

Sport and Neighbourhood Regeneration:  
Exploring the Mechanisms of Social Inclusion through Sport

Naofumi Suzuki

Submitted for the degree of  
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Department of Urban Studies  
Faculty of Law, Business and Social Sciences

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# Abstract

This thesis explores the way that sport can be used as a component of effective practice of neighbourhood regeneration. In particular, the thesis examines how and to what extent projects using sport for the purpose of engaging with young people affected by the deprivation of a neighbourhood can add to regenerating the area.

The last decade has seen the shift of focus in British urban regeneration policy from physical renewal and economic development to tackling social and community-related matters concentrated in deprived neighbourhoods, such as unemployment, low income, low skills, poor housing, high crime rates, and poor health – in short, social exclusion. Young people who live in these neighbourhoods are greatly disadvantaged in respect both of their well-being at the present time and of their transition into adulthood.

Use of sport for the purpose of alleviating these disadvantages is increasingly popular, although conclusive evidence of social benefits of sport participation has been lacking. The thesis identifies four sets of hypotheses that represent how sport may enhance the process of social inclusion; namely, personal development, diversion, social interaction/social networks, and the salience of sport.

The normative and analytical framework is developed based on Amartya Sen's 'capability' perspective so as to re-define the goal of neighbourhood regeneration, against which sport-related regeneration projects can be assessed their contribution. An in-depth qualitative case study, based on grounded theory, was carried out in deprived neighbourhoods in the East End of Glasgow.

Main findings include: (1) young people in the area were trapped into the vicious circles of leisure deprivation, territoriality, and poor transition into adulthood; (2) the process of tackling youth-related problems in deprived areas can be represented with the analogies of 'hooking' and 'signposting'; (3) a successful structure of a sport-related regeneration project can be represented by a 'pyramid', founded on financial sustainability nested in robust organisational base; (4) a project can enlarge its organisational base through a repeated process of 'ownership' and 'evolution', represented by an expanding 'spiral'; and (5) sport-related projects are often too small to reach the majority of the 'excluded'.

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# List of Abbreviations

AS	Active Steps
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sport
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DH	Department of Health
DYP	Dalmarnock Youth Project
EEIB	East End Internet Broadcast
EESIP	East End Social Inclusion Partnership
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GEAR	Glasgow East Area Renewal
NLUS	New Life in Urban Scotland
NOF	New Opportunities Fund
NOPEs	New Opportunities in PE and Sport
OSHA	Out of School Hours Activities
PATs	Policy Action Teams
PEEK	Possibilities for East End Kids
PF	Positive Futures
PPAs	Priority Partnership Areas
PYP	Parkhead Youth Project
RAPA	Reidvale Adventure Playground Association
SCYP	South Camlachie Youth Project
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
SIPs	Social Inclusion Partnerships
SAZs	Sport Action Zones
SIPP	sportscotland Social Inclusion Partnership Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Scope and background

This thesis explores the way that sport can be used as a component of effective practice of neighbourhood regeneration. In particular, it examines how and to what extent projects using sport for the purpose of engaging with young people affected by the deprivation of a neighbourhood can add to regenerating the area, through the case study in the East End of Glasgow.

These geographical circumstances notwithstanding, the thesis must have wider implication. In fact, it seems universal that sport is believed to provide a range of benefits to society and that it is exploited for public policy purposes. It is expected to promote social integration of young people within the member countries of the European Union, which has become increasingly multicultural (Becker *et al.*, 2000). In Japan, the nationwide instalment of Comprehensive Community Sports Clubs is associated with human and social development within local communities (Ministry of Education Culture Sport Science and Technology, 2000). The United Nations designated Year 2005 as the International Year of Sport and Physical Education, as it is believed 'to promote education, health, development and peace' in developing countries (United Nations, 2005, p. 1). These policy discourses show a striking parallel with each other. British urban regeneration policy is not an exception.

Sport and urban regeneration as a topic is still under-researched, despite the recent rapid development of the literature. Urban regeneration embraces a number of dimensions such as physical, economic, social and environmental (Roberts, 2000), and sport is considered more or less relevant to all of them, though in many different ways and in different geographical scales (Gratton and Henry, 2001; Percy, 2001; Sport England, 1999). In the

main, there are two strands of discourse linking sport with urban regeneration. One links physical development of sport infrastructure to accommodate spectator events to economic regeneration through business and tourist attraction at a city level, while the other considers that sport participation leads to a range of individual and collective benefits so as to alleviate deprivation at a neighbourhood level (see Chapter 2). While more public attention tends to be paid to the first, the thesis mainly concerns the latter for several reasons.

First, the recent urban regeneration policy in the UK has put more emphasis on tackling the social and community issues at a micro level rather than high-profile, large-scale physical (re-)development, with the term ‘social exclusion/inclusion’ at the heart of policy (Scottish Executive, 1999, 2002a; Social Exclusion Unit, 1998a, 2001). Meanwhile, sport is explicitly expected to play a part within it (Coalter *et al.*, 2000; Department for Culture Media and Sport, 1999). Second, consequently, the number of sport-related initiatives receiving governmental and charitable funds for the purpose of addressing agenda related to neighbourhood regeneration seems to be on the increase. These are mostly revenue programmes, each of which can be small in size; however, the ubiquity of such projects suggests that the sum of investment can be considerable cumulatively. Moreover, the amount of labour put into the running of these projects is far more significant than what the size of funding may suggest, as it is hugely in debt to voluntary, unpaid work. Third, it is common that even the more lucrative investment in a large-scale sport infrastructure is justified using the logic concerning the benefits at a micro level, with or without strategies to link the infrastructure primarily for spectator sport with participation sport. Finally, there has been little robust evidence of the claimed benefits of sport participation to deprived neighbourhoods, despite the strong and prevalent belief in them. Therefore, the thesis is intended to fill in this gap and thus to inform the policy and practice so that the monetary and human resources dedicated to such practice is not wasted.

In so doing, young people are featured centrally, since the overwhelming majority of sport-related regeneration initiatives are targeted at tackling youth-related issues (see Section 2.4). The issues concerning young people are highly relevant to the regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods. They are perceived to cause problems to a neighbourhood, hoped to make its positive future, and affected their well-being (see Chapter 4). Sport is commonly used in youth-related initiatives in part because it is believed to interest them, and so be an effective

tool to engage with them; and in part because it is assumed that they receive a wide range of benefits from participation, so that their problems are alleviated and their future prospects improve. The thesis examines the validity of these rationales.

## **1.2 Aim, objectives and research questions**

Aimed toward better understanding in what ways and to what extent sport may benefit deprived urban neighbourhoods, the thesis has two main objectives: to theorise the processes in which a sport-related project targeted at young people contribute to regenerating a neighbourhood; and to assess the effectiveness of such a project. Hence, the nature of the study is exploratory; following a grounded theory approach (Strauss and Corbin, 1998), it is oriented towards theory building grounded in in-depth qualitative data, which has rarely been attempted by the previous studies on the topic. In addressing these objectives, the thesis is intended to answer a set of research questions as follows:

1. What is the goal of a sport-related regeneration project targeted at young people?
2. Through what process does young people's participation in a sport-related regeneration project lead to the goal?
3. What does a project that successfully enhances such processes look like?
4. Through what process can a project improve its effectiveness?
5. To what degree can a sport-related project be effective in addressing the goal?

The first question concerns the destination which a sport-related project is directed towards, and thus its achievement can be assessed in terms of how close it gets to. The goal of youth-related regeneration initiatives is institutionally pre-defined to a significant extent by governmental regeneration and youth policy (see Chapters 2 and 4). That of sport-related ones is a subset of the pre-defined agenda, to which sport is of higher hypothetical relevance (see Chapter 3). Meanwhile, the agenda set by the government has been normatively questioned by some youth researchers (see Chapter 4), while it has caused theoretical confusion within the 'sport and regeneration' literature, especially in relation to the notion of social exclusion/inclusion (see Chapter 5). The thesis therefore employs its own definition to resolve this situation from the capability perspective (Sen, 1992, 2000),

which is then applied to analysing the nature of the deprivation in the actual context of the case-study area (see Chapter 6).

The next three questions are of direct relevance to the theory building in terms of the social processes that are potentially enhanced by a sport-related regeneration project. The second research question is concerned with what will happen to participants of a sport-related regeneration project. Hypothetically, young people are supposed to gain a wide range of benefits from participation in many ways (see Chapter 3). It is empirically explored whether and how these separate hypotheses materialise.

The third and fourth questions are concerned with the management side of a sport-related project. Projects vary in terms of the effectiveness in enhancing the process for young people to gain benefits. Through the comparison between different types of projects, a model of successful project is explored. It is captured as a snapshot first, and then as a dynamic process of improving the effectiveness over time.

Finally, the fifth question is with regard to the overall assessment of sport-related projects targeted at youth, in terms of their potential reach towards the ultimate goal of neighbourhood regeneration. The achievement made by the case-study projects against the contextually defined goal is assessed. Then, in relation to the findings, comments are made on the potential for this category of initiative to address youth-related issues in deprived neighbourhood in general.

### **1.3 Structure of the thesis**

Chapter 2 discusses the background of the research at more length so as to define the scope of the thesis in detail. The recent policy – first in regard to urban regeneration in general, and then specifically in relation to sport within it – is reviewed, highlighting the importance of researching the micro-level regeneration (i.e. participation sport and social and community regeneration at a neighbourhood level) as opposed to the macro-level regeneration (i.e. spectator sport and physical and economic regeneration at a city level).

The chapter also analyses the nature of actual sport-related regeneration initiatives at a micro level and concludes that young people are by far the most common target of them.

Chapter 3 examines the existing evidence with regard to the social benefits of sport participation to a deprived neighbourhood, under the separate headings of health, crime, education, employment, and community/citizenship. It is argued that the attention should be turned to the processes for a project using sport to contribute towards the goal of regeneration, rather than measuring its impact in terms of expected outcomes. The chapter concludes with four sets of hypotheses representing such processes.

Chapter 4 locates the thesis within the literature related to the issues concerning young people in deprived neighbourhoods. Recent youth policy is critically reviewed, and the nature of disadvantages that young people are faced with in the process of transition into adulthood is discussed. It is then argued that leisure, sport being part of it, not only constitutes considerable part of young people's everyday lives, but also is of potentially high relevance to youth transitions.

Chapter 5 explains the conceptual framework of the thesis that holds the parts together. The advantages of the capability perspective over the conventional conceptualisation of social exclusion/inclusion are discussed. In particular, the conceptual and practical problems in regard to the 'sport and social inclusion' literature are tackled. The chapter provides the thesis with a normative and analytical backbone.

Chapter 6 describes the research methodology of the thesis. A grounded theory approach is explained, highlighting its usefulness in theorising social processes. Then the detailed account of the research procedures, including the summary of case-study projects as well as the research methods, is given. The profile of the case-study area is also provided.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 collectively present the findings of the research. The nature of deprivation that the young people in the case-study area are faced with is examined in relation to sport and leisure as well as youth transitions in Chapter 7. Territoriality (i.e. hostility between different neighbourhoods and associated violence among youth 'gangs') is highlighted as a limiting factor to young people's opportunities now and in future. The

validity of case-study selection is confirmed as it covers the four hypotheses set out in Chapter 3.

Chapter 8 turns to the process of young people's gaining benefits from participation. The process is formulated as 'hooking' and 'signposting', and the chapter explains various ways for a project to signpost its participants so that they may potentially go through the transition period into adulthood successfully.

Chapter 9 then considers what kind of young people are likely to be 'hooked' into what type of sport-related project. The strategies for a sport-related project to improve its ability to attract young people, both initially and continuously, are discussed.

Chapter 10 summarises the important contributions and discusses findings in relation to the research questions. The recommendations to service delivery, project assessment and future research are also made.

# Chapter 2 Sport and Neighbourhood Regeneration: Policy and Practice

## 2.1 Introduction

This chapter sketches out the policy background of the thesis. It clarifies the current policy agenda of neighbourhood regeneration in the UK and the roles that sport is expected to play within it. The structure of the chapter is as follows. The next section briefly summarises the history of urban regeneration policy in the UK, showing that the emphasis has shifted from physical and economic to social and community development. Then, the recent policy discourse of sport and urban regeneration is critically analysed, so as to demonstrate that physical and economic development is still very much a part of the discourse, although social and community aspects are becoming more central. In so doing, it is argued that these two aspects of regeneration are often interwoven with each other in the discourse of sport and regeneration. Then, it is explained why it is not the physical and economic, but the social and community development that the current thesis focuses on. Subsequently, it is attempted to ‘map out’ the actual sport-based, community-focused regeneration projects in the UK, so as to clarify the tendency in objectives and target groups of these projects.

## **2.2 Urban regeneration in the UK**

### **2.2.1 A brief history**

While admitting that urban regeneration is a contested term, Roberts (2000) gives its definition as:

comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change (p. 17).

Thus, it is distinguished from such concepts as urban renewal, urban (re-)development and urban revitalisation, in terms of its comprehensiveness, more well-defined mission and purpose, preciseness in methods, and longer-term strategic approach. Whatever terminology is used, British urban policy has long been the response to the problems associated with the decline of former industrial cities, which occurred rapidly in the 1960s and 70s.

It is hard to give a single explanation as to what caused urban decline. There are several possible explanations, as shown in Table 2.1. Nonetheless, it is generally agreed that structural change in the global and national economy meant the loss of employment opportunities in the inner-city industrial areas, making many people suffer from poverty caused by the loss and change of jobs. Meanwhile, the shrunken job market within these cities triggered the emigration of people 'with choice' seeking for opportunities elsewhere, leaving behind the poor who could not afford to move out, as well as derelict lands and premises. This presented a whole new set of challenges to urban policy, in comparison with those of slum clearance in the 1950s, which had been to physically upgrade areas suffering over congestion and associated poor public health (Couch, 1990; Gibson and Langstaff, 1982; Home, 1982; Noon *et al.*, 2000). The new challenges included 'poverty, unemployment, poor housing, inadequate schools, hard pressed social services, and deteriorating environmental conditions' (Gibson and Langstaff, 1982, p. 11).

**Table 2.1 Explanations for urban decline**

Structuralist	Structural change in the global economy; rise of new economies with differing spatial/locational requirements.
Counter-urbanisation	Pull factors of rural areas and the push factors arising in urban areas causing firms and population to move out.
Marxist	Need to maximise exploitative potential of capital by using cheaper, flexible, less militant labour that can be found in less urbanised areas.
Sectoral or planning	Unintentional effects of spatial planning policies such as development of greenbelt encouraging firms to move well away from urban centres.
External ownership	Increasing external ownership of firms in urban areas by others with little local allegiance.
Product-cycle	Standardisation means that manufacturing can happen almost anywhere so production elsewhere becomes highly probable.

Source: Noon *et al.* (2000, p. 64)

The approaches to tackling these urban problems have been politically influenced to a considerable extent, so that the focus has varied depending on who was in power. For instance, Oatley (2000) finds similarities in logic between the urban policy documents of the 1977 and 1997 Labour governments. Nevertheless, in general terms, it is possible to say that approaches have shifted from economic and physical to social and community-focused, and from ‘top-down’ to ‘bottom-up’, although the latest regeneration statement in Scotland has swung back to stressing economic and physical elements (Scottish Executive, 2006).

After some early attempts of regeneration initiatives in the late 1960s such as the Urban Programme and the Community Development Projects, which were largely based on a view of social pathology, seeing urban poverty as cultural, the emphasis shifted to a more structural and economic approach by the end of the 1970s. Following the White Paper, *Policy for the Inner Cities*, in 1977, which declared the importance of tackling the economic and physical problems of inner cities, the urban policy become more focused on physical redevelopment of derelict lands and premises to bring about economic regeneration (Home, 1982; Noon *et al.*, 2000). In the 1980s, with the more centrally

controlled approach, the private sector was encouraged to play an active role in urban regeneration, leading to the launch of the Urban Development Corporations as well as the Enterprise Zones. The urban regeneration in this period was characterised by ‘flagship projects’, large-scale physical development for a commercial purpose, aimed to attract businesses so as to prosper the city economy. It was assumed that if the city economically flourished, the people lived there would benefit from the wealth ‘trickling down’ from it.

During this period in Scotland, there were some differences in urban policies. For example, there was no Urban Development Corporation in Scotland. Most distinctively, from the mid 1970s to 80s, the Glasgow East Area Renewal (GEAR) project, arguably the earliest and largest example of comprehensive, area-based regeneration initiative, was in operation, demonstrating the effectiveness of concentration of resources in an area and a ‘bottom up’ approach to remedy locally specific problems (Donnison and Middleton, 1987; Keating, 1988); however subsequently ‘urban policies were to be increasingly fragmented’ (Keating, 1988, p. 101), for time being.

The 1990s saw the reverse of trend to more decentralised approaches to regeneration, stressing the local ownership based on the view that each locality had unique problems. These changes were reflection of the view that the narrow, physically orientated regeneration measures in the 1980s were not successful in approaching wider issues concerning urban deprivation (Lloyd *et al.*, 2001). Another characteristic in this period was the shift of funding methods to competitive bidding, as seen in initiatives such as the City Challenge and the Single Regeneration Budget in England (Noon *et al.*, 2000). In Scotland, the ‘New Life for Urban Scotland (NLUS)’ programmes, which, in line with the tradition of GEAR, are deemed to be more unified than the approaches in England, were initiated (Lloyd *et al.*, 2001).

### **2.2.2 New Labour’s ‘Third Way’ and social exclusion**

A certain extent of continuity was maintained after the arrival of New Labour in 1997 (e.g. the principle of competitive bidding was maintained), while new elements were introduced. Tiesdell and Allmendinger (2001) argue that seeking the ‘Third Way’ between the ‘New Right’ (i.e. the Thatcher and Major governments) and the ‘Old Left’ (i.e. the previous

Labour governments), New Labour's approach to neighbourhood regeneration is the pragmatic evolution from that of the Major government, rather than a radical ideological reform.

Nonetheless, a distinctive characteristic is seen in its understanding of multiple dimensions of neighbourhood deprivation as interdependent to be tackled by 'joined-up' approaches, and 'social exclusion' was the cross-cutting theme of these dimensions (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001). Although what social exclusion exactly means is controversial and will be reviewed extensively later (see Section 5.2), it was preferred to 'equality', as it 'refers not just to material deprivation but also to the accompanying barriers to the exercise of "Marshallian" social, cultural, and political citizen rights' (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001, p. 908). Thus, an emphasis is placed on 'people and communities', unlike the New Right's competitive individualism seeing society as nonexistent (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001).

Symbolically, the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) was established and given:

a remit to address the causes of exclusion and to develop integrated and sustainable approaches to the problems of the worst housing estates, including crime, drugs, unemployment, community breakdown and bad schools (Oatley, 2000, p. 86).

*Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* (Social Exclusion Unit, 1998) analysed the problems associated with poor neighbourhoods in terms of: unemployment and worklessness, housing, crime and drugs, young people, and health. Meanwhile, being ethnic minorities was regarded as an additional disadvantageous factor cutting across all aspects. Subsequently, 18 Policy Action Teams (PATs) were set up to make recommendations on different aspects of social exclusion, with the arts and sport being the remit of PAT10. The statement of strategy, *A New Commitment to Neighbourhood Renewal* (Social Exclusion Unit, 2001), expressed the continuous concerns over problems relating to: work and enterprise, crime, education and skills, health, and housing and physical environment. These were meant to be tackled by 'joining up locally and empowering communities' (p. 10). In short, the approach can be summarised as to tackle multiple deprivation in the poorest neighbourhoods by applying the principles of

partnership and empowerment within a strategic framework developed locally. In England, countless initiatives, both area-based and thematic, were launched, such as Educational Action Zones, Health Action Zones, Employment Zones, New Deal for Communities, New Deal for Young People, and so on.

While these are also the features of the regeneration policies in Scotland, it has a slightly different tradition. Devolution in 1999 has meant that it could pursue more independent ways, though the origin of the tradition can be found in the Urban Programme in Scotland since 1969 (Lloyd *et al.*, 2001). Lloyd *et al.* (2001) argue that the largest difference lies in the fact that in Scotland the local partnership structure has been more comprehensive, whereas in England a variety of area-based initiatives co-exist. In Scotland, the unified approach of NLUS further evolved through the Priority Partnership Areas (PPAs), and then to the Social Inclusion Partnerships (SIPs). Since 2005, the SIPs have been transformed into the Community Planning programme. The Scottish Executive's Community Regeneration Statement, *Better Communities in Scotland: Closing the Gap*, has two main strategies: to make the core local services more effective, and to improve the 'social capital – the skills, confidence, support networks and resources' (Scottish Executive, 2002, p. 9).

### **2.3 Shifting roles of sport in urban regeneration**

In recent years in the UK, sport has increasingly been expected to play a part in urban regeneration. Despite the shift of the focus in the governmental regeneration strategy towards more community-oriented approaches, the recent discourse of sport and urban regeneration embraces elements of both large-scale physical (re-)development and small-scale community-based regeneration. Although the main interest of this thesis lies in the latter, both lines of argument are considered below, while showing that they are interrelated at the discursive level. A case for the research into the roles of sport in regeneration at a community level is made in two ways. First, it is argued that the investment in large-scale facility development, which primarily is to bring about economic benefits of income growth and job creation, is often justified relying on social and community benefits. Second, the use of sport in regeneration at a community level has been recently booming, and so

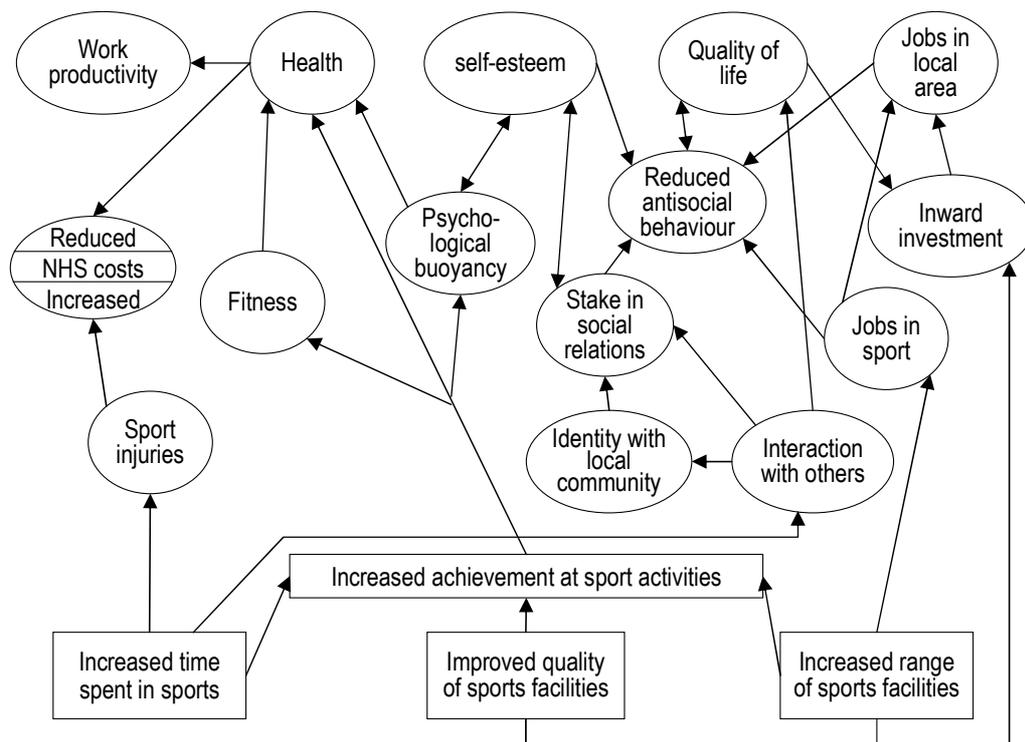
there has been increasing demand for assessing such practice in the context of the evidence-based policy-making.

A wide range of values of sport to society at different levels can be identified in *The Value of Sport* as follows:

- International value: a positive image of a nation, leading to diplomatic and economic benefits
- Social value: volunteering; community safety; health; young people and education; community regeneration
- Economic value: inward investment and economic regeneration; reducing NHS costs; productivity in the workplace
- Environmental value: open spaces creating better quality of life in urban areas; rural regeneration (Sport England, 1999).

Although these benefits are not claimed specifically in relation to urban regeneration, their potential relevance to it is evident.

A well-cited hypothetical model by Bovaird *et al.* (1997) shows how these claimed benefits of sport may be interrelated (Figure 2.1). Often undistinguished, however, are the differences between the two dimensions of sport that are assumed to bring about these benefits, spectator or participation sport (e.g. Percy, 2001). On one hand, benefits such as image promotion and inward investment are most typically associated with high profile international sporting events for spectators. On the other, benefits such as community safety, reduced NHS costs, and improved work productivity are associated with increased participation in sport.



**Figure 2.1 Hypothetical chains of benefits of sports (Bovaird *et al.*, 1997)**

It is also quite common that public spending on development of facility for spectator sport is justified on the ground that it will accrue benefits associated with increased sport participation. For example, Bridget McConnell, Director of Cultural and Leisure Services, Glasgow City Council, spoke of the physical regeneration project built around construction of a high-standard indoor sport facility in the East End of Glasgow:

Economic regeneration and social and health agendas are inseparable. We will not have social regeneration without investment. Decades ago, providing decent housing was the major policy priority for cities like Glasgow. Leisure time and community space were not a consideration. By not planning ahead for people's whole lives, we have built problems for ourselves. We now have the chance to address that (The Herald, 2002).

More recently, the success of London in bidding for the 2012 Olympic Games was attributed to the strategy to link the event with grassroots sport development, according to B. Garcia (personal communication, 5th September 2005).

By portraying these two different levels as ‘inseparable’, however, politicians and/or campaigners cleverly disguise the lack of evidence with regard to the economic benefits that the public investment on large infrastructure development supposedly bring about to the locality. Actually, linking economic regeneration to sport development and associated social benefits might be an escape route so as to still be able to justify the public spending on sporting infrastructure.

The studies in the UK and elsewhere in the main agree that the economic impact of sport infrastructure development as well as a sporting event is not as significant as it is claimed (see Appendix A for a detailed review). Impacts of one-off events are short-term without strategies to keep attracting a series of events (Gratton and Taylor, 2000), while the facilities can add a long-term financial burden on to the host cities (Searle, 2002). In addition, the experiences of US professional sports, where constant use of facilities are guaranteed, indicate little tangible impact on economic growth of the host cities, either (Baade, 1996a; Coates and Humphreys, 2003; Rosentraub, 1997a). While a range of intangible benefits might still contribute to the well-being of the local residents (Rosentraub, 1996), there is also a range of social cost associated with sporting events (Lee, 2000; Southern and Cleland, 2001).

Consequently, some commentators argue that sports teams and events should be coupled with opportunities for sport participation which directly contribute to the amenity of the adjoining neighbourhoods (Johnson and Sack, 2000; Southern and Cleland, 2001). However, it is in fact more difficult to establish evidence in terms of the social benefits of sport participation (see Chapter 3). Therefore, to investigate to what extent sport participation can contribute to the well-being of local residents is of considerable relevance to the large-scale sport-related regeneration projects.

Meanwhile, the second strand of discourse, which concerns day-to-day participation in sporting activities and its ability to tackle the problems associated with deprived urban neighbourhoods, has by itself become increasingly popular in sports policy in the UK. The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) (1999) issued the report by PAT10 to SEU, which states:

Arts and sport, cultural and recreational activity, can contribute to neighbourhood renewal and make a real difference to health, crime, employment and education in deprived communities (p. 8).

Following PAT10, all the national sport councils declared that to contribute to social inclusion is one of their main policy objectives (Sport Council for Wales, 2004; Sport Council Northern Ireland, 2004; Sport England, 1999; sportscotland, 2003a).

In fact, the idea of using sport for the benefit of communities is not new. On the contrary, it has traditionally been part of the logic of sport development in the UK. Typically, the 1980s saw it in the form of the Action Sport programme. Established within the policy framework of ‘tackling the problem of inner-city unemployment’ (Houlihan and White, 2002, p. 35) in the aftermath of the series of urban riots in 1981, Action Sport was an initiative run in selected urban areas in London and Birmingham, with the dual objectives of sport and community development:

The aims and objectives of the Action Sport programme were a mix, and at times an uneasy mix, of broad welfare concerns associated with the alleviation of the consequences of unemployment and urban deprivation and sport-specific objectives associated with increasing participation (Houlihan and White, 2002, p. 38).

Indeed, this ‘uneasiness’ of mixed objectives is still pervasive in the current discourse of sport and neighbourhood regeneration, particularly in relation to the concepts of social exclusion and inclusion. While this is the main subject of Chapter 5, the project review in the following section of the current chapter also illustrates it.

This continuity in logic notwithstanding, PAT10 seems to have made an impact in terms of scale by making the relevance of sport to regeneration more explicit. As a result, many more funding sources have become available to community-based sport programmes, with both sport- and regeneration-oriented funding organisations keen to support sport-related projects with ‘social inclusion’ objectives. These projects vary in their objectives, target groups, scale, kinds of sport, organisations and so on, embracing such projects as discount

leisure cards and football coaching programmes by Premiership football clubs (Collins with Kay, 2003; Southern and Cleland, 2001). Thus, the following section attempts to ‘map out’ these sport-based regeneration projects.

## **2.4 Mapping sport-related regeneration projects**

This section aims to provide an overview as to what types of sport-related regeneration programme are in existence across the UK, and how prevalent they are. A ‘sport-related regeneration programme’ is meant to refer to a programme/project/initiative/organisation that has sport as its component in addressing one or more of the agendas concerning deprivation of a certain area. In short, it is defined by two elements: use of sport and commitment to regeneration agendas. Actually, this review of projects was primarily conducted for the purpose of locating projects suitable for the case studies of this thesis. Therefore, it was not intended to produce an exhaustive list of projects throughout the UK. Nonetheless, a review of this kind has never been carried out in the same level of depth elsewhere.

Two strategies were adopted to identify sport-related regeneration projects. One was to review sport-oriented funding sources and initiatives, and the other is to search for the sport-related projects funded by, or working in partnership with, urban regeneration initiatives. This approach had inevitable limitations. First, it was impossible to provide an exhaustive list of funding sources for sport-related regeneration programmes. The duality of these projects, having both ‘sport’ and ‘regeneration’ elements, means that they can potentially finance themselves by accessing both/either sport- and/or regeneration-oriented sources. Second, it would leave out many small community groups that are run on an entirely voluntary basis. Thus, the review provides a partial, though still insightful, list of sport-related regeneration programmes.

The section consists of three parts. The first part looks at two sport-related regeneration initiatives in England, namely Sport Action Zones (SAZs) and Positive Futures (PF). The second reviews two sport-related funding sources in Scotland, New Opportunities in PE and Sport (NOPES) and sportscotland’s Social Inclusion Partnership Programme (SIPP).

Finally, the third section presents the result of the content analysis of annual reports and other relevant documents of the SIPs. Throughout these sections, it is aimed to show what the typical sport-related regeneration programmes are like, in terms of their objectives and target groups.

## **2.4.1 Sport-related initiatives in England**

### *2.4.1.1 Sport Action Zones (SAZs)*

SAZs are an area-based initiative within the remit of Sport England. Launched in 2000 as part of Sport England's Lottery Fund strategy, the SAZs were an experimental initiative, with the first 12 zones selected to represent 'a range of different circumstances' (Sport England, 2001, p. 4) in terms of size and regions, including both urban and rural areas. It was planned to expand to further 18 zones to make 30 in total, based on the lessons learnt from the first 12. As of 2006, the further 18 sites for expansion have not yet been announced (Sport England, 2006a, 2006b).

The primary objective of this initiative is 'to address sporting deprivation in some of the most socially and economically deprived areas of the country', but at the same time the integration with wider regeneration objectives of health, community safety and education (including lifelong learning) was also emphasised (Sport England, 2003). Table 2.2 shows examples of themes of the project under SAZs. Health, community safety and education are among the most common themes.

However, Table 2.3 shows the likely target groups differ according to key themes. Projects with health objectives tend to have a wide range of target groups; some are targeted at general population, while others at specific groups such as mothers with young children, old people, disabled people, teenage girls and young offenders. By contrast, projects designed for community safety seem to be almost entirely targeted at young people. This tendency is common with the projects under SIPs in Scotland (see below).

**Table 2.2 Examples of key themes of SAZs**

Liverpool SAZ	Wear Valley SAZ
Health	Health
Education	Community safety
Regeneration	Education
Community safety and youth	Regeneration
Sport for everyone	Social inclusion

Sources: Liverpool SAZ (2001), Wear Valley SAZ (2001)

**Table 2.3 List of target groups of Wear Valley SAZ by key themes**

Health	Wear Valley and Teesdale residents Young women and girls Young people and women Community Population 5 years + People 70 + years Community-wide Teenage girls aged 13/16 11-19 year olds particularly teenage girls Young offenders Blank
Community safety	Young people in priority areas Young people in S. Bishop Auckland Young people in identified areas Young offenders Young people on key estates
Education	Community wide to include women & girls, unemployed Parents within Sure Start Areas S. Bishop Auckland Community-wide Community of W. Auckland Blank

	N/A
Regeneration	Wear Valley Communities Residents of Wear Valley
Social inclusion	Community-wide Community/Clubs within Wear Valley Young people in Coundon Ward Disabled School Children Blank N/A

Source: Wear Valley SAZ (2001)

#### 2.4.1.2 *Positive Futures (PF)*

Arguably, the most prolific sport-related regeneration initiative in England and Wales is the Positive Futures, which represents well the trend of sport-related projects. It is a nationwide sport-based initiative, whose aim is to tackle social exclusion. As of March 2006, 105 projects participated in it, with around a hundred thousand young people involved (Positive Futures, 2006). It was launched in 2000 as a result of a partnership between the UK Anti-Drug Co-ordination Unit, the Youth Justice Board and Sport England with twenty-four projects initially selected to participate (Crabbe, 2006). It was transferred into the Home Office Drug Strategy Directorate in 2002, and the national advisory group includes representatives from the Department of Health (DH), DCMS, the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), the Youth Justice Board, Sport England, the Countryside Agency, the Metropolitan Police, and the Football Foundation (Crabbe, 2006). Over the period of 2003 to 2006, PF had funding of 15 million pounds from the Home Office and 3 million pounds from the Football Foundation (Youth Justice Board, 2006). The partnership structure shows the variety of interest parties: in particular, health, education and skills, and youth justice. However, the level of commitment from each party has not been the same, with DH and DfES showing ‘a more tangential relationship to the programme which is reflected in non-attendance’ at the meetings (Crabbe, 2006, p. 11). Thus, the programme has been more inclined to youth justice, crime and community safety.

Similarly, the management of programme was initially relatively ad hoc, but has become more focused recently as it has placed itself within the Home Office Drug Strategy Directorate. At the start of the programme, 'the programme was intended to be quite diverse and experimental', and therefore there was only limited strategic direction to guide the initial 24 projects, except for 'a focus on work with the most vulnerable young people in each of the target areas which were themselves all located within top 10% most deprived wards in England' (Crabbe, 2006, p. 10). Thus, in the early stages of programme development, 'it was defined as much as anything by existing patterns of community sports development work and the individual characteristics of the various lead agencies and their key partners rather than a distinct PF vision' (Crabbe, 2006, p. 10). However, the transfer into the Home Office Drug Strategy Directorate in 2002 resulted in 'a clearer sense of focus' and 'a far clearer management structure' (Crabbe, 2006, pp. 10-11). Thus, although developed from existing sport development practice, PF is now characterised by its clear commitment to tackling drug-related problems among young people, while using sport as 'catalyst'.

## **2.4.2 Sport-related initiatives in Scotland**

### *2.4.2.1 New Opportunities in PE and Sport (NOPES)*

The New Opportunities in PE and Sport (NOPES) is one of the branches of an UK-wide distributor of the National Lottery Fund, the New Opportunities Fund (NOF). NOF is not an area-based initiative, but has strong commitment to 'good causes' concerning social inequality and exclusion. While NOF has various branches within it, and some of them (e.g. Healthy Living Centre, Young People's Fund, Green Space) may potentially be sport-related, NOPES is one more directly so (Big Lottery Fund, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c). NOPES is primarily a facility-based scheme aiming for development and improvement of sporting facilities in schools and communities, with an exception of Scotland where there also are two strands of revenue programme, which support a significant number of sport-based regeneration projects in Scotland. NOPES received policy directions from the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport in April 2001 to commit £750.75 million by the end of 2005, of which £88.3 million was allocated for Scotland (£52 million for capital and £36.3 million for revenue).

