work plans, with non judgmental and culturally appropriate local opportunities for personal development emerging organically on the basis of what engages effectively' (Positive Futures, 2003: 10). In this sense there is a need for PF projects which have been defined in accordance with more conventional referral based welfare interventions to focus more readily on delivering the front line work rather than

being constrained by the achievement of local partnership targets or existing work planning structures.

This approach seems currently to be better reflected in the style which is more typically, though not exclusively, adopted by community based voluntary sector agencies. When one of our case study projects which fits this categorisation begins a new session they usually start with planned outreach in the area, utilising 'anywhere that we know young people congregate', doing street work as well as going into schools and shopping centres, for example:

'One of the main things we do is outreach, where we go out on the streets with flyers and use our charm tactics. We speak to the young people on the street and we tell people what we do. We tell them what's on offer for them, we give them a flyer and a phone number and hope that they get along. For more targeted work it's a lot more one to one. We meet with them regularly to build the relationship first.'

A crucial distinction is identified here in the sense that there is recognition that identification and targeting cannot be conducted independently of relationship building. Rather than specific, 'problematic', young people being identified in a formal environment away from their neighbourhood, the neighbourhood setting is seen to *produce* the potential participants, who in many circumstances then turn out to be young people identified as 'at risk' by partner agencies. However, engaging young people is more straightforward and less stigmatized with this approach since their attendance at sessions is voluntary. Even for the 'Core 50 Youth Worker', who has a specific remit to work with the 'Top 50' there is awareness that young people often don't want to be separated out from other peers. Her principal activity then, though age restrictive, is open to 'everyone':

'The only criteria is the age bracket. Anyone under 11 would be a bit young to be involved in the decision making; we do consult them but in regards to planning it and designing what is going to happen, anyone between 12 and 20 is fine. Other than that we don't specify. In terms of my other young people who are core 50 is a bit of a bonus... It kills two birds with one stone... At present there's 3 in this session, in terms of the forum, in terms of the open session, you could have 5, 6, 7, 8... It's a bit difficult to work with sometimes because being the core group they are chosen because they have specific needs, so sometimes it doesn't work out for them in our projects, but for the ones that are here it has worked out wonderfully.'

Whilst there is no completely straightforward fit between any of the projects and the 'Top 50' and the 'Outreach' approaches defined here some PF projects can more clearly be characterised by a pragmatic flexible approach designed to build up participant numbers, particularly in the early stages of their development. One of our phase three case studies has been more reliant upon recruiting young people via publicity, street based work and a more informal style of networking and partnership building. The team had to build up relationships with partner agencies during their first year in order to create referral pathways and do now receive referrals from Banardos, learning mentors, the YISP, YOT and

Connexions. However many of the evening and weekend activities as well as holiday sessions are open access to all local young people. To date all the dance girls are self recruited through publicity in schools, leaflets in community sports centres and word of mouth. In this sense new projects, particularly those established specifically to deliver PF, benefit greatly from a flexible approach which develops 'on the basis of what engages effectively' and which adopts a more informal model of partnership liaison. The project co-ordinator explained how:

I think it is a combination certainly this first year has been very much a kind of suck it and see approach, things are changing as we are going into the second year we are very much more focused about where we are going. The first year has been a combination of using as many different referral agents and telling them what we can provide for the young people and then trying to keep those relationships open and warm and for them to call us when they have a young person in mind. That strategy originally didn't actually prove quite as fruitful as we thought as we are covering such a huge area we found it very difficult to keep all those relationships going and so we're ending up doing is taking a certain amount of the projects to the areas themselves and then getting in touch with the young people there whether through some street based work or through the local neighbourhood councils or community centres or just evening activities. So concurrent with that we also do have some specific targeted activities for specific referred young people.

Penny for the guy

Kate seemed disappointed with the attendance. She was worried that the football club coaches were coming the next day and that there would only be a few kids for them to work with. Rather than sit around and worry about it she decided to get out and see if there were any kids hanging around the streets who she could get to come along. Driving around the area it was not the day to be rustling up support for a 'sports day'. The pouring rain had put paid to street corner society as those left to face the elements made for what shelter they could find. A couple of hardy souls crunched up under the hoarding of a newsagent were similarly struggling for punters willing to offer reward for their improvised effigy of Guy Fawkes. Spotting the opportunity we stopped and walked over.

Rather than a coin Kate handed them a flyer and asked if they wanted to come down.

'Its better than sitting out here in the rain'.

Spotting that one of the kids was carrying a crutch the offer was re-inforced.

'Its ok if you're injured cos there are x-boxes and other indoor activities that you can get involved with'.

'I'm not injured it's for whacking people with', he smirked as he smashed the stick against the metal shutter boarding up the shop next door for effect.

Kate, utilising her local knowledge ignored the bravado and turned to his mate,

'I know you' she said, asking how his mum was. He was soon on board and ran off home to get his mum to sign the form.

Looking to make his excuses the kid with the stick asked

'Is it where the Pitz is? That's miles away. I'm not goin' there. I'd have to get a bus.'

When his mate returned Kate took the form off him and told the boys that it was on all week so they should just come along. As we got back into the car to rustle up some more would-be participants Kate waved at the lads mum who was walking down the street.

There were several more at the session the next day.

Other new projects have relied more heavily on working with local education authorities and have focused their work on schools which has enabled them to make initial contact with large numbers of young people. For two of our case studies this has continued to be their main point of contact, although they have now extended delivery into youth club settings. This work is typically targeted at particular classes or year groups selected by the schools, but within those parameters tends to operate on the basis of an open door policy. Whilst one of the project co-ordinators explained that they 'never exclude anyone' and that he sees part of their work as trying to 'break down barriers', an inclusive approach to engagement is interpreted here as making activities available rather than proactive outreach. Despite the enormously positive content of sessions delivered in a number of venues there are still questions about the capacity of this approach to engage those young people who might be identified as 'hard to reach', with the majority of sessions being organized in school based settings where attendance at school is a prerequisite for involvement.

What is clear is that the more mature PF projects and particularly those working within a community based setting have developed an understanding of the dynamic nature of the engagement process and the need to take account of individual circumstances rather than relying on existing referral pathways. Even for those projects who are focused on the identification of 'Top 50' lists the majority of participants come from other routes. This demonstrates the point that, whilst, *on paper*, the referrals process can be quite rigid and formulaic, it is more often operationalised by front line staff in a much more flexible manner. Whilst senior personnel might meet to 'steer' the project in terms of building a partnership, linking to other local initiatives, national debates and policies, workers on the ground identify local issues, as well as individuals, which the projects need to work with. The 'Core 50' youth worker at our phase one case study project explained how:

'I have had people ask me 'how do you reach the hard to reach young people?' I say, 'well, knock on their door'... Of my core 50 some of them are very hard to reach. Although I might know them and have their date of birth and address it is not always that easy to engage them because you can get to their door and they tell you to F off, or they could come. Of the 50 there are at least 15 who I would say are the hardest to reach, that I find difficult... I will try and arrange a meeting at their school, so they feel comfortable with their teachers there... I'll go to their houses and talk to their parents and try to get the parents on board and we'll all try to talk to them together, if they are involved in the YOT we can arrange a meeting with the YOT and them so they feel comfortable there, and if all that fails then I'll just knock on their

door and say 'can I speak to blah blah please' and then I just make the project sound so fantastic. But there are some who are not engaged and that can be through fear of other young people. They have various reasons as to why they won't come... some of my core group have been severely bullied in school and for that reason they find it difficult to be in group settings.'

In some ways this perspective transforms the conventional image of the 'hard to reach'. Instead of this being a label attached to young people the staff at this project subverted this outlook in different ways. They recognise that there are reasons why a young person may be difficult for a worker to make contact with. As such being designated 'hard to reach' is not seen in terms of a broad behavioural category but in relation to an individual's situation. In this context the emphasis is on the need to work harder at combating the reasons why young people might not be able to access the project. There is also recognition that PF may not always be best placed to achieve this objective and may need themselves to refer young people on.

Key Message

At the outset of this section we defined 3 broad approaches which PF projects adopt towards the targeting, identification and referral of participants. It is clear to us that of these the 'outreach' and 'pragmatic' approaches are far more consistent with the spirit of the *Cul-de-sacs and gateways* strategy document. Opening access to projects and engaging with young people in their own neighbourhoods does not preclude working with those who have been defined as 'most at risk' or 'hard to reach' but equally working with these groups does not rely upon the use of institutionalized formal referral mechanisms. Projects which successfully engage those young people do so in a pragmatic fashion making use of informal relationships with loose networks of partners and active relationship building in street and community based settings. The establishment of referral procedures can then follow from the establishment of these work patterns.

3.2 Spaces and places

The *Cul-de-sacs and gateways* strategy document highlights the importance of 'widening horizons and access to lifestyle, educational and employment opportunities *within a supportive and culturally familiar environment*' (Positive Futures 2003). However we have identified a tremendous degree of variance amongst the projects with regard to the venues used for activities, some of which might be regarded as more supportive and familiar than others. These might be categorised once again through a series of exemplar types ranging from the community based and familiar to distinctive commercial venues located outside of the target neighbourhoods.

Whilst far from uniform it is clear that there is a relationship between the location and organisational history of the lead agency and the type and location of facilities that are utilised for the delivery of activities. Few of the projects make use of their own office base for delivery purposes other than for one-to-one or small group sessions with participants. However there is a clear demarcation between those projects which focus their activity in the local neighbourhood and those who seek out more 'appropriate' or 'glamorous' venues further afield.

At several of our case studies, many activities take place well outside of the immediate area and rely on the provision of organised transport. Whilst it might be argued that this is a positive development, broadening horizons and unveiling new neighbourhoods and lifestyles to participants, sometimes venues as drab as the ones available locally are chosen. For example, in one context a nearby city which *has* been used for other activities also hosts a superb modern climbing facility. Yet when two young men asked if a group could go there to climb, they were told by a worker that 'the facilities there are very good and people pay good money to use them. They wouldn't like a group of youngsters *like you* in there with them.' Whilst the participants took the explanation with nothing more than a shrug this seemed to be sending a negative message to the participants about their own worth and how those possessing more economic and cultural capital were somehow more worthy of access to this space.

This is particularly so given that PF participants in the city where the wall is located *do* make use of it on a regular basis. Indeed participants here have engaged with a series of new and distinct places and environments beyond their normal experience. Attendance at an equestrian centre by a group referred by local schools has expanded the equestrian 'world' of the young people beyond the bookmakers, to lessons in stable management and riding and PF has afforded these young people an opportunity to participate in an alternative culture outside of their normal environments. However this has been achieved in a context where there has been no opportunity for the groups to meet non-PF equestrian centre users, who often come from more affluent backgrounds and neighbourhoods, as the time slots allocated to the PF project are off peak. As such, access is negotiated. The cheapest, least popular time slots are awarded to PF and whilst PF acts as a bridge to the physical venue and activities for the young people, there is no contact with the people who populate this world at other times.

By contrast, one of our case study projects which evolved gradually in the local neighbourhood prior to its involvement with PF has historically worked closely with other local organizations. In looking at extending work into an area or estate their first consideration is always to determine what is already there. These resources may not necessarily be ideal and developing good working relationships with other organizations, even when mutual gain is obvious, is not always easy. But the use of existing local facilities does provide a number of benefits. Being local they are known, accessible, and enhance local provision

rather than wasting resources on replication. In using a host organization as a partner the host is also likely to have its own client group, while Positive Futures can bring with it additional resources that may have an added attraction to young people locally. For example, this project utilises the gyms and floodlit pitches at a local secondary school in the evenings when they are no longer being used by the school. This benefits both the school and the project and makes sports training available to the school's pupils as well as those who go to other schools.

Another of our case study projects makes use of a variety of spaces to deliver activities and their long term plan is to deliver the same sessions in each of the neighbourhood areas where they are working, thus taking the activities to the young people. The local Powerleague Pitz in the heart of the project's catchment area, where Astroturf football pitches can cost around £40 per hour to hire, has also been booked during half-term holidays to make an otherwise inaccessible arena 'accessible'. The coordinator hopes that this will increase participation and community networks and proposes to stage dance shows and football tournaments in order to bring groups together.

The reality of local rivalry and place based animosity can nevertheless undermine such a strategy.

'...a police car and a screaming siren...'

The team was stood around with Richard and Kate discussing how they were feeling in the wake of the previous week's incident when two of the lads were threatened with a gun whilst walking across the fields that now stood ominously between them and their scheduled football session. One of the lads seemed to capture the mood,

'There is no way I'm going over there, can't we just kick about on the field here?'

Richard informed the group that the football coach was over 'there' waiting for them and that he had just phoned to say that there are no lads hanging about. Kate backed him up,

'The police have told us that they will be hanging around for the whole session because they want to pick this lad up anyway, so you'll be safe.'

Still to be convinced another of the lads came back,

'The police? Na.'

So Richard put it to the test and asked the group to raise their hands if they were ok with walking across to the pitches tonight. Out of twelve lads, ten put their hands up and in the face of this overwhelming peer pressure the other two said,

'OK then.'

We set off and as we approached the pitches the scale of the police presence became apparent as a police van was parked immediately alongside the pitch.

The team ignored them and got on with the training session, more distracted by a group of young girls passing by every ten minutes than the police. Not to be upstaged, as we left the pitches and walked back across the park, the police vehicles screeched off and sped down the road.