In terms of the objectives, NOPEs seems to be primarily concerned with promoting sports and physical activities but one of its six key outcomes states '(p)romotion of social inclusion through access to and use of sports and outdoor adventure facilities by all groups in society' (Big Lottery Fund, 2005a). Moreover, as far as Scotland is concerned, one of the two strands of its revenue programme, the Active Steps (AS), is of explicit relevance to one of the key agendas of deprived neighbourhoods, as it is meant to:

- Use sport to divert young people from criminal activity or behaviour likely to lead to such activity.
- Promote positive behaviour to aid in the reduction of truancy and exclusion from schools (Big Lottery Fund, 2005b, p. 14).

Meanwhile, the other strand, the Out of School Hours Activities (OSHA), can be interpreted in line with sporting/leisure inclusion (see Chapter 5).

However, a closer look at these two strands of revenue programme confirms that it is hard to make a clear-cut distinction between sporting and social inclusion at project level. An evaluation survey of NOPEs (Nevill *et al.*, 2005) shows that about a fifth of projects responded to the survey had tried to do both AS and OSHA, while three and five in ten projects were either AS or OSHA projects respectively. Moreover, over a third of OSHA projects (i.e. 'sporting inclusion' projects) reported that they were also designed to reduce criminal activity and truancy/school exclusion. This is reflected in target groups. AS projects, reflecting its more specific aims, tend to target specific 'at-risk' young people, with 80 to 90 per cent of projects are designed for those at risk of offending, school exclusion and truancy, whereas around 30 per cent of OSHA projects are also specifically targeted at these groups. On the other hand, two thirds of AS projects committed themselves to promoting sports and physical activities, the desired outcomes of OSHA.

In relation to area deprivation, over 30 per cent of projects in both categories had their 'activities organised for particular geographical areas', and over 60 and 50 per cent of OSHA and AS projects respectively targeted their services at 'people living in areas of economic and social disadvantage', of which the relatively low percentage of the latter

surprises the evaluators ‘given the links between economic disadvantage and crime’ (Nevill *et al.*, 2005, p. 141). But perhaps equally interesting, though not mentioned by the evaluators, is the fact that 70 per cent of projects doing both AS and OSHA are targeted at this category. These figures might suggest that for people in deprived areas the lack of opportunities for sports and leisure is a higher priority, as it is perceivably the cause of young people’s involvement in criminal activity. Also, targeting ‘at-risk’ young people may be easier through support agencies which often are not based in a particular area.

Another point evident in terms of the target groups is their focus upon young people. Both AS and OSHA are targeted at young people aged 5 to 16 (Nevill *et al.*, 2005). However, the focal age range differs: for OSHA projects Primary 6-7 pupils are the most likely target (69 per cent), though evenly distributed across Primary 4-5 to Secondary 3-4 around 60 per cent; while over 90 per cent of AS projects are targeted at Secondary 1-2 and 3-4, with the percentage halves as the category drops to Primary 6-7 (41.5 per cent), 4-5 (20.8 per cent) and to 1-3 (7.5 per cent). The target age groups of those projects doing both AS and OSHA are a hybrid of AS and OSHA; the figures are almost the same with OSHA for older primary pupils (P 4-5 and 6-7), and with AS for secondary (P1-2 and 3-4). Notably, however, over 40 per cent of them are targeted at the youngest ones (P1-3), considerably higher than the OSHA and AS projects (26.2 and 7.5 per cent respectively). This might mean that they tend to be preventative programmes, which attempt to target younger age groups who have not yet been involved in criminal activity. Or they might tend to embrace a wider age band, possibly reflecting the tendency for sport-related projects to be overambitious (Coalter *et al.*, 2000), which may also explain the fact that they aim for both OSHA and AS outcomes at the same time.

#### 2.4.2.2 *Social Inclusion Partnership Programme by sportscotland*

Although there is no equivalent of SAZs in Scotland, sportscotland allocates part of the Lottery Fund to local sport-related regeneration programmes. Firstly, the sum of 11.5 million pounds has been awarded through the Sports Facility Programme to 58 facilities within the SIP areas over the period between 2000 and 2003 (Appendix B, Table B.1). In terms of revenue programme, the Social Inclusion Partnerships Programme (SIPP) was launched within its Lottery Fund Strategy in February 2002. So far, 66 projects have been

awarded a sum of 2.7 million pounds (about 4 per cent of the overall sportscotland Lottery Fund) over the first three years, of which half were made in the first year (Table 2.4).

**Table 2.4 sportscotland Lottery Fund SIP Programme**

Year	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	Total
Number of awards	33	14	19	66
Award to SIPs (£)	1,327,954	£653,489	£709,687	£2,691,130
(Total)	(35,711,604)	(16,642,257)	(16,642,257)	(68,996,118)

Source: sportscotland (2003b; , 2004; , 2005)

The aims of the programme are stated as follows:

The programme aims to provide opportunities for people living in Social Inclusion Partnership areas – or associated with a thematic SIP – to participate in sport and physical activity, and improve their quality of life (sportscotland, 2005, p. 19).

More specifically, it ‘aims to assist communities to:

- develop through sport and physical recreation
- increase the quality and quantity of participation in sport and physical recreation with social, economic and health benefits
- promote capacity building by helping groups to establish and sustain projects developing voluntary and community organisations’ (sportscotland, 2005, p. 19).

Similarly to SAZs, promotion of sport and physical activity is linked to wider benefits, as well as to the contribution to ‘capacity building’ to help make community organisations sustainable.

In terms of the recipients, 30 out of the 50 SIPs (including the two ex-NLUS) were awarded in 2003 (Table 2.5). The types of organisation range from a local authority, to a SIP itself, and to an individual project (see Appendix B, Table B.2 for details).

**Table 2.5 Number of SIPs awarded Lottery Funding by sportscotland in 2003**

	Awarded	Total
Area-based	21	31
Thematic	7	14
ex-NLUS	2	2
Total	30	47

Source: sportscotland

### **2.4.3 Sport-related projects in Social Inclusion Partnerships**

The review of sport-oriented funding sources above has illustrated the fact that a considerable sum of money is awarded to sport-related programmes for the purpose of promoting sport participation among disadvantaged groups (i.e. sporting inclusion) with a strong link to other key policy agendas concerning area deprivation (i.e. social inclusion). However, a sport-related regeneration project may not necessarily be funded through these initiatives. A project committed to a particular regeneration agenda may well go for other sources more directly relevant to the intended outcome. Thus, next looked at are the sport-related projects funded by or working in partnership with the SIPs for a more thorough ‘mapping’ of them in Scotland. In order to make a list of sport-related projects associated with the SIPs, the annual reports were obtained through email enquiry and then reviewed. The official websites and email communications, as well as the information provided by sportscotland (Table A.2) were used to supplement where annual reports could not be obtained or did not provide sufficient information. The list of documents obtained and reviewed is provided in Appendix B (Table B.3).

The review has identified a total of 187 projects, with most of the SIPs having one or more. Table 2.6 shows the themes of these projects. The most common theme was health, with over a quarter of all projects, while development or upgrade of facility (20.3 per cent) and sporting inclusion (19.3 per cent) came second and third respectively. These are followed by diversion (12.3 per cent), while some of the themes that can be high on agenda of deprived areas, such as personal development, education, employment and community development, remained relatively minor. Notably, a significant number of projects could not be attributed any specific theme. This is mainly due to the limited information provided

in the reviewed documents. It might also suggest, along with the popularity of ‘sporting inclusion’ projects, that in practice no explicit connection to specific regeneration agendas is needed in appreciating the value of sport to deprived communities.

In terms of target groups, nearly half of the projects (88 out of 187) were youth-orientated, although the age range varies from pre-5 to young adults, and often not specified but as young people in general. Table 2.7 shows the number of projects targeted at young people by themes. The ranking stayed similar to that of all projects except that development or upgrade of facility dropped to the fourth, with only 8 per cent. Meanwhile, the proportions of projects with health and sporting inclusion objectives increased to 30.7 and 28.4 per cent respectively. The proportion of diversionary projects also slightly increased, with only one per cent added.

**Table 2.6 Themes of sport-related project in SIPs**

Themes	N	(%)*
Health (including drugs & alcohol)	50	(26.7)
Development/upgrade of sports facility	38	(20.3)
Sporting inclusion (promoting participation/ improving service provision)	36	(19.3)
Diversion	23	(12.3)
Personal Development (self-esteem/self- confidence/personal skills)	11	(5.9)
Education	9	(4.8)
Employment	7	(3.7)
Community Development (volunteering, leadership)	5	(2.7)
Social integration (including asylum seekers)	2	(1.1)
Anti-racism	1	(0.5)
Not specified	45	(24.1)
<b>Total</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>(100.0)</b>

\* does not add up to 100% as a project may have more than one themes.

**Table 2.7 Themes of youth-related sport projects in SIPs**

Themes	Number of youth-related projects	Proportion against all youth-related projects	Number of projects with the objective	Proportion of youth-related projects in projects with same objective
Health (including drugs & alcohol)	27	30.7%	50	54.0%
Sporting inclusion (promoting participation, improving service provision)	25	28.4%	36	69.4%
Diversion	18	20.5%	23	78.3%
Development/upgrade of sports facility	7	8.0%	38	18.4%
Personal Development (self-esteem, self-confidence, personal skills)	6	6.8%	11	54.5%
Education	5	5.7%	9	55.6%
Employment	5	5.7%	7	71.4%
Community Development (volunteering, leadership)	1	1.1%	5	20.0%
Social integration (including asylum seekers)	1	1.1%	2	50.0%
Anti-racism	1	1.1%	1	100.0%
Not specified	16	18.2%	45	35.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>		<b>188</b>	<b>47.1%</b>

Also shown in Table 2.7 are the ratios of projects targeted at youth to all projects with the same themes. While for most themes the ratio is just over 50 per cent, it is considerably higher for diversion (78.3 per cent), employment (71.4 per cent), and sporting inclusion (69.4 per cent). By contrast, the ratio is very low for development and upgrade of facility. Among the three most common themes, only health has a moderate ratio of 54 per cent, compared to overly youth-focused nature of the other two. This parallels with the observation above on the projects of some of the SAZs; youth is strongly linked to

community safety (in this case, diversion), whereas health-related projects are more often for wider population.

#### **2.4.4 Summary**

This section has reviewed the existing sport-related regeneration project through funding sources, mainly the National Lottery Fund, as well as an urban regeneration initiative, the SIPs in Scotland. It has also looked at Positive Futures as an example of the largest sport-based initiatives. It has been shown that the sport-oriented funding sources such as NOF, SAZs and SIPP are primarily designed for sporting inclusion, but there always is the attempt to link it to wider regeneration agendas. Among those agendas, health and community safety are the most common, whereas others such as education, employment, and community development, are relatively minor. Regardless of what the intended outcomes are, 'young people' are by far the most common target group, with one in two projects specifically targeted at 'young people'. While 'health' projects tend to be targeted at a wider age range or not age specific, those with community safety objectives are disproportionately youth-related. While many of the latter are simply diversionary projects, as shown by the review of the SIP projects, a more strategic way of linking sport to youth justice seems to have started to blossom as seen in Positive Futures.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed the policy and practice with regard to sport and urban regeneration. While the overall urban regeneration policy has become more community-centred, emphasising partnership working and empowerment within localised regeneration strategy, the roles of sport within urban regeneration in a broad sense are both at macro and micro levels. At a macro level, public investment in high-profile sporting infrastructure development for international sporting events or professional sports is still popular, supposedly for the purpose of physical renewal and economic development of the host city, although this model is that of 'flagship projects' in the 1980s, which notoriously failed to tackle problems associated with deprived urban neighbourhoods. At a micro level, sport is a popular tool, especially to engage with young people in deprived areas in addressing a range of problems, crime prevention and health being the most common objectives. The

macro approach to regeneration has been established not to be so effective in producing tangible impact on the economy of a city, although intangible benefits are still believed to be existent. Among the claimed benefits to substitute the missing economic gain is the community-level sport participation. Thus, the micro approach to regeneration is linked to the macro one for the purpose of the political justification of public spending on large-scale development. However, as the next chapter demonstrates, the evidence of such benefits is yet to be established. Therefore, the focus of this thesis on regeneration at a micro level is of importance in itself within the more community-centred trend of overall regeneration policy, as well as to deconstruct the logic behind that at the macro level. The next chapter critically reviews the literature related to the roles of sport in regeneration at the neighbourhood level.

# Chapter 3 Sport and Neighbourhood

## Regeneration: Theories and Evidence

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses what knowledge has been accumulated in terms of social benefits of sport, in particular in relation to regeneration of deprived urban neighbourhoods. The PAT10 report (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 1999) has made it clear that sport has a role to play within the framework of the *National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* (see Chapter 2). The goal of the thesis is to theorise the *processes* in which a sport-related project addresses the goal of neighbourhood regeneration. This chapter makes a case for having this as a research objective, as opposed to ‘testing’ or ‘evaluating’ the claim, by identifying some of the unanswered questions within the emerging ‘sport and regeneration’ literature.

Sport has for a long time been considered capable of providing a wide range of social benefits (Bovaird *et al.*, 1997; Collins with Kay, 2003), but there is no doubt that the PAT10 report is a point of reference in the development of the ‘sport and regeneration’ literature. The significance of the report lies in the fact that it has made clear the relevance of sport to mainstream urban regeneration policy and practice. The impact that the report has made to the literature is threefold. Firstly, this area of research has found its focus on contributing to this policy discourse, as opposed to dealing separately with different aspects of ‘social benefits’ of sport. In other words, effort has been made to integrate the scattered knowledge concerning social benefits of sport with a particular reference to urban regeneration. Secondly, in part owing to the increasing demand for evaluating regeneration

initiatives, the literature has developed in quantity. In particular, an increasing number of evaluative studies have been done on sport-based, community-focused projects; however, most of these studies have been faced with methodological difficulties. Thirdly, as ‘social exclusion’ has been given a central role in the discourse of urban regeneration policy, the post-PAT10 literature has been under strong influence of this concept. This has brought in some confusion into the literature, which arguably exacerbates the methodological difficulties it had already suffered. These interrelated methodological and conceptual problems will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

For now, the rest of this chapter concentrates on the evidence of sport’s benefits to deprived neighbourhoods accumulated by the literature. The chapter, apart from this introduction, consists of three sections. The first section reviews three pieces of work which have attempted either to produce lists of claimed social benefits of sport, or to establish categories against which such benefits might be evaluated in relation to neighbourhood regeneration. In so doing, five sets of benefits – health, crime, education, employment and community/citizenship – are chosen to be the headings under which the evidence from previous research is to be categorised. Subsequently, the second section gathers the evidence according to the five themes. Throughout this section, it is shown that there are a set of themes arising from the previous studies cutting across the five different categories, especially in terms of the underlying theories as to *how* sport may bring these benefits to deprived neighbourhoods. Thus, the third section, as a way of concluding the chapter, brings these common themes together to explain why it is not outcomes but *processes* that are the main concern of this thesis. Then it presents four sets of hypotheses that may each represent a process of neighbourhood regeneration using sport. It is argued that these hypotheses are to *guide* the way through the fieldwork, rather than to be *tested* by it.

### **3.2 Social benefits of sport to deprived neighbourhoods**

This section examines what kinds of benefit sport is claimed to produce so as to help regenerate deprived urban neighbourhoods. In part, the emphasis placed by PAT10 on the four policy indicators – health, crime, employment and education – has set the tone for the subsequent research in sport and regeneration, in that these are the expected outcomes

against which the impact of sport should be evaluated. However, it is evident that they are not the only benefits sport is supposed to produce. A broader range of social benefits of sport have been claimed. Three writers, Michael F. Collins, Fred Coalter, and Jonathan Long, in collaboration with their colleagues, can be credited with listing and categorising these benefits in relation to the UK urban regeneration policy. Their lists and categorisations are reviewed below with an aim to forge them into a categorisation against which the literature review on the evidence of these benefits is structured in the following sections.

As a note, the majority of these benefits may be construed to be of some relevance to the recent discourse of 'social exclusion', so that it seems inevitable for commentators to refer to this concept in one way or another. However, the impact this concept has made to the literature is the main subject of Chapter 5, in which the definition adopted by this thesis is also given. Therefore, the reference to the term is kept minimal in the rest of the current chapter.

One of the most extensive reviews of benefits of sport to society was carried out by Michael F. Collins (Collins *et al.*, 1999; Collins with Kay, 2003). It was he and his colleagues who piled up the evidence to inform PAT10 on the sport side of it (as opposed to the arts) (Collins *et al.*, 1999). After reviewing the relevant literature worldwide, they identified many kinds of benefit that sport was claimed to produce, and categorised them at three different levels – national, communal and personal – as replicated in the first column of Table 3.1 (Collins *et al.*, 1999, p. 8). Their list covers not only issues related to the PAT10's indicators, such as physical and mental health, prevention of youth crime, and job creation; but also other issues that are relevant to regeneration, including community/family coherence, created/renewed local environment, and improved self-esteem and competence. Later, Collins further extended the list to include thirty-four items under the five headings of personal, social, economic, environment and national, as shown in the second column of Table 3.1 (Collins with Kay, 2003, p. 28).

**Table 3.1 Lists of social benefits of sport**

Collins <i>et al.</i> (1999)	Collins with Kay (2003)
<p>Personal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Physical health (heart, lungs, joints, bones, muscles)</li> <li>Better mental health (coping, depression)</li> <li>Better self-esteem/image/competence</li> <li>Socialisation/integration/tolerance</li> <li>General quality of life</li> </ul> <p>Communal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community/family coherence</li> <li>Lower law and order costs (especially for youth)</li> <li>Job creation</li> <li>Environmental (created/renewed)</li> </ul> <p>National</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identity</li> <li>Prestige</li> <li>Reduced health costs</li> <li>Trade</li> </ul>	<p>Personal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Aiding a full/meaningful life</li> <li>Ensuring health</li> <li>Helping stress management</li> <li>Giving self-esteem/image</li> <li>Offering balance/achievement/life satisfaction</li> <li>Play and human development</li> <li>Positive lifestyle choices</li> <li>Open spaces and quality of life</li> <li>Better academic performance</li> </ul> <p>Social</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strengthening communities</li> <li>Reducing alienation/loneliness/antisocial behaviour</li> <li>Promoting ethnic/cultural harmony</li> <li>Strengthening families</li> </ul> <p>Community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>involvement/ownership/empowerment</li> <li>Access for disabled/disadvantaged</li> <li>Promoting community pride</li> <li>Protection for latch-key children</li> <li>Ethical behaviour models (cheating/drugs/violence)</li> </ul> <p>Economic</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cost-effective health prevention</li> <li>Fitness for productive workforces</li> <li>Small sums/large economic returns</li> <li>Attracting new/growing businesses</li> <li>Reducing cost of vandalism/crime</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Catalyst for tourism</li> <li>Funding environmental protection</li> <li>Regeneration of jobs/communities</li> </ul> <p>Environmental</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Aiding environmental health</li> <li>Protecting/rehabilitating environments</li> <li>Increasing property values</li> <li>Ensuring a sustainable environment</li> </ul> <p>National</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Integration/cultural cohesion</li> <li>Pride</li> <li>Trade balance/marketing</li> <li>International influence/representation</li> </ul>
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These lists are useful in that they show how broad the range of the alleged benefits of sport is. Nevertheless, perhaps because his main interest rests in ‘social exclusion’, rather than regeneration *per se*, they are not arranged in a way that the relevance of these benefits to neighbourhood regeneration is clear. The ‘communal’ benefits on the first list, and the ‘social’ on the second, might be seen to represent benefits at a community level, but other relevant benefits seem to be scattered across other categories such as ‘personal’, ‘economic’ and ‘environment’. For the purpose of this thesis, a list with a more direct focus on regeneration agenda is preferable. But it may be worth noting in relation to these lists that ‘overambitiousness’ may be a feature of the discourse of sport and its social benefits, within which the ‘sport and regeneration’ policy and practice are situated (for example, see Coalter *et al.*, 2000, p. 44).

In contrast to Collins, neighbourhood regeneration was the central concern of a report by Fred Coalter and his colleagues (2000), *The Role of Sport in Regenerating Deprived Areas*, commissioned by the Scottish Executive Development Department in conjunction with sportscotland. In summing up the evidence from literature review along with ten case studies of sport-based regeneration projects in Scotland, the report is structured around seven themes:

- health
- crime
- young people and education
- employment and regeneration
- community development and volunteering
- minority ethnic groups
- environmental value.

The first four themes simply echo the concerns of PAT10, while the other three need explanation as to how Coalter sees them relevant to regeneration. Considered in the reverse order, the ‘environmental value’ of sport, in the Coalter’s sense, equates with the improved physical environment of an area through developing a new sport facility or renovating an existing one. Later he opted to include the impact of sport on natural environment when he presented a revised version of the report to the Local Government Association (Coalter, 2001), but in the urban context, it is solely about physical infrastructure. Physical renewal of neighbourhood is obviously of direct relevance to regeneration. However, this theme remains peripheral in this thesis as it is mostly, though not entirely, concerned with the benefits of sport participation.

Secondly, the chapter on minority ethnic groups stands out oddly in the report. Without doubt the concentration of minority ethnic population in inner-city deprived neighbourhoods is an important issue in many British cities. However, rather than dealing with what sport could do to help ameliorate problems concerning ethnic segregation, the chapter remains at the level of discussing the constraints for minority ethnic groups to participate in sport. In other words, it would fall into the category of the ‘sporting inclusion’ (i.e. the development of sport in communities), which Coalter himself proposes to strictly distinguish from ‘the development of communities through sport’ (Coalter, 2002, p. 7; also see Coalter *et al.*, 2000, p. 67)<sup>1</sup>. In fact, he later dropped this section from his revised version (Coalter, 2001). In relation to this thesis, issues concerning ethnic segregation will remain untouched, in part because of the absence of literature cutting

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<sup>1</sup> Detailed discussion on this distinction will be a subject of Chapter 5 in relation to the concept of social exclusion/inclusion.

deeper through this theme beyond unequal participation in sport across ethnic groups, and in part owing to the selection of the case study location with a predominantly White population (see Chapter 6). However, as will become apparent in the later chapters, the thesis is concerned with segregated interests in sport and leisure, which may be of potential relevance to ethnic segregation.

Hence both ‘ethnic minority groups’ and ‘environmental value’ are among the themes that are not main concerns for this thesis for different reasons. By contrast, and thirdly, ‘community development and volunteering’ represents issues quite central to it for two reasons. Notwithstanding the apparent difficulty of defining the term ‘community development’, what Coalter deals with under this heading is essentially the role of sport volunteers in improving the capacities of local people to help regenerate their own neighbourhood. In this respect, and this is the first reason, it is closely related to such words and phrases as empowerment, ownership, active citizenship, social capital, capacity building, and community participation, *inter alia*, all popular in the language of urban regeneration policy and practice. The other reason is that, talking of sport volunteers, Coalter turns the attentions to another way of participation in sport: not playing but working for it. In so doing he extends the discussion into the recruitment of workers and the sustainability of projects. Indeed, not just volunteers but all sorts of worker, paid or unpaid, are ‘participants’ of sport-related projects in the sense that they are all part of the social interaction integral to the mechanisms for sport to contribute to regeneration (see Chapters 8 and 9).

This last category of Coalter’s is given a heavier weight by Jonathan Long and his colleagues in preparing for DCMS a report entitled: *Count Me In: The Dimensions of Social Inclusion through Culture and Sport* (Long *et al.*, 2002). In search for the evidence of the impact on ‘social inclusion’ made by ‘cultural projects’, they conducted a thoroughgoing evaluation of fourteen projects, of which three were based on sport, and two outdoor adventure (both seen as sport for the purpose of this thesis). In so doing, they adopt seven outcome measures of ‘social inclusion’ (pp. 29-30):

- Improved educational performance
- Increased employment rates

- Reduced levels of crime
- Better (and more equal) standards of health
- Personal development
- Social cohesion
- Making structures more open

Similarly to Coalter's, the list starts from the key interests of PAT10, though in a different order: education, employment, crime and health. Similarity is less apparent, though implicit, in the selection of the other three measures, which is a direct result from the centrality given to the concept of social inclusion. Acknowledging that a wide range of 'alternative social inclusion outcomes' (p. 29) may be found in the literature, they opt to use the three headings to represent them. Each is given clarification below.

'Personal development' embraces the self-esteem and self-confidence that sport participants are supposed to gain. The reason why these are excluded from Coalter's categorisation is not that he is unaware of these benefits. For him, they would fall into the category of 'intermediate outcomes,' which are 'required to achieve the desired final outcomes' (Coalter *et al.*, 2000, p. 44). This understanding is preferable; improved self-esteem or self-confidence is not exactly a goal of regeneration. Rather, it is better understood as part of the process of sport-related project contributing to regeneration. Thus, in reviewing the evidence of benefits of sport, this will be recurrently referred to in different sections, rather than dealt with separately as an independent section.

'Social cohesion' and 'making structures more open' embrace themes in common with those underlying the section of 'community development and volunteering' for Coalter *et al.* (2000). 'Social cohesion' is broken down into three categories: social network, civic pride, and common values and shared respect. 'Making structures more open', on the other hand, has subheadings of 'involvement in decision-making' and 'active citizenship', covering issues such as empowerment and capacity building. Despite the fact that volunteering is not an explicit concern, these two categories clearly have a common ground with themes underlying 'community development' in Coalter's sense. Thus, they shall be treated in a

single section in presenting the result of the literature review as ‘community/citizenship’ agenda.

Hence, the evidence of the claimed benefits of sport to neighbourhood regeneration is reviewed in the next section under the following five categories:

- Health
- Crime
- Education
- Employment
- Community/citizenship

In spite of the nomination of the four policy indicators by PAT10 as if they are equally weighted, the evidence is rather unevenly accumulated across these themes, with health and crime relatively well researched as compared to employment and education. Meanwhile, the community/citizenship agenda seems even less investigated due to the intangibility.

### **3.3 Evidence of benefits of sport to neighbourhood regeneration**

#### **3.3.1 Health**

Health, both physical and (to a lesser extent) psychological, is probably the area where the evidence of positive benefits has been most abundant and conclusive, although strictly speaking it remains at the individual level, and more the benefits of physical activity, rather than sport *per se* (Coalter, 2001; Coalter *et al.*, 2000; Dubbert, 2002). An extensive review of the literature on health benefits of sport to urban regeneration has been provided by Coalter and his colleagues (Coalter, 2001; Coalter *et al.*, 2000).

In terms of physical health, much medical or physiological research has indicated that physical activity can bring about many kinds of positive change to a person’s body – heart, joints, muscles, ligaments, tendons, metabolism and hormones – so that it is good for prevention of, as well as rehabilitation from, many diseases and injuries such as thrombosis, obesity, diabetes, osteoporosis and bone fractures (Coalter *et al.*, 2000). Many longitudinal

studies indicate that the risk of premature death, particularly from coronary, cardiovascular and respiratory diseases, is lower for people who are physically active (Coalter, 2001, p. 17).

In terms of mental health, participating in physical activity, with an exception of overtraining, can have positive effects on a range of psychological matters, such as anxiety, depression, mood and emotion, self-esteem, cognitive functioning, and psychological dysfunctions (Coalter, 2001, p. 18). While short-term effects on mood and anxiety can be gained from one-off participation, improved self-esteem, self-efficacy and perceived competence are more likely to result from long-term participation (Coalter, 2001, p. 18).

Despite the abundant evidence relating physical activity to physical and mental well-being, Coalter (2001) points out that:

much evidence relates to the benefits of general physical activity and is often based on small-scale, clinical evidence. There has been little large-scale longitudinal research into the relationship between sports participation, fitness and health within the context of people's everyday lives (p. 18).

Referring to Roberts and Brodie (1992, cited Coalter, 2001, pp. 18-19) as a rare example of such research, he maintains that 'the role of sport in the promotion of fitness and health are ambivalent' (p. 18), in that although playing sport provides additional health benefits after controlling for other factors, the positive impact is the most evident at the level of self-assessment while the frequency and intensity of sport activity is often insufficient for participants to gain tangible improvements. Also he paraphrases Roberts and Brodie that 'there is a niche rather than a foundation role for sport within health policy and promotion' (Coalter, 2001, p. 19), since the basic source of health inequalities lies in economic disadvantages.

Moreover, a range of issues have been identified in relation to evaluation as well as operation of sport-related health programmes. Coalter *et al.* (2000) have found the followings through their case studies:

- Often the traditional ‘sport development’ approach – i.e. ‘formal activity provision and associated attempts to overcome perceived “barriers” to participation’ (p. 23) – were taken, based on the assumed beneficial outcomes of any increased activity to any individual. But it has been suggested that it would be more effective if it is tailored in accordance with individual needs and circumstances with an emphasis on the process of changing individual behaviour, especially to a more ‘active lifestyle’.
- There was a widespread absence of robust monitoring information on the health benefits of provision, apart from aggregate attendance figures. Often lacking were the relevant expertise and funding for monitoring, the latter due to the short-term nature of initiatives.
- Practitioners acknowledged that short-term projects could have only limited impacts on deep-rooted health problems and attitudes to physical activity. People would lose adherence soon after the programme is over.
- Qualitative evidence suggested that the greatest gains from involvement in physical activity related to psychological health, which was derived from the sociability and reduced sense of isolation, providing new friendship networks. This may have a wider implication to health promotion as wider social networks tend to lead to better health.
- Factors underpinning successful provision included:
  - Appropriate and convenient local facilities
  - Participants’ friendship groups to get and keep them involved
  - Reassurance that ‘people just like us’ are able to participate
  - Acknowledging, for older people in particular, some physical activity will be better than none
  - Intrinsic value (good fun, enjoyable, a change of environment etc.) to make it more appealing and ensure adherence.

On the ineffectiveness of the ‘sport development’ approach, Smith and Green (2005) provide an insight consistent with Coalter’s observation. Despite the ‘moral panic’ around supposedly emerging crises of the alleged poor health and declining sport and physical activity, they argue that:

there has been over the past two or three decades an empirically observable *increase* in, alongside a broadening and diversification of, sports and physical participation among adults generally, but an even more substantial increase by young people (p. 244, emphasis original).

This, they add, has co-occurred with the unhealthy trends: people have become more overweight, obese and sedentary. To resolve this ‘irreconcilable paradox’, they make a case for ‘a sociological perspective that views the complexity of young people’s lives “in the round”’ (p. 241), where sport is only one component along with many other. What can be drawn from their argument is that simply promoting sport participation would not lead to improved health, unless many other factors affecting a person’s health are also addressed.

To sum up this subsection, many key points, which will be recurrent throughout the subsequent sections as well as the whole thesis, have been raised. First, there is generally a lack of ‘robust’ monitoring and evaluation, while projects’ success is often attributed to attendance figures and positive anecdotes, assuming health benefits will automatically result. Second, however, despite the apparent health benefits of physical activity to individuals, when it comes to how sport-based interventions contribute to health promotion in deprived neighbourhoods, often these interventions lack conditions for such benefits to come into effect. In other words, simply promoting sport participation is not enough; rather, it is the way activity is provided that matters.

Three of such conditions have been identified. First, continuity is a key for participants to enjoy, and maintain, the health benefits of sport. Second, the role of social networks is highlighted, acting both as a factor to encourage initial and continuous participation, and to deliver the health benefits. People often participate because their friends also do, and once they participate, they can enjoy the psychological health benefits of being with friends. If this friendship network is to help widen their social networks, hypothetically, it contributes to physical health as well. Third, the ‘fun’ element of sport is suggested to be also a factor, which is of some use in encouraging and sustaining participation, and thereby sustaining the health benefits. In short, key themes emerged are: *need of ‘robust’ evaluation, ineffectiveness of the ‘sport development’ approach, continuity, social networks, and attractiveness of sport.*

### 3.3.2 Crime

The role of sport in crime reduction is also a relatively well-considered theme, and unlike health benefits, much research has been done in the context of deprived communities. Nevertheless, the accumulated evidence has been far from conclusive. As the project review in Chapter 2 has shown, crime reduction, especially in relation to youth, is the most common theme of sport-related regeneration projects. In this respect, reduction of drug and alcohol misuse, or more generally anti-social behaviour, is also in the frame. Drug and alcohol misuse can also be understood as a health-related issue, but the underlying theories as to why sport might help reduce drug and alcohol misuse are very similar to those underpinning crime reduction (Crabbe, 2000; Smith and Waddington, 2004). For convenience, 'crime reduction' is used below to represent reduction of these things.

Indeed, this approach has a long tradition in the UK policy, which can be traced back well beyond PAT10, to the early 1960s (Smith and Waddington, 2004, p. 280). Ever since, the use of sport in crime reduction has been supported:

by all of the major political parties as well as the police, the youth probation and education services, local authority workers and organisations with an interest in promoting sport, including the national Sports Councils in the UK such as Sport England (Smith and Waddington, 2004, p. 281).

Despite this overwhelming popularity, many commentators agree that there is little empirical evidence in terms of the impact that such initiatives have actually made on crime reduction. Nonetheless, there seems to have been some theoretical progress within the literature, in terms of what *might* work.

Coalter *et al.* (2000) categorise sport-based crime reduction projects into two types: rehabilitation and diversion (prevention). The rehabilitation approach is designed to work with offenders and help stop them from re-offending, and tend to be small-scale. Projects taking the diversion approach tend to be larger-scale, aiming to divert as many young people as possible, who have potential to become offenders, away from criminal activities,

or more generally antisocial behaviour, into sport participation. The latter is more community-focused, often open to all, and a common component of urban regeneration initiatives such as SIPs, while rehabilitation programmes are targeted at specific types of individuals, with participants likely to be referred by organisations such as the social, educational or probation services. Despite this difference, they are common in terms of the underlying belief: the ‘therapeutic’ potential of sport and physical activity (Coalter, 2001, p. 22).

Since the focus of this thesis is on neighbourhood regeneration, the diversion approach is of more direct relevance. In fact, it has happened that all of the case study projects may be categorised as diversionary, rather than rehabilitative, projects (although, of course, crime reduction is not the only concern of this thesis). However, the research into diversionary projects has been limited at least for three reasons.

First, they often are overambitious in objectives seeking a better appeal to funding agencies, but based on ‘an unsophisticated understanding of the variety of causes of criminality’ (Coalter *et al.*, 2000, p. 44). That is, often absent are the rationales against which meaningful monitoring and evaluation is possible (Robins, 1990). Second, collection of reliable data tends to be more difficult, because the large-scale, casual, open-to-all nature makes tracking of participants extremely hard (Nichols and Crow, 2004). Finally, the short-term nature of many diversionary projects means not only that funding is insufficient to allow monitoring exercise, but also that they are probably not long enough for participants to benefit from the ‘therapeutic’ quality of sport, and thus monitoring would find little change in their behaviour (Coalter *et al.*, 2000).

By contrast, the longer-term, more intense nature of many rehabilitative programmes allows relatively systematic, in-depth investigation, employing, for example, quasi-experimental or ethnographic approaches. Thus, it provides better insight in terms of the mechanisms through which sport participation may possibly lead to crime reduction, in particular with regard to the ‘therapeutic’ potential. For this reason, the review below contains a great deal of findings from the research into the rehabilitation approach as well.

### 3.3.2.1 *The 'therapeutic' potential of sport participation*

To put simply, by 'therapeutic' quality of sport, it is meant that an individual is believed to be socialised through sport participation to be a pro-social, and thus, anti-criminal person. This is a belief that is prevalent worldwide. For example, in the United States, the role of sport in reducing criminality has been researched longer in the context of interscholastic athletics, where 'athletics have been assumed to influence in positive ways the overall socialization of the individual' (Landers and Landers, 1978, p. 299). More recently, the Australian Sports Commission commissioned research on crime prevention through sport and physical activity, in which examined were the claim that '(s)port and physical activity programs provide an effective vehicle through which personal and social development in young people can be positively affected' (Morris *et al.*, 2003, p. 1; also Cameron and MacDougall, 2000).

Despite this widespread belief, however, statistical evidence of positive relationship between increased sport participation and decreased crime rates has hardly been found (Robins, 1990). For instance, the *Summer Splash Schemes*, a large-scale diversionary initiative throughout England and Wales, seem to have had little impact on the reduction of crime and disorder (Loxley *et al.*, 2002). On this basis, some researchers in the UK are sceptical about the efficacy of this kind of approach (Smith and Waddington, 2004).

The similar scepticism was observed by Hartmann (2001) in relation to the midnight basketball schemes, diversionary programmes popular in the US in the mid-1990s, that they are part of the 'social problem industry'. However, more recently he has found that:

cities that were early adopters of officially sanctioned midnight basketball leagues experienced sharper decreases in property crime rates than other American cities during a period in which there was broad support for midnight basketball programs (Hartmann and Depro, 2006, p. 180),

although it is 'likely associated with a variety of confounding factors' (p. 180). It seems useful, then, to tease out what the 'confounding factors' are, rather than seeking simple statistical association between sport-related projects and crime reduction.

Indeed, many have already noted that it should take more than simply playing sports for a person to enjoy the ‘therapeutic’ effects. For example, Utting (1996), in reporting on eleven youth crime reduction projects using sport and leisure throughout the UK, concludes that:

it is difficult to argue that such activities have in themselves a generalisable influence on criminality (p. 84).

Subsequently, he urges the need for empirical research as to what type of interventions with ‘what mix of ingredients’ would work most effectively in working with different types of young people, or a mix of them, in terms of age and the level of involvement in criminality.

It has been hypothesised in various ways by many commentators as to ‘what mix of ingredients’ might work in relation to the possible causes of criminality, all indicating that the way activities are provided matters, as well as types of activity. They largely fit in the five sets of hypothetical links between sport participation and crime reduction provided by Schafer (1969, cited Coalter, 2001; Coalter *et al.*, 2000), which are described under slightly revised headings below, supported by findings from more recent literature. They are: antidote to boredom; meeting the needs for excitement; positive personal development; alternative to blocked aspiration; and differential association.

#### 3.3.2.1.1 Antidote to boredom

Firstly, sport is considered as an antidote to boredom, which is often the rationale of diversionary projects, most typically holiday sports programmes, based on the old folk wisdom, ‘the devil makes work for idle hands’ (Coalter, 2001; Coalter *et al.*, 2000; Robins, 1990). Thus, by providing alternative activities it is aimed to prevent opportunity-led youth crimes. It is true that ‘while the participant is doing the programme they cannot at the same time be offending’ (Nichols, 2004, p. 178), but it may not be so ‘therapeutic’ if it does not affect the participant’s behaviour beyond the time of the programme. Nichols continues, however, that the idea of diversion:

can be extended to a diversion from boredom, a regular activity to look forward to, providing a structure to the week or day, and a longer term sporting interest in which the participants can participate independently (Nichols, 2004, p. 178).

To make the effect of diversion long-term, many commentators have pointed out the importance of providing 'exit routes' after the completion of a programme, so that participants can continue by themselves (Nichols, 2004; Taylor *et al.*, 1999; Utting, 1996). In this respect, it is considered as important to provide a type of activity that is locally available (Taylor *et al.*, 1999). To this end, however, activities do not have to be sport or physical activity, as long as target groups are interested in them.

#### 3.3.2.1.2 Meeting the needs for excitement

Secondly, sport is thought to meet the needs for excitement, which is integral to adolescent development, especially for male (Coalter, 2001; Coalter *et al.*, 2000; Nichols, 2004). In contrast to simple diversion from boredom, here sport may have a relative advantage against other types of leisure, such as arts and crafts. As Coalter (2001) contends:

sport has a cathartic role in providing an opportunity for an institutionalised display of force, strength and competitiveness and the opportunity for the display of adolescent masculinity (p. 24).

Presumably, more energetic, 'physically demanding' types of sport are more useful for this purpose (Taylor *et al.*, 1999). This can be of relevance to crime reduction, since 'a high degree of impulsiveness and hyperactivity' is considered as one of the risk factors linked to youth crime (Farrington, 1996). It is considered that activities such as abseiling, tall ship racing and go-karting may provide the same 'buzz' of offending (Collins with Kay, 2003). Similarly, Taylor *et al.* (1999) found that one-off, life changing experiences are useful in that they would give young offenders isolated environment suitable for reflection. However, the use of one-off, more exciting activities can contradict with the need of activities locally available for the purpose of prolonged diversion.

### 3.3.2.1.3 Positive personal development

Thirdly, while the last two mechanisms may be construed as a ‘deficit reduction approach’, sport participation might help ‘positive youth development’ as well (Nichols, 2004, p. 178). That is, an individual may acquire improved self-esteem and cognitive skills through sport participation, both considered to reduce the propensity for criminal behaviour (Bovaird *et al.*, 1997). This can not only be achieved directly from improved fitness attributed to physical activity as has been discussed in relation to mental health, but also because of the pro-social values attached to sport. For example, Coalter *et al.* (2000) point out that:

The sports environment emphasises traits such as deferred gratification and hard work, which lead to increased self-discipline and self-control (p. 34).

For Coalter, this is most likely achieved through performance-oriented, rather than recreational, sport (Coalter, 2001; Coalter *et al.*, 2000). However, many commentators, including Coalter, are sceptical about the use of performance-oriented sport in crime reduction programmes, because the emphasis on performance and competition is a likely factor to put off the most marginalised groups of people, ‘who already know that by society’s standards they are “losers”’ (Andrews and Andrews, 2003, p. 547), and so lack self-confidence. Instead, individual, less conventional activities are preferred. This is thought to be one of the advantages of using outdoor adventure to engage with disaffected youth (for example, Hardy and Martin, 2005). It is also thought that many young offenders prefer activities to be provided in informal, unstructured settings (Taylor *et al.*, 1999).

In this respect, self-esteem and self-confidence are considered as the core of positive personal development for other higher levels of personal development to be built around (Hardy and Martin, 2005; Long *et al.*, 2002). Participation in sport may enhance self-esteem either by external influence (i.e. recognition by others on one’s competence and success) or by internal reflection (i.e. improved perception towards one’s own physical shape and ability), but the internal function is preferred because perception by others can undermine self-esteem if it is negative (Long *et al.*, 2002). This is another reason why individual sport is often preferred.

It may be too simplistic, however, to think that improved self-esteem automatically reduces criminality. There has been an indication that the level of self-esteem might not affect criminal or anti-social behaviour, and even that those with higher self-esteem may be more likely to be racist and to reject social influences (Emler, 2001, cited Long and Welch, 2003; and Long *et al.*, 2002). Although Emler has been criticised for his narrow, simplistic understanding of self-esteem, Hardy and Martin (2005) consider his work as a useful reminder that 'self-esteem is not the only contributory factor to delinquency' (p. 111). Interestingly, participation in sport-related projects seems to have an answer to these possible problems associated with higher self-esteem. In response to Emler's challenge, Long and Welch (2003) point out that 'there is an alternative proposition that through cultural projects individuals are better able to appreciate the worth of others' (p. 63).

Of course, this should not be mistakenly understood that sport always meets the development needs of anybody. On the contrary, it is the case that sport provision should be tailored to suit the particular needs of each person, if it were to contribute to her or his positive personal development. For instance, it has been argued that participants may be able to achieve higher levels of personal development by making the programme *progressively* challenging. Nichols (2004) explains what he terms 'value directed personal development' as:

a parallel increase in self-esteem, locus of control and social skills, directed by pro-social values, facilitated by the progressive juxtaposition of challenging experiences and the participants' needs and capabilities (p. 178).

It is important to note that it is not sport activity *per se*, but the *juxtaposition* that makes this progressive approach possible. Hardy and Martin (2005) also found that their case study project had given higher levels of autonomy as the programme progressed, which in their view led to the empowerment of the participants.

#### 3.3.2.1.4 Alternative to blocked aspiration and opportunity

Fourthly, sport might provide an alternative opportunity for those who have failed in education and employment to achieve something. This is understood to contribute to the reduced propensity for crime because:

delinquent behaviour is a form of adaptation, adjustment to and compensation for blocked identity formation and status achievement, usually resulting from educational failure and unemployment (Coalter *et al.*, 2000, p. 34).

Thus, the sense of achievement in sport can prevent them from choosing a delinquent form of adaptation. Nonetheless, in a similar vein to the discussion in terms of self-esteem, Coalter doubts the efficacy of using competitive sport to engage with vulnerable young people (Coalter *et al.*, 2000). Taylor *et al.* (1999) found that the sense of achievement could be facilitated by award presentation at completion of a programme, especially for ex-offenders who are unlikely to have been awarded in other occasions. The extent to which this kind of approach is effective may be dependent on the level of self-esteem or self-confidence and/or the extent of delinquency. Nichols (2004) speculates that a greater sense of achievement might be likely to be experienced by more delinquent ones, because the completion of programme would represent 'a more significant contrast with their greater experience of failure' (p. 191).

More important in this context, however, than the psychological benefit of the sense of achievement, is that, if sport participation can provide an alternative route to becoming one's living, it may well contribute to crime reduction, since financial deprivation is a cause of acquisitive crime (Bovaird *et al.*, 1997). Nichols (2004) includes enhanced chances of employment as one of the possible links between sport participation and reduced criminal behaviour. However, it remains controversial that employment prospects improve as a result of sport participation, as discussed later in this chapter.

#### 3.3.2.1.5 Differential association

Finally, sport participation may take a person who has offended or is at risk of offending away from delinquent peers: the key to the process of learning to become delinquent, as the differential association theory holds (Sutherland, 1947). Instead, it provides an opportunity

to interact with those with more conventional norms and social conformity. Also sport leaders may be seen as 'role models' to espouse conventional values (Bovaird *et al.*, 1997; Coalter *et al.*, 2000; Nichols, 2004; Taylor *et al.*, 1999).

Indeed, it is not hard to imagine a sports team consisting of peers with conventional norms and social conformity; however, it does not simply mean that an offender will stop offending by joining such a team. Simply, a person who is likely to offend might be unlikely to join a sports team. Landers and Landers (1978), who found a positive statistical association between high levels of involvement in interscholastic athletics and low levels of delinquency, suspected that 'those less prone to delinquency to begin with may be attracted to these activities' (p. 302).

Notwithstanding the plausibility of this interpretation, it is important to note that the differential association theory is not concerned with personality of individuals but social interaction between them. Thus, it does not question whether or not a person is 'prone to delinquency to begin with'. That said, the theory only explains how an individual becomes delinquent, but not in the opposite direction: how a delinquent stops offending. Therefore, it may rather hold that 'those less prone to delinquency to begin with' may well become delinquent if they have no alternative to delinquent peer groups. That is, if sport were to provide peer groups with conventional social norms, it could prevent those who are not delinquent from becoming so. But as for those who are already delinquent, challenges lie in how they can be taken from the delinquent peer groups into those with conventional norms. Obviously, it is also easy to imagine a sport team dominated by a delinquent peer group, in which case it would function as a reproduction mechanism of offenders.

Supposing that a sport-related project provides appropriate peers and role models and that an offender or an individual at risk of offending has join the project, Coalter contends that questions have to be answered as to how long, how intensely, and for what age group it should be provided in order for the individual to obtain conformist behaviour (Coalter *et al.*, 2000). He also argues that sport is only one of many factors that influence a person's attitudes and behaviour, and to be effective, 'sports participation must be voluntary, committed and salient' (p. 33). Again, whether an offender would voluntarily commit themselves to a new peer group with conventional values is an important question.

### 3.3.2.2 *Measuring the effect on personal development*

Despite the difference in the processes involved, all these hypothetical links between sport participation and crime reduction are common in that it assumes that positive changes first occur to the individual. Coalter *et al.* (2000) point out that ‘the effects of sport on crime will be indirect, working through intermediate outcomes’ (p. 44). Presumably, the various kinds of personal development are among the ‘intermediate outcomes’ in Coalter’s sense.

As Long *et al.* (2002) point out, however, personal development can hardly be measured except subjectively, and when it is, it is often by the perception of project workers on their own project, which always is likely to be positive. Participants’ self-reporting questionnaires are a possible option, which Long *et al.* (2002) employed for one of their case study projects and found 84 per cent of participants reported feeling more confident. A more systematic approach was taken by Hardy and Martin (2005) in their study of outdoor adventure programmes aimed to reduce drug use and antisocial behaviour in Birmingham, which indicated positive changes in the scores of the Life Effectiveness Questionnaires – developed by Neil (2004, cited in Hardy and Martin, 2005) – with both participants and their parents.

However, implementing questionnaires could be very difficult, especially when they are conducted in a larger scale. Taylor *et al.* (1999) attempted to carry out self-completion questionnaires with the young offenders who attended ten different programmes, as well as the probation officers, before and after their participation. They ‘yielded few responses’ (p. 2) despite having been piloted successfully and the intensive follow-ups to prompt responses, mainly due to the fact that practitioners either were too busy, or found it inappropriate as formal questionnaires were intimidating for participants.

Alternatively, researchers can give their own assessment. Nichols (2004) makes comments on the confidence level of each participant of a sport-related rehabilitation programme, based on interviews with the participant, the sport leader who had worked with him, and his parents. Long and Welch (2003) give their ‘overall assessment’ of the impact on personal

development by 'cultural projects', after reviewing the feedbacks from project workers and participants that:

The acquisition of new skills and the associated boost to confidence through participation in these projects helped to reduce the poverty of expectation (p. 64).

Hence, attempts of empirical research have rarely been beyond assessing the effect on personal development, but a rare exception is the study on the *West Yorkshire Sport Counselling Programme* by Nichols and Taylor (1996), which arguably is the most systematic, empirical evaluative study ever done to date. In assessing the effectiveness of the 12-week programme of sports activities for probationers, they employed a quasi-experimental approach complemented by quantitative and qualitative data obtained through clients' questionnaires, interviews with a range of interest parties, and analysis of written record. The study found that the 23 participants who had completed eight weeks or more of the 12-week sports counselling programme showed significantly low reconviction rates, over a two-year period, in comparisons with not only those of a control group of non-participants, but also the predicted reconviction rates of their own. The questionnaires and qualitative evidence indicated changes in self-identity and improvement in self-esteem. The success of the programme was attributed to voluntary involvement, one-to-one counselling and the length of the programme, while the sport leaders showed the dedication and skills so as to become significant role models, and also acted as a broker to encourage continuous participation in activities after the programme.

### 3.3.2.3 *The salience of sport*

The above theories alongside some empirical evidence have indicated that it is not sport participation *per se*, but the combination of many factors that determine the efficacy of a sport-related crime reduction programme. Taylor *et al.* (1999) illustrate that sporting activity is not only a learning medium, but also its intrinsic value of enjoyment can be the 'hooks' to attract participants into a personal and social development programme so that they become and keep participating voluntarily. Taking this point farther, Coalter contends that sport even need not be a learning medium. He believes that sport works most

effectively when combined with support programmes which seek to address personal and social development (Coalter, 2001; Coalter *et al.*, 2000). He argues that:

Rather than hope that these [benefits of personal and social development] develop as a by-product of participation in sport, sports' salience can be used to attract young people to integrated programmes which offer formal programmes in personal development, health awareness and employment training (p. 45).

The similar argument was made by Robins (1990). In his exploratory study of a sample of sixteen projects in the UK, he concluded that there is a need for an overarching youth policy 'integrating sports and recreational elements into a broad programme directed at combating issues of pressing concern to lower class youth as a whole' (p. 95), and therefore recommends approaches linking sports provision with additional opportunities in education, employment and community work. Furthermore, Utting (1996) has also observed that those initiatives 'concerned with other aspects of young people's everyday lives, including school attendance, training opportunities and job-search' (p. 85) are among the relatively promising approaches.

#### *3.3.2.4 Effect on fear of crime*

Finally, sport-based projects may have a positive impact on community safety in a different way. The above discussion focused on the 'therapeutic' potential of sport participation was concerned with the actual reduction of incidents of crime via positive personal development; however, the presence of sport-based projects, in particular large-scale diversionary ones, may ease the fear of crime felt by the local residents since often among the sources of the perceived insecurity are the young people 'hanging about the streets', as discussed in the next chapter in relation to young people and neighbourhood deprivation. Considering the attention given to the fear of crime within the literature of community safety (For example, Jackson, 2004; Pain, 2000; Walklate, 1998), it is surprising that the research looking into the relationship between sport-related projects and the fear of crime seems missing. As a rare example, Long and Sanderson (2002) point out that the positive use of a sport centre formally labelled as a place where youngsters had been causing troubles changed the negative perception and encouraged local people to use the centre.

### 3.3.2.5 Summary

First, despite the strong belief in the ‘therapeutic’ potential of sport, and the relative abundance of literature in this area, little has been done in terms of outcome measurement. Second, theoretically, it is via the positive personal development as intermediate outcomes that the final outcome of crime reduction can be achieved, except for the reduced fear of crime associated with young people ‘hanging about’ being removed from the streets. Third, however, it has been largely agreed that the simple sport development approach does not work. While a range of possible mechanisms have been discussed above, they can largely be summarised to three factors. Firstly, for participation in sport to have a lasting positive effect on the behaviour of participants, the participation has to be sustained for a long period of time. Secondly, the benefits that one can gain from participation depend considerably on the nature of social interaction one experiences. Most typically the positive attitudes and commitment by sport leaders are deemed important. Finally, many commentators endorse approaches coupling supportive programmes with the salience of sport to holistically address the problems associated with criminality. Thus, the keywords are: *lack of evidence, personal development as intermediate outcomes, ineffectiveness of the ‘sport development’ approach, continuity, social interaction/social networks, and the salience of sport.*

### 3.3.3 Education

The evidence as to how sport might have positive effects on education is obscure. As Coalter *et al.* (2000, p. 46) have found through literature review:

There is little research which explores the precise relationship between sport and educational performance and the evidence about the relationship between physical activity and academic performance is inconclusive.

In terms of theories as to how sport might improve educational performance, Bailey (2005, p. 81) summarises:

It has been hypothesised, for example, that physical activity at school could enhance academic performance by increasing the flow of blood to the brain, enhancing arousal levels, changing hormonal secretion, mental alertness and improving self-esteem, but the empirical basis of such claims is varied and more systematic research is still required to adequately assess the validity of the assertions.

A limited number of existing studies in this area seem to vary in terms of sample (e.g. primary pupils, college students, adults), dependent variables (e.g. examination results, cognitive function), independent variables (physical activity, sport, or physical education), and geographically, while mostly finding either limited or no effect of physical activity on educational improvement (Bailey, 2005; Coalter, 2001; Coalter *et al.*, 2000; Long *et al.*, 2002). Of particular relevance to this thesis is the fact that none of these has been done in the context of deprived urban neighbourhoods in the UK. It is worth noting at least, however, positive cognitive effects, if any, would be likely to result from *long-term* involvement in exercise (Long *et al.*, 2002, p. 34).

Exceptionally, the study by Long *et al.* (2002) assesses the impact of ‘cultural projects’ on educational performance, and make comments, though briefly, on two sport-related projects. One of the projects was the *Aiming Higher* scheme in Birmingham, using structured programme of activities leading to a residential outdoor adventure to improve educational attainment. Long *et al.* found that reports by the project staff largely supported this claim, but raise an issue in terms of systematic measurement of data. In particular, they point out that the data was mainly on the impact on pupils soon after completion of a residential course, but ‘it has not been established how long the impact of the course is felt by the pupils’ (p. 37).

The second project was the *Leeds Football Community Link*, which is essentially a crime reduction project. Nevertheless, interestingly they found that over 60 per cent of the participants reported it had a positive effect on their educational performance (Long *et al.*, 2002, p. 35). The relationship between sport participation and self-perceived academic performance was also the subject of a study by Lindner (1999, cited Coalter, 2001, p. 32), who found that ‘students with more confidence in their academic ability had the stronger motives for involvement in sports and physical activities,’ although the causality between

them could not be deduced ‘with no evidence that regular exercise *causes* good academic performance’ (Coalter, 2001, p. 32, emphasis original). Although no detailed further account was given by either Coalter *et al.* or Long *et al.*, one might be tempted to suspect that the overall positive psychological effect of physical activity might have also meant a positive attitude towards their own educational performance, among other things.

Another way in which sport might contribute to an educational cause is by reducing truancy and disaffection (Bailey, 2005). Bailey observes that some studies have indicated positive effect of increase in physical activity on pupils’ school attendance as well as attitudes towards schools (Kinder *et al.*, 1999, Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 2001, cited Bailey, 2005, p. 84), although, in his mind, the evidence remains at an anecdotal level and far from ‘objective’. Indeed, from the studies referred to by Bailey, it is unclear whether it is, on the one hand, an increased level of participation in sport and physical activity in general (and thereby, improved behaviour, self-esteem, social skills etc.), or on the other, increased availability of sporting activities in schools (which makes schools more attractive for those who like sports), that makes pupils more likely to attend. Despite this supposed benefit on school attendance and attitude, Bailey speculates that too much emphasis on sporting activities in schools may well put off those who do not like sport, most likely female pupils.

In close relation to the use of sport for the latter purpose, Coalter believes that it is the *saliency* of sport that gives the best promise for sport to help improve educational performance, though rather indirectly (Coalter, 2001; Coalter *et al.*, 2000). In his account, sports is often something valued by children, so that being good at it, or even just being interested in it, can facilitate social acceptance by peer groups, which is suggested to be central to development of children, and therefore might have positive influence on educational performance. Furthermore, because of its saliency, when combined with an educational course, sports can draw more commitment from pupils to the course.

Two of the case-study projects in Coalter *et al.* (2000, p. 49) provide such examples. In one case, the popularity of the sports component of specially designed classes for pupils with special educational needs appeared to help significantly improve school attendance of children ‘who are most at risk of truancy.’ In the other case, a coaching qualification

training programme, which were designed for ‘young people who were not expected to get standard grades and were likely to leave school at the minimum age,’ ended up with its all 12 participants either securing apprenticeships or permanent employment, or progressing to further education.

An extreme case of exploiting the salience of sports (in this case, football) for an educational cause can be found in *Playing for Success*, where *playing* sports is even irrelevant (Coalter, 2001; Coalter *et al.*, 2000; also Long *et al.*, 2002, p. 35). This scheme, in which under-achieving pupils recruited from deprived neighbourhoods attend a range of educational activities in study support centres situated in the premises of professional football clubs, has been deemed to be highly successful in improving the educational performance of the participants as well as their motivation, self-esteem and confidence (Sharp *et al.*, 2003; Sharp *et al.*, 2002; Sharp *et al.*, 2001; Sharp *et al.*, 1999). The uniqueness of the scheme is that it involves no sporting activity *per se*; activities are purely academic, to which the improved educational performance should be largely attributed. Nevertheless, all the factors associated with the professional football clubs (e.g. the premises, the ‘brand’, opportunities to see players, invitation to Premier League games as reward) are understood to contribute to the attractiveness of the programme. Thus, ‘the football components of this scheme appear to be more promotional than educational’ (Coalter, 2001, p. 33).

In summary, three key themes have emerged in terms of the role of sport in improving educational performance. Firstly, the evidence of positive effects of sport and physical activity onto educational performance is very thin, while empirical research in this area is scarce. Second, it is supposedly from improved cognitive and social skills accrued by sports participation that educational performance may benefit. Third, it is the salience of sport that may be of better use, as it makes educational courses more effective. Hence the key themes found in relation to education are: *lack of systematic evidence*, *personal development* as intermediate outcome, and *the salience of sport*.

### 3.3.4 Employment

The fourth and final of the PAT10 indicators is employment. The rationale is that sport, as well as the arts, is ‘closely connected to’ the supposedly ‘rapidly growing creative, leisure and tourism industries,’ which thereby provide communities with increased employment opportunities, and that through participating in sport (and the arts) individuals are equipped with ‘transferable skills’ such as ‘personal confidence, flexibility and self-reliance on which success in the changing employment market increasingly depends’ (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 1999, p. 29). However, in terms of the evidence of these claims, little research seems to have been done.

In the policy and academic discourse of sport and urban regeneration, traditionally the impact of sport on job creation has been associated with either sports events or sports facility development, by boosting related industries or more indirectly by promoting the ‘city image’ to attract businesses. But it has been known through the existing research that most jobs created by sports events or construction of facilities are temporary unless a *series* of events are held continuously, and that the effect of image promotion can hardly be measured and so never has been proven (see Chapter 2 and Appendix A).

However, the recent shift of regeneration onto ‘community’ or ‘social’ focus has meant that sport is expected to play a role at a more micro level, for example, in the form of ‘community/social enterprises’ (McIntyre and Giddins, 2004; sportdevelopment.org.uk, 2006), on which efforts have only started to be made so that it is too early to comment on the effectiveness of such an approach. Nevertheless, there has been an indication to some degree that sport might help improve the ‘employability’ of individuals who are under-achieving in education and employment.

Coalter (2001) explains that ‘employability’ may be increased either ‘indirectly via encouraging increased self-esteem and self-confidence;’ or ‘directly via the provision of training opportunities such as the Community Sports Leader Award and basic coaching certificates’ (p. 38). He found that a project designed for this purpose ‘provided the opportunity for personal achievement and formal certification for a range of people without formal academic achievements’ and that ‘the opportunity for *certificated progress* [...]

helped to re-inforce the sense of achievement' (Coalter *et al.*, 2000, p. 54, emphasis original).

Importantly, however, it is suggested that for such programmes to be effective, simply providing training opportunity in sports qualifications is not enough. By examining a project deemed to be one of the most systematically designed to provide sport-related employment opportunities for the long-term unemployed, Coalter *et al.* (2000) point out that, additional to the sports coaching training courses, it is important to have two elements. First, parallel support programmes are needed to help address issues associated with long-term unemployment, such as the 'benefits trap', personal problems, low level of self-esteem and confidence, and lack of requisite personal skills to be able to benefit from training. Second, work placement is essential for two reasons: one is to provide practical, applied training, via shadowing and mentoring with experienced coaches/instructors, in addition to formal coaching awards and qualifications; and the other is to acquire personal contacts, which would enhance employment prospects for those disconnected from employment network. In other words, it is an opportunity to acquire 'weak ties', which help one to find job vacancies (Granovetter, 1973).

Even with these support mechanisms in place, Coalter is rather sceptical of the potential of this type of project aimed to pursue employment in sport-related jobs. He argues that on top of the fact that full-time employment is unlikely for sports workers, there is severe competition, often against graduates from sports-orientated degrees and top-class performers. Furthermore, the growing importance placed on formal certificates (requiring sitting for examinations), as well as required competences on the ground (e.g. confidence, personality, communication skills), means the competition is not in favour of the long-term unemployed. Also, the sustainability of this kind of project is dependent on the size of sports provision in the locality (Coalter *et al.*, 2000).

Thus, rather than directly aiming for employment as sports workers, Coalter sees higher potential in the salience of sport, which can attract:

otherwise disaffected long-term unemployed or secondary-school pupils, encourage and (with support) enable them to develop self-esteem, self-confidence and obtain

work experience – skills and experiences which are transferable to other occupational sectors (Coalter, 2001, p. 40).

Long *et al.* (2002), while finding similarly positive effects on ‘employability’ observed through two of the sport-related projects they studied, point at the role of those who are involved to provide services as opposed to enjoy it. As for the positive outcomes of sport-related projects, they report that one of the projects, designed for minority ethnic groups – the unemployed and refugees in particular – to be trained for sporting qualifications, resulted in three quarters of 400 participants leaving with at least one qualification, and the participants overwhelmingly self-reported the effect of ‘personal development leading to raised aspirations and improved confidence in their ability to work in sport, or any other area for that matter’ (p. 42). An important suggestion is made on the role of the project staff. It is suggested that the sports co-ordinator who ran the courses ‘acted as a motivator towards developing the skills needed for employment or further education,’ although insufficient resources meant no formal record of successful employment outcomes (p. 42).

The other project provides a further insight on the role of the adult staff involved: they are not only to help the development of participants, but also to develop themselves. Primarily designed for diverting youth at risk through a football competition, the project provided the opportunity for the adults who were involved to run teams to gain qualification as well as self-confidence, so as to advance their careers. For example, the current project co-ordinator started to be involved as a team manager but progress to the current position, which ‘she did not imagine that she had the skills necessary to do her current job’ (p. 42).

To conclude this subsection, five points should be restated. First, despite the indication that sport might help improve one’s ‘employability’ via acquired formal sports qualifications, as well as improved self-esteem and self-confidence, tracking of actual employment outcomes is rarely practiced. Second, positive personal development has once again been highlighted as intermediate outcomes indirectly leading to employment. Third, for the marginalised such as the long-term unemployed, it takes more than just running training courses to help them acquire sport qualifications, due to the low level of self-esteem and self-confidence. Thus, it may be more effective to use sport to ‘hook’ them into basic personal development programmes to develop transferable skills. Fourth, sport-related projects might provide an

opportunity to widen one's social network, so as to have more 'weak ties'. Fifth, also highlighted are the multi-dimensional roles of those who are involved as service providers: on the one hand, they have influence on what participants gain from the service; on the other, they themselves may well gain benefits from the involvement. This leads to one of the arguments inferred from this whole literature review: the need for understanding a sport-related regeneration project as a process of social interaction between different actors, including both participants and staff of the project. Thus the keywords emerged are: *lack of outcome monitoring, personal development, the salience of sport, and social networks/social interaction.*

### **3.3.5 Community/citizenship**

The final category of this literature review is in regard to community/citizenship. As has been discussed earlier in this chapter, this embraces concepts such as community development, community/social cohesion, active citizenship, social capital, community involvement, empowerment, capacity building, community identity, civic pride and so on. These are all contested terms and difficult to define, but popular in the language of neighbourhood regeneration policy and practice, often used inter-connectedly and/or interchangeably (for example, Community Development Exchange, 2006).

Although it is not included as a key indicator, PAT10 acknowledges the role of sport in 'engaging and strengthening local communities' (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 1999). Allegedly, the arts and sport:

- lend themselves naturally to voluntary collaborative arrangements which help to develop a sense of community;
- help communities to express their identity and develop their own, self-reliant organisations; and
- relate directly to individual and community identity: the very things which need to be restored if neighbourhoods are to be renewed. Recognising and developing the culture of marginalised people and groups directly tackles their sense of being written out of the script (p. 30).

It is contentious whether to see these benefits in relation to ‘community/citizenship’ as one of the goals of neighbourhood regeneration, or as processes to help achieve them effectively. For example, involving local people in decision-making may not only make local services reflective of local needs, and therefore more effective, but some may also say that to simply ‘empower’ those who would have been otherwise powerless is in itself of particular value and so an important achievement. The rhetoric of PAT10 seems to imply both: while such a thing as ‘community identity’ is inherently valuable, it also helps develop ‘self-reliant organisations’ which in turn make sustainable the effort for neighbourhood regeneration. However, there is a danger in regarding these as a goal, especially when it comes to the use of sport and the arts for this purpose. The second half of the third bullet embraces such a danger, as it seems to imply the promoting the culture of the marginalised people is automatically a good thing as it is a form of ‘social inclusion’, no matter what the socio-economic status of them will be as a result. This will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

In terms of the research into the role of sport in this regard, it largely remains theoretical, if not dogmatic, as seen in Lawson (2005) who makes case for sport-based programmes as a vehicle of empowerment and community development in the context of international development, while admitting that his argument is based on ‘high-risk inferences’, ‘value-committed, utopian theories’, and ‘personal observations and experiences’ (p. 138). Nonetheless, there have been several empirical and theoretical studies recently both within and outside the UK. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully discuss the definitions of all the relevant terms listed above, the arguments found in these studies can be structured around three groups of concepts: social cohesion; community capacity building, active citizenship and empowerment; and social capital and social networks. They are far from mutually exclusive, but closely interconnected.

#### *3.3.5.1 Social cohesion*

Social cohesion is a broad concept which embraces a number of components. Kearns and Forrest (2000) break it down into five constituent dimensions:

- common values and a civic culture

- social order and social control
- social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities
- social networks and social capital
- place attachment and identity

Long *et al.* (2002), in their evaluation of contribution of ‘cultural project’ to social inclusion, attempted to measure their impact on ‘social cohesion’ with three dimensions of ‘social networks’, ‘civic pride’ and ‘common values and shared respect’, largely identical to Kearns and Forrest’s, except for the exclusion of the two concerning social order and economic equality. Although the level of evidence remains superficial, three sport-related projects were mentioned by them: one for ‘social networks’, and two for ‘common values and shared respect’.

‘Social networks’ is a subject discussed separately below, and so only briefly mentioned here. Most of the participants of the *Leeds Football Community Link*, a diversionary, crime reduction project, reported that as a result of their involvement, they ‘had met more people’, made ‘new friends’, and become ‘able to get on better with other people’ (p. 63), indicating some widening of social networks. Nevertheless, these seemingly expanded personal social networks seem insufficient as the evidence of improved social cohesion. The value of an expanded personal social network depends on what one can gain from it. This is discussed later in relation to social capital.

In terms of ‘common values and shared respect’, among the ‘cultural projects’ assessed by Long *et al.*, the *Charlton Athletics Race Equality Sport Initiative* was specifically aimed for this purpose, as it was to tackle racial inequality. The project was to train the ‘socially excluded’ with black and minority ethnic backgrounds to be qualified sports coaches, of whom the successful ones in turn were expected to act ‘as a role model and conscious citizen able to tackle racial issues through sport’ (p. 65). However, they were unable to assess whether this had happened due to the lack of resource for systematic tracking of successful leaders. The second sport-related project regarded as contributing to this purpose was the *Youth Charter for Sport, Culture & the Arts*, trying to develop the *Social Centres of Excellence*, which were to use sport and the arts to engage disadvantaged young people and

encourage them to recognise mutual benefits of them staying out of trouble for both the community and themselves. But no account is given as to how successful the project was in delivering this outcome.

Notably, it is more fitting to understand that the effect for sport to enhance civic pride is more associated with major sport events and professional sport clubs (see Chapter 2). Nevertheless, it could be relevant to neighbourhood regeneration when a professional sport club tries to contribute to regeneration at a community level (Metcalf, 1998). In assessing the impact of an educational programme provided by a rugby club, Metcalfe finds that the majority of participants identify themselves with the club, which contributed the positive experiences they encountered in the project. Hence, when a sport club is a source of community identity, it can add to the effectiveness of the educational projects. This is another example of the use of the salience of sport.

#### *3.3.5.2 Community capacity building/empowerment/active citizenship*

The second group of concepts consists of community capacity building, empowerment and active citizenship. In short, these are all concerned with the active participation of local residents in the process of regeneration, making the community more self-reliant and self-sustainable. Coalter *et al.* (2000) and Long *et al.* (2002) consider these under the headings of ‘community development and volunteering’ and ‘making structures more open’, respectively.

The effects of sport on these have hardly been measured empirically, except at the perception level of those involved in sport-related projects. Long and Sanderson’s (2001) small-scale survey on the perceptions of sport and leisure officials showed that while they are convinced of benefits at the individual level (i.e. self-esteem and self-confidence), they are less persuaded of the benefits at the community level. Especially, people who work ‘closer to the “front-line” showed a greater degree of scepticism about purported benefits which are difficult to identify and measure’ (p. 192), such as ‘empowerment’ and ‘building community capacity’.

For Long and his colleagues, ‘involvement in decision-making’ (i.e. empowerment) and ‘active citizenship’ is the two constituents of ‘making structures more open’, another relevant dimension of social inclusion along with ‘social cohesion’ (Long and Welch, 2003; Long *et al.*, 2002). Three projects based on either sport or outdoor adventure were thought to have contributed to this purpose. One of the projects is again the *Leeds Football Community Link*, which was considered as a successful example of empowerment, on the ground that it led to some of the teams set up through the initiative securing funding outside the initiative. It was credited for promoting ‘active citizenship’ because of this self-reliance shown by the teams. The other two, the *Charlton Athletic Racial Equality Sports Initiative* and the *Police & Youth Encouragement Scheme*, were also considered to have succeeded in promoting ‘active citizenship’, because some of the graduates had returned to assist in the operation of the projects or related events, and thus ‘putting something back’ (Long and Welch, 2003, p. 66).

In relation to ‘active citizenship’, however, it is worth noting that it is a highly controversial term particularly with regard to young people. For some commentators the conventional notion of citizenship is not suitable in understanding the social exclusion of young people for mainly two reasons. First, the idea of ‘citizenship’ is developed in relation to that of adulthood, and thus inevitably construes ‘youth’ as ‘deficient citizens’. Second, the current discourse of ‘active citizenship’ places a stronger emphasis on responsibilities than rights, where it should be opposite (France, 1998). For this reason, this thesis avoids emphasising ‘active citizenship’ as one of the benefits derived from sport-based projects. This is discussed in more details in Chapter 4.

Coalter *et al.* (2000) examine the claim that sports volunteers can make contribution to ‘community development’ in the sense of making communities self-reliant, that is, community capacity building. They contend that this perspective is worthy of attention, because of the scale of volunteering in sport. The number of sports volunteers is estimated to be some 1.5 million people in the UK. This not only means that sports provision is heavily dependent on unpaid volunteers, three times more than that of paid workers, but also accounts for a quarter of all volunteering in the UK. Although volunteering can easily fit in with the normative model of an ‘active citizen’, their argument focuses on its more pragmatic aspects.