In such contexts rather than simply challenging local rivalries PF projects become part of the social processes which define them. Here, in the eyes of

onlookers the indiscretion of the police might have led to an association between them and the activity, which could ultimately undermine the project's progress in the face of local animosity to police informants which has previously led to arson and graffiti attacks on people's homes.

Yet it is clear that sporting activities can equally generate transformative spaces which undermine animosities tied to local affiliations and notions of 'race'. At another project, a couple of young black men expressed an interest in boxing at a local gym. The majority of those who attend the club are boys, and a large proportion of these are white, though this is not exclusive. The walls are covered with photos and newspaper cuttings of boxers from over the last couple of decades. These include Lloyd Honeyghan, a local black boxer who was World Welterweight Champion in 1986. He now brings his own son to the gym, as do a number of other parents who also once trained there.

Boxing, like some other sports, is one in which young black men can 'gain entry' (Back, Crabbe and Solomos, 2001) despite racist attitudes that may affect their movements elsewhere. Nevertheless when the two PF participants first attended they were accompanied by a member of staff because of their feelings of insecurity about entering the area, which has historic associations with both 'whiteness' and racism. However, the gym itself is an arena of neutrality which seems to operate according to its own laws as the French sociologist and ethnographer Loic Wacquant has previously articulated in relation to the social field of boxing:

'From the moment they step into a gym, "manly artists" are fed a steady diet of folk notions and narratives that lionise the defiant individual and portray the boxer as a lone warrior, a modern-day gladiator out to prove his mettle by seizing his own fate, as it were, with his bowled fists. This entrepreneurial vocabulary of motive is rooted in the occupational experience of corporeal self-production: in training, the boxer uses his own body as the raw materials as well as the tool to refashion that very body in accordance with the peculiar exigencies of the craft... Through endless "roadwork" (daily morning runs of 3 to 6 miles), "floorwork" (shadow-boxing, punching an assortment of bags, rope skipping and callisthenics) and "ringwork" (rehearsing moves and sparring in the ring), the fighter "develops his slumbering powers and compels them to act in obedience to his sway" (3). He transforms his organism, appropriates its capacities and literally produces a new embodied being out of the old. And he is given a stage on which to affirm his moral valour and construct a heroic, transcendent self which allows him to escape the status of "non-person" to which (sub)proletarians like him are typically consigned.

Last but not least, the particular skills that boxers acquire in the course of their occupational activities are seated in their organism and, as such, constitute their inalienable personal property. Professional fighters are artisans of the (violent masculine) body who, much like their counterparts of the industrial revolution, glory in the pride of "having a trade" rather than "being in a trade". (Wacquant, 2001)

Watching newcomers begin to train in this environment they seem to absorb the unspoken codes of behaviour that pervade, along with the blending smells of sweat and leather, and sounds of skipping feet and ropes. These codes maybe imparted by the example of older experienced boxers training alongside them, with their intense motivation, their enviable fitness and co-ordination, their courteous behaviour, and their part in an unquestionable hierarchy of ability, age, and experience. While this may appear to put beginners at the 'bottom of the pile', it also extends to them the care and attention which is the responsibility of the more experienced. There are occasional moments of joking and laughter breaking out between the relentless programme of training but no 'piss taking' or negative commentary on others attempts to master this difficult and demanding sport.

The gym's identification as an inclusionary space is further evidenced by the introduction of girls into the club during the last year. Whilst we will consider this development in more detail later in the report it is clear that boxing has a tremendous appeal because of the 'whole world' it is for these young women. The gym itself, with its history displayed in the cuttings taped to the walls, its codes of conduct, its special equipment, and its regular users and characters, confers upon those who enter it the possibility of belonging in a familial sense. Indeed the girls admit that it is sometimes hard to make themselves leave even though they usually attend two or three times a week.

Key Message

Whilst projects may have good reasons for not using particular venues such as their inadequacy, lack of safety or inaccessibility, the PF approach is committed to the use of supportive and culturally familiar environments. In the main this suggests a preference for the use of local facilities and direction of resources into the immediate neighbourhood in order to facilitate the transformation of 'places with nothing to do' into 'spaces with something to do'.

3.3 Kudos, glamour and special activities

"The popularity of Chelsea is enormous round here now," says Desmond. "We get more and more young people coming to us because we're from Chelsea. It's only a hook, but it's a really powerful one..."

Matthew Brown "Chelsea, Arsenal and other London clubs doing their bit to fashion 'Positive Futures' for today's youth!"

(<http://www.givemefootball.com/community.html?newsID=659>)

If part of the attraction of PF is that it offers something different to participants, part of this difference may also be its use of venues or activities which convey glamour, in order to attract and retain those participants. There is no doubt that football has a glamorous position in young people's lives which can itself present

problems for community sports practitioners who may be seeking to counter the superficiality of an over commercialized sport which nevertheless assigns secondary importance to their role. However two of our case study projects make strong use of their partnership with Premiership football clubs and have been able to exploit their glamour effectively in terms of initial engagement. The pictures of players on publicity leaflets and the club strip that the coaches wear along with access to stadium tours and the opportunity to watch the match for free if they clear rubbish before and afterwards are clearly factors in attracting young people to the projects, particularly where young people are fans of the clubs concerned.

Although the young people are never told that involvement in the project might lead to them being spotted and finding stardom in the Premiership, it is clear in talking to some of them that they still like to imagine this might happen. In turn though there is recognition more broadly and across the various case studies of the way in which possibilities or progression routes *can* open up from these activities.

'It's, you know, that's what we get, that's what kind of interests them. 'Okay, wow, it's free first of all, I can get in the studio, I can lay down my demo if I'm interested in becoming an artist, I can do that, and it's a starting point for me.' Also, 'if I wanted to become a professional footballer I can start off here, this is a good route and I can get training.' 'I can become a coach at the same time.' And these are the kind of things that keep them interested, and they come in twos, we provide them with as much as we can.'

This makes clear the fact that Positive Futures is about more than simply offering a youth club type space where there is access to a free pool table. Several of our case studies utilise a range of unusual, special, 'cool' activities including BMXing, snowboarding, dance, climbing, film special effects and others which stretch the definition of PF as a sport based social inclusion strategy. These activities stand out and reflect the contemporary appeal of more individualistic 'lifestyle' or 'extreme' sports (Wheaton, 2004). Whilst these activities 'currency' can make them very attractive to young people, in an individualistic society there is also the danger that their attraction may prove to be ephemeral in the search for individualistic highs rather than helping to build reciprocal forms of cooperation and collectivity.

Nevertheless, in our case studies we have found a very committed engagement with dance and with the dance instructors. The participants look up to their dance instructors and hold them in high esteem. In several of our projects participants identify with and are inspired by their instructors, the shows they organise and other groups they work with. The participants look forward to learning new dance moves and these sessions seem to have the potential to achieve longevity of interest, based on this glamour, as guest dancers regularly speak and bring along photographs of concerts attended and famous artists met.

In an entirely different setting there is also a definite feeling of kudos associated with the Biodiversity and Access Project (BAP) where the symbolic act of wearing the 'ranger' hat and uniform and taking on the role of 'ranger' is something that the participants appear to be very proud of. The success of the BAP can be seen on many levels; the special activity of being a 'ranger'; the diversity of activity; the degree of freedom of space; the non-authoritarian approach to learning and the worthy-ness of actually doing something for 'real' rather than in a 'fake' environment. One of the rangers complained that he knew of lads who had been on decorating courses who were painting and decorating the same room throughout the whole course. He viewed this as belittling and pointless and felt that learning improves in the natural evolving environment of the trade since as one of the young participants argues:

'there is never any two days that are exactly the same, never... I mean like you could be on the same site but you would be with different people and it's not like the same boring thing day in day out cos you are doing something different everyday, either you are with different people or with the same people on a different site.'

'Glamour' can also be attached to those who are not directly associated with the project but who participants meet in the context of the activities. In one of our case studies diving sessions have proven popular with one group which is partly a reflection of the example that fellow pool users Clare and Chris present.

Duckers and divers

A young woman had just walked in. Clare was her name. You couldn't miss her name as everyone was saying 'Hi Clare' to her as she went past. She was known by almost all the swimmers present. As she walked round the pool, young men turned to greet her. She had a t-shirt on top of her swimming attire. A black t-shirt with the words *BVSC Team Member* printed on the front. She was carrying a tiny face cloth in her hand, tossing it up and down as she approached the PF team. It seemed natural enough that she would be the diving instructor. She was not. She was there to practice too. In fact she is a third year student at a local University pursuing a physiotherapy undergraduate course. She is originally from Wales where her mum is involved in swimming as an administrator and has been organising swimming events, particularly diving, since Clare was in infants' school.

A short middle aged man walked in, greeting people loudly as he headed towards us. Chris had the walk of a local celebrity. He hugged Charlie and asked her what she'd been up to lately. 'Uni stuff' he suggested not waiting for her response. Charlie explained that she was busy helping her mother put on an event for young divers which had taken place the previous week. He joined her in some stretches as PF participants stopped what they were doing and gathered around.

After a good stretching session, Chris and Clare started off on the basic skills of diving. The PF group joined them and followed them around applauding their every move from the boards. Impulsively, every artistic display received a round of applause. Jerry, the most courageous of the PF participants, went up with Chris and jumped from the 10m board. Chris followed up with a

somersault dive into the water. When he emerged he looked up eagerly searching for the approval which was forthcoming. We were clapping.

The two PF volunteers approached as he climbed out of the pool. Gabor praised him and asked how long he had been doing that. 'Since I was a boy, at age 12,' he responded, 'am 54 years now.' 'You're joking', Gabor exclaimed. She put her hand round him, turned him round facing Zaza. 'Can you believe he is 54?' Zaza shook her head. 'More fans' he whispered, 'more fans'.

Key Message

Increasingly PF is stretching its own boundaries in terms of its embracement of activities which engage young people which would not be defined as sports in conventional terms. This is a welcome development in the context of *Cul-de-sacs and gateways* emphasis that 'young people are more likely to engage...if you start by teaching them something *they* think is worth knowing or like doing'.

3.4 Staff

Cul-de-sacs and gateways argued that at the heart of the PF approach 'lies the community sports 'coach', since part of the attraction of sports led social interventions is the delivery agents' possession of a much respected and sought after level of skill and ability' which transcends the insularity sometimes found in areas of deprivation (Positive Futures, 2003:4).

Yet there is no such thing as an archetype 'community sports coach'. Rather all of our case study projects are characterised by a disparate array of staff with distinct skills and backgrounds. Despite the diversity, a typology of staff identities or 'characters' is beginning to emerge which can be applied across these different contexts. (Note, these characters should be seen as Weberian 'ideal types' and do not correspond exactly to particular individuals but rather characterise particular styles that we observed among staff in different settings).

Character	Role and skills
The boss	The senior member of staff whose appearance at sessions can sometimes be seen by participants as an indication that something is wrong even if they are only present to get a feel for how sessions are going or how young people are engaging. Typically a good authority figure: serious and businesslike but friendly and listening. Occasionally enthusiastically involved in delivery but generally one step removed and confident to leave front line staff to run the sessions.
The buddy	Keen to involve all participants the 'buddy' will often make a bee line for the new face or shy participant, reaching out to those who aren't joining in and relating to everyone on their level. Using their own understanding and experience as a guide, personal support and assistance is frequently offered where a young person or colleague is perceived to need it. The building of

	good personal relationships with young people is key to this approach which forms the basis for young people's participation and respect. The buddy can be a stressful role, taking on board colleagues' issues, listening to young people who approach with problems, conciliating disputes and trying to keep everyone's levels of enthusiasm up.
The teacher	Often viewed as detached from or even militating against the fun of PF by participants. The teacher is an essential part of the 'deal' of PF participation. Whilst during activities they may act as a facilitator conducting head counts, taking registers and completing monitoring forms they are also likely to lead on securing accreditation and developmental pathways.
The joker	The joker engages with participants across age ranges and works well with females and males. They may have a particular sporting skill but make use of personality in advance of expertise. A master of deprecating humour which names no victim and happy to be the butt as well as orchestrator of jokes, young people relate to the joker not just because of their sporting skills, which are made light of, but because of a willingness to be frivolous. The joker lives out our childhood uninhibited freedom and transmits an enthusiasm for activities not by leading sessions, but by being a part of them.
Mr cool	Similar in some ways to the 'joker' the cool dude appeals to young people through their desire to be associated with the aura they present. Sometimes less immediately engaging it is their locally valued knowledge of what's in and what's out, how to look, how not to look and embracement of youth culture which appeals.
The 'geezer'	Currency is based on a more immediate lived identification with the locality and social background of the participants. Whether acting 'cool' or being unpretentious, the geezer is no 'jack the lad', telling tall tales about his exploits between sessions. Rather their engagement is defined by the social outlook of the participants and the fact that they are 'known'. The geezer knows the estates and which families live where. He fixes things through his local knowledge and personal contacts and whilst harsher and more competitive with the participants than the 'buddy', in a dispute with authority, the young people are always right.
The expert	Due to the disparate and shifting nature of provision at projects, a number of sessions are delivered by specialists, with PF staff providing supervision. These sessional workers are employed specifically because of their possession of a sporting skill rather than traditional youth work skills. With sessions sometimes over structured, the sessional worker often has the least engaging relationship with participants because sports expertise is only one dimension of what appears to capture the interest of young people at the projects.