Their argument can be summarised into five points. First, volunteering is another way of being involved in sport, from which an individual can gain the similar kinds of benefits of personal development. In particular, self-esteem can improve because volunteers are highly regarded in society. Second, in many cases, the development of volunteers is a strategic aim of sport-related regeneration projects, which is crucial to the project sustainability given the short-term nature of funding. Third, volunteers are not simply unpaid workforce; when recruited locally, they add the elements of 'empowerment' and 'ownership' to the project, which are also keys to the project sustainability. Fourth, however, in reality, volunteers are difficult to recruit if a 'top-down' approach is taken, as residents of deprived areas are sceptical of council-led initiatives. Even if recruited successfully, they may not have required skills, for example, to run sports coaching sessions while at the same time dealing with poorly behaving participants. Fifth, a 'bottom-up' approach is preferable in recruiting local people so as to achieve the sense of ownership; however, the sense of ownership may result in 'narrow localism', which is a sign of a community that is internally cohesive, but disconnected from a wider society.

Despite all this, however, Coalter's discussion never reaches beyond volunteering within sport-related projects, nor explores whether the development of volunteering for sport-related project can be transferable to community capacity in a generic sense. Nonetheless, it highlights the local dynamics involved in the operation of a sport-related regeneration project. This is of particular importance for two reasons. The first reason has been already noted towards the end of the subsection of employment: not only those playing sport but anyone who is involved in a project could potentially be a beneficiary. Secondly, the sustainability of a project is very much dependent on the dynamics of social interaction revolving around it. The latter point is rarely paid central attention in the literature.

In relation to the sustainability of a sport-related regeneration project, it is also important to note the leadership and commitment shown by exceptional individuals. As Robins (1990) observes, successful delivery of sports programmes is often down to exceptionally committed individuals:

the majority of programmes [...] owe their distinguishing characteristics, if not their very existence, to the enthusiasm, dedication and commitment of a single individual (p. 91).

### *3.3.5.3 Social capital and social network*

Social capital and social networks are closely related to the above two categories. They are listed as one of the five constituents of social cohesion. Also the caution over the 'narrow localism' associated with the exclusive sense of ownership parallels with the appreciation of 'bridging' as opposed to 'bonding' social capital, the latter being dense and strong, but inward-looking social networks, whereas the former signifying those embracing more 'weak ties' connecting to a wider community outside the narrow locality (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001). Sport and leisure are often considered relevant to the formation of social capital, with prominent theorists of social capital having used sport-based social networks to illustrate their arguments (Glover and Hemingway, 2005).

Often neglected though is the difference between the theorists. Two of the most prominent ones are Putnam and Bourdieu, the former more often credited for the recent popularity of the concept both academically and politically (Blackshaw and Long, 2005; Glover and Hemingway, 2005). The difference between the two is neatly summarised by Glover and Hemingway (2005) as 'resources' and 'civic' approaches. In both cases social networks are the key, but they differ in terms of what one would gain from them. The resources approach is evident in Bourdieu, who regards social capital as collectively-owned resources by members of a social network. Once an individual become linked to the network, he or she is allowed to access, and thus to benefit from, these resources. The civic approach is represented by Putnam, who sees social capital as the shared sense of community, facilitated by dense social networks, which thereby makes voluntary civic engagement more probable. Clearly, Putnam's version of social capital conforms to the notion of 'active citizenship'.

Blackshaw and Long (2005) endorse Bourdieu's version while branding Putnam's as rather nostalgic 'civic communitarianism' based on sloppy evidence. Indeed, in his civic approach, there is a danger that an extended or more elaborate social network is seen as inherently

good, without considering the actual consequences. On the other hand, as Blackshaw and Long (2005) point out, for Bourdieu, social capital is the tangible resources available only exclusively to the members of the group, and is often used to maintain and reproduce the privileged status of a social group. In much the same way as economic capital, social capital can be invested to accrue the capital within the group. Therefore, in terms of the contribution of sport-related projects to social capital, simply meeting new people is not enough; what matters is what kind of people one meets via sport-related projects, and thereby what kind of resources he or she becomes able to access. Empirical research in this respect is yet to develop.

#### 3.3.5.4 *Summary*

The above review on the benefits of sport in relation to community/citizenship has made clear that this is an area where little tangible evidence has been accumulated. It can be largely attributed to the ambiguous nature of the concepts. Some have attempted to operationalise them by breaking them down into dimensions, but the evidence collected remain at the perception level and superficial. The most practical contribution in the area is Coalter's discussion on volunteering, which extends to the local dynamics revolving around a sport-based project, a key to the successful operation of the project, in particular, its sustainability. In the main, however, it remains to be researched whether sport-related projects can contribute to such things as community capacity building, social capital and social cohesion in a broader sense. As far as this thesis is concerned, it does not attempt to assess the ability of sport-related projects in this respect for two reasons. First, it is simply because it would involve so much technical complexity that could easily exceed the capacity of this project. More importantly, the second reason is that the concepts dealt with in this subsection are often seen as inherently good under the strong influence of the normative beliefs, which can stop a researcher from considering the actual consequences that matter more. Nonetheless, some of the concepts, such as social networks and social capital, will remain relevant to the thesis in so far as they provide insight in understanding the process of sport-related projects contributing to ameliorating neighbourhood deprivation. Thus, the key themes common with the other subsections are *lack of outcome evidence, social interaction/social networks, and sustainability*.

### 3.4 Conclusion

Throughout the separate subsections above, it has become clear that whatever the expected outcome is, there are the same underlying themes emerged from the ‘sport and regeneration’ literature. There is a general *lack of evidence* of positive outcomes caused by increased level of sport participation. Nevertheless, it is largely agreed that it is via the *personal development* as the intermediate outcomes that sport participation may lead to the final outcomes. However, the traditional ‘*sport development*’ approach is *ineffective* for positive personal development. Among the factors considered to be determining the effectiveness of sport-related projects are: *continuity* of participation (and thus *sustainability* of projects), and the nature of *social interaction* with other people involved in the project (including ‘*social networks*’). Moreover, contrary to the conventional belief regarding sport as a learning medium, many have pointed out that sport is most effective when used as a promotional tool to attract people to programmes designed for broader regeneration objectives (*the salience of sport*).

The rest of this concluding section considers what task this existing knowledge leaves for the current thesis to implement. Owing to a general lack of clear evidence that promotion of sport participation leads to the expected outcomes, many commentators call for the need of systematic, robust monitoring and evaluation of sport-related projects, while at the same time they agree that such practice is extremely hard and requires enormous resources. It would be ideal of course to carry out such evaluation, but it seems unrealistic. At least, it is far too costly for a PhD project. Moreover, there should be a theory to guide such practice, but which of the competing possible explanations reviewed above applies to a specific project is a difficult question to answer beforehand.

It has been agreed, though with a notable exception of simple diversion, that it is via the intermediate outcomes of the positive personal development at the individual levels that sport participation would contribute to producing the expected final outcomes. However, the definition of personal development outcomes to monitor is far from without problems. On top of the technical difficulties in assessing the basic self-esteem and self-confidence, the fact that among the most promising approaches is said to be those tailored for the specific development needs of each individual suggests that the expected personal

development outcomes differ according to the individual participants. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the assumption that positive personal development adds to achieving the expected final outcomes is unproven, so that if the measurement of the 'intermediate outcomes' is to be justified, further efforts to refine the theoretical links to the final outcomes are necessary.

All this poses a question as to how meaningful and cost-effective 'systematic' monitoring and evaluation of outcomes could be. Alternatively, this thesis explores the processes in which sport-related regeneration projects make contributions to alleviating the problems associated with neighbourhood deprivation. That is, it attempts to answer the questions as to *how* and *to what extent* sport can be effective in pursuing the neighbourhood regeneration agenda. In fact, the previous studies have conclusively agreed that simply promoting sport participation – the 'sport development' approach – is not enough, and many commentators have identified relevant factors that may make a sport-related project more effective in delivering outcomes.

Therefore, it was possible at the start of the fieldwork to hypothesise the four possible processes of neighbourhood regeneration using sport. They are:

1. *Personal development*: Sports and other activities (e.g. educational or personal development programmes) involved in a sports project result in personal development of participants (e.g. physical and psychological well-being, self-esteem, self-confidence and personal and social skills), which leads to higher educational achievement, employment, and less anti-social behaviour. The aggregation of these individual benefits in turn becomes collective benefits to the neighbourhood, such as higher standard in health, higher school performances, lower unemployment rate, and lower crime rates and the fear of crime.
2. *Diversion*: Sport-related projects divert young people 'at risk' from anti-social behaviour, providing them with more positive and productive activities than such activities as petty crimes, vandalism, drug and alcohol abuse, which they are otherwise likely to commit, so that the crime rate in the community decreases. This contributes to the actual community safety, as well as improves people's perception about it by

reducing the fear of crime. The presence of such projects might contribute to reducing the fear of crime, regardless of the influence on actual crime rates.

3. *Social interaction/social networks*: Social interaction evoked by a sport-related project transforms status quo, where different groups of people (e.g. class, ethnic groups and gender) are isolated with each other, into a more socially mixed social network which embraces more 'weak ties', so that capability of the people in the neighbourhood is enlarged (e.g. more employment opportunities, more social mobility). Personal development may be enhanced thanks to the presence of 'significant others' in the newly formed social network.
4. *Saliency of sports*: Since sports is so salient that it can attract more people and evoke more commitment to the project and the activities involved than other things such as other leisure activities and purely educational programmes, a sport-related project can produce relatively high achievement in comparison with other projects with the same themes. In addition, certain elements such as the presence of a professional football club or physical development of new sports facility reinforce the saliency.

These hypotheses were not to be 'tested' in a positivistic sense, but to be used as a guide in identifying case studies so that they would cover the broadest range of relevant issues, as well as in informing the research questions in the process of fieldwork. Also, the thesis has not attempted to approach these hypotheses separately, but to explore the whole dynamics of the operation of sport-based projects, involving all these mechanisms.

In so doing, it has not specified particular expected outcomes beforehand. Rather than focusing on one or more of the claimed benefits of sport, at the start of the fieldwork all were kept as the possible outcomes of sport-related projects. This approach can be justified on the ground that a holistic approach is endorsed by many commentators. Crabbe (2000) sums up such an approach as follows:

sport-led interventions addressing problems associated with drug use are viewed within a holistic perspective, grounded in the provision of appropriate, non-

judgemental and supportive local opportunities for personal development in terms of education, health, friendship and employment.

Hence, in tackling drug and crime-related issues, it is preferred to also approach education, health and employment, that is, all of the four PAT10 indicators.

Finally, in the same way, it did not specify any type of target group beforehand. However, the fact that sport-related projects are overwhelmingly targeted at young people inevitably framed the scope of the thesis (see Chapter 2). Accordingly, the large majority of the case-study projects are also targeted at young people (see Chapter 6). Therefore, the next chapter reviews the relevant literature in terms of young people and neighbourhood regeneration.

# Chapter 4 Young People and Neighbourhood Regeneration

## **4.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to overview what the lives of young people living in deprived urban neighbourhoods are like. The previous two chapters have made clear that young people are by far the most likely target of sport-related regeneration projects. Thus, this chapter considers what the problems that young people who live in deprived neighbourhoods face, and therefore that sport-related projects are to tackle.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. First, the definition of the concept of youth is briefly discussed. Second, the relevance of young people to regeneration of deprived urban neighbourhoods is established through reviewing the recent discourse over the policies concerning youth and regeneration. In particular, it looks at the debate over citizenship and young people in some details. Third, it discusses the disadvantages that young people living in deprived areas are likely to face, in terms of education; employment and training; health; and crime. Finally, the relevance of leisure to young people and social exclusion is discussed.

## **4.2 Youth as transition period**

Youth is by definition the period of transition from childhood to adulthood (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Wyn and White, 1997). Thus, it is historically and socially variable 'because the attainment of independent adulthood is conditioned by social norms, economic

circumstances and social policy' (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997, p. 42). While 'adolescence' might be understood as a psychological concept, characterised by particular physical, sexual and emotional development that occurs within a limited time span between the age of about 12 to 18, 'youth', with more sociological orientation, tends to cover a much broader period of time, extending up to the mid-twenties. As Wyn and White (1997) contend, 'youth' is not a static age category, but 'a relational concept, which refers to the social processes whereby age is socially constructed, institutionalised and controlled in historically and culturally specific ways' (p. 11).

The extended period of youth therefore may be related to the delayed transition into adulthood due to the recent social change. Furlong and Cartmel (1997) argue that in an era which some commentators call 'late modernity', youth transition has been protracted, diversified and individualised. Unlike in the 1970s when young people's lifestyles and trajectories were relatively uniform and largely predictable by social classes, for young people these days, future is more uncertain and unpredictable as the divisions between social classes have become blurred. They argue that each individual is supposed to be responsible for making choices from diverse options to make her own career; however, traditional sources of inequality such as social class, gender and ethnicity remain intact in determining the outcomes of youth transition.

In order to successfully undergo this protracted, uncertain period of transition into adulthood, according to Furlong *et al.* (2003), young people 'draw on different aspects of the resource base available to them,' including 'educational qualifications, vocational training and skills as well as knowledge and family resources' (p. i). They argue that a deficit in the resource base, coupled with weak personal agency, dramatically increases the chances of negative outcomes. Young people who live in deprived neighbourhoods are undoubtedly among the most disadvantaged in this respect. Wyn and White (1997) argue that youth is a process of power struggles, as outcomes of youth transition are shaped by power relations in which young people are situated. Thus, the poor outcomes in terms of the transition into adulthood (re-)produced by young people in deprived areas could be understood as the reflection of the difficulties, or powerlessness, they have to negotiate in pursuit of independent adulthood.

### **4.3 Young people and regeneration policy**

Young people are of great relevance to the regeneration of deprived urban neighbourhoods. In the simplest sense, demographically, poor neighbourhoods tend to have a larger proportion of children and young people (Social Exclusion Unit, 1998a, 2000b). But it is also because young people are both ‘problem’ and ‘future’ of communities, as well as ‘citizens’ whose well-being is at stake. They are regarded as being at risk from a wide range of problems, such as underachievement in education and employment as well as criminal and anti-social behaviour. At the same time, they also have the potential to help improve the performance of the neighbourhoods in future, which could be realised with appropriate support and allocation of resources. Moreover, though it is sometimes overlooked, young people are among the important parties, who are entitled to benefit directly from regeneration of the area.

#### **4.3.1 Youth as ‘problem’**

Although all three aspects of youth mentioned above are featured in the government youth policy, it is often the ‘problem’ aspect that receives the greatest attention. SEU (1998a) regarded young people as one of the themes to tackle through their *National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal*, raising the concern that ‘poor education and poor opportunities for young people are common problems in poor neighbourhoods’ (p. 22). Moreover, young people were thought responsible for a significant proportion of crime and anti-social behaviour in deprived neighbourhoods (Social Exclusion Unit, 1998a, 2000a).

Among the 18 Policy Action Teams (PATs) of SEU, PAT12 was given the remit of comprehensively approaching the issues concerning young people (Social Exclusion Unit, 2000b). In addition, at least four other PAT reports are of close relevance to young people, namely skills (PAT2) (Social Exclusion Unit, 1999b), anti-social behaviour (PAT8) (Social Exclusion Unit, 2000a), arts and sport (PAT10) (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 1999), and Schools Plus (PAT11) (Department for Education and Employment, 1999). Apart from these PAT reports, SEU has published a number of reports in relation to specific themes concerning young people: truancy and school exclusion (Social Exclusion Unit, 1998b), teenage pregnancy (Social Exclusion Unit, 1999c), 16 to 18 year olds not in education employment or training (Social Exclusion Unit, 1999a), young runaways (Social

Exclusion Unit, 2002), and transitions of young adults with complex needs (Social Exclusion Unit, 2005).

The report of PAT12 (Social Exclusion Unit, 2000b) identified a range of problems faced by young people in Britain, not exclusively in poor neighbourhoods, acknowledging that as many young people who experience poverty live elsewhere. They are categorised under four headings: education, employment and training; housing and the transition to independent living; health; and victimisation and offending (Table 4.1). These headings, except for housing and family transition, overlap with the four PAT10 indicators. PAT12 is concerned that these problems were significant in scale, often poor comparatively to other EU countries, and getting worsened in trend.

Following the recommendation by PAT12, established in 2001 was the Children and Young People's Unit (CYPU), which supposedly embodied the Government's commitment to a coherent approach to policies and services to children and young people, though some say this has achieved little substantial improvement (Mizen, 2003a, 2003b). Its document *Tomorrow's Future* (Children and Young People's Unit, 2001b) and the subsequent consultation document (Children and Young People's Unit, 2001a) have sketched out the same concerns of poverty and inequality, though without particularly focusing on the urban context.

More recently, the *Youth Matters* Green Paper (Department for Education and Skills, 2005) has reproduced the similar concerns. It commences with the appreciation of some recent positive developments such as improved educational attainment and increase in enterprising and participation in volunteering, as well as decline in smoking, teenage pregnancy and drug use; however, it continues to list far many more problems in line with the issues identified by PAT12.

**Table 4.1 Themes and issues concerning young people and social exclusion**

Theme	Issue
Education, employment and training	Underachievement at school Special Educational Needs (SEN) Illiteracy/innumeracy Truancy School exclusion Not participating post-16 Unemployment post-18
Housing and the transition to independent living	Homelessness and running away from home Young carers Young people looked after
Health	Teenage conceptions Mental health, including suicide Disability Drug use Alcohol use Smoking
Victimisation and offending	Victim of crime Offending Young people in custody

Source: SEU (2000b)

### **4.3.2 Youth as ‘future’**

As the title of one of these youth policy documents suggests, children and young people are makers of tomorrow’s future. The *Youth Matters* Green Paper has highlighted as a sign of bright future the widened opportunities taken successfully by many young people:

Young people today have more opportunities than previous generations. Most teenagers take advantages of this and make the transition to independent adulthood successfully.

(Department for Education and Skills, 2005, p. 11)

Arguably, youth policy is to provide appropriate support so that more young people can access such opportunities. However, as is discussed later in this chapter, opportunities are hardly distributed evenly, and ‘the same young people often experience a number of related problems’ (p. 14). In particular, young people who live in deprived areas remain among the most disadvantaged in terms of opportunities. For example, SEU (2000b) demonstrates that problem outcomes such as delinquency and teenage motherhood are more likely to happen if a person is exposed to the combination of other problems or ‘risk factors’. Thus young people who live in deprived areas, where such risk factors are concentrated, may be significantly confined their life chances.

### **4.3.3 Youth as ‘citizens’**

Young people are also members of the society, or ‘citizens’, whose well-being matters as much as that of adults. However, primarily focused on ‘problem’ at present and ‘future’ as a consequence, youth policy documents often do not pay as much attention to the rights of young people as ‘citizens’. In the policy discourse with regard to citizenship and young people, rights are often disregarded as compared to obligations. As Wyn and White (1997) contend, ‘although young people have “rights” as young citizens, these are relatively easily denied, and they have very little say in the institutions in which they have the most at stake’ (Wyn and White, 1997, p. 12).

Many youth researchers are critical of the inclination of the recent UK governmental youth policy towards obligations as opposed to entitlement and well-being (France, 1996, 1998, 2006; Lister *et al.*, 2005). For example, the three elements of citizenship identified by the report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship (1998) are uniformly concerned with responsibilities: namely, social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy (Hine, 2004; Hine *et al.*, 2004). The *Youth Matters* Green Paper (Department for Education and Skills, 2005) has a chapter with the heading of ‘Young People as Citizens’; however, as the subheading of ‘Making a Contribution’ suggests, it uniformly focuses on the obligation aspect of citizenship, dedicating the whole chapter to elaborating on their strategy to promote young people’s contribution to their communities through volunteering.

As Lister *et al.* (2005) point out, behind this tendency are ‘the common assumptions of politicians that rights have been overemphasised at the expense of responsibilities, and that young people, in particular, need to be made aware of their citizenship responsibilities’ (p. 47). France (1998) also notes that the dominant discussions of young people and citizenship are in favour of the idea that rights are granted only when responsibilities are fulfilled. Thus, young people are subject to being educated to learn what citizenship responsibilities are, so as to become ‘good citizens’, rather than to be treated at present as ones who have the rights to be guaranteed by the state.

Interestingly, recent empirical evidence has suggested that young people themselves are more aware of responsibilities than rights. According to the study of Lister *et al.* (2005), ‘the young people found it much more difficult to talk about rights than responsibilities’ and ‘tended to place a high premium on constructive social participation in the local community and many of them had engaged in such participation’(p. 47). In fact, their participation in voluntary activity, if informal helping is included, is very common (Hine, 2004; Hine *et al.*, 2004; Lister *et al.*, 2005).

This lack of acknowledging the rights of young people should be understood in relation to the fact that, as France (1996) observes, the discussion with respect to citizenship, most significantly influenced by Marshall’s (1950) writings, has been mainly framed around the notion of adulthood. Indeed, children and young people are commonly understood, whether in a negative or positive sense, as incomplete citizens: at one end, they are ‘deficient citizens’ (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998) while at the other, ‘citizens in the making’ (Lister *et al.*, 2005). This coincides with the definition of youth as a transition period into adulthood. Furlong and Cartmel (1997) consider that youth is a period of social semi-dependency, during the course of which a young person gradually leaves the total dependency and protection of childhood and acquires the full citizenship rights and responsibilities of adulthood. Therefore, ‘young people are treated differently from children, granted certain rights and responsibilities, but denied the full range of entitlements accorded to adults’ (p. 41).

However, France (1996) believes that this common understanding of citizenship as an adult concept offers little in explaining young people's experience of citizenship. His study with marginalised young people demonstrates that contrary to the dominant view that rights should be given in return for fulfilment of responsibilities, 'a lack of rights undermines young people's desire to undertake social responsibilities' (France, 1998, p. 108). Thus, he argues, certain rights of young people should be granted in advance to fulfilment of responsibilities; among these rights are the right to employment as well as 'cultural rights' i.e. the rights to participation in youth subculture, which is thought to be essential to construction of youth identities. France's argument implies that the rights and the responsibilities, especially the rights, of 'young citizens' should be conceptualised in a different way from those of adults, although he does not clearly display his alternative definition of citizenship.

A kind of right that is widely advocated is for young people to 'have a say'. West (1997) allies with France and raises questions as to what constitutes the rights and the duties of children and young people. In particular, he urges the need of enforcing their rights by establishing the methods securing their rights to express their opinions and have them taken into account in the decision-making process that affects their lives, referring to the 1989 UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, ratified by the UK government in 1991. Freeman (2005), also advocating the UN Convention, contends that these rights are only agreed to by the government but not made a reality.

While neither West nor Freeman distinguishes the rights of children and of young people, Borland and Hill (1997) state in their study on British teenagers that their ambiguous, transitional status means that the set of rights they require can be different from those of either adults or children. The notion of 'cultural rights' referred to by France (1998) in fact stresses that they are 'more in the form of negotiated claims than institutional legal entitlement' (Pakulski, 1997, quoted by France, 1998, p. 109). That is, it appreciates the rights to 'have a say' not through formal institutions but in the form of (sub-)cultural expression. This may suggest the need of exploring 'the socio-cultural construction of youth as a distinct stage in the life-course' and 'its cultural expression in response to social and political change' (Bynner, 2001, p. 5).

This possible discontinuity between childhood and youth notwithstanding, it is undeniable that one of the areas that young people, as well as children, have a stake to a great extent, and so should be able to influence the decisions on, is their leisure time. Arguably, opportunities for leisure are of direct importance to the well-being of young people. Lack of leisure time opportunities is very often high on the agenda of young people, alongside lack of opportunities to 'have a say' (Hine, 2004; Hine *et al.*, 2004). In other words, it is an important right of young people to access leisure opportunities.

It is acknowledged in youth policy to some extent that leisure is an important aspect of young people's lives, and so young people should be empowered to participate in the decision-making process. For example, Children and Young People's Unit states 'play, not just education' (cited Burchardt, 2005), implying that 'being' is as important as 'becoming' (Burchardt, 2004, 2005). That is, 'play' is of direct relevance to children and young people's well-being at present time. The *Youth Matter* Green Paper as well does have a chapter on empowerment of young people as a means to provide them with 'more things to do and places to go' in their leisure time (Department for Education and Skills, 2005).

However, the rhetoric behind it is not entirely the appreciation of citizenship rights. On the contrary, participation in 'positive' activities, sports being the first on the list, is valued because of the 'positive impact on outcomes in later life' (Department for Education and Skills, 2005, p. 26) with regard to education, crime and health. In fact, as is discussed later, this claim of positive impact of participation is derived from partial, if not wrong, evidence. More important, however, is that the motivation behind empowerment is primarily to deal with 'problem' for better 'future'. The well-being of young people at present does not appear the primary goal. By contrast, the normative standpoint of this thesis is that access to leisure opportunities has an intrinsic value, that is, a constitutive element of young people's well-being, so that no reference to extrinsic values is needed to appreciate it. This point will be consolidated in Chapter 5 in relation to the notion of capabilities (Sen, 1992).

## **4.4 Young people in disadvantaged neighbourhoods**

Young people living in deprived neighbourhoods are faced with the difficulties, some regardless of where they live, but in particular those derived from the local conditions in which they are situated. This section discusses these difficulties. First, it summarises the general problems that young people in 'late modernity' face in their transition into adulthood, especially from school to work. Then it moves on to the specific themes of education, employment and training, health, and crime.

### **4.4.1 School-to-work transition in late modernity**

School-to-work transition is arguably the most important change that a young person goes through in a life course. Notably, some are critical of the overemphasis placed upon employment by youth policy as well as academic research (Cohen and Ainley, 2000). Ferguson (2004) argues that the discourse of social exclusion has been dominantly concerned with participation in employment and education but failed to capture the complex interplay between various forms of participation that young people exercise. Yet, it is largely agreed that transition from school to work is of central importance to lives of young people (Brown, 1997; Bynner, 2001).

Furlong and Cartmel (1997) explain how youth transition has become protracted, diversified and individualised in late modernity. The most significant change in youth transition over a few decades is delayed school-to-work transition. The economic recession in the early 1980s and the economic restructuring involving shift from the manufacturing to service industry have meant less employment opportunities for minimum-aged school-leavers. The unemployment rate of young people under 24 years of age had soared by the mid 1990s, from less than ten per cent to nearly twenty per cent, while the rate for all age was around eight per cent in the 1990s (also Brown, 1997). As employers have become to demand for a better educated labour force, qualifications have become essential to entry to full-time employment, especially in higher segments. This has led to increased and lengthened participation in higher education across all social classes. Meanwhile, use of part-time and temporary workers has become popular to seek ways of reducing costs, so that most job available for young workers are in the lower tier services with poor job security. Also, young people tend to work in a smaller service environment, so that they are

less likely to share the similar experience with a larger number of other young people as was the case before in the manufacturing industry.

Furlong and Cartmel (1997) continue that, in response to the high unemployment among young people, since the 1970s the government introduced a series of youth training schemes to provide them with opportunities to acquire skills and experience for better employability, although it appears to be unpopular as well as have little actual impact on employment prospects of participants. In the mean time, a series of legislative reform were made in the 1980s so that young people are deprived of their rights to state benefits. This ruled out the possibility for school-leavers to become unemployed and depend on state benefits, which would have been a way to achieve independence from parents. To date, benefits for young people aged 16 or 17 are either restricted or conditional (Citizens Advice Bureau, 2007), with the government recommending young people not to leave school at age 16 (Bell and Jones, 2002). Thus, school-leavers are faced with a choice between (unstable and lower segment) employment, post-compulsory education, and youth training schemes. The delayed transition into full-time employment, coupled with the unavailability of state benefits, means the inability of achieving financially independent status, which has consequently prolonged the dependency on parents and delayed domestic and housing transitions (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997).

Resulting from the fact that youth transition is not simply from compulsory education to full-time employment anymore, but more diversified between post-compulsory education, part-/full-time employment and youth training schemes, unemployment alone does not represent failed school-to-work transition. A growing number of those who fail to enter any of these have become categorised as 'Status Zero' (Williamson, 1997), or more recently, NEET (not in education, employment or training) (Bynner and Parsons, 2002). It is estimated that over one million people across the UK aged between 16 and 24 fall in this category (Social Exclusion Unit, 2005). The unemployment rate of 18-24 year olds declined to approximately eight per cent by 2000 (Social Exclusion Unit, 2000b). But NEET as well as incapacity benefit claimers has to be taken into account.

#### **4.4.2 Education**

Spatial inequality of education has been well documented. Schools in deprived urban neighbourhoods tend to be poorer in terms of educational attainment as well as school quality. It is one of the objects of SEU to improve the schools in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Department for Education and Employment, 1999).

##### *4.4.2.1 Educational attainment*

The significance of place on educational attainment has been well documented for over half a century (Pacione, 1997). More recently, Pacione's (1997) study of secondary schools in Glasgow shows strong correlations between the poverty levels of school catchment areas and examination results. Glennerster's (2002) UK-wide study of primary and secondary schools shows that during the period between 1997 and 2001, the gap between schools in affluent and disadvantaged areas remains but has reduced, as the lowest-performing schools have made a greater improvement in examination results. Croll (2002) argues that social deprivation is still a very strong predictor of achievement at school level, while it also predicts to a lesser extent the levels of special educational needs in schools. Reflecting poverty and lower educational attainment, schools in disadvantaged neighbourhoods tend to have higher rates of truancy and school exclusion (Gordon, 2001; Parsons, 1999; Social Exclusion Unit, 1998b).

##### *4.4.2.2 School quality*

The deprivation of an area may make it difficult for schools within it to deliver good quality of schooling. Gewirtz (1998) argues that schools' success is determined by 'the intricate and intimate connections between what school managers and teachers do and the socio-economic and discursive environment within which they operate' (p.439). A report by OFSTED (2000) points out that school quality can be improved in deprived neighbourhoods against the general tendency showing that the more deprived the areas are, the poorer the quality of the schools is. Lupton's study of secondary schools in England shows that, although poor neighbourhoods do not necessarily result in poor schools, 'neighbourhood poverty is more likely to be associated with poor schooling than

neighbourhood affluence' (Lupton, 2004a, p. 18), because schooling processes are affected by concentrated poverty (also Lupton, 2004b).

#### *4.4.2.3 Post-compulsory education*

Inequality exists also in post compulsory education. The last few decades have seen an increase in participation in higher education across all social groups. However, young people with disadvantaged backgrounds still face greater difficulties. Despite the increased levels of participation in post-compulsory education across all social classes, the class differential persists as 'old' universities are largely for those from families of professional or managerial occupations, young people from families with working-class backgrounds are more likely to go to 'new' universities, whose graduates are relatively disadvantaged in labour market (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). Forsyth and Furlong (2000) argue that the gap between the levels of participation of affluent and disadvantaged young people has remained owing to poorer school performance by disadvantaged young people as well as the extra financial, geographical and social barriers they face. Their another study shows that young people with disadvantaged backgrounds are also 'more likely to prematurely reduce their level of participation within higher education' (Forsyth and Furlong, 2003, p. 1) due to informational, financial and cultural difficulties. Quinn *et al.* (2005) argue that the higher 'dropping-out' rate has a stigmatising effect on working-class young people, while universities often lack flexibility to serve their needs such as changing courses and re-entry after quitting.

#### **4.4.3 Employment and training**

Area deprivation matters to employment prospects of young people. A high unemployment rate is a common feature of deprived neighbourhoods. The risk of becoming NEET is also higher for boys in poor areas, although for girls lack of parental interest is a more significant factor (Bynner and Parsons, 2002). Despite the fact that in the mid 2000's, unemployment is the lowest in 30 years, economic inactivity, or 'worklessness', remains high, as the number of incapacity benefit claimants has increased, and workless people tend to concentrate in the same areas (Social Exclusion Unit, 2004). The recent study at street level shows 'worklessness is 23 times higher in the worst tenth streets than in the best,'

while '30 per cent of adults are out of work and on benefits in the worst tenth compared to just 1.3 per cent in the best' (Social Exclusion Unit, 2004, p. 12).

SEU (2004) identifies three main explanations for concentrations of worklessness: changes in the nature and location of jobs, 'residential sorting,' and area effect. Of these explanations, 'residential sorting' via the housing market mechanism may partly explain why they happen in the first place, but it does not provide an answer as to how people remain out of labour market, nor as to how young people who grow up in areas with high economic inactivity can be disadvantaged in employment, while the other two, along with lack of qualifications and skills, do complementarily. Local job availability and lack of skills and qualifications are first discussed as supply- and demand-side conditions of labour market, before moving onto area effects.

The demand for workforce, i.e. local job availability, is essential to transition into employment. For example, Morrow and Richards (1996) show that local labour market is more significant factor than social class, personal attributes or other social backgrounds, in determining what segment of job young people are likely to get. Likewise, unemployment is often caused by collapse of local labour market, such as a closure of large local employer or industry (Social Exclusion Unit, 2004). However, SEU (2004) points out that lack of job opportunities does not fully account for concentrations of worklessness, as they 'occur in both booming and depressed areas' (p. 40), although they are more likely to be found in the latter.

This may be because of lack of relevant skills and qualifications on the supply side (Social Exclusion Unit, 2004). In fact, it is often the case that those who live in deprived neighbourhoods lack qualifications, reflecting the poor educational attainment as discussed above. This is of significant disadvantage given the nature of the contemporary labour market. Canny's (2001) Irish-English comparative study indicates that the current labour market flexibility is more beneficial for qualified young people, while unqualified young people are likely to be more excluded as the bond between educational attainment and labour market success has tightened.

People living in deprived areas are more likely to be disadvantaged not only in terms of formal qualifications but also other basic skills, as SEU (1999b) concludes:

As a general rule, people who live in areas that suffer from severe social disadvantage are disproportionately likely to have few or no qualifications; poor literacy and numeracy skills; and low self-confidence and 'coping' skills. They are also more likely than people who live elsewhere to be reluctant or lack the confidence to take deliberate action to improve their skills or to engage in learning (p. 10).

The youth training schemes, which supposedly help young people acquire relevant experience and qualifications to enhance their employability, appear to have failed to achieve this aim. Not only are they known to be unpopular among young people, but it also seems to have little impact on actual employment prospects of participants (France, 1996; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). New Deal for Young People (for 18-24 year olds unemployed for six months) introduced by the New Labour government statistically appears to have made positive impact on short-term employment (Wilkinson, 2003). However, Sunley *et al.* (2001) argue that there are substantial local variations and the initiative has been less effective in many inner urban areas where labour markets are depressed. Moreover, qualitative evidence tend to be unfavourable (Hyland and Musson, 2001), although MacDonald and Marsh (2005) observe relatively more positives from their interviewees compared to the previous youth training schemes.

It has been also indicated that it is not the content but the context of training that matters; participants of youth training schemes benefit more from the connections they acquire than the experience per se, and the young people with disadvantaged backgrounds are less likely to have opportunity to get trained by employers privileged in that respect (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). The latter point suggests that social capital is more important than qualifications, which leads to the following discussion on area effects.

#### 4.4.3.1 Area effects

SEU (2004) sees area effects as another major explanation of worklessness, because people living in deprived areas are less likely to get a job than those who live elsewhere after allowing for personal characteristics such as qualifications and age. Kintrea and Atkinson (2001) define area effects, or neighbourhood effects, as ‘the independent, separable effects on social and economic behaviour which arise from living in a particular neighbourhood’ (p. 1). They identify a set of propositions that hypothesises neighbourhood effects as a source of social exclusion operating in deprived areas, which includes both cultural and structural explanations. Their empirical work supports the area effects thesis particularly in terms of area reputation and employment (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001). Similarly, Friedrichs *et al.* (2003) summarise that neighbourhood effects could be transmitted through a combination of mechanisms with regard to neighbourhood resources, social networks, socialisation, and resident perceptions.