Whilst workers may play to or utilise different aspects of these characters or even occupy a number of positions simultaneously depending on the group they are working with, each of the projects is characterised by their employment of staff from a variety of working backgrounds. However, what seems to be emerging is a stronger identification amongst participants with members of staff who are of

their area than those who are not. Although the local rootedness of staff is not the only factor at work here, those staff who have a deep knowledge of the history of their areas, who have or had a similar social background to participants, that is those who have similar 'cultural capital', seem able to make stronger connections with the young people and command more respect.

The late French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1962) argued that all humans inherit dispositions to act in certain ways. In this sense they possess an inherited concept of society or *habitus*, which they then modify, according to their own specific local conditions and experiences. The *habitus* also constitutes and is constituted by people's practical sense of knowing the world and it is through their 'feel for the game' that they come to see the social world and their position and that of others as unexceptional. For Bourdieu then, the ability to absorb appropriate actions is the key for individuals to be at ease with themselves and others. Equally the cultures of individuals and groups are seen as the tokens by which they make 'distinctions' in order to position themselves and establish group identities (1984). The usefulness of these concepts here relates to the point that the ability of PF workers to engage with participants is connected to their own biographies and embodied selves and the degree to which they are acknowledged and valued in these locales. Serena elucidated the point:

"So, you know, streetwise is where I'm from, you know, from ... which is local, you know, I lived in Jamaica for some time, that helps with the young people that I come into contact with that are from Jamaica and don't have, you know, don't have a clue where to start when they come here, so that has helped me to relate to them a lot. And just general kids, I can relate to them all the time, because, you know, I understand where they're coming from and what's going down and what's not and what's in and what's out and you know. Yeah, we can always chat like normal and they don't feel like they have to be different around me they can be themselves and I can be myself around them as well. And that's how you gain a lot of respect. I think my background definitely helps, it always does. That is what I always take them back to, I show them where I'm coming from and they're like 'wow.' Well, I can do this too."

It is important to note then that each of the character types we have identified reflects a particular social class and gender habitus – a working class male might be perceived to perform the 'geezer' role much more proficiently and 'easily' than a woman or middle class man could, indeed it is this 'easiness' that defines the role. Equally the 'buddy' is a character that is frequently gendered as feminine. Nevertheless in one of the case study locations where the work has proven to be by far the most challenging, locality, social class identifications and outlook have come to the fore, enabling gender and racial distinctions to be suspended. Those staff who share some of the life experiences of those they are working with, having been brought up in deprived neighbourhoods and not initially flourished in a formal educational setting, have shown the greatest commitment to giving the young people who attend activities a second chance. Embodying the 'geezer' persona they seem to understand the local culture, the values in the community

and how young people from the area are perceived. Whilst more distanced staff from other agencies have openly expressed their objections to working with this group, some of the PF workers and their colleagues have displayed a great deal of patience. Gertrude in particular has developed a good knowledge of the group, knowing the family background of many of the young people who attend, as well as being familiar with their peers. She has identified those that can be trusted and relied upon and those where caution still needs to be employed.

Whilst other workers at the venue have been the victims of car crime, one having had her car taken from the venue and then crashed and dumped miles away, Gertrude boasts of the young people not misbehaving when she is in charge. She claims her skills as a youth worker have enabled her to relate to the young people, establishing a reciprocal kind of respect, 'respect these guys and you gonna be respected too'. She grew up in the area¹⁸ and her brother lost his life in a local shooting incident. This has generated a degree of cultural recognition amongst participants who frequently visit her house, which is less than two minutes walking distance from the venue, and smoke and chat with her outside the building in breaks between sessions.

Equally at another project where Kilroy has worked on his own estate and benefited from his local knowledge and experiences which have given him advantages over an 'outsider', now in a new location he is finding that he doesn't have the same ready-made tools to hand. He has described how different he finds the area and the young people. However, having developed confidence through his work locally he is now really interested in the challenge of the new project, and is already using the youth work skills that he has acquired, in order to lay the foundations of trust in this more unfamiliar locale. In doing so he draws upon a broader cache of youth based cultural capital which can transcend immediate barriers and wariness tied to locality.

So whilst the PF strategy document identified the centrality of the 'community sports coach' and we established in the preceding section that the possession of sporting skills appears attractive to some of the young people, it is now clear that the 'sport' element is not of *overriding* importance. There are staff without such skills who are still able to build relationships with participants, whilst others do not, despite their mastery of an activity. It seems then that successful relationship building may be *assisted* by sports competency, but is *primarily* driven by the young people's identification with the background and approach of the workers, regardless of their sporting prowess. By the same token though, it is the projects' capacity to create the right cocktail of characters with the necessary blend of skills to work in this multi-dimensional field which will define their success.

We will consider the project wide models of working in more detail in our next case study report but at this stage certain roles seem to be particularly significant in the engagement process. There appears to be a need for staff who can

¹⁸ Gertrude is Black British of Caribbean origin brought up in a predominantly white area.

demonstrate their local competence through the role of 'geezer', those who can engage effectively through their personification of the role of 'joker' or 'Mr cool' and those with the inclusionary skills of the 'buddy'. The capacity of staff to perform any one or several of these roles depending upon the context is itself reliant upon an effective back up team in which the 'boss', the 'teacher' and 'expert' come more centrally into play.

As the Positive Futures impact report *Staying in Touch* (Positive Futures 2005) revealed, the national programme has long recognised that personality and life experiences are not sufficient qualities for the delivery of a strategically-led sports-based social inclusion programme. As such it has sought to develop a comprehensive programme of training in line with the skills base identified in the *cul-de-sacs and gateways* strategy document. The strategy introduced the concept of a Positive Futures Workforce Quality Initiative, which has subsequently been designed to ensure that individuals working on projects have the knowledge, skills and personal qualities across 16 core competencies to perform their roles effectively (see Appendix 2).

The associated training programme is led by expert providers and focuses on specific areas of activity such as leading a session, managing a successful project and a range of courses focusing on substance misuse which have been attended by staff from each of the case study projects. The internal evaluation of this training and our own observations suggests that the sessions have been generally well received. Both trainers and staff have made the point that it is surprising that whilst on such programmes there is an expectation that people can manage, few have previously received actual management training of the type now being delivered by PF. In this light the two project managers from our case studies who attended the Successful Project Management course enjoyed it and suggested that it had made them think about the way they managed, although at this stage it is not clear what changes this has contributed to. This issue of legacy and the value attached to the training may be related to the lack of any accreditation or certificates associated with attendance which delegates complained about on the sessions we attended.

Nevertheless the training has undoubtedly had an impact in terms of the level of staff expertise and confidence in relation to dealing with aggressive and abusive behaviour and substance misuse. Nathan is not from a youth work or substance misuse background. His working life has been spent in skilled manual employment and as such he has many of the lifeskills necessary to engage with the young people. However he is aware of his lack of specialist knowledge in other areas and is keen to increase his repertoire of skills via training and to try to apply them at work. Although he has attended a variety of training sessions from different providers, speaking specifically about his experiences of the PF Workforce Training Initiative, Nathan has said that his 'Performer' evaluation suggested he should attend sessions on Basic drug awareness; Supporting individuals who are drug users; Assessing and acting upon immediate risk of

danger to substance misusers; and Management of abusive and aggressive behaviour. Subsequently reflecting on the courses he said:

'Yeah; they were all really useful. I would have liked the drugs stuff to have more local relevance, but I went to a local project and did some training [there] so I could learn about local issues'.

The importance of this continual development is particularly emphasised at one of our case study projects which is most committed to the development of participants along a progression route into the role of provider. For them training and development for all staff members seems to be an integral part of the organisation. This ethos then filters down and includes the young people they work with. Whilst this may add to individual workloads, the staff generally respond well to the opportunity and recognise how it has helped them to develop personally. Perhaps as significant as the training itself though is the opportunity it provides to network with workers from other PF projects, to swap ideas and compare approaches. In this sense the training provides a chance to step off what can be a delivery treadmill in order to support and be supported by colleagues.

Key Message

Effective engagement relies upon a range of staff competencies, experience and personalities. The recognisable possession of identification with the life experiences and social outlooks of participants is essential and is significantly strengthened by staff being local to the areas themselves. However, local knowledge and credibility is just one element of wider effective practice and should not be seen as a universal staff requirement. What is more important is the recognition that everyone can learn new and develop existing skills through a broadening of their roles and engagement with appropriate training.

3.5 Role models and peers

The search is on for a role model to replace Wayne Rooney, who is now considered too disreputable to appear as the star attraction at a schoolboy football tournament. It is feared that the presence of this unappealing but very rich young person could persuade impressionable children that foul language and aggressive behaviour, either on or off the pitch, could enhance their prospects. (The Guardian, May 5, 2005)

Much has been made, by Government, the media and sports organisations, about the value of role models to young people. Whether that individual is a nationally recognisable football player, a local community worker or a family member, the claim has been made that individuals can act to inspire young people to lead positive lives. Certainly the professional football coaches hired by one of our case study projects have unique status with the young people who

appear to be in awe of them, regarding their position as something to aspire towards.

However in many senses this can be related not only to the individuals concerned but to the public status of football, the football club the coaches work for and the associated contemporary fascination with celebrity which has itself been related to the emergence of a culture of narcissism. Christopher Lasch (1978) has argued that in the face of a progressive emphasis on competition and the will to win, individuals increasingly compete with their peers rather than their conditions such that they are left with nothing against which to measure their achievements except the achievements of others. Self approval becomes dependent on public recognition and acclaim, symbolised in a Premiership football club tracksuit. For Lasch further approval, which once rested on the good opinion of friends, family and neighbours, increasingly relates to personal attributes and admiration - envy rather than respect, vanity rather than pride.

Yet from our wider observations, for all the project staff's appeal they are not 'stars' in the contemporary celebrity form (Rojek, 2001). Whilst one of our projects itself employs an ex-professional footballer and occasionally makes use of a former international sports competitor, sessions are not built on the achievements of these people; rather the individuals are employed because of their coaching and/or youth work skills. Indeed, the male ex pro-footballer spends the minority of his time engaged with football and is popular with female participants because he is both 'a laugh' and 'fit.' The girls do not want to 'be like him' in terms of emulating his sporting prowess, but enjoy being *with* him because he is invariably cheerful, approachable and willing to chat.

Whilst, as we revealed earlier, the diving group at one of our projects has turned into something of a 'Clare and Chris Fan Club' with participants applauding the divers acrobatics, the relationship is built upon a genuine interaction. Fellow pool users, not employed by PF, have taken it upon themselves to engage with the PF participants who have responded to their inspiration both in the appreciation of the aesthetic beauty of their performances and through their desire to 'have a go' themselves. Clearly these young people can admire the skills, enjoy the engaging company or identify with the social background of their mentors but there is little evidence, at this stage, to suggest that participants aspire to emulate them in terms of 'modeling' their own behaviour.

In this sense PF stands in defiance of a wider populist appeal to the celebrity role model and seeks to invert the hierarchical, elitist social formulations it implies. Whilst most obviously a feature of the more mature PF projects it is amongst *participants* that we have begun to identify emergent role models who are 'setting an example' which others freely choose to follow. Where young people have moved through a project and progressed to become employees, utilising the enthusiasm and example of the 'converted', these new staff can become aspirational and realizable role models as Kilroy has argued:

'I'm 19. And they're telling me, like a lot of them are looking at it and saying 'well, if you can do that, I can do that.' So straightaway, there's already a role model situation going on. I make sure when they're around me there's no like pornos on their phones and stuff and no messing around, because some of them really are just being boys and they're trying to play fight and stuff and say 'look, you can do that at home,' they're all talking about fights and stuff. A lot of them know me from my estate, when I was a bit younger, I was involved in a few fights and they have seen me going around when I was younger. I had a big group of us, there was like 30 of us, that would walk around, and they'd see us in the sort of gang. And they've seen me change, and they've seen me look at becoming more responsible, they've seen me leave home, they've seen me get my place, they've seen me do a lot and they've helped me through it.'

Key Message

The capacity to inspire young people into transformative action is tied to the identification of realisable goals which capture the imagination. For those who are inspired by the staff working for PF projects there is no better role model than those who have themselves graduated from being project participant to project employee.

3.6 Girls, young women and sport

The argument has been made in wider contexts that gender boundaries are collapsing in terms of everyday behaviour (McRobbie, 1993), although researchers have been more circumspect about the degree to which sport has embraced this wider transformation (Hargreaves, 1994). What emerges from our research is a mixed picture which is diverse, contradictory and unstable in its direction. Whilst there is almost universal support for the concept of encouraging greater involvement in PF by girls and young women and participation rates have been rising, many examples of male dominated sessions remain as do wider gendered perspectives of appropriate female behaviour.

Although one of our local authority led case studies acknowledges the need to address the issue of female participation in their sessions, the two principle flagship activities currently involve exclusively male participants. Whilst this may be a feature of the referral system rather than any explicit desire to exclude girls and young women it is also reflective of a wider male comfort zone in which a lack of women's engagement comes to be understood as a consequence of female characteristics rather than wider social arrangements.

At another project where activities are in principle offered as mixed, very few females participate in the 'traditionally male' sport of football and other team and one-on-one sports are often also exclusively male preserves. Occasionally the girls ask if they can play football with the boys but the requests tend only to be

accommodated when there are not enough boys to make up the numbers. When one of the girls says she doesn't 'like it when the boys kick the ball hard' a member of staff tells her and her friends 'that's just football girls'. Even when a female only residential was being planned (which ultimately never took place) there was a debate amongst staff as to what activities would be organised. Some female members of staff, citing the young women's negative reactions to football, suggested sessions such as yoga and stress management, but the senior worker was keen to engage them in the usual outdoor pursuits of scrambling and abseiling, saying 'but it's a residential. We always do climbing'.

This worker's 'attitude' towards gender has manifested itself in threats to cancel those sessions that have been organised for girls because of misbehaviour tolerated in male participants whilst another freely acknowledges that he prefers not to work with girls, claiming that he is 'too shy' and finds their general behaviour too much to handle. The girls group itself is split about the kind of activities they want to engage in, with half wanting to do street dance, because they regard it as 'urban' and 'cool' and previously had taken ownership of it, whilst the other half, made up mainly of newer recruits, are happy with trampolining. This activity suits some girls because they use the session as an opportunity to hang out with their friends, without really engaging in the physical activity offered. Some, however, can't wait to get started, often getting in trouble for pulling the trampoline out before the coaches arrive.

Despite the fact that it is advertised as a girl's only session, one boy also attends. He is considered as 'one of the girls' by workers, who, because he doesn't participate in football or other contact sports, have speculated that he might 'bat for the other team' and, therefore, presumably is allowed to participate because he is not a threat to the girls. Just as females taking part in sport risk 'accusations' of homosexuality, so males who do not engage in sport, or who engage in 'feminine' activities also run the risk of having their sexuality questioned, as Boslooper and Hayes put it, 'society cuts the penis off the male who enters dance [...] and places it on the woman who participates in competitive athletics' (quoted in Horne et al 1999:137).

At another project a member of staff is employed specifically to engage young women and a session runs each week which is open only to them. As well as physical activity, this session addresses issues around body image, diet, substance misuse etc, as well as offering Youth Train accreditation, which links into the Duke of Edinburgh Bronze Award. Nevertheless, whilst specifically targeted at young women this session is strongly driven, in terms of its 'curriculum' and staff attitudes, by traditional ideas of femininity and female appropriate behaviour.

In this sense there is a tendency across the projects, even where high numbers of girls are participating, for activities to be split along gender lines. Dance classes are generally aimed at girls and attended by girls. The football sessions

are similarly attended, with the odd exception, by boys. Attempts to counter this trend themselves acknowledge the importance of different activities 'gender pull' and the need to work within these parameters. Sessions that are aimed specifically at young women include the 'Soul Sistas Physical Fitness Session' whilst one project attempted to increase female participation by staging a 'Girls Pamper Day' involving yoga, nutritional awareness and health and beauty sessions at the local football club. The day was open access and was attended by over forty girls and was primarily used to promote the other sessions which PF provide. Subsequently during the half term holidays although dance classes were provided, many of the girls preferred to play football outside on the Astro turf.

This transformative potential is most starkly evidenced by the boxing sessions that have engaged young women in two of our case study projects. One of the gyms used has made a break from its three decade history as a male preserve in allowing young women to train there. The radical nature of this change can only be calculated when incorporating the view of boxing, as 'the ultimate arena for the display of hardness' (Jefferson, 1998), where 'hardness' is so unquestionably understood as male that it doesn't even need to be stated.

A small group of teenage girls have been the vanguard of this change. They were offered what they thought was going to be kickboxing through their school, and when they found out it was traditional boxing decided to try it anyway. The gym manager was cynical about the inclusion of young women in training, not because he felt that they weren't capable, but because he thought they would distract the male boxers from their regime. He readily admits he has been proved wrong and that the core group of regular female participants are an asset rather than an encumbrance. So complete is their assimilation that newer arrivals now don't blink at their presence.

The young women have had to prove themselves as capable and committed in this traditionally male sport and environment, in order to gain acceptance. Now they have achieved this, they seem pleased with themselves, and relish the status this gives them. While they have worked hard to fit in with the gym and its specific codes of conduct and tough training practices, they have brought something of themselves and their femininity in through the door as well. This is apparent firstly in their undeniably female appearances. In their self-presentation, their femininity is neither denied nor exaggerated. At times they behave differently from the other boxers. They talk and laugh with each other, they are sometimes teased by, or tease some of the young men, and most noticeable is their close relationship with the coach.

In terms of training he makes no distinction between the young women and young men, other than in recognition of age, experience and ability. They do however seem to have carved out their own special status with him which is clearly reciprocal. They are now fixtures of the club, and as such attend fights, train three times a week, take part in shows and fights, and are involved in coaching other younger or less experienced boxers. They express a strong

sense of belonging to the club and unanimously agree that 'it is our lives'. They really see it as the central thing that they enjoy and are a part of, and which everything else fits around.

While there are many benefits, those that might have been expected to be prime motivators, for example fitness, are actually by-products. The young women definitely have a sense of achievement as a result of their involvement in the boxing. They feel 'special' and are aware of themselves as being forerunners in this traditionally male arena. They have showcased their boxing skills to others, and already there are more girls attending, for whom they have literally opened the doors. They also really want to box, though it is hard to find suitable matches for them. One of the girls is now aiming to train to be a coach with the support of the PF project.

Here the young women who participate are challenging both the general decline in youth participation in sport *and* the assumptions about what sports are female appropriate. It could be argued that boxing, a hyper masculine sport, largely populated by working class males and historically seen as a mode of 'disciplining' such males, is now being adopted by young women as a way of demonstrating their own identities in an often challenging urban setting.

However, developments such as this are not always so straightforward and even the project that has encouraged these young women recognises the need to be increasingly responsive to girls' needs and interests. In order to develop this work, they have a female member of staff whose responsibility it is to take a lead with girls and young women. She has programmed a girls-only football session which has witnessed a recent influx of new younger participants who have benefited from the skills and encouragement of the older 'regulars'. Although at another project where one girl's great ability to play the game appears to transcend her gender, in this context a parent commented that her daughter who had played (as the only girl) for her school team experienced difficulties as she found the organisation and selection biased against her. She was therefore really pleased to find somewhere she could play without question, and develop her skills. Several of the girls travel considerable distances to get to the session which takes place in a gym rather than on a pitch. What is interesting is that in this supportive environment the participants have adapted their style of play, using the walls of the gym in their own version of the game. They don't currently have a team and therefore play for their own pleasure and improvement.

Key Message

We have identified what may *appear* to be a 'confused' approach to the provision of activities for girls and young women. Some efforts are made to integrate, whilst at the same time, some sessions are designed specifically for girls and young women, or become women only as a result of conflict or discomfort at mixed sessions. Some activities offered are 'female appropriate' whilst others,

such as boxing, are embraced by young women despite their masculine orientation. What seems clear is that more imaginative approaches which defy such conventional classifications and extend beyond an understanding of sport for sports sake can be fruitful. A specific training package which can draw out the detail of these approaches to engaging young women and challenging stereotypes would be beneficial.

Part Four: Relationship Building and Personal Development

Some workers at our case study projects have discussed PF in terms of a contrast between what might be described as 'old school' and 'new school' youth work, thus invoking a different sort of typology of work styles to those presented in the staff characterisations presented in section 3.4. In some ways 'old school' youth work can be seen as running parallel to traditional styles of sports coaching with their focus on activities and applied skills development rather than the development of young people themselves. By contrast, 'new school' youth work is seen to be focused on young people's progression and, crucially, tracking that progression. As two project workers put it

'The days when youth work was about how many kids turn up is well and truly over... it's about what happens when they turn up.'

'The old school see paperwork as 'bureaucracy', 'red tape' or 'politics'. The new school recognise you need to track young people, give them progression routes, capture the evidence of progress. Because for the new school, youth work is more than baby-sitting.'

In this part of the report we wish to explore some of the ways in which this transition is being played out and how PF has sought to embrace these new approaches whilst continuing to mobilise the power of sport to engage young people.

4.1 Non-authoritarian approaches

Focusing on the approach of staff, rather than on the activities offered, it is clear that in accordance with the *Cul-de-sacs and gateways* strategy document there is no fixed PF 'model' as such. Across our case studies, and particularly in those projects which have emerged out of community based, voluntary sector agencies rather than the more regimented style of local authority provision, there is a flexible approach which is dynamic and alive to individual personalities and circumstance.

Hey 'dude'

The minibus journey to the Shenley School is invariably deafening, with Gemma and Judy talking to the young people about what they have been up to since the last session. The group members seem to have a closer relationship with Gemma than with Judy, due to Judy's role as worker responsible for organizing and delivering transport and administration. This frees Gemma up to knock on doors on the estates if the young people are not waiting when the mini bus arrives and to join in the play and talk to the young people when they break from activities.

Dressed in her usual kit of tracksuit bottoms and hoodie, Gemma who has just turned 21, is keen to show off her 'dead cool' new trainers. She bounces around, calling everyone 'dude', telling people that they are 'gnarly'. Much to the group's delight sharing transport with her means having to listen to Britney and as they get off the bus and wait for the session to begin, they chat with her about their plans for the evening, some give her a hug and urge her to play.

The activities are led by Robbie who has been running the sessions since September. Robbie knows the area well, and knows some of the young people and is himself a former Shenley pupil. He also still works locally, as a gym instructor, after having previously spent time in the Forces. He is physically imposing, and when someone spills a catch or people collide, his laugh booms across the gym, and the laugh is infectious. He explains the rules of the game, splits the group into teams and encourages players whilst he referees or bowls.

The participants are playing their favourite game, Kwik Krikkit which is sold on the back of the staff's enthusiasm. Gemma whips the group up on the minibus so they are raring to go when they arrive. Robbie delivers bowling to suit each batter and Jeff hurls himself around the pitch fielding. When Paul is caught out by a fielder, he throws down his bat and storms off. Jeff follows him and the two of them sit down, talking about why he is so agitated today. Later, Paul returns to the game.

Jeff is an ex football pro and loves showing off his sporting skills and the young people enjoy watching his tricks. He is very vocal, encouraging players to run, telling the captains to organise their field and get batters in line. When something kicks off, it's Gemma who takes each of the two lads outside, in turn, and speaks to them about their behaviour, reminding them of the Code of Conduct which they have signed up to. Gemma's natural bubbly nature means that when she is suddenly straight faced and moved to take people outside of the session, participants know that they have transgressed and will be banned from that session, and subsequent ones, if they continue to misbehave.

This example is quite familiar across the projects. Whilst misbehaviour is sometimes met with sanctions and the withdrawal of privileges and some projects make use of agreed codes of conduct (covering issues such as showing respect for peers, staff and venues, not bringing drugs, alcohol or weapons to sessions, not smoking on minibuses and wearing seatbelts whilst traveling on them) there are no fixed disciplinary regimes. Instead it is about the use of individual, adaptable approaches, which are 'true' to each of the different workers' outlooks and which avoid a top down authoritarian approach. Serena from the Kickstart project described the necessity of establishing trust with young people before attempting to question particular patterns of behaviour:

'If a young person doesn't gain your trust then they're not going to take that any further and they're not going to try and go any further with a relationship with you. So I mean before you can even - like if you had to pull up a young person for swearing or anything that's not beneficial to them or anyone else, you have to establish a relationship with them first before you can turnaround and say, because they'll turn around and say 'well, who are you, I don't know who you are, you know, you can't be

coming to me and telling me that I shouldn't be doing this, I shouldn't be doing that.' So in the first instance when you're signing up with them, even when you're outreaching, introduce yourself, let them know who you are, what you do if you can and then take it from there basically. See them again, it's down to a simple hi, a simple hand gesture in the road when you see them, that keeps the relationship going. If they feel that you were too hard on them and you had to tell them off or tell them that they were doing something wrong, go back to them, explain yourself, if you have to apologise, apologise, but explain that, you know, 'this is the reason why I've done that,' so always give reasons why and explain yourself.'

Here Serena clearly illustrates the essential two-way nature of the relationship between young person and worker, where the power balance maybe unequal but is made more equitable through negotiation, explanation and, if necessary, contrition. This approach is entirely consistent with the non-judgmental frameworks and ability to read and adapt to the alternative social realities of participants through which the staff operate. Workers frequently balance a fine line between being non-judgmental, for example in relation to young people taking drugs, and needing to establish the fact that their work lies within legal and professional parameters. As one project worker put it 'If a young person is using [drugs], I would never judge them; I would support them to deal with it.' As pilots of an engagement strategy workers must navigate their own pathways into participant's lives. Whilst we are not naive enough to assume that such approaches will necessarily transform social outlooks, it is through their engagement with participants' lives that the opportunity arises to have more meaningful discussions concerning respect for others and the use of appropriate language.

It is important to recognise that PF projects are often engaged with young people who may be deemed 'too hard to reach' by other statutory agencies. In one substance misuse session funded by PF and also attended by young people engaged in Youth Service provision, a youth worker asked for PF participants to be ejected when he considered their behaviour too disruptive. But for Ian, the PF worker responsible for them, this revealed a mismatch between conventional youth work and PF since for him:

'They were not being badly behaved. They were a little bit noisy and they quietened down when I asked them to... I reminded them [the Youth Service worker] that it was the PF kids who were most in need of hearing the show's message. You can't just throw out the difficult ones. They need it most, but that's Youth Services for you.'

In Calderdale, Andrea, who is herself from a more traditional youth work background, talks about the kind of behaviour which would more typically have seen sessions suspended. Invoking the kind of liberal approach so freely castigated in the context of populist appeals to crack down on 'yob culture', she speaks to participants about why they are swearing or kicking off, whilst colleagues continue with the session rather than shutting down. As she explains:

'if we applied this kind of rule [three swearing strikes and you're out], it would make engagement with PF clients impossible...the minibus would be half empty.'