An extreme of cultural explanation can be found in ‘underclass’ thesis, which holds that long-term unemployment among young people in poor neighbourhoods is as a result of their idle and dishonest dependency culture (Murray, 1990). While there have been so many critics, one of the most sensible ones based on robust empirical evidence is MacDonald and his colleagues’ longitudinal, in-depth, qualitative study with the most marginalised young people in one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in the North East England (Johnson *et al.*, 2000; MacDonald and Marsh, 2005; MacDonald and Shildrick, 2004; Webster *et al.*, 2004). After years of fieldwork following ‘the approach *most* likely to reveal localised, ‘minority underclass culture’ (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005, p. 198, original emphasis), they conclude:

Although individual and collective experience of ‘welfare dependency’, unemployment, single motherhood and crime was plentiful, these were not the cultural choices of a generation disconnected from the moral mainstream. On the contrary, the values, morality and goals of interviewees, in virtually all cases and respects, were stubbornly normal (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005, pp. 198-199).

Hence, conventional aspirations, such as ‘getting a proper job’, are often shared by even apparently the most marginalised, socially excluded, young people, who experience persisting difficulties in securing long-term, rewarding employment (France, 1996; Johnson *et al.*, 2000; Webster *et al.*, 2004). It has been also indicated that the experiences of these young people, despite the similarity in their social backgrounds, considerably differ from one another, while it is not the permanent exclusion from labour market in the form of long-term unemployment, but the combination of unemployment, job insecurity and poor job quality, that more accurately represents their experience of social exclusion, except for the small minority of those who slipped into extended criminal and drug careers (Johnson *et al.*, 2000; MacDonald and Marsh, 2005).

The unsuccessful transition from school to work is therefore not due to their cultural immorality. Instead, an alternative explanation holds that it is structurally determined. In particular, in relation to area effects, the role of social network, or social capital, in the search for jobs is often emphasised. That is, the social relations of residents of deprived neighbourhoods are defined within the areas which may be robust and close-knitted, but are disconnected from social networks outside them and so provide few ‘weak ties’ (Granovetter, 1973) to help them connect to job opportunities (Kintrea and Atkinson, 2001). Such social networks, or ‘bonding’ social capital, may enable people to ‘get by,’ but not help them ‘get on,’ as does ‘bridging’ social capital (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001). Webster *et al.* (2004) support this hypothesis with empirical evidence in the context of young people’s poor transition, which shows that informal contacts were more important in finding jobs than training and qualifications. They also indicate that for many of their interviewees, social networks had become smaller, more focused on immediate family and friends and more embedded in their immediate neighbourhoods, which is more strongly the case for the ‘disengaged’ young male (also MacDonald and Marsh, 2005). Raffo and Reeves (2000), in their study of young people in Manchester, demonstrate how young people’s voluntary choices are defined by the nature of what they term as ‘individualised systems of social capital’.

#### 4.4.4 Health

Area deprivation is also related to ill health. The levels of mortality and morbidity are higher in deprived areas, reflecting the concentration of the social factors known to be associated with health, such as social class, 'race' and unemployment (McLoone and Boddy, 1994; Nettleton, 1995; Sloggett and Joshi, 1994). A study in Scotland shows that area deprivation is associated with coronary heart disease, stroke, cancer and mental illness (McLaren and Bain, 2006). The inhabitants of the areas with high levels of mortality are more likely to have unhealthy lifestyles, with more smoking, higher fat diet, and less exercise (Nettleton, 1995).

Despite these health inequalities across general population, youth, as Furlong and Cartmel (1997) hold, is generally the healthiest period throughout which the majority of young people are free from serious illness. Indeed, there has been an indication that early youth is a period of relative equality as far as health is concerned (West, 1988 cited Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). However, the Scottish Health Survey in 2003 shows that the tendency of unhealthy lifestyle is also observable among children and young people living in deprived neighbourhoods, who are likely to smoke more, eat fewer portions of vegetables, and have more unhealthy eating habits (Scottish Executive, 2005), which may lead to health inequalities in adulthood. For example, although the prevalence of overweight including obesity in childhood appears unrelated to level of area deprivation (Scottish Executive, 2005), a study shows a stronger association of childhood social origins with adult obesity, than lifestyle as an adult (Okasha *et al.*, 2003).

In addition, there are some health related issues that are of particular relevance to young people. Among them are, as listed by SEU (2000b), teenage pregnancy, disability, mental health and substance use as health related problems of young people, all of which are relevant to area deprivation.

##### 4.4.4.1 Teenage pregnancy

Teenage contraception and birth rates in the UK stuck at the highest level in Europe during the last few decades of the twentieth century despite the declining European trend (Social Exclusion Unit, 1999c). Although Munro *et al* (2004) maintain that the high rates of

teenage pregnancy can be attributed to the high-risk sexual behaviour common to young people in the UK, which also elevates the risk of sexually transmitted infections, 'teenage mothers are more likely to be from lower socio-economic backgrounds, have a lower level of education and have parents who were also teenagers at the time of conception' (Munro *et al.*, 2004, p. 10). In particular, the risk of teenage pregnancy is higher when these risk factors are combined, which accounts for the higher rates in the most deprived neighbourhoods (Social Exclusion Unit, 1999c). However, the level of teenage pregnancy has declined more recently. In England during the period between 1998 and 2004, under 18 and under 16 conception rates per 1000 girls have dropped from 46.6 to 41.5, and 8.8 to 7.5, respectively (Teenage Pregnancy Unit, 2006).

#### 4.4.4.2 Disability

Disability is an important issue with regard to social exclusion and a recurring theme of neighbourhood renewal (Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, 2006). Disability is more prevalent in urban areas and in particular deprived neighbourhoods. In Scotland, a slightly higher percentage of disabled people (44 %) than all adults (40 %) live in large urban areas (Scottish Executive, 2004). The Health Survey for England in 2001 shows:

Disability prevalence increased steeply with increasing levels of area deprivation, with residents in the most deprived areas more than twice as likely to have one or more disabilities as residents in the least deprived areas. This association between area deprivation and disability persisted after controlling for age, sex and social class characteristics of informants (Department of Health, 2003).

Disability is in itself disadvantage, but it also affects such things as educational attainment and employment. For example, only 41 per cent of disabled people of working age are employed compared to 81 per cent of non-disabled, while 21 per cent of disabled people aged 16 to 24 had no qualifications at all, compared to 13 per cent of non-disabled peers (Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, 2006).

#### 4.4.4.3 *Mental health and suicide*

Mental health is increasingly a problem among young people. Mental health problems such as suicidal behaviour (including attempted suicide and suicidal thoughts), eating disorder, self-harm and depression are increasing among young people (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Social Exclusion Unit, 2000b). Furlong and Cartmel (1997) see this as the evidence of increased risk and uncertainty associated with protracted transition experienced by young people. While some of the problems are more common among middle class young people (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997), many studies associate mental ill health with area deprivation. Maughan *et al.* (2004) suggest that rates of mental disorder vary with the geo-demographic characteristics of neighbourhoods, and with family income and social class; children in families of Social Class V (unskilled occupations) are three times more likely to have a mental health problem than those of Social Class I (professional occupation), and rates are disproportionately higher for those of workless families. MacDonald and Marsh (2005) have also found that depression was a common feature of the young people they interviewed in their study of one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in Teesside.

#### 4.4.4.4 *Substance use*

##### 4.4.4.4.1 Smoking

Substance use has generally become more prevalent among younger age groups throughout the 1990s (Social Exclusion Unit, 2000b). During the period between 1990 and 2000, the prevalence of smoking in England went up and down, but stayed about the same level of 10 per cent and 30 per cent for 11-15 year olds and 16-19 year olds respectively (Social Exclusion Unit, 2000b). In 2000, slightly more girls than boys aged 15 years were regular smokers, 21 per cent and 26 per cent respectively, but boys smoked more in terms of the average number of cigarette per week, 55 against 40 for girls (Rowan, 2004). In Scotland, in 2004, 6 per cent of 13 year olds and 19 per cent of 15 year olds were regular smokers, but prevalence of regular smoking among secondary school pupils have declined in the late 1990s, except for 15 year old girls (Child and Adolescent Health Research Unit, 2004).

#### 4.4.4.4.2 Drinking

Drinking is very prevalent among young people, as nearly half of 15 year olds in England in 2000 reported to have drunk alcohol in the past week (Rowan, 2004). During the decade between 1990 and 2000, the rates of 11-15 year olds reported to have drunk alcohol in the past week also went up and down between 21 and 27 per cent, while no significant gender difference was observed; however, the average alcohol consumption among those reporting to have drunk in the previous week almost doubled from 5.3 to 10.4 units, boys more likely to drink more (Rowan, 2004). In Scotland, in 2004, 20 per cent of 13 year olds and 43 per cent of 15 year olds reported that they had drunk alcohol in the past week, all figures but for 15 year old girls having declined since 2002 (Child and Adolescent Health Research Unit, 2004).

#### 4.4.4.4.3 Drugs

Drug use may be understood to be a youth-specific issue, as the majority of drug users are young adults, among whom the rates of drug use are higher (ISD Scotland, 2006; McVie *et al.*, 2004). For example, the percentage of self-reporting class A drug users peaks at the age 21 to 24 (just under 10 per cent) (Social Exclusion Unit, 2005). In particular, it appears increasingly a problem for younger age groups. By 1998, it had become five times and eight times more prevalent among 12-13 and 14-15 year olds respectively as compared to 1987, and the age of onset for drug use is getting younger (Social Exclusion Unit, 2000b). During the period between 1998 and 2000 in England, it appeared to continue increasing among 11 to 15 year olds, while slightly decreasing among 16 to 19 year olds, so that in 2000, about 16 per cent and 40 per cent of young people aged 11 to 15 and 16 to 19 years respectively had ever used drugs, while 14 per cent and 27 per cent had used drugs in the last year (Rowan, 2004). In Scotland, 7 per cent of 13 year olds and 20 per cent of 15 year olds reported to have used drugs in the past month, although the slight decline has been marked among 15 year old boys (Child and Adolescent Health Research Unit, 2004). In 2000, about 60 per cent and 70 per cent of 15 year olds had been offered drugs, although the figure slightly dropped in Scotland in 2004 to 63 per cent (Child and Adolescent Health Research Unit, 2004; Rowan, 2004).

#### 4.4.4.4.4 Normalisation

As substance use among young people has become more prevalent, many commentators maintain that adolescent substance use has been normalised as part of leisure. Furlong and Cartmel (1997) contend that it is rather ordinary for young people to smoke, drink or take drugs, as risk taking is an essential part of youth. The notion of normalisation, presented by Howard Parker, holds not only that use of both licit and illicit substances is widespread among young people in the UK, but also that there has been an increasing number of 'recreational' drug users who do not associate drug use with deviance and delinquency and see it as normal part of their leisure time (Duff, 2003; Parker *et al.*, 1998). A study by Perri 6 *et al.* (1997) in part supports the theory in that their statistical analysis shows no attitudinal difference between drug users and non-users, and their qualitative interviews reveal the controlled manner of drug use by recreational users, although it is also indicated that attitudinal problems such as poorer self-confidence and fatalistic outlooks were prevalent among problematic drug users.

#### 4.4.4.4.5 Substance use and youth lifestyles

The normalisation theory also holds that as youth identities are now mediated through different patterns of consumption, 'drug use emerges as one other thing or substance that young people consume in the midst of creating and recreating a sense of personal identity' (Duff, 2003, p. 436). Supporting this claim is a comparative study of 15 year olds in Glasgow and Helsinki (Karvonen *et al.*, 2001), which shows that lifestyles of young people, as defined according to leisure patterns, are a stronger predictor of experience of substance use than social class, with commercial and street-based leisure orientations elevating rates, sports/games reducing them. Not only has social class but also gender difference diminished. Sweeting and West's (2003) study of young people in Glasgow in the 1990s indicates that the stereotype gender patterns of leisure activities associating males with street-based leisure and females with conventional/safe leisure, have disappeared, which in turn is reflected in part to the changing gender patterns of substance use. Notably, though, a qualitative study elsewhere indicates the persistence of gendered leisure patterns (Pearce, 1996). It should be also noted that these studies do not takes into account the difference among drug users, as it only deals with lifetime experience of drug use.

#### 4.4.4.4.6 Substance use and geographical inequality

In fact, while the normalisation of substance use among young people may suggest the irrelevance of social inequalities to substance use, and indeed so it appears as far as drinking and recreational drug taking are concerned, smoking as well as problematic drug use remains strongly associated with social disadvantages. It has been repeatedly found that smoking is more prevalent among those from poor neighbourhoods (McVie *et al.*, 2004).

#### 4.4.4.4.7 Problem drug use

As for problematic drug use, Furlong and Cartmel (1997) demonstrate that while overall drug use is more common among middle class young people, those from working-class families are more likely to use hard drugs and more likely to take drugs intravenously. Moreover, where to live also matters. The Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs (1998) report that while problematic drug use is not exclusively related to deprivation, such things as lower-age first use, addiction, and injecting drug are more common in poor areas. In particular, it indicates that deprivation is linked most strongly with extremes of problematic use. But more essential than deprivation *per se* to patterns of drug use may be availability of drugs in local settings. Furlong and Cartmel (1997) point out that heroin use once was a London-specific problem in the 1960s, but became common in all major cities, in particular Merseyside, Glasgow and Edinburgh in the 1980s, as market of heroin exchange expanded. MacDonald and Marsh (2005) believe that the influx of heroin into Teesside during the 1990s was a crucial factor determining the experience of the marginalised young people they studied.

#### 4.4.4.4.8 Link with anti-social behaviour

Another dimension of adolescent substance use is related to anti-social behaviour. Alcohol and drug misuse, in particular in public space, is very often on the list of forms of anti-social behaviour (Millie *et al.*, 2005; Social Exclusion Unit, 2000a). Also, it is strongly attached to the stereotypical image of young people hanging about street corners, which is also high on the list of anti-social behaviour (Millie *et al.*, 2005). Furthermore, anti-social behaviour is often discussed in a similar context to crime, which is dealt with next.

#### **4.4.5 Crime**

High levels of crime are another feature of deprived neighbourhoods. Young people, especially working-class male, are often thought to a large extent responsible for community safety through actual crimes as well as anti-social behaviour (Social Exclusion Unit, 2000b). In particular, perceived insecurity is strongly associated with a large group of young people hanging around street corners, regardless of whether they actually are doing something criminal or anti-social (Social Exclusion Unit, 2000a).

Youth crime is indeed ‘a real problem for real people’ (MacDonald, 1995, p. 1). As Furlong and Cartmel (1997) maintain, young people have always been responsible for a high proportion, some 40 per cent, of crimes, though most commonly petty ones. In Scotland, the actual rate of crimes committed by young people under the age of 21 against overall crimes, including unreported ones, is estimated to be 43 per cent, while young people are responsible for higher proportions (55 to 86 per cent) of certain offences such as fire-raising, vandalism, theft of motor vehicles, theft by opening lockfast places, handling offensive weapons and housebreaking (listed by descending order) (DTZ Piedad Consulting, 2005). It is also estimated that half of youth crime is attributed to those aged 18 to 21, while nearly 90 per cent is committed by males (DTZ Piedad Consulting, 2005). In fact, crime is pretty common among young people, especially males; some one third of men would have a conviction by their mid-30s (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997).

Nevertheless, recent statistics have shown the long-term declining trend of youth crime across the UK (Home Office, 2006; Scottish Executive, 2002b). At the same time, however, a large majority of people perceive that the levels of youth crime have risen (Home Office, 2006). Of course, crime statistics should be treated with caution, because they may not reflect the real crime rates but rather the patterns of policing, while a significant proportion of crime remains unreported (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). Farrington (1996), for example, believes that the marked decrease in criminal justice statistics is ‘the result of procedural changes and almost certainly illusory’ (p.1).

Notwithstanding the credibility of this claim, it seems to be of little doubt that people perceive of youth crime more seriously than it actually is. As Furlong and Cartmel (1997) point out, ‘politicians and members of older generations have always tended to regard

levels of criminality among the younger generation as abnormal' and 'the standards of behaviour are constantly perceived as having deteriorated,' 'as a consequence of recent social changes' (p. 83). However, they argue, there has been no evidence to suggest this perceived breakdown of social fabric.

Agreed with this view are findings from the Scottish attitudinal survey in 2004 (Anderson *et al.*, 2005), which 'reveals a widespread belief that the level of youth crime is higher than a decade ago and a view that youth crime-related problems are very common in respondents' own areas' (p. 5), despite the lack of support by external evidence. It also shows that the percentage of people who had been actually directly affected by certain types of youth crime is much smaller than that of those who perceived that they are serious problems in the area where they live. Furthermore, it indicates that those living in deprived, urban areas are more likely to be concerned about young people and to have negative views of the young more generally.

Closely related to this negative perception towards young people in deprived urban neighbourhoods is anti-social behaviour, another important dimension of community safety. Despite the fact that it is hard to find hard evidence, young people are often perceived to be responsible for a large proportion of incidents of anti-social behaviour, while more people tend to worry about anti-social behaviour and more serious types of problem are likely to occur in deprived neighbourhoods (Social Exclusion Unit, 2000a). The Scottish attitudinal survey shows that the four most frequently mentioned 'problems' in the area, in adult accounts – namely 'lack of opportunities for children and young people', 'young people hanging around the streets', 'alcohol and drugs' and 'crime and vandalism' – are all related, explicitly or implicitly, to young people, and three of them, apart from 'lack of opportunities', are clearly concerned with anti-social behaviour (Anderson *et al.*, 2005).

Such public perceptions, coupled with sensational media stories, are often powerful enough to have an impact on criminal justice policy, examples of which include the introduction of harsher sentences and closer surveillance of given non-custodial punishments by the Conservative government in the 1980s (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997), as well as the introduction of anti-social behaviour orders under New Labour, more recently (Squires and Stephen, 2005).

#### 4.4.5.1 *Victimisation*

Many youth researchers are critical of these legislations, as too much emphasis is placed upon social control of young people (Squires and Stephen, 2005). In fact, young people are more often subject to control, rather than protection, in the context of 'community safety', the term, for Brown (1995), often representing only the interest of middle-aged and elderly residents, despite the fact that young people, especially males, are the most likely victims of crime. For example, the Scottish Crime Survey 2003 shows that 21 per cent of young men aged 16 to 24 had been victims of a personal crime, over three times higher than other age groups, probably reflecting the high prevalence of violent crime among this group (McVie *et al.*, 2004).

#### 4.4.5.2 *Criminal career*

Hence, risk of offending as well as victimisation is higher among young people compared to other age groups. Furlong and Cartmel (1997) attribute this to their tendency of risk-taking behaviour, which is ordinary part of youth. In fact, while involvement in criminal activities, including drug taking, is relatively common among young people, the large majority of them grow out of them as they become to acquire adult responsibilities. They illustrate that young people start getting involved in criminal activities, usually petty ones such as shoplifting, at the age of 13 or so and the number of those involved peaks at age 15 to 18, but then drops as they grow into their 20s. Notably, however, Furlong and Cartmel (1997) speculate that the prolonged transition could have an impact on this pattern as the period of involvement in crime also tends to extend. The rise of peak age from 15 to 18 occurred at the same time as the protraction of transition during the decade between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s might be indicative of such change (Social Exclusion Unit, 2000b).

While the majority would 'grow out' of crimes, certain young people fail to do so and become persistent offenders. Such risk is supposedly higher for those who live in deprived neighbourhoods. Farrington (1996) finds that 'living in deteriorated inner city areas' is one of the major risk factors for youth crime, along with other things such as 'low income and

poor housing', 'a high degree of impulsiveness and hyperactivity', 'low intelligence and low school attainment', 'poor parental supervision and harsh and erratic discipline', and 'parental conflict and broken families'. Moreover:

risk factors cluster together in the lives of the most disadvantaged children, and the chances that they will become anti-social and criminally active increases as the number of risk factors increases (Communities that Care, 2005, p. 29).

However, as Communities that Care (2005) cautiously notes, 'the relationship between risk and protective factors and the precise ways in which they interrelate and react is uncertain' (p.29), while significant numbers of 'high risk' children do not go on to commit offences.

While risk factors only signify a simply statistical association and not necessarily causal relationships, there are many theories that would explain the possible processes, if not causality, that link area deprivation and youth crime. For some, exploring these processes by 'examining how criminal and drug involvement is embedded within the broader, complicated facts of young people's unfolding lives' is more productive than 'focusing on how individual criminality might be predicted by early risk factors' (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005, p. 189).

First, Furlong and Cartmel (1997) point out that higher conviction rates in disadvantaged neighbourhoods may not necessarily reflect the actual level of criminal activities, but could be affected by higher levels of police activities based on perceived high risks of crime. Likewise, overrepresentation of Afro-Caribbean youth, many of whom live in deprived neighbourhoods, is a reflection of police activity (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). But, they continue, it is possible that their conviction records would have a negative impact on their employment prospects, 'thus increasing the odds that criminal careers will continue' (p. 94).

Second, many have pointed out the importance of peer influence. The differential association theory (Sutherland, 1947) holds that criminal behaviour is learnt through the interaction with other persons. Thus, young people would learn how to commit crimes, as well as how to rationalise such behaviour, from their, often older, peers. For this theory to stand, a necessary condition is the presence of already delinquent peers. Some, such as

proponents of the 'underclass' thesis, might place an emphasis on the cultural norms in favour of criminal behaviour that are supposedly shared by inhabitants of particular neighbourhoods. As has already been discussed in relation to high unemployment, however, seemingly socially excluded youth often possess conventional values and aspirations (France, 1998; MacDonald and Marsh, 2005).

Third, criminal careers may be chosen as an alternative to legitimate ways of earning. Since young people who live in deprived neighbourhoods are likely to be disadvantaged in their transitions from school to work, for some young people criminal activities may provide income to sustain their lives. As Craine and Coles (1995) illustrate, some young people would become to choose criminal careers as a result of persistently blocked aspirations of getting legitimate, rewarding jobs. Furlong and Cartmel (1997), though, pose a reservation that young people's motives for committing crime are often opportunistic, or simply for 'a laugh' with friends.

Perhaps all these play a role to some extent in the process of a young person being trapped into a long-term criminal career. MacDonald and his colleagues identified in their sample 'young men and women who had displayed long-term criminal and/or dependent drug-using careers' (Webster *et al.*, 2004, p. 3). Unlike the rest of young people whose experiences differed widely, this group showed a typical pattern: they 'had disengaged from school by the age of 12 or 13, had participated with their peer in street drinking, drug use and petty crime from an early age, and had later progressed to more serious crime and drug use' (Johnson *et al.*, 2000, p. 1), although even the majority of this group had started to show the sign of getting back to 'normal life' by their early twenties (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005; Webster *et al.*, 2004). While occasional wrongdoings, typified by instances of shopliftings, were relatively widespread, those who progressed to 'less common, more purposeful, acquisitive and other crimes' had shown '*persistent* physical absence from schools and *continued* commitment to street-based peer groups' (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005, p. 79, original emphasis). At the same time, acquisitive crime, which did raise cash, remained to have an element of leisure, as it helped them kill boredom. Then, for a smaller number of them who became to experience more destructive criminal careers, heroin use was often the most critical moment (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005). They regard social networks as playing an integral part in young people's criminal careers. Those individuals

who followed extended criminal and drug careers were likely to have smaller social networks with those similarly involved in crime and drug use (Webster *et al.*, 2004). By contrast, it was often the formation of new social networks through engagement in education, employment or training, or replacement of earlier peer networks by support of family members and partners, that helped them stop offending and using heroin (Webster *et al.*, 2004). Finally, for MacDonald, 'leisure career' is an important concept to understand their criminal careers as it is at the centre of the formation of young people's social networks (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005; MacDonald and Shildrick, 2004). This last point will be revisited in the next section.

#### **4.5 Relevance of leisure and sport**

This final section aims to link sport and leisure with social exclusion/inclusion of young people in deprived neighbourhoods. Leisure, and sport as a kind of it, in fact is tightly related to all the issues discussed so far in this chapter, for three reasons. First, leisure is an integral part of young people's daily lives, and thus of direct relevance to their well-being. Therefore, the right to accessing leisure opportunities is arguably part of 'citizenship rights' of 'young citizens'. Second, it is closely related to 'problem' of youth, as substance use as well as criminal activities is part of leisure. Third, it is supposed to have an impact on their transitions. In short, it is relevant to 'future' of young people. In particular, the policy discourse tends to stress the positive impact of 'constructive' leisure such as sport.

In relation to the first point, it has been argued with regard to the citizenship debate that leisure is one of the areas in which young people have a stake. There is another argument that may support the intrinsic importance of leisure to young people's life. It is the fact that leisure is now thought to be the arena where young people construct their identities through choosing the patterns of consumption (France, 1998). France's (1998) argument for 'cultural right' indeed revolves around this central role of leisure in youth identity. As MacDonald and Marsh (2005) argue, consumption might be irrelevant to many young people living in deprived areas, who cannot afford to choose what to buy. However, the fact that they cannot operate in consumer market, which is integral to mainstream youth, may well have significance to the construction of their identities.

The second and third points present seemingly contradicting roles of leisure in social exclusion and inclusion of young people. Such as drinking, drug taking, or just hanging about the streets, may be understood as signs of exclusion, while engaging with certain types of leisure, such as sporting and physical activities and the arts, is regarded as contributing to inclusion. And yet, they are essentially the same in that they are both among the options of leisure activities from which young people choose to do.

One of the resolutions to this contradiction is to re-construct some of the ‘problematic’ leisure as rather ‘normal’. The concept of normalisation provides such an understanding in terms of drug use. Likewise, such things as ‘hanging around the streets’ may be positively constructed as the important, unsupervised time in the formation of teenage identity. MacDonald and Marsh (2005) demonstrate that “‘hanging around the streets’ was a social activity that was central to early teenage leisure’ as ‘it provided the opportunity for informal and independent socialising away from parents and with friends and potentially boy/girl friends’ (p. 71). Petty crime such as shoplifting is also relatively widespread, as it provides the opportunity for ‘having a laugh’ with friends, but not necessarily associated with particularly excluded young people (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; MacDonald and Marsh, 2005).

Meanwhile, as has been discussed earlier, some young people progressively become involved in more serious crime as well as harder drug use, while these activities may be of similar significance to the young people subjectively as the opportunity for avoiding boredom and having ‘a laugh’. In this case, however, it is rather safe to say that it is an indication of social exclusion, as their prolonged and destructive criminal careers affect their transitions into adulthood.

Thus, it is to some extent true that involvement in ‘problematic’ leisure has a negative impact on youth transition. By contrast, other ‘constructive’ types of leisure appear to be associated with successful transition, as is often pointed out by policy documents including the *Youth Matters* Green Paper (Department for Education and Skills, 2005). Such a positive impact is supposedly on virtually all areas of disadvantage discussed in this chapter,

although the details are not discussed here because they overlap with the discussions on the expected roles of sport in neighbourhood regeneration in the previous chapter.

Instead, the deficit in the logic of the *Youth Matters* Green Paper has to be dealt with. The claim in terms of the positive impact of ‘constructive’ leisure is based on the studies that have found statistical association between participation in formal activities such as sporting activities and youth clubs, as well as volunteering, and successful transition outcomes (Communities that Care, 2005; Feinstein *et al.*, 2005), and that non-participants are more likely to be poor (Park *et al.*, 2004). While the methodological credibility of these studies is undoubted, it does not automatically mean that promoting such formal activities among ‘disengaged’ groups would make their transition successful. There are two reasons. First, these studies only take into account participation and non-participation in formal – possibly supervised – activities. However, a considerable amount of young people’s leisure time may be used for informal, unsupervised activities, which most likely remains unrecorded. In short, participation in formal activities would only account for very small part of young people’s leisure experience, and so should not be placed so much emphasis.

Second, and more importantly, the causality between participation in leisure activities and transition outcomes are taken for granted rather naively. The statistical association between participation in formal leisure and successful transition, and non-participation and unsuccessful one alike may be a reflection of some underlying inequality, or simply difference, between the two groups of young people. For example, MacDonald and Marsh (2005) have found that ‘whilst these neighbourhoods are relatively well served by youth clubs, few attended, regarding them suitable only for younger children’, and yet the young people ‘were keen to dissociate themselves from’ the perception by adult authorities regarding their street-based leisure as a forum for delinquency (p. 71). This kind of choice made by young people may be influenced by such things as the shared norms among their peer groups, which should be understood as a symptom rather than a cause of social exclusion (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2004).

In summary, young people’s leisure experiences, or ‘leisure careers’, are of great relevance to their transition into adulthood as well as to their present lives, but in rather intriguing ways. For example, participating in seemingly problematic leisure activities might, at least

subjectively, be contributing greatly to making young people's lives more pleasant, but at the same time may have some adverse effect on their future careers. The relationship between leisure careers and youth transition, as MacDonald and Marsh (2005) would agree, cannot be understood to be simple linear causation. Rather, it is perhaps best understood as part of the context that underlies the processes of young people's transition into adulthood.

## **4.6 Conclusion**

This chapter reviewed the issues with regard to young people and social exclusion, with particular reference to neighbourhood deprivation. 'Youth' can be defined as a transition period from childhood to adulthood. The current youth policy discourse mainly regards youth as 'problem' (i.e. underachieving in transition, while causing nuisance to society), and so is aimed at making the 'future' brighter (i.e. improving transition outcomes). However, often overlooked is the fact that young people are integral members of society, that is, 'young citizens', who have rights to be guaranteed as much as (or even before) obligations to be imposed upon. It is in part a conceptual problem as the notion of citizenship has been built upon that of adult. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to reconstruct the concept in relation to 'youth', at least it is acknowledged by some commentators that freedom for sub-cultural expression is an important right of young people. Sport and leisure may have a share within that right.

Notwithstanding the rights as 'young citizens' at the present, it is still important to see 'youth' as a critical stage of a person's life to determine his/her well-being in its following period as an adult. The chapter provided a review of the disadvantages that young people who grow up in deprived neighbourhoods have to negotiate in their quest for successful transition into adulthood. Although the review was provided under separate headings of education, employment and training, health, and crime, it has pointed to the fact that these disadvantages were interwoven with each other. Thus, it is argued here that youth transition should be understood within 'the complexity of young people's lives "in the round"' (Smith and Green, 2005, p. 241). One of the most elaborate examples of such studies suggested that 'leisure careers' are one of the clues to understand the complexity of youth transition (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005; MacDonald and Shildrick, 2004). Therefore, research into

sport-related regeneration projects, of which many are youth-related, must go beyond the examination of statistical association between sport participation, or more generally 'constructive' use of leisure time, and positive transition outcomes. The next chapter discusses the conceptual framework of the research consistent with such a comprehensive approach, building on the concept of 'capabilities' (Sen, 1992), while also addressing the confusion in the 'sport and social inclusion' literature, which has been suspended in Chapter 3.

# Chapter 5 Conceptual Framework: A Capability Perspective

## 5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is threefold. First, it aims to define the politically popular concept of ‘social exclusion’ in such a way that social scientific analysis is possible in relation to the roles of sport in neighbourhood regeneration. Second, it attempts to resolve the conceptual and practical intricacy caused by the introduction of the concept of ‘social exclusion’ into the discourse of sport policy. Third, it proposes a framework for a research strategy within which sport-related regeneration projects can be more rigorously investigated than the previous studies. In pursuit of these objects, Amartya Sen’s capability approach is the normative and methodological inspiration.

Chapter 2 has shown that as the urban regeneration policy in the UK has become more community-centred, ‘social exclusion’ is now at the heart of the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (Social Exclusion Unit, 1998, 2001). The governmental definition of the term, adopted by both SEU (2001, p. 10) and the Scottish Executive (1999), is given as:

A short hand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environment, bad health and family breakdown.

Although ‘social exclusion’ may be a more comprehensive concept than area-based poverty and deprivation, no doubt the above definition to a great degree is meant to refer to the

multiple disadvantages that many deprived urban areas suffer. Similarly, although ‘social inclusion’ may not exactly equate to the goal of urban regeneration, often it appears as if it does, as is symbolically suggested by the fact that the previous urban regeneration initiative in Scotland was named the Social Inclusion Partnerships.

The concept has been also popular within the discourse of sport policy since the report of the Policy Action Team 10 (PAT10) (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 1999), so that ‘tackling social exclusion’ is one of the main policy objectives of the national sport councils (Sport England, 1999, 2001; sportscotland, 2003a, 2003b). In particular, the latest five-year strategy of sportscotland (2003a), *Sport 21*, clearly states that sport can ‘further social inclusion’, as it supposedly helps to:

- improve people’s physical and mental health and well-being;
- promote and enhance education and lifelong learning;
- promote active citizenship;
- combat anti-social behaviour; and
- assist economic development (p. 8).

Meanwhile, some new streams of funding have become available for community-level sporting programmes, with the sport sector being regarded as part of the strategic partners in the ‘joined-up’ approach to area-based urban regeneration (see Chapter 2).

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, however, the introduction of the concept seems to have caused confusion both theoretically and practically. The nature of the confusion can be summarised as the uncritical use of ‘social exclusion/inclusion’ without distinguishing the difference between ‘social inclusion *in* sport’ and ‘social inclusion *through* sport’, while the conceptual ambiguity inherent to the term itself contributes to it. The primary focus of this thesis is upon neighbourhood regeneration using sport, that is, social inclusion *through* sport. However, the ‘sporting inclusion’ perspective is also relevant since, in the context of sport policy, the term ‘social exclusion/inclusion’ always denotes both meanings. The project review in Chapter 2 has also illustrated how in practice two different sets of objectives concerned with sport and community development are often amalgamated.

Therefore, the concept has to be defined in such a way that this confusion can be resolved. The capability perspective developed by Sen provides a lead to answer this problem.

In addition, there is another merit of the capability perspective. Any policy discourse, of which that of social exclusion/inclusion is an example, is a bundle of normative statements. Thus, in defining a highly policy-oriented term like social exclusion, a researcher cannot be free of his own normative position. As far as the current thesis is concerned, this issue is further entangled by the fact that sport-based regeneration programmes are not only part of urban regeneration policy, but also closely linked to youth policy, which was the subject of Chapter 4. In particular, the highly ideological debate over the relationship between citizenship and youth has to be taken into consideration in defining the term 'social exclusion'. This is because citizenship is not only one of the key concepts to conceptualising social exclusion, but also inherently an adult concept as opposed to youth. While it is well out of scope of the thesis to fully engage with this debate, the capability perspective provides the normative basis on which the argument satisfying the purpose of the thesis can be constructed.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. The next section reviews how social exclusion has been conceptualised as an analytical concept by a number of commentators. Then, the conceptual confusion regarding sport and social exclusion/inclusion and its consequential practical problems are fully articulated. After that, Amartya Sen's understanding of social exclusion from his capability perspective is introduced as a clue to resolving the confusion surrounding the 'sport and social exclusion/inclusion' literature. Following this are two sections examining whether sport participation can be understood as 'social inclusion' either *constitutively* or *instrumentally*, while proposing possible strategies to evaluate sport-related regeneration programmes as 'social inclusion' programmes.

## **5.2 Social exclusion**

It is broadly agreed that the term 'social exclusion' originated in France in 1970s, when the then Secretary of State for Social Action, René Lenoir, called a range of disadvantaged groups of people who were not protected under the social insurance system '*les exclus*' –

the excluded (Silver, 1994). Thereafter it gained popularity, first at European policy level, and then at national level in the UK, while at the same time the list of the 'socially excluded' kept expanding (Burchardt *et al.*, 2002; Parkinson, 1998). Although the value underlying the creation of the term is the French Republican collectivist tradition where social solidarity is championed, its increasing recognition and replacement for the more conventional term 'poverty' in policy discourse required poverty researchers in the UK to conceptualise the new term in relation to the old one despite their inherited preference for liberal individualism and social mobility (Berghman, 1995; Room, 1995; Silver, 1994).

Consequently, their effort inevitably led to a comprehensive formulation of the term, as Walker (1997) summarises:

regarding *poverty* as a lack of the material resources, especially income, necessary to participate in British society and *social exclusion* as a more comprehensive formulation which refers to the dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society. Social exclusion may, therefore, be seen as the denial (or non-realisation) of the civil, political and social rights of citizenship (p. 8, emphasis original).

Indeed, this definition is comprehensive enough that it would encompass most of the meanings actually in use. Indeed, theoretical confusion regarding social exclusion is not a phenomenon only within the area of sport, but is generally observed throughout the literature. Some say that it is a concept which is socially constructed by different combination of economic, social and political processes (Somerville, 1998), and the only thing that can be agreed about the term is the fact that there cannot be any universally agreeable definition of social exclusion (Atkinson, 1998). Silver (1994) argues that the term has multiple meanings 'distinguished between different theoretical perspectives, political ideologies, and national discourses' (p. 539). Similarly, Levitas (1998) argues that 'social exclusion' can act as a 'shifter' between three different types of discourse, namely:

- a redistributionist discourse (RED) developed in British critical social policy, whose prime concern is with poverty;

- a moral underclass discourse (MUD) which centres on the moral and behavioural delinquency of the excluded themselves; and
- a social integrationist discourse (SID) whose central focus is on paid work (p. 7),

Levitas contends that these discourses in reality do not always appear distinctively. On the contrary, ‘much public discourse slides between them’ (p. 27). She continues:

That, indeed, is one of the reasons why a concept like social exclusion is so powerful. Not only does the multiplicity of meanings which attach to it give it a wide acceptance, but it operates as a shifter between the different discourses. Like the ‘underclass’, ‘social exclusion’ can, almost unnoticed, mobilize a redistributive argument behind a cultural or integrationist one – or represent cultural or integrationist arguments as redistributive (p.27).