Rather, many of the more successful staff adopt an inclusive, 'familiar' and non-authoritarian approach to engaging with the young people. The ranger on the BAP programme provides a good example. Stu is in his late thirties and working in the manual environment of a coastal ranger, swears, jokes and smokes more freely than might be considered appropriate in conventional youth work contexts. When PF participants are around and embrace this culture too openly he chooses to remain true to himself by employing humour as a tactical resource. When Joseph states 'He's a fucking little cunt', the riposte is quick witted rather than condemnatory, 'That's not very nice, don't call him little'. This light hearted approach works well and the young people appear to respond to this more effectively than being told directly not to do something. Joseph confirming how this enables the participants to

'Just get on with it and have a laugh while you are doing it...It's not like school cos school is like you have got to do it, you can't do this, you can't do that. Out here you can do what...you want as long as you do your work.'

Nevertheless in other contexts we have identified clashes between the cultural norms of agencies and those of participants. As we highlighted earlier, some of the work with young women is influenced by stereotypical perceptions of 'feminine' behaviour, which is manifest in staff encouraging a participant to wear pink, banning swearing and the concentration on 'soft' activities, such as art and dance. This valorising of genteel behaviour runs contra to the life experience of the young working class participants at this project who all smoke, many of whom regularly claim to drink to excess, as well as taking drugs, and a number of whom are sexually active. Discussion about their home lives reveal that these are often chaotic, sometimes violent, with the behaviour of other family members mirroring and shaping their own. As such the behavioural expectations are being set by the delivery agency which seeks to enforce a rather prim view of what should constitute acceptable behaviour for young working class women.

Here we see the agenda for activities and associated cultural expectations driven by broader ideas of fitness, discipline and appropriateness which are tied to the values and judgmental gaze of the 'mainstream' rather than the 'non judgmental and culturally appropriate local opportunities for personal development' identified in the *Cul-de-sacs and gateways* strategy document. However, even in these contexts, the style of engagement is often warm, supportive and has built into it a realisation of the difficulties young people experience negotiating how they are 'meant' to live locally and how agencies would wish them to live. In this sense there is recognition of the importance of taking young people 'out' of the environments which they have difficulties coping with.

However, some workers feel that there is sometimes too much pressure to be performing activities and insufficient freer flexible time with young people in which to develop relationships through talk and broader interaction. Whilst there is no evidence to suggest that PF nationally has set any strict parameters around specific project work schedules, this trend is also a product of the increasingly managerial 'new school' of youth work. This should warn us against the adoption of too rigid a contrast between the two 'schools' and the valorization of one against the other. Rather we would argue that *good* youth work and that which is espoused in *Cul-de-sacs and gateways*, has at its base a *youth work ethos*, which starts with the mobilization of the principle of *respect*.

Key Message

In the contexts of work with the young people engaged by PF, gaining authority is based upon an understanding of the futility of any efforts to impose it by putting participant's in their 'place' in the manner of the more traditional authoritarian sports leader. Through building relationships on the basis of mutual trust and culturally appropriate understanding there is a greater potential to influence young people who have not responded to more authoritarian approaches.

4.2 Gaining 'respect'

In recent years the terminology of respect has become somewhat ubiquitous and has virtually taken on the status of a commodity form. Gangsta rappers seek out the veneer of authenticity through demands for 'it', political parties embrace it as a title with electoral appeal, whilst social commentators and policy makers lament its absence amongst the constituencies of young people who are the focus of PFs work.

Yet the notion of respect seems a difficult one to grasp, not because we don't each have an idea of what it means to us, but because it seems related to and contingent on so many other qualities. Richard Sennett's notion of respect as stemming from self-respect gained by recognizable personal and skills development has a useful application in the context of our observations. Sennett writes:

'the development of any talent involves an element of craft, of doing something well for its own sake, and it is this craft element which provides the individual with an inner sense of self-respect. It's not so much a matter of getting ahead as becoming inside' (2003:41)

In this light we can see that the 'craft' is a device with which to achieve, but that the particularity of the craft is less relevant. So while football and sport may be appropriate devices with strong attractions for some young people, it is the use of these activities in gaining additional rewards that, in the context of interventions such as Positive Futures, is more significant. For Sennett, the growth of self-

respect through personal achievement is key to positive advancement for the individual. A young man attending one PF session described the coaching as having given him 'the courage to go forward and be the best that I can be' and that at the end he feels 'tired but proud'. These comments illustrate Sennett's 'becoming inside', a sense of personal achievement and resultant pride, which are tied into the development of talent.

Yet in the wake of the recent General Election the Government has sought to start a debate regarding the relationship between the social inclusion agenda and the notion of a 'culture of respect' which featured prominently in the Queen's Speech. Initial contributions to this debate suggest a perspective which is qualitatively different from Sennett's sense of respect as an internalised resource. Rather, respect has been identified as something which is lacking, lost, or withheld, particularly by those young people who have been identified as part of a 'job culture'.

Implicit in this perspective is the distinction between those who are 'respectable' and those who are not, and it is those who are *not*, who are now expected to show 'respect' to those who are. Whilst undoubtedly tapping into a rich seam of populist sentiment, this interpretation potentially fails to recognise the ways in which 'respect' can itself be deployed as a resource in order to engage and develop rather than demonise and isolate young people. It seems to present an authoritarian view which *demand*s respect without recognizing the ways in which the lack of reciprocity can itself contribute to the problem it seeks to 'cure'.

Sennett's perspective is informed by a compelling critique of the lack of respect for those who are forced to abide by or are dependent upon bureaucratic welfare organisations that this kind of demand implies. Yet a key study by Bourgois (1995) has shown that for young men living in areas blighted by the kinds of social disadvantage evidenced in this report, the loss of what were once the formative structures for gaining respect - such as the work role and the ability to provide for a family, coupled with the concomitant growing importance of consumption in their lives (Collison, 1996) - is precisely what has thrown up spectacular substitutes in the form of drug taking and dealing, sexual promiscuity and violence.

For PF then it is precisely the 'building of *mutual* respect' that has been identified as the key to providing the 'cultural 'gateways' to alternative lifestyles' which might moderate the kinds of behaviour that are such a source of public concern. As well as providing the potential for generating self respect, the respect that is central to PF is the sort that involves a *meeting* of minds - respect between neighbours, respect across generations, respect between young people and the police - and which has been evidenced in at least one of our case studies where a project worker expressed his view that:

‘The young people realise the police are humans... They start to judge them as individuals. At the same time, they now know their rights, and can talk to them confidently, rather than just showing some front or going mental or playing the race card. Seeing the police as humans gives them solutions to deal with harassment on an adult basis. So the police start to give them more respect in turn.’

Creating these forms of respect also means breaking the glamour that violent role models hold for young people. On one South London estate, we met a young boy with a gun pendant around his neck. With a smile, a Positive Futures worker said ‘Who do you think you are, 50 Cent?¹⁹ 20 Cent more like!’ This seemed like an example of the worker’s familiarity with the young person’s cultural frame of reference and, through a humorous interaction, he was able to subvert the glamour attached to gangster role models without undermining his own credibility in the young person’s eyes.

In many ways this approach captures Sennett’s case for the performativity or stylistic presentation of ‘respect’ in a world characterised by fleeting social relationships and pervaded by inequality, where gaining respect becomes a matter of composing the appropriate kind of ‘performance’. A project worker at one case study project seemed to embody this perspective with her assertion that establishing a culture of respect is:

‘about meeting each other halfway and that’s what I always say, it’s definitely about that then, you know, there’s no, it’s not fair basically. It’s not a one-way thing, not at all. So ‘if, you know, we’re giving you free access to a quality session where you’re getting quality services from qualified people, you know, qualified members of staff, all we ask for you is to cooperate a little bit,’ that’s all it is, so, ‘yeah, if we ask you to do something we’re not telling you to do that because we’re having a go at you, it’s for your own safety and for your own good.’ So before a young person starts a session we’ve got a thing called a membership agreement that they have to read through and sign before they start up with us. And it’s just a contract of agreement to say ‘this is what we expect from you as a young person and this is what you expect from us as a youth worker, so if you notice that we’re not living up to those expectations you can take us back to the contract and say well, you said you were going to provide us with, you know, and the same for us we can say well, look you said,’ and that’s what we do each time, we take them through it.’

In this way the establishment of ‘respect’ becomes an integral part of the relationship that the staff have with the young people they are working with, and as such has practical aspects, as well as being played out in attitude and behaviour. While the notion of respect is an intangible dynamic between staff and young people, it is also part of a known and reciprocal agreement.

The two elements are equally important. At another of our case studies, Frank is the epitome of ‘cool’. A part-time nightclub bouncer and part-time project worker

¹⁹ 50 Cent is an American rapper particularly associated with gangsta imagery.

delivering sports sessions, in the eyes of the young participants in PF activities he seems to have it made. He has a flexible and relaxed attitude towards them which has left him as one of the few workers able to engage with the participants in one of the more challenging locations, who are more readily scorned by other workers. His body language or immediate reaction when the participants have become agitated or disruptive has helped create the image that he does not easily get upset, which mitigates against attempts to 'wind him up'.

Unlike the other PF workers who have openly expressed their frustrations about the young people engaged at this venue, whenever the participants misbehave, he does not directly judge their actions or impose restrictions. In this way he maintains the 'cool' that underpins his ability to relate to the young men in his charge. In return the general feeling among participants from two different centres is that Frank's attitude leads to less disruptive behaviour than when they are with those workers who are more agitated. As such, whenever the participants now need anything, such as a football, they turn to Frank first. Beyond such material demands he is also relied upon for information about PF and wider sports and popular cultural issues such as that concerning the local professional football team. Yet at the same time, this ability to sustain an image of 'cool' can involve blindly accepting disruptive behaviour which, whilst maintaining a willing accommodation, provides no guarantee of mutuality in the generation of respect.

Going to the Park

The mini bus is on time and there are more participants than before. In the absence of the two volunteers, Frank decides to set off to the football venue without them.

On the way, the participants start to misbehave. Frank tells in a low voice that it has always been like this whenever he has no member of staff positioned at the back with the group. The young lads stick their heads through the windows and start to swear at pedestrians as we pass by. They start to yell and make obscene gestures, laughing amongst themselves. No-one on the bus objects or intervenes; all the participants are involved, led by Spike and Spacey. As Frank drives he manages to spot those who have their seatbelts off and calls out their names. The two ignore him as they are busy moving up and down the bus. They stick a finger up when asked to behave. One of them, Jerry, tries to cover Frank's eyes with his head sock whilst he is driving. When we get to the venue, the door is slid open before Frank brings the bus to a halt. He foresees the danger and waits for them to climb out before parking.

We are booked onto the first pitch but the participants argue with the staff that they want to go onto the middle pitch forcing Shane to come out from the centre to ensure the group moves onto the first pitch. Frank gets two teams together and we start to play... Sid is running round with a bottle of pop and Shane asks him to go off the pitch. He refuses but throws the bottle to the side. When Frank tells him to put it away properly he ignores and continues to chase after the ball.

On the way back, Vince, Spacey and Spike are making a nuisance of themselves. They have masking tape which they are rolling into a ball and throwing onto the windscreens of oncoming cars whilst making obscene gestures and yelling insults to passers by and each other as they are dropped off.

Yet across all our case studies, we have found that relationships which demonstrate mutual respect mainly involve members of staff that do not prescribe, or solely prescribe, strict guidelines to the participants on what is expected of them. Staff with a very prescriptive way of dealing with behaviour struggle to establish young people's respect. Those who make continual demands of the participants to observe guidelines or adhere to codes of conduct are often treated in a more distanced way and can damage the relationships that projects are trying to build.

They have got to have respect for the staff or its never going to work but likewise the staff have got to have respect for the young people, it's a two way thing. We had a session on Tuesday [and] the member of staff had no respect for the kids and it was just chaos...[she was] a climbing instructor at the climbing place [and] was very negative towards the kids, didn't want to be there and the kids pick up on it straight away...She has probably taken them back about three steps.

However, whilst having the right credentials, talking the talk and walking the walk are vital elements of the successful community sports worker's tool kit, it is not sufficient to just be 'one of the lads'. There is a requirement to offer something more, to stand out from the crowd; to be inspirational without breaking with the world that is being engaged. For Kilroy, like Serena, it is vital to draw on the mutuality of respect which in a living and ongoing relationship thrives on two way consolidation and display. So whilst he can be 'one of the lads' and 'mess around', he does so in appropriate circumstances and in the context of a wider familial or paternal role of care and ultimate position of authority.

'Yeah, I think a lot of them have a lot of respect for me, I don't know why, a lot of them show a lot of respect for me, they value my opinions on things, and they will sort of 'okay, because it's you we'll do it like this,' I'm like 'okay, go on then, as long as it works I'm fine with it.' I think that helps, I think they have that relationship with me, because I mess around, sometimes when they're training, I will join in, and I'll be like messing around, I'll pull their shirt, and I'll foul or something like that, 'but ref, it wasn't me, it wasn't me,' and they'll mess around with me, and a lot of them I see on the estate a lot. If there's trouble, they'll come and see me and be like 'look, these boys are starting on me,' and I'll come over and say 'look, what's wrong with you? Leave them alone.' And I think they have respect for it. When a couple of them were getting into a bit of trouble and that, I was the first one in there breaking it up and they were like 'wow, look, he's ready to step in for us,' and I was like 'yeah, of course I'm going to step in for you lot.' So to me they're like, I would say they're like my kids, but they're almost as old as me, but I do feel responsibility for them, and I think they show respect for it, for me I put in the effort.'