Thus, the concept has gained wide currency while leaving the inherently competing ideologies behind it unnoticed. Arguably, then, it is more a political than an analytical concept, despite the fact that it has drawn much academic attention since the late 1990s. Social exclusion, across different disciplines of social science, has been conceptualised in relation to *social solidarity/integration*, *relativity*, *comprehensiveness*, *dynamic process*, and *agency*, while the notion of *citizenship* rights is emphasised so as to bridge the gap between the British tradition of liberal individualism and the French counterpart which champions social solidarity/integration. All these elements are featured in Walker’s definition quoted above. The following subsections summarises these arguments under the headings of the terms italicised above.

### **5.2.1 Social solidarity**

As Burchardt *et al.* (2002) contend, in France, where the concept of social exclusion originated, as well as in other continental European countries which share the value of French republicanism, ‘social cohesion is thought to be essential to maintaining the contract on which society is founded’ (p. 2). In this tradition, social exclusion is seen as a break of social bond, threatening social solidarity, which is of particular importance in French republicanism. Silver (1994) maintains that the French republican discourse of social

solidarity, while rejecting liberal individualism and political representation as bases for social integration, 'sought a "third way" that would reconcile individual rights with state responsibility and socialist rejection of exploitation' (p. 537).

In republican tradition, the state is seen as the embodiment of the general will of the nation and the moral duties of citizens. Public institutions are justified to further social integration. Unlike in the UK where social security was a result of working-class struggle, the state is responsible for providing social security to assure citizens subsistence and a right to work, while assisted citizens have a duty to work and to participate in public life. The interests of the nation (i.e. the general will) are superior to those of any other social subgroups. In fact, rights of individual citizens are not considered to be as important as their participation in a communal civil life. To maintain social integration, intermediate institutions function to reconcile separate interests. That is, a hierarchical moral order is justified, as it is necessary to sustaining social solidarity. This social solidarity in republican thought is related to the Durkheimian notion of 'social bond', which morally regulates individual behaviour (Silver, 1994, pp. 537-539).

Therefore, social exclusion, understood as a breakdown of the social bond between the individual and society, matters, as it threatens the unity of the state. The way to ameliorate social exclusion is considered as 'integration' and 'insertion', while the latter is the process of achieving the former. In a Durkheimian sense, this implies assimilation into the dominant culture, though recent post-modernist uses of the term consider it as adjustment of the dominant and minority culture to each other (Silver, 1994, pp. 541-542).

In the UK, where there has been a long tradition of poverty research, social exclusion is a relatively new term both in policies and the social sciences. Unlike French Republicanism, in the tradition of British poverty research the view of society is liberal individualism: atomised individuals are competing within the free market. Therefore, social policy is aimed at ensuring that each individual has sufficient resources to be able to survive in this competitive arena (Room, 1995, p. 6). For this reason, poverty research has been primarily concerned with the distribution of income and material resources. However, the shift from poverty to social exclusion in European policy and social research in the early 1990s made it inevitable for British poverty researcher to be confronted with the concept of social

exclusion, which is primarily about relational issues rather than distributional. Since then, many thinkers have attempted to conceptualise social exclusion as a somehow different idea providing analytical addition to that of poverty and deprivation.

### **5.2.2 Relativity**

Atkinson (1998) contends that social exclusion always entails relativity, whereas poverty does not necessarily do. While it is possible to define a threshold of income or material resources allowing minimum subsistence, below which people are considered in poverty in an absolute term, Atkinson argues:

whatever the merits of an absolute approach when measuring poverty, it has no relevance to social exclusion. We cannot judge whether or not a person is socially excluded by looking at his or her circumstances in isolation. The concrete implementation of any criterion for exclusion has to take account of the activities of others. People become excluded because of events elsewhere in society (p. 7).

Nevertheless, relativity alone might not be the decisive element that differentiates social exclusion from poverty. Arguably, it was Townsend (1979) who introduced the notion of relative deprivation into poverty analysis. Relative deprivation is defined as ‘the lack of resources for playing the roles, participating in the relationships and following the customs expected of members of that society’ (Jordan, 1996, p. 93). In other words, sufficiency of resources should be judged by whether or not an individual is able to participate in the activities that the members of the society normally enjoy. As Townsend (1979) defines:

Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities which are customary, or are at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong (p. 31).

After Townsend, relative definitions of poverty came into fashion. In fact, for some commentators including Ringen (1988, cited Berghman, 1995), it is even redundant to say ‘relative’ deprivation, since poverty is always relative. For them, the problem of poverty

analysis is that it tends to define and measure poverty in terms of income, which is only an indirect measure because it does not say anything about actual living conditions, but is just one of the determinants. Rather, they argue that poverty should be defined and measured directly: in terms of living conditions and consumption. In other words, they prefer a direct definition and measurement of poverty in terms of deprivation, defined as ‘a standard of consumption which is below what is generally considered to be a decent minimum’ (Ringen, 1988, p. 354, cited Berghman, 1995, p. 17). Although Townsend also uses a direct definition of poverty by introducing the idea of relative deprivation, he still fails to measure it directly in focusing upon an income threshold to define a poverty line. Examples of study along this line include Burchardt *et al.* (1999) and Gordon *et al.* (2000).

### **5.2.3 Comprehensiveness and dynamic process**

Instead of relativity, Berghman (1995) contends that comprehensiveness and dynamics are the elements which characterise social exclusion. Berghman defines poverty as a lack of disposable income, which is the static outcome brought about through a dynamic process of impoverishment, while deprivation, comprehensive disadvantage in consumption, is a static outcome brought about by social exclusion, a dynamic process. Although this framework seems very neat, it is still not clear, at analytical level, how to actually distinguish phenomena according to the four categories.

Social exclusion is said to be comprehensive in that it is concerned with more than mere income or material resources. However, there is still some room to discuss what comprehensiveness exactly represents. For example, Townsend’s concept of relative deprivation certainly appears ‘much more than money’ (Berghman, 1995, p. 18), as seen in its twelve dimensions; namely dietary, clothing, fuel and light, household facilities, housing conditions, work conditions, health, education, environment, family activities, recreation, and social relations (Whelan and Whelan, 1995). On the other hand, Berghman (1995) deploys Commins’s (1993) view of social exclusion to illustrate its comprehensive nature. For Commins (1993), social exclusion is considered as failure of one or more of four systems; namely the democratic and legal, labour market, welfare state, and family and community systems. Berghman (1995) finds this similar to the notion of citizenship rights in Marshal’s (1950) term, and defines social exclusion as the denial or non-realisation of

citizenship rights. Although this definition of social exclusion using citizenship itself is plausible, and will be discussed later in detail, his use for the illustration of the dimensions showing its comprehensiveness is questionable, because this confuses process with outcome, which is the other axis which he himself uses to differentiate social exclusion from poverty.

In a sense poverty exists in the process of deprivation (i.e. social exclusion), as a lack of income (i.e. poverty) leads to disadvantage in consumption (i.e. deprivation). And also, a form of social exclusion (e.g. discrimination in labour market) might cause someone to have a lower income, and so could be understood as part of the process of impoverishment. In fact, most of the empirical studies into social exclusion do not strictly distinguish poverty and social exclusion. Rather, they look at either the comprehensiveness or the dynamic process of poverty and social exclusion (Room, 1995).

For example, one of the achievements of those studies might be the discovery of various realisations of poverty and social exclusion. Walker (1995) looked at the dynamic process analysing longitudinal data of social assistance and pointed out the importance of understanding the various mechanisms of going in and out of poverty. Whelan and Whelan (1995), reviewing the development of indicators measuring multidimensional poverty, maintain that it is important to ‘understand the dynamics of social change and the processes by which certain social groups are excluded’ (p. 37). Moreover, social exclusion could be independent of poverty. As Walker (1995) suggests, ‘poverty is probably neither a sufficient nor a necessary factor in social exclusion’ (p. 127). Some forms of social exclusion might lead to poverty, while others not. In the same way, poverty does not necessarily lead to social exclusion, though sometimes does. These assertions suggest the importance of the context.

Rather than regarding poverty as outcome in terms of income, Burchardt *et al.* (2002) consider it as one of the causes interrupting participation in society, including discrimination, geographical location, bad health, and cultural identification alongside low income and lack of material resources. In other words, social exclusion is comprehensive in that it draws attention to multiple processes leading to multiple disadvantages. In addition, it should be noted that it is hard to find a simple linear relationship between one of the

causes listed above and one or more disadvantages. Rather, the causes are likely to be interwoven with each other as well as with the outcomes. Thus, the value of introducing the concept of social exclusion is that it enables for such complex processes of the disadvantages experienced by an individual or a group to be investigated.

#### **5.2.4 Agency**

In these processes, the roles of agents are crucial. Unlike poverty and deprivation, social exclusion, whether implicitly or explicitly, involves the issue of agency, as it implies the existence of not only a group of people who are excluded but also those who exclude them (Atkinson, 1998). Because of this nature, Byrne (1999) welcomes the spread of the term the ‘socially excluded’ as opposed to the ‘underclass’, which had once gained currency in relation to poverty despite its highly stigmatising nature. As Byrne holds:

‘Exclusion’ is something that is done by some people to other people. The central tenet of popular versions of ‘the underclass’ argument is that miserable conditions are self-induced – the poor do it to themselves. Political theorists of social exclusion allow that they can be consequences of economic transformation; it is the fault of ‘society’ as a whole (pp. 1-2).

Indeed, the notion of underclass, introduced by Murray (1990), has been criticised by many theorists that it blames the poor in attributing the cause of poverty to their allegedly distinctive cultural characteristics. Murray sees persisting poverty as a moral and cultural phenomenon. He argues that there is a group of people who are extremely poor, so-called the ‘underclass’, and that their poverty is caused by their immorality. Particularly, he blames the young people in that unemployed, delinquent young males lack self-discipline to find and stick to respectable jobs, and female lone parents are sexually and socially irresponsible. In addition, for Murray, social insurance systems make the matters worse, since those people are too reliant upon them to pursue independence.

Although this underclass theory once became popular among the political right, there have been enormous criticisms against it. Some argue it is a highly gendered, stereotyping view, while others point out that it lacks empirical evidence (Levitas, 1998). Indeed, empirical

evidence has suggested that the poverty might not be experienced continuously by a certain group of people, but by a larger number of people in turn (Byrne, 1999; Jordan, 1996; Walker, 1995). Macdonald and Marsh (2005) argue, however, that many of these criticisms have methodological limitations because, if the ‘underclass’ were in existence, they were most likely left out of the sample of large-scale surveys. Nevertheless, their longitudinal, in-depth qualitative study in one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in England has convinced them that the cultural underclass theory is false.

Apart from this cultural, individualistic explanation of the cause of poverty, there are two other types of explanation: highlighting the role of institutions and systems, and emphasising issues of discrimination and lack of enforced rights (Burchardt *et al.*, 2002, p. 3). Byrne (1999) maintains that the term social exclusion inherently entails both, because ‘social’ stands for the existence of society as a whole whereas ‘exclusion’ indicates dynamic process in which both those who are excluded and those who exclude them are involved.

Nevertheless, the policies to tackle social exclusion can tend to focus on just ameliorating the problems the excluded are faced with and fail to address the structural aspect, which is one of the main criticisms against the area-based regeneration policy. Rather than this ‘weak’ version of social exclusion (Veit-Wilson, 1998 cited Byrne, 1999), Byrne (1999) endorses the ‘strong’ version of social exclusion, since it underscores the role of those who do the excluding and try to solve the problem by reducing the power of exclusion, whereas the ‘weak’ version pursues the solution by altering the handicapping characteristics of the excluded themselves and enhance their integration into dominant society.

### **5.2.5 Citizenship**

There has been considerable effort, then, to conceive social exclusion as a different concept from poverty, as well as to synthesise the two traditions from which the two concepts derive. The key to this synthesis is often said to be the notion of citizenship rights. Room (1995) contends that, while citizenship binds individuals into membership of a moral and political community so as to further social integration, failing to secure the rights of citizens

tends to have them suffer from generalised and persisting disadvantage and their social and occupational participation is undermined.

Arguably, Marshall's (1950) thesis of citizenship rights is the point of reference. It categorises citizenship rights into three, namely, civil, political and social rights. First, the civil rights consist of the rights necessary for individual freedom and the rights to justice. In short, citizens are equally given the rights to access to legal systems. Second, the political rights mean the rights to participate in the exercise of political power. They are generally thought to involve not only the mere right to vote but also those to other activities such as lobbying, as well as to the access to information. Finally, the social rights include:

whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being, according to the standard prevailing in the society (Marshall, 1950, cited Lister, 1990, p. 47).

Among these three levels of citizenship rights, it is mainly the social rights being denied that is equated to social exclusion (Berghman, 1995; Room, 1995). Lister (1990) contends that the social rights are so fundamental that their inadequate realisation undermines the civil and political rights, and that poverty prevents individuals from enjoying the social rights to the full extent. Notably, Marshall's account of the social citizenship rights is so flexible that the area it covers expands as the standard of living improves. The social citizenship rights were considered as the rationale of a welfare state and provided theoretical backup of redistributionist policies. Although Marshall himself did not consider such issues as gender and ethnicity, as a result of 'an attempt to radicalise the concept of citizenship' (Lister, 1990, p. 28), the concept is also applicable to women and ethnic minorities.

However, Jordan (1996) contends that often ignored is the fact that the notion of citizenship in Marshall's sense is fundamentally different from that of the continental tradition of social integration. The continental understanding of citizenship prioritises collective interests to individual ones, while the British counterpart emphasises individual rights. Many commentators have pointed out that in the UK, citizenship has become to mean more

obligations than rights during the 1980s (Lister, 1990; Jordan, 1996). Although citizenship was deployed in order to further political and social integration, unlike the continental sense which underlines institutional systems as a means to achieve social integration, it emphasised a moral and political order (Jordan, 1996). Byrne (1999) also insists that the Marshallian notion of citizenship, notwithstanding the intention of Marshall himself, has been conjoined with the liberal individualism, or what he calls the 'possessive individualism', rather than the collectivistic Republican solidarity. In his account, possessive individualism only assures 'negative' liberty which does not allow claims for others' property, while 'positive' liberty does.

Jordan (1999) is doubtful about citizenship rights as a means of furthering inclusion. In his account, the theory of citizenship, with its basis upon an agreeable universal principle of justice, tends to prioritise political membership. However, in contemporary cosmopolitan cities, political membership has become less important because of an influx of migrants, who seek economic opportunities at the expense of political rights. Thus, political membership such as nationality functions exclusively:

Citizenship is a concept that serves to define members and exclude non-members, or at least to differentiate the population into full members, denizens (those with residence and some other rights, but not political rights), and aliens (p. 104).

By contrast, Barry (2002) argues for the importance of social integration in relation to social justice as an equal opportunity, particularly in terms of political rights in a broad sense. He contends that if an individual is isolated from other people in the society, he or she is denied access to activities such as:

to take part in the work of political parties and other organisations concerned with public policy, to take part in lobbying and consult with local councillors or MPs, and so on (p. 21).

In addition to this inability to access various political opportunities, Barry (2002) continues that lack of social solidarity ruins political rights in a different way. Social isolation implies that the interests of the isolated individuals differ from the majority of the society.

Therefore, those interests are less likely to reflect in a decision making through voting. In other words, in a society where strong social solidarity exists, and thus where the deviation of interests of people from that of the median voter is smaller, it is more likely for the marginalised populations to be the winners of a voting.

As was discussed in Chapter 4, citizenship is a subject of debate also in the domain of youth policy. However, the Marshallian notion of citizenship is developed upon the concept of adulthood, so that it is unsuitable in understanding social exclusion of young people (France, 1996, 1998). The current youth policy expects young people to learn to fulfil responsibilities before they are old enough to gain full access to citizenship rights. While some advocate ‘empowering’ young people by institutionally involving them in the process of decision-making, others urge for the appreciation of the importance of ‘cultural rights’ expressed in more informal forms of youth subculture, whereas to some adults they may appear as ‘rebels’ (Chapter 4). While this thesis is incapable of fully exploring this issue, it maintains that young people should be regarded as ‘young citizens’, not ‘deficient citizens’, who have stakes in neighbourhood regeneration as much as adults do. When viewed as ‘deficient citizens’, young people are always ‘excluded’ in logic, and in fact tend to be subject to social control. But if the goal of neighbourhood regeneration were to improve the well-being of the local residents, young people must be considered as part of the beneficiaries. Thus, the following sections in part consider how ‘well-being’ of young people can be conceptualised in the context of deprived neighbourhoods.

### **5.3 Sport and social inclusion: conceptual confusion and practical problems**

Notwithstanding these efforts to define the concept, as far as the literature with regard to sport and social exclusion/inclusion is concerned, the term seems to be used rather indiscriminately in much the same way as it is in policy discourse. To simplify the matter, promoting sport participation seems to be equated with ‘social inclusion’ rather uncritically, because of both its intrinsic value and the range of benefits believed to accrue from it. As discussed in Chapter 3, there has been only limited evidence as to whether and how sport can contribute to neighbourhood regeneration. The lack of evidence is often attributed to

the fact that proper monitoring and assessment are hardly ever conducted due to technical difficulties and shortage of resources. As a result, many programmes claim their ‘success’ on the basis of the increased number of participants that they have engaged, assuming implicitly that participation automatically entails benefits. The current chapter argues that the uncritical use of the term ‘social inclusion’ is partially responsible for this unproductiveness. In other words, the increased participation in sport is uncritically appreciated in the name of ‘social inclusion’ without clear evidence of its positive outcomes to the participants as well as to communities.

The literature with regard to sport and social exclusion/inclusion can be roughly classified into one of two types: one is concerned with unequal participation in sports, and the other is concerned with the individual and collective benefits of sport participation. These two approaches are principally different perspectives, in that the former pursues social inclusion *in* sport, whereas the latter pursues it *through* sport. Coalter (2002) formulates this distinction as *sporting* inclusion (i.e. the development of sport in communities) and *social* inclusion (i.e. the development of communities through sport). Long *et al.* (2002) identify five types of argument as to why participation in sport (and the arts) can be regarded as social inclusion, which can be summarised as follows:

1. Involvement in cultural activities (including sport) is *de facto* social inclusion, because they are in and of themselves regarded as a good thing in society.
2. Increased participation rates by the ‘socially excluded’ (e.g. minority ethnic groups, the unemployed, older people) means they are at least included in something, even if they are excluded from society as a whole.
3. Involvement in cultural activities has the potential to improve policy indicators with regard to social exclusion (i.e. health, education, employment and crime).
4. As a result of cultural projects, human/community/social capital is increased (e.g. self-confidence, self-esteem, social network, community cohesion, civic pride).
5. Cultural projects open up the structures/institutions/organisations by empowering the ‘socially excluded’.

Evidently, the first two are concerned with social inclusion in sport, whereas the latter three social inclusion through sport. The ‘social inclusion in sport’ perspective is concerned with

unequal participation in sport, often of disadvantaged social groups, such as women, the poor, unemployed and disabled people, and minority ethnic groups, all of them being regarded as the 'socially excluded'. The central concern of this perspective is how to involve under-participating – often disadvantaged – groups into sporting activities. Its common approach is to regard unequal participation in certain activities as the evidence of social exclusion, and try to identify the constraints that prohibit the involvement of under-participating groups. Examples include inequalities with regard to gender (Kay, 2003), minority ethnic groups (Scott Porter Research and Marketing Ltd., 2001a), disability (Scott Porter Research and Marketing Ltd., 2001b), and low income (Collins with Kay, 2003).

The other, the 'social inclusion through sport' perspective, is concerned with the benefits that are expected to accrue to individuals and communities through participation in sport activities, which leads to the alleviation of social exclusion in a wider sense. This type of research assesses the ability of sport to contribute to combating social exclusion, mainly in terms of the policy indicators presented by the PAT10 report, as well as other social benefits. The literature reviewed in Chapter 3 mostly falls into this category.

In fact, neither theme is particularly new in the realm of sport policy. They were already quite popular in the discussion about sport development before the emergence of the term 'social exclusion' (for example, Arthur and Finch, 1999; Bovaird *et al.*, 1997; Coalter and Allison, 1996; Department of the Environment, 1989; Houlihan and White, 2002; Lyons, 1990; Metcalfe, 1998; Pack and Glyptis, 1985; Robins, 1990; Taylor *et al.*, 1999; Utting, 1996). But the new fashionable concept has fuelled these areas of research, owing to the fact that it connects sport to the mainstream social policy (for example, Bailey, 2005; Brackenridge *et al.*, 2000; Coalter, 2001; Coalter *et al.*, 2000; Collins *et al.*, 1999; Collins with Kay, 2003; Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2001; Ibbetson *et al.*, 2003; Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management, 1999; Long *et al.*, 2002; McPherson and Reid, 2001; Snape *et al.*, 2003). The most notable impact was not in terms of bulk, though. On the contrary, the new literature seems to involve some confusion and ambiguity, due to the fact that the inherently different perspectives are compounded under the banner of social exclusion.

One source of confusion is the shared attitude observed in the ‘social inclusion in sport’ perspective, which sees simply promoting inclusion of under-participating groups into sporting activities as ‘social inclusion’. One rationale of this view is that participation in sport is so valued in society that it is part of ‘social citizenship rights’, the denial of which is seen as social exclusion (see Section 5.2.5). Coalter (2000) observes that this tendency is generally seen in leisure studies under what he calls the ‘normative citizenship paradigm’, where opportunities for leisure are seen as social citizenship rights, which should be provided by public sector (Coalter, 1998). He criticises the way that this paradigm has accepted the term in that it seems:

to regard ‘social exclusion’ simply as a synonym for inequality and to take the simple absence of certain groups from public sector leisure facilities as evidence of ‘exclusion’ (Coalter, 2000, p. 174).

He argues that regarding inequality in outcome as social exclusion and, thus, increased participation by under-participating groups as social inclusion, is too simplistic given the complex nature of the concept.

Moreover, as far as sport is concerned, there is another rationale to justify increased participation of the ‘socially excluded’ as social inclusion. It is the very fact that sport is believed to produce a range of benefits to individuals and communities, which contribute to tackling social exclusion. Taking the example of gender inequality, Kay (2003) argues that promoting women’s participation matters because:

women individually can derive as significant benefits from participation in sport as can men. [...] Women who are involved in sport report positive changes in self-esteem and sense of ‘self’, and increased physical power and well-being (p. 105).

Indeed, reference to consequential benefits of sport participation, from physical health to civic pride, is prevalent in the logic of the national sport councils, as well as other adherents, in arguing for the promotion of sport (see Chapter 2).

Therefore, it is partly the task of the second approach, which deals with ‘social inclusion through sport’, to resolve the confusion between sporting and social inclusion. However, there is a lack of conclusive evidence that social inclusion can be achieved through sport. As was discussed in Chapter 3, much evaluation research has tried to measure, whether quantitative or qualitative, the extent of the outcome produced by sport-related programmes in terms of the indicators considered as elements of social exclusion, but conclusions are often inconsistent. Furthermore, the lack of positive observable evidence in terms of the expected benefits is sometimes compensated by the appreciation of the value of participation *per se*, saying, for example, that ‘the children had enjoyed the events’ or that ‘they still had fond and happy memories of the events’ (Long *et al.*, 2002, p. 60). Here is a logical deadlock: whereas sporting inclusion is appreciated because of its expected positive benefits, the lack of evidence of social inclusion is compensated by the intrinsic value of sport.

In addition, in some cases, various elements are addressed at once, despite the substantial difference in the mechanisms involved and the suitable research methods. For example, assessment of the impact on participants’ physical health is a subject of physiology, while the question of whether social cohesion of the community is enhanced is highly sociological. Each would require enormous effort by experts in the area, even if approached separately. In short, it would be much more beneficial to research respectively unless such synthesis in the name of social exclusion provides any theoretical addition. If this were not the case, the use of the term would just put more burdens on the shoulders of researchers, who could produce more fruitful research if they did not use it.

Hence, there is significant conceptual ambiguity regarding sport and social exclusion, causing confusion between sporting and social inclusion, where each perspective supports its value by using that of the other, while observable evidence is missing. In addition, the existing research has not yet achieved enough methodological sophistication so that this unproductive cul-de-sac can be broken through. The following sections thus attempt to resolve these problems. To do this it is necessary to examine whether sporting inclusion can be seen as social inclusion. This can be done by tackling each of the two rationales that underpin the proposition: (a) sport participation is, in itself, valuable; and (b) sport participation is valuable because it provides indirect benefits to the socially excluded.

Amartya Sen's capability approach and his understanding of social exclusion provide useful insights for this purpose.

#### **5.4 Social exclusion and the capability perspective**

Amartya Sen is an Indian-born economist/philosopher and the Nobel Prize winner for Economics in 1998, credited to have brought an ethical dimension back to the field dominated by technical debate. Being also recognised by his early contributions to more traditional areas within economics such as social choice theories, Sen has more recently been globally renowned as one of the leading political philosophers of social justice. His seminal works on the latter include *Inequality Reexamined* (1992), which brings together his earlier thoughts on the notion of 'capabilities', around which he forms his theory of social justice as equality in freedom to choose a life a person wishes to live. Thus, he argues, as typically seen in *Development as Freedom* (1999), the goal of development is to enhance such freedom: the view that has inspired the policies of the United Nations. The argument in this section is also based on *Social Exclusion: Concept, Application, and Scrutiny* (2000), in which he attempts to calm the 'hype' surrounding the concept of social exclusion.

The relevance of Sen's capability perspective to the issues around sport and social exclusion is twofold. First, while the concept of social exclusion allows various interpretations, Sen's view on social exclusion offers a definite and practical understanding, with which the distinction between social inclusion *in* and *through* sport can be clearly defined. Second, the notion of capability itself provides considerable methodological implications for the research from either of the two perspectives. This section considers the first point of reference.

Sen (2000) argues that social exclusion is sometimes overused without considering its connection to the more traditional and wider literature of poverty research. Consequently, he continues:

the impression of an indiscriminate listing of problems under the broad heading of ‘social exclusion’ and of a lack of discipline in selection, combined with the energy and excitement with which the concept has been advocated for adoption by its energetic adherents, has had the effect of putting off some of the experts on poverty and deprivation (p. 2).

Nevertheless, Sen himself does not deny the usefulness of the concept of social exclusion. Rather, he maintains that it is important:

to see what it has added and why the addition may well be important. [...] In terms of the usefulness of the idea, we have to scrutinise and examine critically what new insight – if any – is provided by the approach of social exclusion (p.2).

For Sen, the importance of the social exclusion literature is simply its emphasis on relational features of poverty and deprivation. In his view, the recognition of relational features of poverty is not new, as it can be found in the work of Adam Smith; however the social exclusion literature is useful because it gives a central role to them. This thesis agrees with his view; the concept of social exclusion should be understood in close relation to the more traditional literature of poverty and deprivation research, particularly in order for it to be used for an analytical purpose. Notwithstanding the intention of many commentators in their attempt to define the term as an analytical concept somewhat distinctive from that of poverty and deprivation, it seems more reasonable to understand that the growing social exclusion literature does not look at a new phenomenon, but has shifted the focus of research in looking at what is broadly the same phenomenon as poverty and deprivation.

Sen’s approach to thinking about poverty, though, is quite distinctive to other more traditional approaches. While traditional approaches see poverty as shortage of income, material resources or commodities, he regards it as deprivation of the *capabilities* to achieve *functionings*. Functionings represent the ‘beings and doings’ that directly consist of a person’s well-being. Capability is defined as ‘all the alternative combinations of functionings a person can choose to have’ (Sen, 1992, p. 40). In other words, it is ‘a set of vectors of functionings, reflecting the person’s freedom to choose from possible livings’ (p. 40). For Sen, capability is valued not only because it instrumentally enables higher

achievement, but also because the ability to choose freely is, in itself, intrinsically important to a person's well-being. Thus, poverty is conceived as deprivation of the freedom to pursue various objectives in living, and its evaluation, Sen argues, should not be based solely on the functionings actually achieved, but also the capabilities to function.

This approach is distinctive to traditional ones based on such variables as primary goods, resources, real income and utility. First, well-being is defined as 'beings and doings', as opposed to 'happiness' in a utilitarian sense. Sen (1992) rejects utilitarianism, which focuses on a personal mental metric of desire and fulfilment in assessing a person's well-being. This is because, under the condition where inequalities and deprivations are perpetuated and intensified, a deprived person tries to avoid being always aggrieved and takes pleasure in small achievements by cutting down personal desires to modest and 'realistic' proportions, and so he or she might not appear to be so badly off in terms of fulfilment of desire. Second, the approach is inspired by his belief that the goal of development should be to enlarge the freedom of poor people living the lives they wish to live (Sen, 1999). In other words, his theory of social justice is concerned with equality of freedom (Sen, 1992). Therefore, to Sen, any approach only assessing the actual achievement, in whatever terms, is insufficient (Sen, 1992).

Some writers interested in social exclusion find similarity between their approach and Sen's (Burchardt, 2004, 2005; Burchardt *et al.*, 2002). However, they tend to focus on measuring the actually achieved functionings only, so they fail to address the extent of freedom. Thus, Sen (1992) credits approaches by Rawls and Dworkin, who champion equality in terms of 'primary goods' and 'resources' respectively, since they have shifted the focus at least in the direction of freedom. However, they 'are all concerned with the instruments of achieving well-being and other objectives, and can be seen also as the means to freedom' (p. 42). This is still insufficient for Sen, precisely because each individual has a different ability to convert the same level of resources or primary goods into functionings, and therefore equality in terms of primary goods or resources means inequality in terms of the extent of freedom.

Based on this conception of poverty, Sen (2000) redefines social exclusion as the denial of access to social relations that are relevant to deprivation in terms of capability. He

continues, then, that social relations may have both a *constitutive* and an *instrumental* importance to capability deprivation. They are constitutively important if being excluded from them is seen as a loss on its own, whereas they are instrumentally important if they lead to serious deprivations in other aspects of life, even if being deprived of them is not, in itself, damaging. Thus, social exclusion is defined as exclusion from such relations, whereas social inclusion is seen as being connected to them.

This argument suggests that, in speaking of sport and social exclusion, it is important to ask if the social relations gained from participation in sport are either constitutively or instrumentally relevant to capability deprivation. If participation in sport is, in itself, an essential part of living, non-participation is a constitutive element of capability poverty and so sporting inclusion can be regarded as social inclusion. On the other hand, if a person can improve his or her capability in living because of his or her participation in sports, failure to participate has an instrumental effect on the person's capability. If this is the case, inclusion in sporting activities can also be seen as social inclusion. Thus, the two conditions under which sporting inclusion can be considered as a forum of social inclusion can now be redefined: sport participation is either (a) constitutively, or (b) instrumentally important to people's well-being. The following two sections examine whether there are grounds for understanding sports participation in this way, and, if so, what research strategies are suitable.

## **5.5 Constitutive relevance of sport to neighbourhood regeneration**

This section examines whether sport participation can be construed as a *constitutive* element of people's well-being, and then, building on the answer to it, discusses how the contribution of a sport-related project can be incorporated into the assessment of a person's well-being. For Sen (2000), social relations are of constitutive importance to capability deprivation when the denial of participation is, in itself, thought by society to seriously damage the person's living. Thus, the focal question here is whether participation in sport is such a valuable *functioning* that directly constitutes part of a person's well-being.

At first sight, the answer to this question is straightforward: it depends on each individual's preference whether or not playing sport is an integral part of one's life. Sen (1992) admits that:

There are always elements of real choice regarding the functionings to be included in the list of relevant functionings and important capabilities (p. 44).

But the important question is if a functioning – in this case, participating in sport – is regarded important by *society* as a whole. While some functionings and capabilities can be generally agreed to be central to any individual (e.g. the ability to be well-nourished and well-sheltered), others may well be left out of the list being considered as trivial and negligible. In between, there are many that may or may not be included depending on the context in which an assessment is conducted. Sport falls into this category.

While some advocates of the capability approach have attempted to develop a list of fundamental functionings and capabilities (e.g. Nussbaum, 2003; also see Robeyns, 2006), Sen himself refuses to provide one, and recommends to decide which functionings and capabilities to be included, through a democratic, or participatory, procedure (Sen, 2004). Although such a participatory approach was impossible in this research, a resolution is discussed below that, perhaps, most people would agree with. The distinction between functionings and capabilities plays an important part in the resolution.

Proponents of the importance of participation in sport might argue that it is a key functioning on the grounds that it has been declared to be a fundamental human right. For example, UNESCO (1978) declares:

every human being has a fundamental right of access to physical education and sport (p. 31).

Thus, it may not be surprising that sport participation is often regarded as one of the 'social citizenship rights', the denial of which is seen as equivalent to social exclusion. Nevertheless, on closer inspection, this does not necessarily mean that absence of certain groups of people from particular sporting activities is evidence of social exclusion, because

what is (thought to be) fundamental is not participation *per se*, but the *right of access* to the opportunities to play sports. Evidently, the distinction here parallels with that between actual achievement and the capability to achieve.

So, participating in sport, as a *functioning*, is not essential to one's life; what is important is the *capability* to participate. If a person chooses not to participate, this person is not deprived of the capability. In other words, his or her right is not impinged upon, as his or her capability is assured. A person who does not play football might simply prefer to go to the cinema. Barry (2002) puts forward an example from another field:

imagine two people who graduate with a qualification in law of exactly equal quality. If one opts for a high-pressure career while the other prefers a job that leaves a lot of time for playing golf and gardening, it is not unfair according to the principle of justice as equal opportunity (p. 19).

In short, they both have the same level of capability, despite the difference in the actual time spent for leisure.

Thus, any assessment of social exclusion based solely on information about actual participation fails to take into account the hidden proportion of voluntary exclusion and may erroneously estimate the degree of inequality. The number of participants provides information only about actual achievement, whereas what really matters is the capability, that is, the freedom to choose participation. Assessment based on capability is preferable, considering the widely shared view that participation in sport is a matter of choice (Coalter *et al.*, 2000).

Sen (1992) concedes, however, one of the difficulties with the capability approach is the fact that capabilities are not directly observable, and so it requires many presumptions in order to estimate the proportion of voluntary exclusion in sport participation. Thus, some supplementary data is necessary in addition to that of actual participation, so that one can judge what proportion of non-participation is as a result of voluntary choice. However, it must be noted that seemingly 'voluntary' exclusion is often caused by capability failure (Barry, 2002; Burchardt *et al.*, 1999). For example, a prior experience of discrimination

often results in the unwillingness of the person to take part. Therefore, simply to exclude those who are unwilling to participate from the analysis would be insufficient, since they might not have capability to participate.

A clue to this dilemma is provided by recalling that capability is defined as ‘a set of vectors of functionings, reflecting the person’s *freedom to lead one type of life or another*’ (Sen, 1992, p. 40, emphasis added). This implies that a person who chooses not to participate in sport should be able to choose something else instead, so that voluntary exclusion from sport does not undermine the person’s well-being. Normally, what a person would choose to do while others play sport would be another leisure activity (although some might trade-off leisure and sport for other rewarding activities). That is, as long as a person has alternative leisure activities to sport, excluding him/herself from sport participation does not mean the person is worse-off than those who participate. It is argued here, though, that if a person has no or very limited options in leisure, that is quite serious deprivation. In particular, as was discussed in Chapter 4, leisure is such an integral part of young people’s lives that it links directly to their identity formation. Being able to enjoy their leisure time, therefore, has intrinsic importance to their lives. This view must be at least more broadly acceptable than to see sport participation *per se* as integral to anyone’s life.

Thus, *being able to enjoy one’s leisure time* is arguably an important enough functioning to be included in the list of functionings that constitute the evaluative space for assessing sport-based regeneration programmes. In a sense, it is a functioning in a form of capability, as it can be rephrased as *choosing from possible options of leisure activity*, sport being just one of the options. As Sen (1992) ponders:

Choosing may itself be a valuable part of living, and a life of genuine choice with serious options may be seen to be – for that reason – richer. In this view, at least some types of capabilities contribute directly to well-being, making one’s life richer with the opportunity of reflective choice (p. 41).