Kilroy avoids authoritarianism but instead draws on common ground and respect as notions of mutual currency, with the hope that this leads onto feelings of trust which might open up the possibility of further interaction. It also assumes a sense of propriety, which involves knowing just how close one needs to get in order to both respect and gain the respect of the other. In this way he is, at once, 'of them' and something 'apart' but special; a cultural intermediary. And, in keeping with Blackshaw and Long (2005) what we want to suggest is that such cultural intermediaries recast as community development workers can play a pivotal role in generating communication between different individuals and 'communities' at the same time as being respectful of their need to keep a 'cool distance'.

Key Message

In conducting work with young people the notion of respect can be understood and mobilised in many ways. For PF it is important to build relationships on the basis of mutuality, with meaningful and appropriate interventions into people's lives organised through problem sharing; the acceptance of criticism; co-operation and sharing of advice; consistent friendly acknowledgment outside of the context of PF; being available; and providing help and assistance; whilst also being respectful of the need to maintain a 'cool distance'.

4.3 Cultural intermediaries

What PF projects seek to achieve is direct interpersonal contact with those young people that have in some way become separated from 'mainstream' society through a detachment from other social agencies, institutions and groups. To a very large extent it is their capacity to achieve this that in itself constitutes success, since it is in the nature of the work - the relations formed, the level of access achieved - where the battle for legitimacy is largely fought. At their most effective the projects straddle two increasingly different worlds and act as interpreter for each. In this respect the success of PF lies in its position as what was described in *Cul-de-sacs and gateways* as a 'cultural intermediary', 'providing gateways between what are often seen as alien and mutually intimidating worlds'.

This concept has elsewhere been most readily applied following the late French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984) and Mike Featherstone's (1991) use of the term as a way of understanding the emergence of a 'new middle class' which has helped to collapse some of the old distinctions between 'popular' and 'high' culture. Opening the possibility for a broadening of access to an intellectual and artistic way of life and freeing 'information channels between formerly sealed off areas of culture' (*ibid*: 10). We use the term here in relation to a quite different cultural axis and focus on the potential for PF to help generate a class of professionals who are able to collapse the barriers between the socially 'excluded' and the 'included'.

Whilst 'from above' interventions such as PF are regarded as innovative, offering an effective and 'fresh' approach to tackling the criminogenic consequences of exclusion, the constituencies they 'deal with' are seen to appreciate and welcome the 'interventions' because they are in the main perceived and experienced as being of a non-interfering and non-threatening variety. The predominant focus of the plethora of social interventions associated with the 'social inclusion agenda', with its emphasis on social capital and communitarian ideals, has been to encourage 'us' (policy makers, University lecturers, community development initiatives) to determine what is appropriate for 'them' (the poor), despite the rhetoric of community led initiatives. Our research suggests that PF coaches are often seen in different ways to many of the other agents associated with this agenda such as teachers, police officers, probation officers and youth workers.

Part of the reason for this is that when considering what are often regarded as 'alien' social groups such as those engaged with PF, conventional policy 'speak' merely seeks to 'translate' their ways of living and thinking into its 'own' language. What effective PF workers and their projects are concerned to do is to *understand* people on their own terms through reference to more personal experience rather than policy led language games. The cultural intermediary then becomes more than just a communicator with the wherewithal to open 'information channels between formerly sealed off areas of culture' (Featherstone, 1991: 10), they act as both an interpreter and a go-between.

In this sense they are regarded as opening up possibilities, providing guidance and demystifying mainstream society rather than asserting some kind of repressive or overly directive authority. The credibility of a sports background coupled with empathy amongst staff for the condition of those they work with has encouraged many young people to engage with projects and in some instances to become qualified as coaches themselves, whilst others have been influenced to go back to school, on to college or into jobs. Others may have fallen by the wayside but none are ignored, demeaned or denied access because of the likelihood that they will be troublesome or lose interest. In this sense part of the appeal of PF to *participants* maybe that staff are not usually seen as 'teachers' and do not enforce the rules participants would associate with youth clubs or traditional youth work settings.

The role of youth workers more generally has traditionally been one that negotiates between young people and various forms of authority, while setting itself apart from these. Youth workers differentiate between their role and that of teachers, or police officers, in that the relationships they have with young people are voluntary and informal, and that these need to be founded on trust and understanding. But in estate based contexts when workers are also peer role models, this can be even more effective. In this respect Kilroy has been described as a 'bridge' who other kids look up to as a hero. 'Having someone like that in place makes it a lot easier if I want to help them access other

opportunities, because he can help them negotiate these paths as he's had to.' In his own terms Kilroy has described how 'I sort of became a middleman, and I think as long as you can understand them and they understand you, you can reach them.'

Similarly Jeff is viewed by his colleagues as 'a good lad', a young but experienced and skilful youth worker, comfortable working with females and males across a range of activities. His outreach skills, as well as those he brings to his sessional work, are valued highly by his colleagues. His background as a professional sportsman means he has sporting expertise, but this is not translated in his work with young males into competitive demands for high levels of skill; he stresses fun and enthusiasm when he plays. Described by one female participant as 'lush,' a group of young women told the project co-ordinator that they would only go on a residential if Jeff was coming along. Jeff told the girls he'd love to take part in the residential, but that they would only be able to go if they continued to attend PF sessions and to demonstrate that staff could trust them by being punctual, behaving well etc... When the young women responded positively to his guidance and came on the residential, rather than maintaining a hierarchical imbalance he was an enthusiastic participant in a mud fight with some of the participants, unafraid to indulge in 'frivolous' behaviour in order to achieve an engagement with the activities being offered.

Nevertheless when away from sessions, demonstrating his own understanding of the participants, he has spoken of his frustration at not always being able to transmit to strategic staff the need to work in a flexible, non output driven way with some young people. Along with Harry, he feels that there is something of a reality gap between those who make policy and drive initiatives at the local level, and those who deliver and are the 'subjects' of them.

'They want sessions that meet targets. We try to explain to the kids that doing this and that will get them a certificate, but it's impossible to do some of the stuff they ask us to... Some of them have done the minimum amounts of practical work and then they're making policy, setting targets.'

Jeff has identified the desire of senior agency staff to impose ways of working and a search for outcomes which does not necessarily 'speak' to those involved in the projects. He attempts to interpret the strategic messages for the young people he works with, but within a working style which sees him behave in a way which is far removed from the rigid, stentorian way he sees initiatives on paper. At another project this experience is shared by Haley and Nathan who, because of pressures to deliver value for money and through put, feel that they are delivering the PF which strategists, rather than participants, would want. However, in his status as a sessional worker Jeff does not take part in PF team meetings and currently appears to have no channel through which to make his feelings and those that he works with known to strategic staff. Similarly Haley and Nathan are only able to raise their concerns and those of the young people

with whom they work rather than affecting changes to the programme. In this context then, rather than realising their potential as cultural intermediaries the workers are forced into the position of one-way 'translator'.

For the political and social theorist Antonio Gramsci the role of the cultural intermediary, or what he referred to as the 'new intellectual' is necessarily broader than this if they are to realise the capacity for effecting change:

The mode of being of the [cultural intermediary] can no longer consist of eloquence, which is an exterior and momentary mover of feelings and passions, but in active participation in practical life as constructor, organizer, 'permanent persuader' and not just simple orator. (Gramsci, quoted in Joll, 1977:93)

At the time of writing, whilst imprisoned by Mussolini's Fascist dictatorship, Gramsci was centrally concerned with the issue of realising the revolutionary potential of subordinated workers and was in essence talking of trade union 'shop stewards' in his discussion of the new intellectuals. In a context where work has become far less central to the processes of identity formation, social organisation and progressive politics, programmes like PF offer the potential for an alternative means of organising and releasing the potential of socially marginalised young people by engaging in a similar orientation towards agitation and action.

Despite Jeff, Haley and Nathan's concerns there *is* the potential to take on this role, since PF nationally does not set targets for individual projects and is enthusiastic about the potential for PF projects to act as 'constructors', 'organizers' and 'persuaders'. Indeed whilst any target and output setting originates at the local level from project partners or other funders²⁰ the PF strategy document argues precisely that what lies at the heart of the desired approach is 'the community sports 'coach', the support of the delivery agency and the strength of the local partnership in their roles as 'cultural intermediaries'. In this regard and through the mobilisation of a diversity of individual staff roles, projects are developing bridges to the worlds of education, employment, accreditation and a broad range of lifeskills.

Key Message

Whilst many social interventions have sought to identify and impose alternative ways of living on those who find themselves at the blunt end of the process of social exclusion, our research suggests that PF practitioners can achieve positive outcomes through an engagement with young people on their own terms and through their cultural reference points. This may require projects to open themselves more directly to the views of young people and sessional staff. This

²⁰ We intend to consider these potentially contradictory lines of direction in our next report

process may need to be facilitated by further training provision within the Workforce Training Initiative.

4.4 Developmental Gateways: Progression and Pathways

The very title of the PF strategy document, *Cul-de-sacs and gateways*, implies the programme's role in opening up opportunities for personal development and widening participants' horizons. It is in this sense that PF is not concerned with sport for its own sake. Success is not measured in terms of teams created, trophies won and sporting stars made. Rather it is about the development of people:

'We're not telling them to say 'oh yeah, there's a ball, kick it around.' We're turning up and we're trying to develop people, we're trying, really trying to make people as good as they can be. And we've got people that are hardly even that interested in football that really just enjoy turning up. I have a guy who has been coming for four years and he's never kicked a ball, he just turns up with his friends, he just last week got in to sign a membership form, and he basically turns up and watches... he's not very good, so he comes and watches... I know like where he lives, I know all about him, but he's never ever wanted to join. And he still comes every week, and he loves coming and watching, and he likes to help refereeing and stuff.'

The man who tells this tale is Kilroy, who knows all about the development process as he himself has moved along the pathway from troublesome lad to full-time project worker at Kicksart.

Kilroy's Kidz

Eight years ago Kilroy was one of a number of children of a similar age living and playing on an estate in south east London. He had three younger sisters, his parents had problems with drugs and jail, so family life was not easy. Not surprisingly he started getting into various kinds of trouble and had little sense of direction.

Trained in martial arts, he had become a confident fighter (with a reputation to defend?), having to fight if one of his little sisters got into trouble.

'I've done it since I was really young. I was becoming pretty dangerous, and I had been like in school, I had had fights and stuff, and I ended up beating a guy up and he ended up in a coma and stuff, and I was really scared from there, I thought I might end up in jail soon'.

It was at this point that he first came into contact with the Kickstart project workers who were beginning to make contact with young people in the area. Aware of his situation, the workers started saying,

'look, you need to look after your little sisters,' reminding him of his responsibilities to them and the need to lead by example,

'you're responsible for them, if you're carrying on like this, what are they going to think.'

Finally he made the choice to move on, coming to the realisation that

'if it comes to you, it comes to you, if not, don't go looking for it.'

It was Kickstart's willingness to understand his anger and provide support that helped him through. Since then Kilroy has progressed through volunteering roles, getting awards and accreditation along the way before being given more and more responsibilities, sessional work, a part-time contract, and now a full-time contract whilst he is intending to undertake a youth work degree. Yet he is the one who is incredulous that he is now getting paid for something he loves doing, building two-way relationships and helping the next generation of young people growing up on the Estate.

Whilst individual 'progress' is an intensely personal concept which, despite the best efforts of the Key Elements survey²¹, can be difficult to measure and record, increasingly PF has become concerned to be identified as providing more than a programme of diversionary activities and has sought to generate pathways which link activities to these kinds of opportunities for accreditation, training and ultimately, employment.

We have though identified an almost endless diversity to the ways in which projects approach the issue of progression, accreditation and legacy. There is a range from those which incorporate no real assessment of participants, other than referral agencies identifying them as 'at risk' and then finding the activities they are keen on, to those which actively develop progressional routes involving movement through the organization from user to provider.

The differences are generally reflective of the host agencies culture rather than any ideological distance from PF's wider aspirations. Even in those contexts where there is little in the way of formal progression routes or drive to steer participants towards remaining with the project as volunteers or workers, there is an acute awareness of the difference that the projects can make and a fierce commitment to facilitate progression, on the participant's terms, where the opportunities arise. For example, in response to the desire to get some of the more promising footballers at one project signed up to a team it was agreed that they would attempt to get into the school team, for which they are only permitted to play if they are attending school. So, in this way the football activities are being used as a tool to get the young people to re-engage with education.

On a more individual basis, for Bronwen, engagement with the project would seem to have constituted a 'life changing' event. Having self referred to the host agency Lifeline in order to access treatment for heroin addiction, she accessed a number of activities, such as arts and crafts and dance, via PF and the organisation's adult treatment service. Subsequently she has gained NOCN accreditation in Creative Movement and Dance Level 1 and Youth Train Dance Styles: Entry Level, as well as performing at two public events. She has taken part in music sessions, writing and singing on a rap CD whilst completing a Methadone detox programme, for which PF provided part of her exit pathway.

²¹ A six monthly questionnaire administered by MORI which collects quantitative and qualitative key data from PF projects and which is presented in the programmes Impact and Progress Reports.

But for this agency it is important not to become over prescriptive or to assume that each story will fit the same model since, as a project worker pointed out, 'for every Bronwen, there are 50 we don't even touch.'