Therefore, participating in sport can be seen to be one of the functionings comprising the vector that represents the ‘leisure capability’. The assessment as to whether or not sport provision contributes to the improved well-being of a person should be based on its

contribution to the capability in leisure on the whole. So, a case can be made for focusing on leisure capability on the whole instead of just sport.

There is another reason that this thesis finds it problematic to focus on one particular sport. This is because a certain sport, especially when it is dominant in society, can function exclusively. One could argue that, under certain circumstances, participating in a particular kind of sport is regarded as of great importance to a member of the society. For example, in a society where football is so dominant that a large majority of the members see it as important, being deprived of capability to take part in it may be a serious capability failure. Under such circumstances, initiatives for the development of that sport might be justifiable from the viewpoint of social inclusion. This, however, raises another issue concerning social exclusion: how to include the 'excluded'.

Many writers suggest that 'inclusion' often means integration into the dominant culture (Silver, 1994; Levitas, 1996). Some defend social/cultural integration from the viewpoint of social solidarity (Barry, 2002), and others reject it in appreciation of pluralism or post-modernism (Jordan, 1996). As far as the capability perspective is concerned, integration into the dominant culture is not the ideal way of social inclusion. For example, immigrants from developing countries to a developed one would initially experience social exclusion due to the difference of lifestyle, but would be able to acquire higher achievement by adapting themselves to the dominant culture. This certainly means improvement in well-being because they have acquired a higher level of functionings, but at the same time some loss in capabilities as they have lost the freedom to pursue their original lifestyle. Of course, their migration itself reflects their choice to change their lifestyle to some extent in pursuit of better functionings. However, if they were able to maintain certain aspects of their previous lifestyles after moving, the constraints of migration would be fewer. Hence, the more capabilities a society can provide, the more inclusive it can be.

The same logic is applicable to the context of sport. Under the circumstances where a particular sport is dominant, the freedom to choose other activities may tend to be restricted. Imagine members of a certain social group are under-participating in football due to some social constraints (for example, racial discrimination or income poverty). Their capability to pursue participation in football is improved by removing such constraints. However,

some of them would not choose to participate, simply because of their own preference. Therefore, their improved capability does not add to their improved well-being as achievement. Thus, promoting participation of under-participating groups in a dominant sport is not a sufficient way to include them, especially if the interests of the dominant and the marginalised population are significantly different. A society where only limited kinds of sport is available, no matter how many people enjoy them, still excludes those who do not want to play them. If people can choose a sport from many possible options, including other sports as well as non-sporting activities, the society allows diverse ways of achieving the functioning of enjoying leisure time. In other words, the more freedom of choice in leisure, the more inclusive the society is.

Hence, the assessment of a sport-related regeneration project can be carried out in part in terms of its contribution to improving the leisure capability of local residents. It should be noted, however, that theoretically any additional sport provision would always add to someone's capability by increasing available alternative leisure opportunities, notwithstanding the actual improvement in terms of achievement. Projects can vary as to whose capabilities are improved to what extent, but if someone's leisure capabilities are meaningfully improved, it should be reflected to a considerable degree in increased participation. This is precisely why Sen (1992) considers counting the number of possible alternatives insufficient and regards the information on actual achievement still valuable in assessing capabilities.

Of particular importance here is the question as to *who* benefits from the project. If the assessment were to be made in terms of its impact on leisure capability, the key concern must be for those who are disadvantaged in terms of leisure. This question becomes considerable when it is recalled that in practice many sport-related projects have dual objectives of sport development and those related more widely to neighbourhood regeneration. On one hand, if a project is assessed in terms of sport development, it may not matter much who benefits as long as the number of people involved in sport increases. On the other, if a project is assessed as a regeneration programme, which is the focus of this thesis, the *who* in question is foremost, and varies according to which dimension of regeneration is targeted; the target has to be those who are deprived in terms of the dimension.

In relation to young people, a lot of sport-related projects are targeted at youth ‘at risk’, most typically those who are likely to be, or already, involved in crime or antisocial behaviour. However, it does not necessarily hold that they are also deprived of leisure. Thus, it is seriously misleading to refer to their improved quality of leisure time if there is no evidence of crime prevention. In addressing the *who* question, therefore, it has to be broken down to two different levels. One is who is deprived in terms of what in the locality. The other is whether those who are involved in the project are the right ones in relation to the regeneration objectives. These questions will be addressed in Chapters 7 and 9 respectively.

## **5.6 Instrumental relevance of sport to neighbourhood regeneration**

This section examines the other source of confusion, which may be simplified to the claim that sport participation brings about a range of social benefits, so that an increased number of participants means a better society. In other words, sporting inclusion is also justified as social inclusion because of its *instrumental* relevance. Indeed, even UNESCO’s declaration quoted above, advocating sport participation as ‘fundamental human rights’, is followed by appreciation of consequential benefits, or the instrumental importance of sport to a person’s well-being (UNESCO, 1978).

It is the task of the ‘social inclusion through sport’ perspective to look at whether sport participation *instrumentally* improves capabilities to achieve important functionings in a person’s living other than participation *per se*. Even if participation in sport, in itself, is not considered to be constitutively relevant to a person’s living, if it leads to widening of people’s capabilities in other important spheres of life, such participation is instrumentally relevant to (the alleviation of) capability deprivation. For example, if the person who dislikes football is discriminated against in employment owing to his non-participation, it is instrumentally relevant to the person’s well-being. By contrast, a local football club may constitute an important part of the social network that provides its members with employment opportunities, social support and so on. On such occasions, involvement in the club can be seen as social inclusion, since its membership is a means to achieve important

functionings. Examples of intervention reviewed throughout Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 can be understood as ‘social inclusion through sport’ programmes, in that they intend to use sport for the purpose of providing a range of benefits to participants, and thereby improve their capabilities.

If such connections always stand, a mere increase in participation can be justified from the viewpoint of social inclusion. It has been made clear in Chapter 3, however, that the relationship between sport participation and the range of claimed personal and social benefits is far from linear, and that it is very dependent upon the way sport is used in an intervention. Thus, it is already clear that it is insufficient to refer to the increased number of participants in the assessment of a project using sport instrumentally for the purpose of wider regeneration objectives. For this reason, Chapter 3 has also made case for the exploratory approach to investigating the process in which sport-related project may contribute to neighbourhood regeneration.

The capability perspective helps consolidate this position. The implication of the capability perspective to the research looking at ‘social inclusion through sport’ is threefold. First, the assumed consequential benefits of sport participation in scope should not be narrowed down to certain indicators (e.g. crime reduction, educational attainment), but a person’s well-being on the whole. The goal of any urban regeneration initiative is construed to tackle the capability deprivation suffered by the residents of a deprived neighbourhood. A sport-related regeneration project should be assessed in terms of its contribution to the overall well-being of local residents, rather than its impact on a particular indicator. Practically, this means that all the claimed benefits of sport (Chapter 3), as well as all the relevant issues to young people and social exclusion (Chapter 4) should be borne in mind when researching the benefits of a sport- and youth- related regeneration projects. Given that the linear relationships between sport participation and these benefits are unlikely to be established, the priority is to make theoretical links with respect to the various dynamic processes at work between a person’s participation and many possible outcomes.

Second, in an ideal sense, the impact of sport-related intervention is to be assessed not only in terms of the actual achievements but also the capabilities to achieve them. In other words, one should look at whether a sport-related programme has enlarged the freedom to pursue

better well-being in terms of the selected set of functionings. However, this would not resolve the most serious problem with regard to the outcome measurement of sport-related projects: the inconsistency in the results. Moreover, since measuring capability involves more technical difficulties than only dealing with actual achievement, such a strategy might find itself to be even less productive. Added to this difficulty is another owing to the fact that most of the expected benefits will come about in the future, and so would have to be addressed longitudinally, which is beyond the capacity of a-year-long fieldwork. Thus, looking at the process rather than outcomes is justifiable pragmatically.

Third, rather than a simple shift of focus away from actual achievements to freedom to achieve, the notion of capability, in particular its normative standpoint, provides a more important implication. The capability approach considers that a person is better-off when he or she can achieve the same functionings in various ways. Therefore, a person should have more options than just participating in sport to achieve certain functionings. This poses a question over the rationale of many sport-based programmes that aim to exploit the ability for sport to engage with as many young people as possible. They tend to use a dominant sport such as football that has an appeal to large audience. It is therefore likely that those who are not interested in it exclude themselves from these programmes.

This has two possible unjust consequences. First, though this has more to do with the constitutive relevance, it may be rewarding those who are already relatively well-off in terms of leisure capability, because the more popular a sport is, the more opportunities are likely to be there for those who like it. Second, if it is only those who like, say, football that can gain the consequential benefit of achieving improved well-beings, it is unjust for those who do not like it. As already noted, they have a right to choose between participation and non-participation in a particular type of leisure, and that decision should not affect their well-being as a consequence. To put it simply, those who do not like sport should equally have the capabilities to achieve the functionings that sport would provide for those who do like it. This issue is of particular relevance to the 'salience of sport' hypothesis (see Chapter 3).

Therefore, it is not so important to establish the causality between sport participation and the expected outcomes. For instance, an ideal 'scientific' approach to measuring the impact

of sport participation on the expected outcomes would be to see the statistical correlation between the two, controlling for other factors; however, it may well be controlling *out* other factors that have the same effect as sport on the outcomes. It has been made apparent in Chapter 3 that mere participation in sport does not always assure the expected benefits. In the same way, more broadly in terms of leisure, in Chapter 4 it has been argued that looking at statistical associations between ‘constructive’ use of leisure time (participating in formal activities, such as sporting activities, youth clubs and volunteer work) and positive youth-to-adult transition outcomes would be insufficient as young people’s overall leisure experience may well be more strongly characterised by informal use of their leisure time.

As Coalter *et al.* (2000) maintain, sport participation is not a sufficient but, at most, a necessary condition to achieve important functionings. In fact, it might not be even a necessary condition from the perspective of the capability approach, which appreciates the freedom in choosing a certain type of life or another, and therefore by implication the existence of alternatives in achieving a certain functioning. Thus, what is more important is to explore the mechanisms to produce outcomes, than to seek for causal relationship between sport and the expected outcomes. In so doing, this thesis also attempts to explore the possible alternatives to sport, which can possibly play a similar role to that of sport within the mechanisms.

Hence, this thesis does not place an emphasis on outcome measurement. Indeed, an overwhelming focus upon establishing the evidence in terms of outcomes preserves the weakness of experimental or quasi-experimental approaches to evaluation, which render ‘the research findings arbitrary and inconsistent’ (Pawson and Tilley, 1997, p. 54). As Coalter *et al.* (2000) hold, sport varies in terms of its properties and so does the nature of the expected benefits. Various mechanisms are likely to be involved in the process of the benefits to be generated. Each of these mechanisms should be disentangled. The goal of the research, therefore, is to develop models representing the mechanisms, which are transferable to the future development of programmes.

## 5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has addressed three interrelated objectives with regard to sport and social exclusion. First, it has attempted to find a clear, analytical definition of the rather complex, sometimes overused, concept of social exclusion, in the way that it is suitable for the purpose of researching sport-related regeneration programmes. Second, it has demonstrated that the research into sport-related regeneration programmes has been affected by the discretionary use of the concept, swinging between the two inherently different approaches, namely ‘social inclusion in sport’ and ‘social inclusion through sport’ perspectives. Third, it has tried to resolve this confusion, proposing research strategies suitable for assessing sport-related projects as social inclusion programmes from the different perspectives. The arguments have been built, both technically and normatively, upon the capability perspective endorsed by Amartya Sen.

Notwithstanding the effort by a number of commentators to conceptualise ‘social exclusion’ as something different from ‘poverty’ or ‘deprivation’, the current thesis has adopted Sen’s definition that regards social exclusion as the denial of access to social relations that are, either constitutively or instrumentally, relevant to capability deprivation. Not only does this definition clear up the ambiguity of the concept itself, but also the distinction between constitutive and instrumental relevance of social relations to a person’s well-being helps reconstruct the two perspectives so that promoting sport participation is not automatically seen as social inclusion, but only when it contributes to alleviating the deprivation in terms of relevant capabilities.

The ‘social inclusion *in* sport’ perspective tends to assume, rather simplistically, that inequality in sport participation means social exclusion and, therefore, that promoting the participation of less involved groups is regarded as social inclusion. However, this view overlooks the fact that participation in sports is primarily a matter of choice and that, equally, everybody is entitled *not* to participate. On the other hand, the ‘social inclusion *through* sport’ perspective is more or less simply to paraphrase the traditional discussion regarding the social benefits of sport. Meanwhile, they support their arguments referring to the value of one another. Thus, both perspectives have so far failed to offer the additional

theoretical advancement, which could have been prompted by introducing the idea of social exclusion.

The capability approach offers a possible way forward. It has been argued that if sport participation has direct, constitutive importance to well-being (as 'social inclusion in sport' perspective tends to assume), it is only through its contribution to leisure capability, which arguably is of intrinsic relevance especially to the lives of young people, whose citizenship rights *at the present time* must be protected as they are 'young citizens' of society (Chapter 4). It has been also argued that the normative standpoint of the capability perspective consolidates the position of the thesis to concentrate on the process rather than the impact of sport-related programmes. This is because the capability perspective values the freedom to choose a life from another, implying that the more options, sport being just one, to achieve the same level of well-being are there, the more socially just is the society.

The next chapter discusses how the conceptual framework presented in this chapter has been applied to this particular research.

# Chapter 6 Methodology

## 6.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology employed by the thesis. The argument made thus far in previous chapters is of direct relevance to the design of methodology in three ways. First, the main aim of the thesis is to explore the processes through which sport may help regenerate deprived urban neighbourhoods. In Chapter 3, such processes were formulated into four hypotheses drawing from the previous studies with regard to the social benefits of sport, while it also has made a case for focusing on the processes as opposed to the causality between sport and the expected outcomes. Thus the research was primarily designed to address these hypotheses. To that end, a qualitative approach was employed, for it has strength in addressing processes.

Second, the selection of the case-study area and projects was made so as to cover the current regeneration agenda, in particular, with regard to sport as well as youth, which are reviewed in Chapters 2 and 4 respectively. Among the four policy indicators – health, education, employment and crime – to which PAT10 appears to claim that sport (and the arts) equally has potential to contribute, the review of actual sport-related regeneration projects has uncovered that improving health and reducing crime are more popular objectives, while, more strongly in the case of crime-related projects, young people are by far the most common target group (Chapter 2). Notwithstanding this relative absence of education- and employment-related issues from official objectives of sport-related projects, from the viewpoint of youth policy, the goal of youth-related regeneration initiatives is not only to deal with the ‘problem’ (most typically, youth-related crime and anti-social behaviour), but also to assist their transition into adulthood, in terms of which the young people in deprived areas are disadvantaged to a great extent (Chapter 4). Thus, the case-

study projects were not meant to represent the typical (i.e. the most common) projects, but to cover these relevant policy agenda as widely as possible.

Third, what has been also made clear, in particular in Chapters 2 and 5, is the fact that sport-related regeneration projects in practice often pursue dual objectives of sport and community development, and the recent 'sport and social exclusion' literature has added to the confusion about what such projects are expected to deliver. The previous chapter, therefore, has introduced the capability perspective so as to disentangle the intricate arguments of 'social inclusion in sport' and 'social inclusion through sport' perspectives. The research was therefore also designed to take this difference into consideration, while integrating the assessments of a sport-related programme in terms of its constitutive and instrumental relevance to capability deprivation, which, as far as young people are concerned, in the main correspond to leisure (along with health and safety), and to youth-to-adult transition respectively.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. First, the role of the conceptual framework discussed in the previous chapter in the research design is briefly explained. Then, the relative advantage of grounded theory as compared to other qualitative approaches is discussed. After that, the four hypotheses with regard to the role of sport in neighbourhood regeneration are broken down into four sets of questions, which were used to inform the research methods. The chapter then goes on to give a detailed account of the research procedures, including case study selection, method selection, fieldwork, as well as the explanation of each method. The profile of the case study area is provided in the final section.

## **6.2 Research approach**

### **6.2.1 A capability approach to researching sport-related regeneration projects**

As discussed in Chapter 5, the capability perspective provided the conceptual framework of the thesis that guided the empirical side of it described from this chapter on. Despite the strong influence of economics in the conceptualisation of the capability perspective, this thesis is not oriented towards quantitative measurement of capabilities. This is not to deny

the possibility of development in that direction; rather, as far as researching the role of sport in regeneration is concerned, qualitative understanding of processes has a higher priority. Nevertheless, the capability perspective greatly inspired the way the fieldwork was carried out.

That said, it must be admitted that the theoretical and empirical aspects of the thesis developed through a dialectic process, so that the framework presented in Chapter 5 was less clear at the start of the fieldwork. For instance, the relevance of leisure capability to the lives of young people in deprived neighbourhoods emerged from early fieldwork, and then later was reinforced theoretically by literature. Thus, some of the research instruments described here were not originally designed to explicitly reflect the framework. A more rigorous application of the capability perspective to the research into sport and neighbourhood regeneration would have been possible, had the conceptual framework been fully developed beforehand.

### **6.2.2 Theorising processes: a grounded theory approach**

Thus far, mainly in Chapters 3 and 5, a case has been made for focusing on processes rather than causal relationships. Qualitative approaches on the whole are suitable for this purpose. In particular, the research was designed in accordance with the grounded theory approach (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The value of grounded theory here is that it is suitable for theory building in terms of the processes of sport-related programmes contributing to neighbourhood regeneration. While some types of qualitative approach, such as ethnography, have its emphasis on detailed description of human behaviour within a particular context, or ‘thick description’ (Geertz, 1973), grounded theory is oriented towards developing a theory grounded in empirical data gathered in a particular context but still generalisable to a similar, or even wider, context (Glaser and Strauss, 1968).

The basic procedure of grounded theory is asking questions and making comparisons. Comparisons are made along the conceptual categories developed in terms of properties and dimensions. An example is provided in Table 6.1 with regard to sport-related regeneration projects (a category) and their properties and dimensions. The process of theory building starts with discovering and developing potentially relevant conceptual

categories (open coding), goes on to looking at relations and variations between categories (axial coding), and finishes with consolidating such relations and variations in terms of the most relevant categories (selective coding) until it reaches theoretical saturation (i.e. no significant theoretical addition can be found from newly gathered data). Sampling is conducted according to properties and dimensions of relevant categories (theoretical sampling). A theory derived from this kind of procedure is transferable as comparison is possible with regard to properties and dimensions.

**Table 6.1 Properties and dimensions of sport-related regeneration projects**

<b>Properties</b>	<b>Dimensions</b>
Objectives	Health, community safety, employment, education, community capacity building, community solidarity, personal development, sports development etc.
Funding sources	Regeneration oriented (SIPs/others), sport-oriented (sportscotland/others), others
Size	Number of participants, number of staff members, budget, duration of time, frequency of service, area coverage
Type of activity	Sporting activity (football/basketball/others), non-sporting leisure activity (arts & craft/music/computer/others), educational activity
Target group	Age (pre-5/primary pupils/secondary pupils/young adult/adult/old people), gender (male/female), specific (ex-offenders/drug users/young mothers/GP referrals/others)
Organisation	Voluntary, council-led, sports club (amateur/professional), police-led etc.
Facility/service	Facility-based, service-based

### **6.3 Working Research questions**

Preceding the data gathering, the four hypotheses were broken down to the four sets of research questions as follows:

1. *Do sport-related projects benefit the community/neighbourhood so that problems concerning social exclusion are alleviated?*

- (1-1) How can/should personal and community/neighbourhood benefits be defined?
- (1-2) Does each project benefit its participants at personal level?
- (1-3) Do the benefits enjoyed by each person lead to those at community or neighbourhood level?
- (1-4) Is there any kind of community/neighbourhood benefit that is evoked *not* through personal benefits?

2. *Do the projects divert young people from anti-social behaviour?*

- (2-1) Would the participants commit anti-social behaviour, if there was no project?
- (2-2) Does the crime rate decrease?
- (2-3) Does the number of offences by young people decrease?
- (2-4) Does the amount of anti-social behaviour by young people decrease?
- (2-5) Does the fear of crime decrease? If so, why?

3. *Do the projects enhance social interaction so that new social networks are formed, which in turn enlarges capability of the people in the area?*

- (3-1) Are the projects successful in engaging a range of young people?
- (3-2) Are they duplicated or complementary?
- (3-3) Are the backgrounds of participants 'socially mixed'? Is it not the case that different projects tend to attract different types of young people so that it is adding to social segregation?
- (3-4) Who participates in which project?
- (3-5) Who does *not* participate in which project?
- (3-6) What are the reasons of their participation/non-participation?
- (3-7) Who is involved in the projects other than the participants?
- (3-8) Does any change occur to the social interaction during or after the projects? If so, what kind of change is it?
- (3-9) What happens during the projects?
- (3-10) Who interacts with whom in what way?

4. *Does the salience of sport contribute to the projects' success?*

- (4-1) Is sport more attractive than other leisure activities?
- (4-2) Does the salience of sport really add to the attractiveness of the projects?
- (4-3) Is there a particular kind of sport that is distinctively salient in comparison with other sports or leisure activities?
- (4-4) Is there a particular way of providing a sport that is more attractive than others?
- (4-5) Does development or presence of a facility add to the attractiveness?
- (4-6) Is a particular kind of sport more effective in generating expected outcome?
- (4-7) Is a particular form of provision more effective in generating expected outcome?

Not all these questions were necessarily to be answered through the fieldwork; it was inevitable that some of them turned out to be irrelevant or beyond reach. The goal of a grounded theory approach is to develop a theory while leaving out theoretical ‘loose ends’ (i.e. issues considered irrelevant or decided not to be explored further for pragmatic reasons). In other words, these questions were to be narrowed down, depending on the extent of relevance to the emerging theory. At the start of the fieldwork, it was impossible to tell which of the questions would turn out to be more relevant, but it was important to leave theoretical options open at the early stage of theoretical sampling. Meanwhile, the list had the great benefit in thinking through the options in terms of research methods.

## **6.4 Research procedures**

### **6.4.1 Case study selection**

As the first step of sampling, it was necessary to find a practicable case-study site or sites where there was a substantial concentration of sport-related projects in order to address the range of research questions. Consequently, the East End of Glasgow was chosen, as it suited this purpose very well.

While the original intention to choose projects from those identified in the annual reports of the SIPs, the actual decision was rather opportunistic and pragmatic. The thoroughgoing review of sport-related projects under the SIPs (Chapter 2) was conducted primarily for the purpose of identifying potential projects to study, which are substantial in size and the period of operation while covering as wide a range of themes as possible. As part of this

practice, an initial email contact was made to the manager of the East End Social Inclusion Partnership (EESIP) in order to request copies of annual reports in the past years. Instead of sending them, the manager proposed the researcher to speak directly to the co-ordinators of sport-related projects within EESIP. This resulted in the first formal interview with a project co-ordinator, who provided information about a range of sport-related projects and community groups within the area, though not funded by EESIP, tackling problems related to area deprivation.

These projects varied in terms of objectives, size, duration of time, types of activity, organisations, neighbourhoods where they operated, and so on. From the systematic review of other projects mentioned above, it was confirmed that the projects in the East End cover the types of projects widely existent in Scotland. At the same time, they looked to serve well the purpose of cross-project comparison so as to approach the wide range of hypotheses. The area had been long considered one of the most deprived areas in Scotland and targeted by a series of regeneration initiatives. Moreover, the geographical proximity to where the researcher based meant relatively easy access to the case study area. The profile of the area is described later in this chapter.

#### **6.4.2 Case-study projects**

Table 6.2 provides the summary of the case-study projects. As a result of scoping interviews with managers/co-ordinators (see below), one of them, the Urban Fox Programme (Urban Fox), was selected as a focal project. Four projects whose manager/co-ordinator was interviewed were listed as secondary projects, while other sport-related projects identified during the course of the fieldwork, but with which no formal interview was arranged, were listed as others. There were also several non-sport, but youth-related projects and community groups in operation in the area. The detailed descriptions of the projects were provided in Appendix C. Among the focal and secondary projects, only three of them – Urban Fox, Shoot for Success and the Eastbank Community Club – were up and running at the start of the fieldwork, while the East End Healthy Living Centre was yet to open and Street Football Glasgow failed to secure funding to launch.

**Table 6.2 Project summaries**

<b>Project</b>	<b>Target age</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Attendance per week<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>Funding source</b>	<b>Locations (Catchment)</b>	<b>Activities</b>
<i>Focal</i>						
Urban Fox Programme <sup>2</sup>	5-17	2000- to date	500-600	EESIP, other sources	Calton, Bridgeton, Dalrnarnock Haghill, Tollcross, Parkhead, Camlachie Dennistoun	Football, drop-ins, outward bound activities, residential camps, health & safety education, computer games, dancing, etc.
<i>Secondary</i>						
Shoot for Success <sup>3</sup>	5-18	2004-2006	100-250	Sportscotland (Lottery Fund)	Bridgeton, Parkhead, Dennistoun, Camlachie, Dalrnarnock	Basketball
Street Football Glasgow <sup>4</sup>	12-15	-	-	-	-	Football
Eastbank Community Club <sup>5</sup>	All, mainly 12-16	2002- to date	500+	Glasgow City Council	Shettleston	Football, basketball, karate, hockey, badminton, dance etc.
East End Healthy Living Centre <sup>6</sup>	All	2005- to date	-	New Opportunities Fund, Glasgow City Council, other sources	Bridgeton, Calton	

<i>Others</i>						
Reidvale Adventure Playground Association (RAPA) <sup>7</sup>	-	Early 1990s to date	-	-	Duke Street	Football, basketball, tennis, arts&crafts, outward bound etc.
Friday Night Fun <sup>8</sup>	12-16	July-August 2004		New Opportunities through Physical Education and Sport	Tollcross (East End-wide)	Football, fitness, health and beauty, aerobics, netball, swimming
Score Goals <sup>9</sup>	12-16	2004	18	Strathclyde Police, Glasgow City Council's Youth Service Department	Celtic Football Club (St. Mungo's Academy, Bannerman High School)	Football coaching, personal development inputs

Notes:

1. Figures are estimates
2. Urban Fox Programme (2004); interviews with co-ordinator/staff members
3. Strathclyde Police (2004c, 2005); interviews with co-ordinators/coaches
4. East End Social Inclusion Partnership (2004); interview with co-ordinator
5. Interview with development officer
6. East End Partnership Ltd. (2004); Interview with manager
7. Fieldnotes
8. Strathclyde Police (2004b)
9. Strathclyde Police (2004a)

**Table 6.3 Project themes**

	Community Capacity	Community Solidarity	Community Safety	Education	Employment	Health	Local Service Improvement	Personal Development	Sports Development	Gender Equality	Citizenship
Urban Fox Programme	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Shoot for Success		X	X		X	X	X	X	X		
Street Football Glasgow	X	X	X		X	X		X		X	X
Eastbank Community Club			X			X	X		X		
East End Healthy Living Centre				X		X	X				

Sources: East End Partnership Ltd. (2004), East End Social Inclusion Partnership (2004), Urban Fox Programme (2004), Interviews with managers/co-ordinators

#### 6.4.2.1 Focal project: the Urban Fox Programme

Urban Fox was chosen as the focal project, as it was arguably the most established sport- and youth-related project in the East End of Glasgow, claiming to attract some 500 to 600 young people (5 to 17 years old) every week. Started as a football coaching service in several areas within the East End in 2000, it had developed a wider range of activities, while also covering the most part of the EESIP area and beyond. Table 6.4 shows the summary of the services of Urban Fox. It was the most substantial in terms of the number of participants, the length of time it had been in operation, the number of neighbourhoods where it operated, the range of activities, the range of age groups, the range of project objectives, and the reputation with regard to the impact made to the local communities. In short, it appeared the most promising in term of the ability to produce rich data.

**Table 6.4 Services and activities of Urban Fox**

<b>Programme</b>	<b>Activities</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Area coverage</b>
Football Skills Programme	Football coaching	5-17	9 areas
Schools Programme	PE in primary schools	P5-7	9-12 schools
	Football + educational input		
Friday Drop-in Clubs	Games/dancing/pool etc.	12-15	8 areas
Cyber Fox	IT/pc games	12-15	4 areas
Young Healthy Fox Cubs	Physical exercise	5-12	4 areas
	Festivals	5+	
Holiday Programmes	Drop-ins	5+	10 areas
	Residential camps	12-15	
	Outward bound activities	12-15	
Sunday League	Football league	5-17	10 teams

Sources: Urban Fox Programme (2004), interview with co-ordinator

#### 6.4.2.2 *Secondary and other projects*

The secondary projects included all the projects where at least one respondent was formally interviewed, so that somewhat systematic information could be derived from them. The extent to which data was gathered varies considerably between the projects in this category. Shoot for Success was the most important of these for the research; not only formal interviews with the project workers, but also participant observation were conducted, though less frequently than Urban Fox. The reason for choosing Shoot for Success was because the project presented the right balance of similarities and contrasts with Urban Fox so that the comparison would be fruitful.

There were several other either sport- or youth-related projects identified during the course of fieldwork and considered somewhat relevant to the research findings, where no formal interviews were conducted. Some of them might have been worth exploring if time had allowed, but the decision was made to leave them out so as not to have too many 'loose ends'.

### **6.4.3 Method selection**

At the same time as choosing a site, 'a decision must be made about the types of data to be used' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 204). Again, the broadness of research questions also meant that a variety of methods would be used for data gathering. The decision was made to use three research methods: semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and focus groups.

The type of data is not only dependent on methods, but also considerably on the type of information source, which most often in a qualitative approach are people. In an ideal sense, theoretical sampling proceeds through a dialectic process of data analysis and sampling; respondents are chosen so as to further explore the concepts that have emerged from previous interviews (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). In the case of the current thesis, however, a number of relevant concepts had already emerged from literature and formulated into the four hypotheses. Therefore, it was possible to anticipate to some extent what types of people would be relevant to each research question.

A matrix of research questions, projects, type of respondents and type of methods was developed as a research device so as to think through the suitable combination of site, people and methods in relation to questions (Appendix D). Thus, the target was set in terms of the number of respondents for each method; however, it was also recognised that in qualitative research the sample size was determined by the extent of theoretical saturation as well as resource limitation. In fact, the actual number of respondents was short of the target, but large enough to achieve a satisfactory level of theoretical saturation (for the original target sample size, see Appendix E).

### **6.4.4 Summary of fieldwork**

The fieldwork was conducted for 12 months from January 2004 to January 2005. During this period, in total 15 formal semi-structured interviews, some 30 occasions of participant observation (spending over 100 hours in total in the field), and 6 focus group sessions with a total of 29 young people were carried out (Table 6.1). Informants included further countless of local people, young and adult, whom the researcher came across during the course of fieldwork, not only those who were involved in sport- or youth-related projects in

the East End in various ways, but also those who were not. The research process consisted of four phases, although they overlapped each other to a great extent. Each phase is explained in detail.

**Table 6.5 Participants of semi-structured interviews and focus groups**

Project	Manager/co-ordinator	Staff members	Young people	Total
Urban Fox Programme	1	6	29**	36
Shoot for Success	2*	3	0	5
Street Football Glasgow	2*	0	0	2
Eastbank Community Club	1	0	0	1
East End Healthy Living Centre	1	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>29**</b>	<b>44</b>

\* A police officer was co-ordinating the two projects. Each of them had another co-ordinator.

\*\* Two of them attended two sessions.

## **6.4.5 Explanations on each method**

### *6.4.5.1 Scoping interviews with managers/co-ordinators*

First, semi-structured interviews were held with six managers/co-ordinators of five projects. The element of snowballing was used to identify respondents. Two respondents were recommended by the manager of EESIP, and then the two recommended other projects that operated within the area, but not necessarily funded by EESIP. This had a positive effect of acquiring trust from the respondents (see Atkinson and Flint, 2001). The main purpose here was to acquire the overview of each project (e.g. aims and objectives, activities, history, perceived outcomes), as well as the relationships between each other (often, it turned out that projects worked in partnership with each other, sometimes formally, but more often informally exchanging information). The interview schedule was prepared before the first interview, but repeatedly revised reflecting the lessons from previous interviews. A sample of the interview schedules is attached as Appendix F. Subsequently, the projects were classified into three groups: the focal project, the secondary projects, and the others (see above).

#### *6.4.5.2 Interviews with staff members*

Following the classification of projects, semi-structured interviews with project workers commenced. Originally, it was intended also to interview other types of people such as graduates of the projects, parents of the current participants, and local residents in general. It turned out, however, that most of the staff members also fell into one or more of these categories so that they could also speak from these viewpoints. Therefore, no particular effort was made to interview a person who is not involved in any of the projects. Crucially, outsiders' views could also be acquired by speaking to the staff members of the projects relatively remotely linked with the focal projects, often those classified as 'the others'.

Sampling of respondents was carried out both purposively and using the element of snowballing. In most of the cases, the lists of potential respondents were provided by project managers/co-ordinators. During the interviews with project managers/co-ordinators, they were asked to recommend suitable persons who would be able to provide further insights on some of the issues discussed in the sessions or those on which they themselves were not knowledgeable. Some were chosen from the list straightforwardly, but the others were carefully chosen considering the theoretical relevance.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted dialectically with participant observation (see below). In the pragmatic sense, participant observation provided the opportunities to meet potential respondents and to arrange meetings. In the majority of the cases, interview respondents had been introduced to the researcher during the course of participant observation before setting up the interview. This helped to establish trust and avoid the nervousness of first encounters. In relation to theoretical sampling, the data gathered through participant observation was often the source of the themes that were later explored in semi-structured interviews, and thus informed the choice of respondents as well as the design of interview schedules.

One of the features of theoretical sampling is that it is the kind of information the person could provide that is of relevance to selecting a respondent; unlike survey-type research, respondents are not chosen only because of their attributes (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Therefore, it sometimes happened that the researcher went back to speak to the same person

to explore different issues or deepen the understanding about the issues already discussed. But these follow-up interviews were conducted in an informal manner, as part of participant observation.

The fact that the researcher could speak to people informally did not reduce the value of formal interviews. In informal settings, respondents often did not have enough time to provide full account on themes the researcher intended to explore. The semi-structured interviews were useful in addressing the research questions in more systematic ways, and typically lasted 30 to 90 minutes. The interview schedule was customised for each respondent, for each was interviewed to explore different themes (see Appendix F for a sample).

#### *6.4.5.3 Participant Observation*

In the meantime, participant observation was conducted mainly with the focal project, Urban Fox, and to a lesser extent with one of the secondary ones, Shoot for Success. It should be noted that observation was sometimes conducted with no specific relation to a particular project. Sometimes, the researcher just hung about to become accustomed to the area. Other times, he intended to observe a session of either Urban Fox or Shoot for Success, but found no-one from the target project, but instead other activities were going on. Those occasions were often as informative as properly planned, formal participant observation.

The researcher was open that he was doing research for a PhD on the topic of sport and regeneration. The role of the researcher might be described as a passive participant. In the case of Urban Fox, rather than purely being an observer, the researcher was usually treated as one of the volunteer workers, and often given a role to supervise young people's activity. In the case of Shoot for Success, the role of researcher was more an observer than a participant. In either of the cases, observational data was jotted down as field memos on the field and formally written down later as fieldnotes.

Participant observation was of integral importance to the research at least for three reasons. First, given the difference in the cultural backgrounds between subjects and the researcher,

it was necessary to familiarise himself to the local culture (see below for more detailed reflection). Second, it allowed the researcher more time to establish rapport with research subjects than any other forms of methods would have. As already noted above, the rapport established through participant observation turned out to be useful even with adults. The reactions from young people to the researcher were various, but generally those who had met the researcher beforehand tended to open themselves up more in a focus group session. Finally, on top of these was the fact that it was conducted for the purpose of acquiring kinds of data that could not be obtained by other methods: most crucially, physical action and interaction, and informal conversation. These also informed the design of semi-structured interviews as well as focus groups.

#### *6.4.5.4 Focus groups with young people*

The fourth phase was focus groups with young participants of Urban Fox. Urban Fox was the only realistic option for arranging focus groups; it had a large enough range of participants, both boys and girls of different age groups from different neighbourhoods, appropriate facilities, and staff members willing to help. In fact, the choice of focus groups rather than individual interviews was suggested by one of the staff members, for it would not only provide more relaxed environment for young people but also would be more efficient in talking to a substantial number of them. The implementation of focus groups was left until the late stage of the fieldwork for mainly two reasons. First, it was intended to establish rapport between the researcher and the young people beforehand. Second, the researcher wanted to wait until the questions were well-developed so as not to waste the opportunities.