By contrast a neighbouring project has an intensifying focus on gaining accreditation and setting goals from the outset, particularly for those activities which operate over a specified time period. In this context the girls group provides possibly the most explicit example of an attempt to accredit activities and link to other organisations. Young women create portfolios of work including the setting of short, medium and long term life goals, creating diaries of their time spent at PF and other records. The paper based work component of this programme leads to accreditation via Youth Train and can count towards a Duke of Edinburgh Bronze Award. A Duke of Edinburgh worker attends one of the sessions, explaining further accreditation options and a number of young women have expressed an interest in volunteering, to gain experience of their preferred careers in child care. A former member of the group has now returned as a mentor, although volunteers do not currently play a significant part in the delivery of the project.

The drive to accredit and identify mentors is however seen as far more central to the ethos of this project and operates in a less ad hoc manner than it does in Calderdale. Whilst in Keighley, Betty, a Connexions worker linked to the project, arranges access to college and work placements for participants, in Calderdale, Harry has persuaded his friends to offer participants work trials and part-time jobs. Whereas it is Betty's *role* to help young people to access training and work, Harry is working beyond his remit, using his own contacts and initiative, to assist some of those he works with.

Whilst different approaches tend to reflect the wider culture and history of host organisations, even within a project, different approaches can be apparent dependent upon the kind of activity young people are engaged in. Whilst Sefton's XL sessions limit involvement to twelve weeks and essentially provide diversionary activity, involvement with the BAP seems unlimited. In this context, participants receive frequent individual attention and the sessions are focused around personal development and 're-entry into education or training'. Through his engagement with the project, Joseph is now working towards a personal qualification titled 'skills for working life' and hopes to gain employment doing 'something in forestry, like be a tree surgeon or something like that'. Appropriately, the course is vocationally based and will:

'test whether I can recognise the trees or not, whether I know fire safety, whether I know first aid and hazard signs all stuff like that. It's an internationally recognised qualification.'

Elsewhere, such as in Wandsworth, group goals have been seen as more appropriate than individual ones in a context where, to date, delivery has been

focused on football coaching. As such the focus has been on 'engagement', getting young people to take part, and learning and playing as a group. Progress has been identified in terms of how in the past PE sessions at one of the local schools were likely to have large numbers opting to sit out, whilst now they have managed to actively engage the majority. This progression is tangible, but only visible if viewed in its own particular context and difficult to account for on evaluation forms or monitoring returns. But it is these sorts of positive development that staff often value the most. This kind of ability is more reliant on establishing relationships with young people and coming to know about them and their lives than establishing formal progression routes. As one project worker commented:

'These are the things we call 'soft outcomes', you know, these are the things that funders won't notice or won't want to track, like they want to track how often they're coming and if they do turn up, but they don't want to track the soft outcomes, the fact that [a young person] came but they never really spoke to anyone or they never smiled at anyone, but the next time they come they actually did, they smiled, they spoke a few words. These are the soft outcomes.'

DARTS²² have produced an evolving system for measuring the impact of activities with young people, and the progression inherent from their starting point through to their full participation (Hirst & Robertshaw, 2003). What is interesting about this model is that the baseline is realistic, expecting that young people might be wary or negative about being exposed to new activities, and therefore achievements are measured against this starting point.

We will return to this model in later reports which assess the journey's traveled by participants but it is in this context that the apparently more complete success of the Kickstart approach should be considered. Here there are clear systems in place so that when a young person first attends a session they sign a membership form. One of the things this covers from the start is what other areas they might be interested in or any needs they may have. It is the responsibility of the lead worker on each session to ensure that comments made at this stage are followed up. This may for example involve referral onto another session or even another agency. One worker spoke of going into a new estate where there was very little going on:

'as soon as we had them hooked, as soon as we had their details and everything and they trusted us, we were able to just spread them throughout the whole programme. Some of them were interested in music, some of them went to the studio...'

Staff also complete a 'Debrief Recording' at the end of sessions which covers both concerns as well as any discussions or 'personal and social skills progress'.

²² A Doncaster based community arts project who have used arts based activities to engage with young people in Pupil Referral Units

Additional to this are goals that relate to the particular session, which involve negotiation and agreement between the worker and the young person such as participants being offered and encouraged to take up coaching, but also more generally to improve skills in particular areas.

In this sense there is also a well trodden path for progression through more formal training. The achievement and experience of success is particularly important for those participants who may have failed at school. Many participants end up doing a number of training programmes as staff look to present further challenges. The specific training options presented include:

- As a volunteer – Millennium volunteers – run in partnership with Connexions (16 – 24 years)
- Junior Volunteer Award (under 16) instigated and run by Kickstart
- LOCN (London Open College Network) in a variety of areas from age 14
- Presidents Award (16+)
- Various sports coaching awards including Junior Sports Leader Award (JSLA) and Community Sports Leader Award (CSLA).
- Youth Work – Certificate, then HND then degree offered in conjunction with Brunel University.

It seems then that young people become volunteers and ultimately gain employment through the experience of training and the example and encouragement of the staff they have contact with. In these ways Kickstart offers an 'ideal type' model for other PF projects which may have to be worked towards, rather than 'adopted'. For Kickstart make use of the breadth of their own activity and the associated ability to help young people make positive life choices from an array of options. Equally the project has a maturity which has developed over the eight years it has been in operation which has allowed sufficient time for young people who were initially engaged as children and teenagers to become employees. For Kickstart the progressional routes from user, to volunteer, to paid worker have now become so integral that over a third of its employees have entered the project in this way. Yolanda offered us a brief personal history:

"We started off as peer educators where we were going round in the local community promoting what we as young people were doing ourselves. So we started off as volunteers. I was quite old, 19, but my colleagues Amir and Marek were both service users so they carried the message 'Kickstart is really cool. You should get involved in volunteering, give back to the community'. They just trailed the message along with them... We have grown through the project and now most of us have got full time jobs and we've kept that skill of being able to keep it real for young people. by knowing, I personally come from an estate like this so I know what kind of issues they are facing; drugs, crime, the griminess, the dirt, so you can really relate to them and then on top of that I went to a local school so that helps.

The significance of this longevity also relates to the types of activity programmes that projects deliver and level of contact established with participants. Certainly short term activity programmes with fixed cut off points and no clear progression routes, which are in any case out of kilter with the approach articulated in *Cul-de-sacs and gateways*, are less likely to have a lasting impact on those that engage with them. Indeed some of the coaches at one of our case studies have expressed frustration at the short length of delivery they are involved in, which is often limited to six weeks. This means they go in, start to build relationships and are then pulled out only to start all over again somewhere else. There is a feeling that this is detrimental to both coaches and young people in terms of making it harder to establish meaningful relationships whilst raising expectations amongst young people only for them to be dashed.

Key Message

If the prime objective of PF is to empower young people by ensuring they are better equipped with skills, access to resources, and therefore a widening field of options, it is the consistency of day to day work over extended periods of time that can make it achievable. As such short term activity programmes with no clear progression routes should be avoided. The ability to judge success though is reliant upon the establishment of realistic baselines and the continued monitoring of progress both in terms of the more quantifiable securing of accreditation, training and employment and the more qualitative reflection associated with session debriefs.

4.5 Health, lifestyle and substance misuse

It is clear that any discussion of PF which focuses solely on the contribution made by sport as separate from all of the additional activities delivered and outcomes produced would undermine the breadth of ways in which young people approach the work and the multiple benefits they get from participating. At a number of football sessions we asked the participants about what they think the activity gives them. One young man commented 'stress relief, exercise, focus, ability, mental/physical stimulation'. This combination of mental and physical stimulus is key to many of the other comments, with how an individual feels being very much linked to performance of the activity. Some also talked about the importance of commitment such as 'I'm dedicated' and 'coz I put my heart into it, I enjoy it', while simultaneously feeling frustrated with others lack of commitment or disruptive behaviour. For some, such as the group of girl boxers we discussed earlier the activities have become 'our lives'. They really see it as the central thing that they enjoy and are a part of, and which everything else fits around. In contrast, we have also observed several girls' sessions where the sport itself becomes almost incidental to the social space that the activity provides.

More broadly it is part of PF's remit to address issues around body image, health and substance use, at both the physical and the emotional level, using both

sporting and non sporting activities, with the aim of increasing self esteem and raising awareness. Our research has recorded two main ways in which the projects use sessional activities as a vehicle for tackling issues around health and fitness. These can be simply grouped into 'formal' and 'informal' approaches, with formal referring to programmed workshops covering, for example, alcohol, tobacco and substance use, and informal occurring responsively to individuals or issues during a session. There is not a judgement here about one style being more effective than another. Indeed using both flexibly may be desirable as it responds to varying individual learning styles, as well as to specificities of environment.

The ways in which the issue of substance misuse is addressed illustrates this point well. For projects like Lifeline and Cranstoun, which themselves offer services to young people who use drugs, PF staff and their colleagues are ideally placed to both identify and address issues of substance misuse. They have experience of working on the streets, in people's homes, in bars and clubs, in prisons and in schools, with children and adults, parents and families, with people who want to stop using drugs and with people who want to carry on using drugs, explicitly rejecting the 'just say no' approach. Where PF is fully integrated into such a service, as at Lifeline, young people who present with substance misuse problems can then be linked to PF activities whilst those attending PF activities have contact with staff who can talk to them about the effects of substances which might trigger a wider intervention to help them address their usage. In Wandsworth, the recent breakdown in the project partnership has consequently affected Chelsea's ability to deliver effectively in this area since the project previously relied on Cranstoun's expertise.

Even Lifeline though are happy, where it is appropriate, to 'buy in' external specialists and to share the work of other agencies with their own participants. They took a group of PF participants to the launch of 'Lickin' Shot', a graphic novel style booklet, devised, written and illustrated by young men from Manchester who have grown up with gangs, drug dealing and violence as an everyday reality. It's the story of how and why a teenage boy becomes involved in a gang, looking at the attractions, the deadly consequences and the difficulties involved in getting out of this lifestyle. It ends on a very positive note as the lead qualifies as a plumber, earning more money than he ever did drug dealing with a lot less risk of being shot. 'Lickin' Shot' is intended to raise the issue of pathways into and out of gang culture in a way that is credible and relevant to the target audience.

At other projects where there is less experience of direct drugs work, expertise is regularly bought in and creative ways to address the issues sought out. At one of the case studies this has included trips to see a staged performance of the novel *Trainspotting*, and engagement of *The Wright Stuff*, who present the educational puppet show 'A Shot In The Dark'.

Dolls on drugs

Two years ago, having established close links with local schools and community groups, The Wright Stuff applied to the Home Office for a small grant to fund a drugs education pilot project. The result was Shot in the Dark, a traveling puppet show that uses Spitting Image-like characters such as Judge Dreadful and Buzz Lingo to present the issues surrounding drug culture and young people. The performance takes the form of a game show, with the story line highlighting the costs - physical and financial - and the side effects of drug abuse.

"My character, Buzz shows the implications of getting a criminal record - risks to career or travel plans, for example," Wright says. Another character calculates that the cost of smoking until his mid-50s is £100,000 - equivalent to buying a house. "If you dissect issues like smoking from a financial angle, you get young people to look at them in a different way," Wright says.

Interactive workshops after the show enable young people to discuss the issues raised and to learn more. The doctor character shows his workshop how to put someone in the recovery position if they have collapsed, and talks about safe levels of water consumption related to misuse of ecstasy and LSD.

Teachers receive a follow-up pack, aimed at extending project work to cover related issues such as harm reduction and health. Students can also collect the set of Shot in the Dark character postcards, which all carry details of national and local drug helplines.

"Fourteen year olds aren't an audience normally associated with puppet theatre, but it's an engaging and flexible art form and the arguments are in the third person, so the audience isn't being lectured," says Wright.

Teachers have also responded favourably. "Young people are streetwise, so it's difficult to talk to them about drugs without sounding out of touch and falling into old-fashioned phrases like 'wacky baccy'," says Wright. "We come in from outside and our characters can say things that the teachers can't."

(www.guardian.co.uk/drugs/Story/0,2763,349346,00.html)

Many PF staff have themselves received training in substance misuse both in terms of the locally accessed training that three Kickstart workers have received and through the PF Workforce Training Initiative which several staff have reported as giving them much more confidence in terms of spotting the signs of substance use and engaging in 'casual' discussion. Consequently, on a day to day basis, when young people mention substance use, particularly alcohol, staff are happy to check with them what they take, how much, where this happens, how they felt, if their carers are aware etc. The approach is not one of condemnation and is informal in style. Staff do not attempt to scare young people with tall tales of what might happen to them if their usage continues. Rather, they ask why they use what they use and whether or not they know the effects of the substances. As a result, the young people know that they can approach staff without being judged if they want to access information about drugs and/or address their usage.

We have also observed the ways in which PF has addressed wider aspects of participants' health and wellbeing from the emphasis placed on fitness and

discipline in boxing, to sessions on personal hygiene and the development of wider sporting lifestyles. At Whales gym, which is used by one of our case studies, the owner, 'Drum', has had his own run-ins with the law but now works hand in hand with the prison service and the local police. He is contracted to offer boxing sessions in prisons and also for the Local Education Authority, offering sessions to young people. Now working with his second group of PF participants, the first having been accepted on a trial basis, Drum generally does the coaching himself and the experience has been an education for him as well as the young people.

My body is a temple

The gym, hidden away in an industrial backstreet, is small and intimate where there is work to be done even before the 'workout' begins. The ring is at one end of the room whilst the mobile equipment gets moved whenever warm up sessions and circuit training are conducted.

'Today, all of you'll 'ave to be weighed,' announces Drum.

'Why, is that necessary,' asked Jaz.

Jaz is overweight and boasts about it. Drum wants everyone weighed so that we can check our weight over time. He has a chart in his hands ready to record our weights. The chart shows whether one is below their normal weight, overweight or normal, based on a body mass index of age and height. By looking at us all, he makes guesses about weight before we get onto the scale. He has one of the old scales used for weighing boxers prior to a fight. He does all the recording of weights and informs us all that, generally, we need to worry about our weight!

'I'll design a circuit that we can all do in our spare time at home,' says Drum.

Although it is not structured, now and again, Drum gives out personal advice about nutrition and fitness. Whilst the last group complained of him being too tough during sessions, and some dropped out, finding the circuits too demanding, he is friendly with this group. After chatting with a PF worker and toning down the level of physical demand the new participants seem to be getting on better. He says that after having one to one attention some of the participants have been encouraged to attend outside of the PF sessions and that they are a hardworking group even at those times.

This kind of disciplinary zeal is far from ubiquitous and in other contexts the linkage of nutritional messages to training regimes is absent. When food is provided at one PF project's events, the staff decide to provide pizzas and pop, rather than healthier snacks, because there is a perception that 'they just wont eat that stuff' and there is little regular structured work around which to discuss broader issues of health. We see here then that the 'natural' linkage between sport and physical fitness/nutrition is not always exploited as it might be. At another project a compromise was struck at a substance misuse event, where young people were provided with fruit juice instead of fizzy pop and were given the ingredients to make their own desserts, whilst at their girls only sessions staff challenge young people when they turn up to sessions without having eaten but go on to address this in a more positive way by providing a relatively healthy lunch during the session, which the girls help to prepare.

Key Message

Sport can provide a context in which to address broader issues associated with health, wellbeing and substance misuse. In doing so, projects have adopted both formal and informal approaches. It is important then that the more formal approaches do not replicate mainstream educational styles that have proven alienating in other contexts and that alternative and culturally appropriate styles of learning are used which capture the imagination of young people.

4.6 Sustainability

In considering sustainability it would seem that the success of PF projects in gaining access and building relationships with socially marginalised young people should be enough to guarantee their ongoing work. However, this is not necessarily the case and projects and programmes are continually challenged to evidence their success in more 'scientific' ways through quantitative measures of inputs, participants and outcomes. However, there are a number of arguments which point to the economic and social logic of maintaining such projects even in the event of failure to meet such targets which are in any case typically established locally rather than by the national programme. In setting up and running a project involving work with young people, relationships are built, with individuals, neighbourhoods and partner organizations. The more established these become the better the methods of working in partnership become. This in itself creates greater sustainability, as the project embeds itself in an interactive network of delivery, and is able to meet the needs of other organizations, and in doing so to draw down further funding.

There is a paradox here in that security of funding over sustained periods enables greater development of the work (especially progression pathways), and therefore greater value in terms of effective delivery, and yet funding tends to be short term but requiring considerable but economically stringent outcomes.

These outcome demands generally relate to the location of PF projects within wider programmes of activity. Two of our case studies are firmly embedded within local authority structures, with some existing workers simply moving from the Council's sport development section to PF. In this context there is a sense amongst some staff of there being a project 'merry-go-round' where in the main it is the names that change rather than the work. As one worker suggested:

'Before PF, I was doing some work for the other department in the office. I have been getting these jobs round the city. If not with the police something comes up from either the council or schools. There is gonna be something all the time. It's just a change of names but we do the same thing all round. Nothing new but the courses that PF offers.'

At other projects located in organisations concerned with the Government's wider social inclusion agenda staff have expressed both an awareness of and a desire to meet current government agendas, and to use their delivery to tackle what are regarded as priority issues facing young people head on:

'Well, we always, you know, we're always working trying our best to work in line with what's on the Government's agenda and stuff like that, so with the whole obesity issue, I mean definitely with physical activity is our big go this year, it's not just sport, it's physical activity, so anything that gets young people going that's what we're focusing on. Teenage pregnancy, you know, we're getting a sexual health much more focus on that. So that's what we're basically trying to do is to work with what's in mind on the Government's agenda and other bodies that maybe and Youth Service, Connexions, we work alongside what they have in place to make sure that we're not, so we're all singing the same song basically...'

It is worth noting that this consciousness runs throughout staff teams, and does not simply reside with those in more strategically responsible positions. In this sense, whilst there may be strategic concern over future funding sources, which we will address in our next report, project workers do not seem to worry about the future funding of PF. There is a general feeling that, whether PF continues in its current form or not, government funds will be available for sports related work of this type. Whilst this might be regarded as somewhat complacent, reflecting a comfort zone that can weaken the enthusiasm to be bold and innovative, this attitude also reflects the fact that many people working on PF have been on a treadmill of social inclusion work which preceded the PF programme.

There is evidence though that the strategic orientation of PF sets it apart from other interventions and has begun to shift perceptions as the expectations on PF projects become clearer. This process is related to tangible developments in the form of a clear strategy document, a Workforce Training Initiative designed to ensure that project staff have the skills to deliver and a robust programme of research and evaluation designed to monitor progress.

In our subsequent reports focused on organisational and partnership issues and the journeys and distanced traveled by participants we will return to the issue of sustainability from both the strategic perspective and in terms of young people's experiences over the lifetime of their involvement in the projects.

Part Five: Conclusions and Future Directions

Whilst we are now only at the end of the opening phase of our research, which has been concerned as much with the establishment of our relations with projects and participants as investigating the relationships between them, we have begun to identify a number of tentative themes and findings. Beyond generating a clear baseline of the neighbourhoods in which our case study projects are working, the programmes of activity they are delivering and the participants and staff involved in them, our focus has been on verifying the PF approach outlined in the strategy document, *Cul-de-sacs and gateways*. Rather than identify the impact or outcomes associated with the programme, we have been concerned with the extent to which projects have embraced the distinctive elements of PF and the detail of how these have been put into practice.

Whilst sports and activity based social interventions are often explicitly engaged in an attempt to 'divert' young people away from an involvement in crime or 'anti-social behaviour' our research has found that Positive Futures operates upon a modus operandi which is in stark contrast to this approach. As our case stories testify, at its best, PF provision can produce startling results in terms of its positive effects on the lives of young people. This is not because it represents something which is especially innovative or new in terms of working with young people. Rather it has drawn on models of best practice from different fields, including youth work, sports development and coaching, social work and drugs education. It has then combined these creatively in order to approach young people in a way that takes on their lives holistically, as opposed to compartmentalizing them.

In many respects the approach shares some of the features of the Social Responsibility model developed by Don Hellison in the United States which suggests the following criteria for the development of activity based 'youth' development programmes:

1. Treat youth as resources to be developed. Build on the strengths they already possess, and emphasize their competence and mastery.
2. Focus on the whole person - the emotional, social and cognitive as well as physical dimensions of the self.
3. Respect the individuality of youth, including cultural differences and developmental needs.
4. Empower youth.
5. Give youth clear, demanding (but not unreasonable) expectations based on a strong explicit set of values.
6. Help youth envision possible futures for themselves.
7. Provide both a physically and psychologically safe environment.
8. Keep program numbers small and encourage participation over a long period of time, emphasize belonging and membership.

9. Maintain a local connection.
10. Provide courageous and persistent leadership in the face of systemic obstacles.
11. Provide significant contact with a caring adult.

(Hellison & Cutworth (1997))

In this sense we can identify a community development perspective which is more sincere than many communitarian approaches which can be perceived to offer solutions to local problems from on high. Where this works best, the genuine understanding and commitment of staff is catalytic and central. Indeed the best examples of this relate to those young people who have themselves progressed from a position as users to providers. In the context of the accounts presented to us and our observations at the case study projects, we have tried to ascertain the key features of this process in terms of the key elements of an effective engagement and relationship building process:

1. Honesty and discretion
2. Individual attention and support
3. Two way dialogue and reciprocity
4. Accessible, regular points of contact
5. Understanding and empathy
6. Mutual trust and respect
7. Providing access to culturally appropriate resources
8. Non-authoritarian approaches
9. Flexibility: doing things on the young person's terms
10. Consistency and reliability
11. Safety and security
12. A developmental approach with clear progression routes

However, we are conscious that relationships are a necessarily dynamic and evolving entity which can never be defined in some fixed and isolated fashion. Relationships also evolve in remarkably different ways in different social contexts and so we recognize that whilst we may be able to articulate a PF approach there are inevitably different ways in which the work is done.

In our next report we intend to turn our attention to one of the key factors influencing the adoption of particular styles of working. We will focus on the organisational contexts in which projects operate, in terms of the culture and capacity of particular agencies to lead projects and the role of the partnerships that surround them. In our final report we will focus on the impact of PF in terms of the 'journeys' traveled by participants and their associated neighbourhoods during their association with the PF programme. In doing so we will relate these aspects back to the approaches mobilized by the individual case study projects which have been identified in this first interim report.

As the research progresses we will also seek to integrate it with the Government's vision for children's services, *Every Child Matters: Change for Children*, published in December 2004. In relation to this vision DfES has produced an outcomes framework that covers services for children and young people in terms of health, care, education, training, preparation for employment, and social development. Within this framework, aims, underlined by target indicators, and inspection criteria, are grouped into five main areas:

- Be Healthy
- Stay Safe
- Enjoy & Achieve
- Make a Positive Contribution
- Achieve Economic Well-Being

While these categories seem extremely broad the more detailed break down of each element is more useful. In thinking of the PF case studies it is evident that the projects, at their best, are able to meet multiple outcomes across these categories. As such it is our intention to use the case study research to identify the ways in which PF is capable of meeting these outcomes whilst also developing specific tools to enable PF projects and other social intervention agencies to evidence their success in delivering.

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Appendix 1: Activities Timetable for Kickstart

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
4.00-6.30 Village Hall Youth Club	12.00-2.00 Schools Outreach	3.00-5.00 Outreach Elephant & Castle	3.15 -5.00 Peer Mediators Geoffrey Chaucer	3.30-5.30 Beacons School under 14s Football
5.00-7.00 Basketball G. Chaucer	2:00-5:00 Fisher Boxing Club Downside	4.00-5.30 Aylesbury Under 12 Football Training	3.30-6.00 Aylesbury J YIP Amersham Centre	4.00-6.30 Youth club 4 the blue
5.30-9.30 Da Cotch Juice Bar	3.00-6.00 Volunteers Support Session	3.15-5.00 Study Group Geoffrey Chaucer	4.00-6.00 RCC Girls Football G. Chaucer	3.45-6.45 RCC Youth Club Rockingham
7:00-8.30 Kids Studio Downside	3:30-6:00 Aylesbury Junior YIP Amersham Centre	5.00-7.00 Gateway to Brandon walk/art +graphics Brandon Centre	4.00-6.30 Junior YIP REPA Youth Club	4.00-6.00 Junior YIP REPA Youth Club
6.00-8.00 All Age Boys Dance Session Corsica Studios	4.00-6.00 REPA Youth Club		5.00-7.00 RU Football Training U15s/Sports Out R. G,Chaucer	4:00-6.00 Soul Sistas Physical Fitness Session
	5:00-7:00 Kickstart RSC Mens 16+ Chaucer School		4.00-6.30 Village Hall Youth Club	5.00-7.00 'React' Girls Dance (U15's) Corsica Studios
6.30-8:30 Heygate Youth Club	6:30-8:30 Gaywood Youth Nite	6.00-8.00 Performance workshop all ages Corsica Studios	6:30-8:30 SE1 Luv Website/Newsletter Heygate Office	7.00-9.00 Youth Nite Gateway Estate
6.00-8.00 Youth club Downside	6.00-8.00 Youth club Downside	7.00-8.30 Music Production Downside	7.00-9.00 Da Vibe Session RCC Youth Club	6.00-8.00 Youth club Downside
	7.00-10.00 Youth Nite		7:30-9:30 Senior Youth Nite	9.00-9.30 Volunteer/Staff Brief Corsica Studio
	6.30-8.30 Charterhouse youth club			9.00-9.30 Volunteer/Staff Brief Corsica Studio

Appendix 2: Workforce Training Initiative - Staff Core Competencies

Course Code	NOS Covered	Training Provider
YWN	YWA001 Establish relationships and maintain dialogue with young people YWA004 Support young people in tackling problems and taking action YWD004 Work with young people to safeguard their welfare	NACRO
YCS	SRD021 Prepare for a session SRD022 Lead a session SRD023 Conclude and review a session'	LCSN
SMCC1	DAA001 Recognise indications of substance misuse and refer individuals to specialists	Crime Concern
SMCC2	DAD001 Raise awareness about substances, their use and effects	Crime Concern
SMCC3	DAB002 Support individuals who are substance users	Crime Concern
SMCC4	DAB005 Assess and act upon immediate risk of danger to substance users	Crime Concern
SMCC5	YJB802 Enable children and young people to be supported by substance misuse services	Crime Concern
EY	DAB003 Contribute to the prevention and management of abusive and aggressive behaviour	Eric Yates
MHPL1	MGG004 Plan and prepare projects MGG005 Manage the running of projects MGG006 Complete projects	Human Performance Ltd
MHPL2	DBC004 Assure your organisation delivers quality services	Human Performance Ltd

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