In relation to interviewing young people, two decisions had to be made against the original plan. First, it was originally intended that those who did not participate in sport-related projects would be interviewed, but this never happened due to the difficulty in accessing potential respondents. Nonetheless, the issues intended to explore with non-participants were to some extent covered by sessions with project participants. Second, it was also intended to have follow-up one-to-one interviews with key focus group participants, in order to elicit their more personal and in-depth opinions which is difficult to do in group interviews; however, it had to be given up in part because of the time constraints and

difficulties in getting hold of them personally and formally, and in part because it was considered redundant given the fact that some young people participated in two sessions and that the researcher could informally speak to them if needed.

The target was set as to how many sessions would be held with how many young people in total. Also the composition of each session was designed in the way that comparison was possible in relation to the emerging relevant themes. Focus groups are considered particularly useful in eliciting the process in which participants form their views through the interaction with each other (Punch, 1998). The different compositions of groups were meant to produce a variety in this respect. It was also expected that these sessions would generate non-verbal data through the observation of the interaction between participants. The plan finally proposed to staff members of Urban Fox is shown in Appendix G.

**Table 6.6 Summary of focus group participants**

Date	Group	Male	Female	Total	Number of clubs
1 Oct 04	Group 1	4	4	8	4
8 Oct 04	Group 2	4	4	8	3
10 Dec 04	Group 3	6	0	6	1
10 Dec 04	Group 4	0	3	3	1
21 Jan 05	Group 5	0	3	3	1
21 Jan 05	Group 6	2	1	3	1
Total		16	15	31	

However, the number of sessions as well as the number of young people was smaller than planned (Table 6.6). Nor did the design of each session match the blueprint. This was considerably owing to the fact that the researcher was heavily dependent on the staff members' favours in arranging focus groups. In particular, the intention to invite young people from different neighbourhoods turned out to be a substantial burden to the staff members, since they were required to transport them by car from points across the East End of Glasgow to the venue. This had a knock-on effect of their needing to deploy extra staff to fill the void left by the ones helping the researcher. Thus, it was a both pragmatic and

ethical decision to relax the criteria. As a result, the last three sessions were held with only three participants each, but it turned out that in these smaller groups, especially when they were close friends, more personal, in-depth opinions and stories were generated.

Staff members also played active roles in two other ways. First, the selection of focus group participants was at first left to them. The plan was handed to staff members first for approval, and then they recruited participants following it. This may have had an ambivalent effect, as is pointed out by Atkinson and Flint (2001) in relation to snowball sampling. On one hand, there was a possibility of 'gatekeeper bias' so that the sample (i.e. participants of focus groups) would not represent the population (i.e. all participants of the project). Although representativeness itself is not so relevant to theoretical sampling, it would matter if the views provided by participants were one-sided. However, it turned out not to be the case as both positive and negative opinions towards Urban Fox were elicited. In addition, after the criteria were relaxed and the researcher had obtained enough trust, he began to have more discretion in arranging sessions. On the other hand, there was an expected benefit of gaining trust from the participants by engaging them through someone with whom they had already established trust. However, this effect did not seem as important as the trust directly built between the researcher and young people through interaction in a number of ways.

The second active role for staff members was to act as an assistant to take notes, considering the language difficulty that the researcher had. This happened in the first three sessions. Not surprisingly, however, their roles were often more than just taking notes; they prompted participants to talk, provided additional information to help researcher's understanding, told participants to behave themselves, and actively took part in discussion. The presence of a staff member must have had an influence on young people, although it is difficult to say what kind of influence. Sim (1998) points out that people's views may tend to conform to each other's in focus groups in comparison with one-to-one interviews. While this also seemed to be the case among young people themselves, the presence of a supervisory figure may have possibly had an effect that their opinions were biased towards more favourable ones to the person. This possible downside of young people not being able to reveal personal issues was compensated by the latter three sessions where there was no staff member involved. However, the intervention by the staff members, and the reaction

from the young people to it, was still informative in obtaining insight in terms of the interaction between them and young people: one of the research questions.

Finally, despite these changes from the original design, the six focus groups appeared to provide enough information to achieve theoretical saturation.

#### *6.4.5.5 Reflection on the changes from the original research plan*

As recurrently pointed out in the previous subsections, the research process included some divergence from the design originally drawn at the start of the fieldwork. Some changes were anticipated, given the nature of the grounded theory approach, which employs dialectic ways of data collection and analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1996); that is, respondents are selected as they turn out relevant to the themes emerging from the data previously collected. Consequently, not all the sampling targets were met. Accordingly, the working research questions set out in Section 6.2 would be more or less explored. Moreover, this study might have involved a particularly high level of uncertainty, given the unfamiliarity of the researcher with the context in which the subject was situated, coming from the cultural distance. Furthermore, the resources were insufficient to implement what could have been ideally done, since it was carried out by one researcher with limited budget. While the issues around cultural difference is the topic of the next section, the eight major changes happened during the course of the fieldwork are reviewed here, the summary of which is visualised in Appendix D.

First, among the working research questions, the very first one (i.e. (1-1) how can/should personal and community/neighbourhood benefits be defined?) turned out to require the most substantial work. This almost corresponds to the first of the five main research questions set out in Section 1.2. Thus, it involved the development of the conceptual framework, on the one hand, and the observation of the local situation, on the other. The core of the conceptual framework was being developed parallel with the early stages of the fieldwork, and was presented at the Leisure Studies Association conference in July 2004 (Suzuki, 2005). Meanwhile, the majority of the fieldwork, perhaps some 60 per cent of it, had to be spent to understand how the goals of the sport-related projects in the area could be conceptualised in relation to neighbourhood regeneration, the essence of which is

presented in Chapter 7. This involved much ‘pre-’ observation to understand the norms of the society on different ‘layers’ (British/Scottish/Glaswegian/East End), so as to enable the interpretation of data observed (see next section). With more familiarity to the social settings, more effort could have been directed to exploring more of the working research questions.

Second, official statistics with regard to crime and anti-social behaviour were not pursued, which would have provided an invaluable illustration in terms of the impact the case-study projects might have made to the neighbourhoods. Accordingly, the questions (2-2) and (2-3) were not explored, while (2-4) and (2-5) were only partially explored through qualitative data. It had to be given up, because it looked hard to define the area unit for the statistics to be collected and analysed. The East End Social Inclusion Partnership area did not match the division of Strathclyde Police, for instance. Moreover, not all the case-study projects operated within the SIP area, and it was hard to identify precisely the catchment area of each project. Given the scale of the projects, it might have been unlikely for any of them to make a traceable impact on official statistics; however, concrete statistics would have nonetheless added to the evidence base.

Third, participants’ records of the case-study projects could not be collected robustly, despite the fact that the researcher asked the project leaders repeatedly. Only the Eastbank Community Club provided its attendance record for the main activities. Shoot for Success did not have an enrolment register, while its attendance record looked unreliable. Its sessions were open-access and young people often went in and out of them spontaneously. Urban Fox did keep both enrolment and attendance records; however, it could not be disclosed. At first, the co-ordinator refused the request, concerned with the confidentiality. Then, he agreed to disclose it once the database, which was being developed, became available. However, it was not developed in time for the exit from the field. With these records, the questions concerning participation, (3-1) to (3-4), would have been explored more robustly, although the qualitative data was quite rich in terms of (3-1) in particular.

Fourth, no formal interviews/focus groups were conducted with non-participants, parents, or local residents. This would have provided outsiders views to the projects. This might have been the major limitation of the approach to sampling. The fieldwork heavily

depended on snowballing. Despite the strengths associated with this strategy (Atkinson and Flint, 2001), of which the trust gained through gatekeepers had considerable values to this research, another strategy could have been taken to access those outside the networks of the projects. Although consideration was given as to if such a strategy should be developed, the anticipated additional work looked excessive of the capacity of the researcher. The difficulty was mainly in regard to representativeness and ethics.

To collect the views of local residents on the projects, a questionnaire survey would have been ideal. However, random sampling looked infeasible given the limited resources. Alternatively, a small number of qualitative interviews could have been done, although it would have been doubtful these would have represented the potential diversity within 'local residents'.

Similarly, the diversity within 'non-participants' would have been far greater than 'participants'. A questionnaire survey through schools might have been one way of getting a more objective picture how large the presence of the case-study projects within these neighbourhoods, and thus properly answered the question (3-5): who does not participate in which project? In terms of acquiring qualitative account of non-participation, snowballing from participants to their friends who did not participate would have been fruitful. Neither was realised because arranging focus groups with participants was already very demanding as discussed earlier.

That said, even a few interviews with hardcore members of 'gangs', who were not involved in the projects would have added nicely to the research findings. They could have been approached via some of the participants who had known them. This, however, was not pursued, considering the potential ethical complications concerning the safety of the researcher, as well as the unpredictability as to what impact it would make on those who would have helped the researcher to access them.

Meanwhile, 'parents' presented a slightly different issue. It did emerge that 'parents' were among the relevant themes in terms of young people's capability deprivation in the area. Ideally, exploring this issue further should have involved interviews with 'problematic' parents. But they could have been harder to reach. It would have presented an ethical issue

as well, if the mother of a participant had been approached on the basis that she was not taking care of her child very well. That said, in hindsight, admittedly a couple of focus groups with parents in general could, and *should*, have been done, as there would have been no ethical complication. This would have provided crucial external stakeholders' views on the projects. Instead, the issues around parents were only addressed by passing via formal and/or informal interviews with many of the staff members, who were also parents themselves.

Fifth, interviews with 'graduates' would have been very interesting in terms of the retrospective assessment of the projects. Urban Fox was the only project that has lasted long enough that there were 'graduates' who had gone through the transition to work/further education. However, only one was formally interviewed. He was easy to access because he was one of the workers. One way of going further in this direction would have been to snowball from this respondent. However, the decision was made against it, as the priority looked to be the understanding how it was working 'now'. A small number of 'life history' interviews with 'graduates' would have been ideal.

Sixth, none of the focus group participants were invited to individual post-interviews as planned. The intended purpose of these was the self-validation of the findings from the focus groups, and/or gaining more personal views that could have potentially contradicted with the ones expressed in the focus groups. However, this was compromised, given the time shortage owing to the difficulty in arranging focus groups. Nonetheless, the fifth and sixth focus groups were assuring to the researcher that their views were quite personal and theoretical saturation was reached.

Seventh, one of the reasons for the selection of the site was the presence of the Celtic Football Club, enlarging the potential to explore the questions regarding the 'salience of sport' hypothesis. Although the Celtic FC had a 'community coaching' section, none was selected for interviews. This was because in the scoping interview phase, it did not emerge to be relevant to the practices of the projects operated in the area. Nonetheless, it was involved in one of the 'other' projects, Score Goals, which started in the summer of 2004. By the time when the researcher had become aware of it, however, the fieldwork was going into the 'selective coding' (Strauss and Corbin, 1996) phase, in which the priority was on

the focus groups so as to consider how valid the theories emerging from the interviews with adults were from the perspective of young people. In hindsight, an interview should have been conducted in any case at the earlier stages.

Finally, although not explicitly included in the proposed targets, a couple of officials of the local government should have been interviewed to provide the view from the perspectives of the relevant policy areas: sport, youth and regeneration. They would have been able to provide their judgement on the contributions of the case-study projects to these policy areas. These interviews could have been used effectively for two purposes. First, conducted in the beginning, they would have been able to speak of the overview of the practice in the city and/or in the East End. In fact, it was considered at one point, that an interview with the sport development officer could have been an effective entry point, as he or she would have been knowledgeable about many of potential case-study projects. But the connection with the projects in the East End was fortunately established through the East End SIP.

More crucially, the second possibility would have been at the end of the fieldwork, for the purpose of obtaining the external stakeholders' views in relation to the research findings. In particular, a couple of officials of the Culture and Leisure Service (now the Culture and Sport Service) of the Glasgow City Council should have been done. Although its area development officer was one of the interviewees, he was selected rather as an insider, because he was one of the two co-ordinators of Shoot for Success and had been involved closely in the launch of Urban Fox. This was given up, considering the trade-off against the additional reading to make sense of the data more robustly, mainly in relation to the issues around young people and social exclusion. Admittedly, though, this was such an important element that should not have been omitted. It could have proven invaluable in situating the case-study projects in the landscape of the sport provision in the area as a whole, so as to explore more robustly the potential reach of sport-related regeneration projects.

#### **6.4.6 Being Japanese in the East End**

The fact that the researcher was from Japan, a totally different cultural background, must have had various effects on the research. Being a Japanese, it is hard to tell how different the research process and findings would have been, had he been from the UK, Scotland,

Glasgow, or more generally from the ‘West’. Nonetheless, the section attempts to convey the ‘sense’ of it, by providing a subjective reflection<sup>2</sup>.

#### *6.4.6.1 Could have done more?: the time cost*

Perhaps the biggest impact was that the research process had to be considerably slowed down for several reasons. First, it took long to establish the link with the main project, Urban Fox, owing to the lack of knowledge in ‘business manner’. Second, a significant amount of time had to be spent for understanding the ‘real’ context, within which the subject was situated, before being ready to explore the actual working research questions. Third, the language barrier meant that it took longer to communicate with people and also to process the data. Without these frustrations, perhaps the research could have gone more smoothly, and thus got more depth and breadth. Overall though, these difficulties were overcome by the end of fieldwork, while there might have been some positive effects as well. These are reflected in turn below.

#### *6.4.6.2 Meeting the people in the East End: the reaction from the informants*

Overall, I believe that my Japanese-ness did not negatively affect the research in terms of the acceptance by the research participants, except for the notable communication fault at the start of the fieldwork. In embarking on the fieldwork, it was an enormous challenge for me even to make a ‘wee’ phone call for appointment. In fact, I learnt a severe lesson from the first contact with the co-ordinator of Urban Fox. I messed up as I had been mistakenly given his home number, and also I did not know how to speak on a phone politely in English. This unintended ‘rudeness’ apparently put him off, and I, with the help of the supervisors, had to write a polite, apologetic letter to win his trust to meet for an interview. This process cost me about two month.

Nonetheless, once I met him, he was open enough to help me to go about the project and the neighbourhoods. He acted as the ‘gatekeeper’, allowing me to work as a volunteer, making arrangements to show different activities within the project, and introducing me to people, in and out of the project, who were potentially useful for the research. Similarly, all

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<sup>2</sup> Providing the subjective nature, the account is given using the first person.

the adults who were interviewed were open and helpful. Usually, they became more helpful after I sat with them for interviews, as it gave them a better sense of my agenda so that they could give more information in informal talk.

That said, my being Japanese might have possibly had two contrasting effects. On the one hand, they might have 'lowered the guard'. At times, I felt as though they did not have to be defensive and talked naturally with each other, almost 'ignoring' my presence, because I was a total stranger, not intervening with their conversation. Listening to these talks was very informative. On the other, they might have distanced themselves from me. It must have been uncomfortable for them to be with a total stranger, who did not seem to understand what they said. Thus, I might not have been able to mix with them as well as a native English speaker would have. On the whole, though, they were helpful enough to give necessary information when I talked to them in person, and towards the end such distance seemed to have disappeared as my ability to talk naturally with them improved.

As for the young people, it must have been refreshing experience for many of them to interact with a Japanese person. They might have had little experience to communicate with foreigners, possibly for the first time with a Japanese. Their first reactions were various, but seldom negative. Some willingly came to speak to me from the start. Some gave a sceptical glance, but it did not seem so different from what they would do to any strangers. Some just accepted me as one of the workers and did not pay much attention. In focus group sessions, some participants found it amusing that I did not understand even the simplest sentences. It might have made some of them feel as though they were the 'teachers' and I was the 'pupil', and so tried to help my understanding by talking slowly, as well as giving more contextual explanations. Naturally, the more I spent time with them, the more they opened themselves up to me.

Overall, I did not feel my being Japanese was a negative factor in building the rapport with the informants. Despite the obvious difficulties in verbal communication, they seemed to see me as a nice enough person to trust. This, however, did not mean that the research went without any difficulties caused by the cultural barrier, as narrated below.

#### 6.4.6.3 *Starting as a 'blank sheet': learning the social context*

I started the fieldwork as a 'blank sheet'. That is, the social context had to be learnt through the fieldwork so that the meaningful interpretation of the collected data could be possible. The use of participant observation was therefore necessary, and it helped me familiarise myself in the social settings being studied, enabling better understanding and interpretation of the data generated through many forms of interviews as well as observation. At the same time, I was not only trying to familiarise myself to the very local context. But also, I had to introduce myself to the British society in general, then to the Scottish, and Glasgow as well. What would have looked perfectly normal to any UK citizen was not normal to me at all. At first, it was impossible for me to tell whether what I was observing in the East End was something distinctive from other places in the UK, or perfectly common.

Indeed, despite about half a year of intensive reading of the academic, policy and practical literature on UK urban and sport policy, it was only when I entered the field that the reading had started making sense to me as reality. To illustrate this, a number of very basic words did not make real sense to me until I 'saw' them in the field, since they would either signify different things when they are used in Japan, or have no equivalent concepts. Examples of these words included: 'sport club', 'community centre', 'youth club', 'youth work' and 'sport development'.

This was not simply a problem of translation. Japanese people use an English phrase such as 'sport club' exactly as they are, almost as Japanese words using *katakana*, a kind of Japanese characters, and yet they would most likely picture a private fitness club from it. Also, in Japan a 'community centre' is usually a multiple-storey building with a number of meetings rooms, sport halls, sometimes even a library, etc. within it, whereas most of the community centres in the East End looked more like 'shanties' to me. Perhaps the East End Healthy Living Centre was the only building that a Japanese person would easily tell that it is a community centre. There are similar things to 'youth clubs' in Japan, but many Japanese would not translate what they call them in Japanese into 'youth clubs', since a 'club', to Japanese, usually means a more formal, highly organised group. In fact, they may even think of the youth section of an established football club. Finally, traditionally there

had been no equivalent of ‘youth work’ or ‘sport development’ in Japan as categories of activity; they seem to have begun to be imported as *katakana* words only the last few years.

Thus, these had to be ‘learnt’ in a real sense in the field. The only way I could familiar myself with these unfamiliar concepts, as well as the local variation of them, was to be in the field as often and as long as possible, supported by more reading including not only academic but also newspaper articles. This was a huge factor that slowed the process of the research.

Nevertheless, my ignorance to the social context might have had a positive effect as well. That is, I was free from any negative stereotype attached to the deprived areas in Glasgow, such as the city’s reputation as a ‘Gangland’, or the infamous ‘Glasgow neds’. When I spoke by chance with a member of faculty at the university, who had happened to know about my research, she said to me, ‘Oh, are you the brave Japanese student, who is doing participant observation with the excluded young people in the East End?’ But the reality was that I did not need a lot of bravery when deciding to do the research. To me, it was not a ‘no-go area’ at all. And this did not change much even after the fieldwork, as I did not encounter scary moments, except for one occasion when I spontaneously decided to ‘hang about’ the neighbourhoods after dark. I saw many groups of young people ‘hanging about the street corners’, which I must admit was intimidating.

#### *6.4.6.4 Overcoming the language barrier*

The most evident difficulty was language. And it was enormous stress to cope with. Not only was English my second language, but also the language spoken in the East End was far from ‘standard’ English, either. Most of the time, my speaking English was good enough for the informants to understand, but listening to them was such a struggle. I had to get used to the local accents and slang, and relate them to the standard British- and Scottish-English.

If I asked them to repeat when I did not understand what they uttered, they would be kind enough to do so *slowly*; however, I would not understand them anyway, and I could not dare to ask again. It took me literally hundreds of times of repeatedly listening to the

interview tapes to get myself familiar with the accents and local slang. In transcribing, sometimes I typed as I heard and showed it to the supervisors, one of whom happened to be an 'East Ender', and they gave suggestions for the right phrase guessing from the sound of what I had taken down. In the process of transcription, I often regretted as I found out many times that some of the parts I had not understood in the interviews were actually worth more exploration. The use of participant observation as a method proved invaluable to this end as well, especially in picking up local slang.

It is hard to recall now when I had become able to have conversations with the informants without such stress. What I definitely remember is that in the first focus group, it was so hard to understand what the young people said, as well as to make myself understood by them. I had to ask them to repeat such a simple sentence as 'They do other things.' But the last two focus groups went as though we were 'friends'. There was little need for asking the young people to repeat themselves, but I could rather ask for elaboration.

The language difficulty might have posed a slight concern in terms of reliability, or in a more qualitative term, dependability (Guba and Lincoln, 1989), of the interview and observational data, as well as the interpretation of it. The fact that I was keeping the fieldnotes in my second language might have meant that the misrepresentation would happen in two ways: by misunderstanding what was uttered by those studied, and by wrongly presenting the researcher's idea when writing down the notes. This, too, I believe, dissolved as my skills improved, as well as through the validation by the supervisors.

#### *6.4.6.5 From observer to participant: the shifting role of the researcher*

The role of the researcher shifted along the continuum between an observer and a participant. Of the classic four categories by Gold (1958); namely, complete observer, observer as participant, participant as observer, and complete participant, I started off as almost a complete observer, and finished as nearly a participant-as-observer. The shift was more evident in Urban Fox than Shoot for Success, reflecting the frequency of observation. Thus, an account is given below, in terms of Urban Fox, as to how my role changed over time, first as a participant, and then as an observer.

As a participant, on one hand, I could not be as deeply involved as I would have liked. At first, I suspected that the co-ordinator was not very keen on using a non-‘local’ like me, who would disappear sooner or later. Or he might have presumed that I would not have wanted to get so deeply involved, considering the fact that I was travelling from the West End by bus, was a student at the university, and had a family, and so on. Even more, it might have been because I did not look capable as a worker.

In fact, with the limited language skills and the ignorance, at times, I felt as though I was a liability so that the staff members had to make extra effort to take care of me. For example, on many occasions, I was unsure how to act. Despite the supervisory role assigned to me, I hesitated to intervene when I spotted ‘bad behaviour’ in my eyes. Under such circumstances, especially in the early stages of the fieldwork, I waited for other workers to react, in order to avoid any inappropriate intervention. But often it was felt that not to intervene could be as inappropriate as to do so wrongly. Thus, I lacked confidence to ask constantly if I could work more.

As the time goes, however, I gained more trust from the staff members, and started acting more naturally and confidently. Earlier, I would have been always accompanied by one of the development officers, who would show me around and introduce me to people; but gradually, I became to feel as though I was treated as an independent volunteer, who could fill in a spot in case of staff shortage. Towards the end of the fieldwork, I was even asked, though it was never realised, to work as a sessional paid worker for the Cyber Fox programme, which was about to expand from one to four areas. Had it not fallen through due to the delay of the expansion, I should have become a ‘complete participant’.

The limited extent of involvement as a worker, however, might not have been negative altogether. On the contrary, in hindsight, it might have some positive effects. It could have happened that I would be expected too much contribution to maintain the crucial role as an observer. The stress of the fieldwork was already quite enormous, and so was the work required after, such as taking down fieldnotes, transcribing, and analysing the data. Deeper involvement might have proven excessively stressful, both physically and mentally. Moreover, the closer to a ‘complete participant’, the more difficult it would have been to keep the distance from the subject, which allowed critical analysis.

On the other hand, I gradually became more capable as an observer at the same time. At first, it was the co-ordinator who dictated the occasions for observation. This was not a serious problem in terms of the comprehensiveness. He made arrangements for me to cover the most of the range of activities the project was offering, since he understood my request well and also looked keen to show me the whole picture of the project. Nevertheless, I had to be patient and opportunistic, as it was up to him and other members of the staff when I could observe what activity. And when I was observing a session, one of the development officers accompanied me and explained what was going on. The dependency on the staff has also been described in the focus group section earlier in this chapter.

However, as I gained more trust as a worker, I also gained trust to do the research independently. The last two focus groups illustrated well the kind of independency I achieved. On the day, I was asked to come to the Friday Drop-in club, as extra staff was needed, and also it was regarded as a good opportunity to do focus groups. One of the development officer, who was not a regular worker of the club, was also there as a cover. Naturally, I asked her if she could help me arrange focus groups. Her answer was, 'You can talk to them yourself, Naofumi. I don't work here. You know them better than I do.'

#### 6.4.6.6 *A fair result?*

Overall, the fact that I was from a totally different cultural context *did* have an impact on the implementation of the research. However, I cannot tell how it impacted, whether positively or negatively, the outcome of it. I believe, though, that the choice of the methods, especially the inclusion of the element of participant observation, was right. It was the main factor that made the research findings reliable, which I hope shows in the following findings chapters.

## 6.5 Area Profile of the East End of Glasgow

This section provides a description of the case-study area: the East End of Glasgow. The area has been known to be a ‘poverty-stricken’ area for many years, and thus has been subject to a long series of urban regeneration initiatives. While it has a number of common features with other deprived neighbourhoods in post-industrial British cities, it also has some distinctive characteristics even compared to other parts of Glasgow.

### 6.5.1 Geographical coverage

At the time of fieldwork, the East End Social Inclusion Partnership (EESIP) operated in the East End of Glasgow. The SIP area housed some 36,000 people and covered 1,073 hectares (6 per cent of the city), of which approximately 23 per cent was vacant and derelict (East End Social Inclusion Partnership, 2000). However, in a conventional sense, the ‘East End’ could signify a wider geographical coverage. The boundaries are contentious, but it usually represents the area extending eastward from High Street, the east edge of the city centre, along Edinburgh Road as the north border and the River Clyde south. The east border becomes more obscure, but the EESIP covered as far as the Cambuslang Investment Park situated by M74 Junction 1. In this thesis, the ‘East End of Glasgow’ stands for the wider coverage, although the SIP area is inevitably given the central attention.

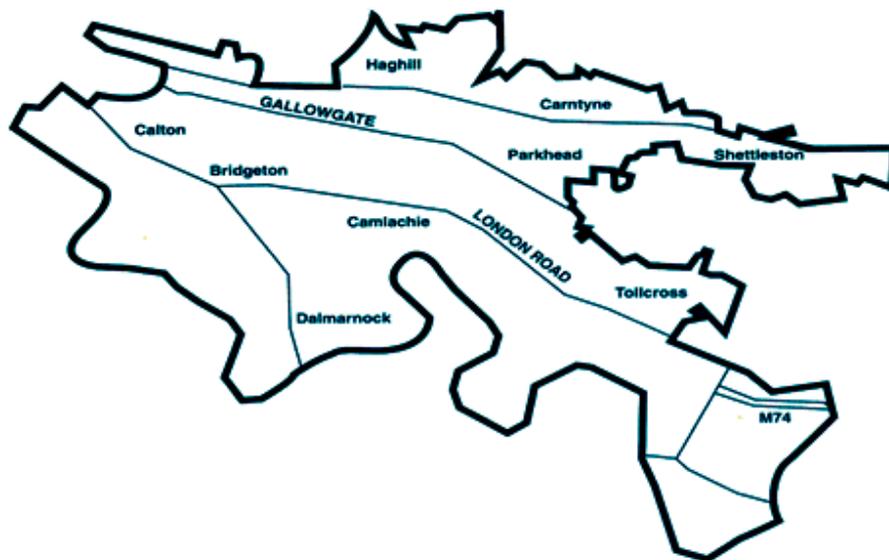


Figure 6.1 Map of East End SIP area

Source: East End Social Inclusion Partnership (2006)

The area consists of a number of neighbourhoods. The EESIP area included: Calton, Bridgeton, Dalmarnock, Parkhead, Tollcross, Shettleston, South Carntyne, Haghill, Gallowgate and Camlachie (East End Social Inclusion Partnership, 2006). As an area-based regeneration initiative, the remit of EESIP was focused on the most deprived neighbourhoods in the East End, but its offshoots, such as Dennistoun, Greenfield, Springboig, Sandyhills, Mount Vernon and Carmyle, might also qualify as part of it. If these relatively well-performing neighbourhoods are included, the area almost identifies with the postcode sectors G31, G32 and G40. The electoral wards that overlap with the EESIP area are Dennistoun, Calton, Bridgeton/Dalmarnock, Parkhead, Tollcross Park, and Braidfauld. The East End roughly overlaps with Shettleston parliamentary constituency, except for the part extended to the south beyond the River Clyde.

### **6.5.2 Regeneration efforts in the area**

Reflecting the level of deprivation it has long suffered, the East End of Glasgow has been targeted by a series of landmark urban regeneration initiatives. From the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s, it staged one of the earliest attempts of comprehensive renewal of the inner city: the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) project. Launched in 1976, GEAR brought a disproportionate amount of capital investment as compared to other areas in the city until it ended in 1987 (Keating, 1988). After a decade of the lack of comprehensive approach to area regeneration, in the late 1990s, the East End of Glasgow was designated as one of the three areas in Glasgow targeted by the Priority Partnership Area (PPA) initiative, along with the North of the city and Easterhouse (Lloyd *et al.*, 2001). It was converted to EESIP in 1998, when all 12 PPAs in Scotland were designated as Social Inclusion Partnership areas.

After the completion of the fieldwork, from April 2006 onwards, the SIPs were transformed into the Community Planning initiatives. As a result, the EESIP area was rearranged to constitute part of two separate Community Planning areas: Shettleston & Bailleston & Part of Glasgow North East, and East Centre & Calton (Glasgow Community Planning Partnership, 2006).

There also are now several major physical regeneration projects planned in the East End as part of the Clyde Gateway redevelopment, including the M74 extension, the East End Regeneration Route, and the National Indoor Sports Arena (Glasgow City Council, 2006). The Dalmarnock area is one of the two potential sites for the housing redevelopment to accommodate the Game Village (which subsequently become available for social rented housing and private sale), if Glasgow’s bid for the 2014 Commonwealth Games is successful (Glasgow City Council, undated).

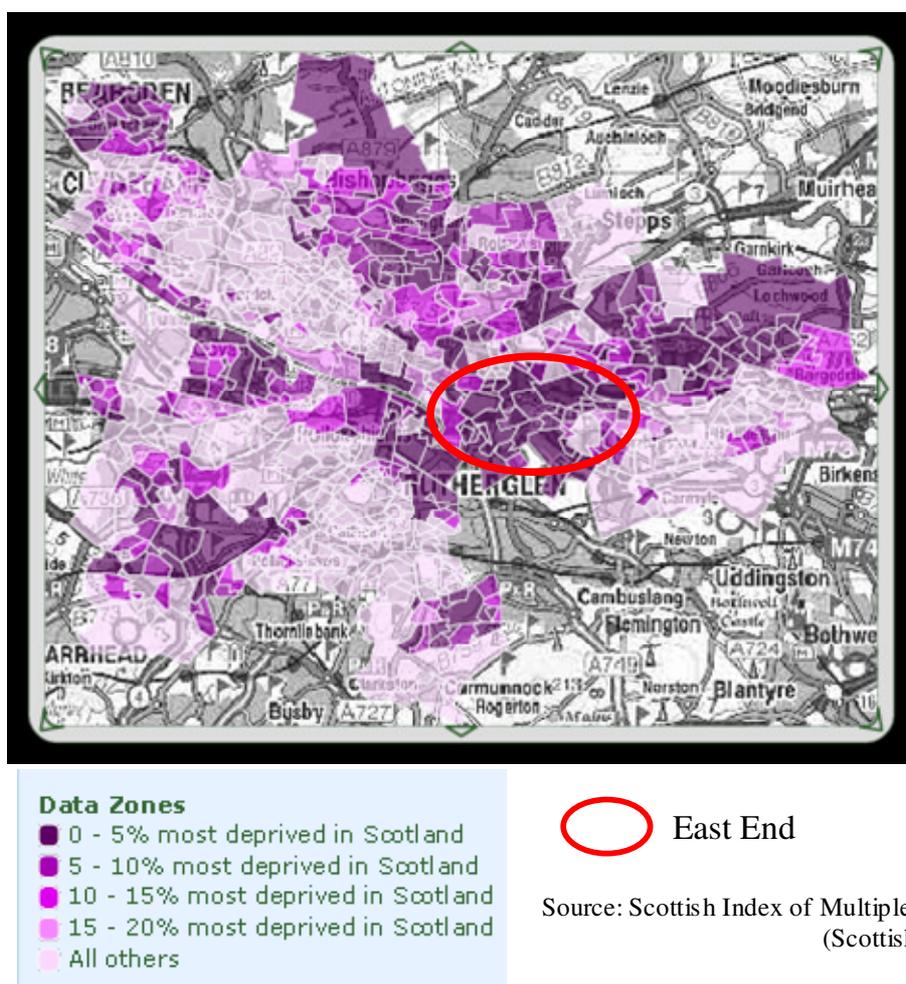


Figure 6.2 Map of Glasgow and Deprivation in East End

### 6.5.3 Deprivation now

Despite the continuous effort of regeneration, the East End of Glasgow remains among the most deprived neighbourhoods in Scotland and the UK (Figure 6.2). Table 6.7 shows the wards within the East End that are ranked among the worst 10 percent of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) in 2003. It indicates that the area remained deprived, at least in relative terms as compared to other part of countries. The performance of the area in terms of each of the six domains of the SIMD in 2004 (Scottish Executive, 2006b) appears as poor as the aggregated ranking, except for the Geographic Access and Telecommunications Domain. The large part of the East End stays within 5 per cent of the worst wards in terms of the Income, Employment, Health, Education and Housing domains.

**Table 6.7 Scotland's worst 100 wards in East End in 2003**

Ward	SIMD Rank	SIMD Score
Parkhead	3	86.61
Bridgeton/Dalmarnock	6	79.83
Tollcross Park	28	69.33
Carntyne	30	67.73
Calton	40	64.26
Dennistoun	77	52.42

Source: Social Deprivation Research Centre (2003)

The low economic performance of the area is represented in the low level of skills and the high level of joblessness. In 2001, five out of the ten small census data areas with the highest rates of adults (age 16-74) with no qualification are in the neighbourhoods of Calton, Carntyne, Parkhead (south), Dalmarnock, and Bridgeton (east); over 60 per cent of adults have no qualification, twice as high as the Scottish average (33 per cent), 9 times as high as the area with the lowest rate (7 per cent) in Hyndland/Jordanhill (Hanlon *et al.*, 2006). In terms of joblessness, *Glasgow Economic Monitor* (Glasgow City Council and Scottish Enterprise Glasgow, 2005) employs claimant count as the indicator of joblessness at ward level. The report indicates that the East End embraces one of the worst wards in terms of joblessness, though there also seems to be an indication of the improving trend within the area. While Parkhead was ranked ninth with 6.4 per cent of working population being claimants against the city average of 4.1 per cent in May 2005, it also marked one of

the largest reduction (-16 per cent) in the number of claimants, as did Dalmarnock (-24 per cent), although these reductions might be attributed to population loss (Glasgow City Council and Scottish Enterprise Glasgow, 2005).

In terms of health, the Shettleston constituency is arguably the unhealthiest area in Britain (East End Social Inclusion Partnership, 2004). Indeed, during the period 1998-2002, part of Calton has the lowest life expectancy at birth for males (53.9 years) in the West of Scotland, while part of Dalmarnock, Bridgeton (east) and Parkhead (south) are also among the ten lowest with 58-62 years, against the city average of 73.3 years (Hanlon *et al.*, 2006). For females, only part of Dalmanock is ranked in the worst ten (69 years), while the city average is 78.7 years (Hanlon *et al.*, 2006). Notably, alcoholic liver disease is the most common cause of death under 65 years of age in the Bridgeton and Dennistoun area, accounting for 13.6 per cent, against the Scottish average of 6.1 per cent (Hanlon *et al.*, 2006).

Crime and community safety is another concern of the area in relation to the multiple disadvantages it faces, although no indicator is included in SIMD. As of 2002/03, the Strathclyde Police East Division, of which the southern half almost equates to the EESIP area (Strathclyde Police, 2006), had the second highest rates for murder and attempted murder, the highest for serious assaults as well as knife carrying, within the jurisdiction of Strathclyde Police (East End Social Inclusion Partnership, 2004). In terms of the type of crime, the area is high in disorder and vehicle crimes, but low in housebreaking (Hanlon *et al.*, 2006). During the three year period of 2002-2005, Calton ward marked the ninth highest rate of violent offenders in the West of Scotland (66 per 1,000) (Hanlon *et al.*, 2006). Violent incidents were also high in Calton, Bridgeton/Dalmarnock and Parkhead, with 484 to 600 per 1000 population, highest after Anderston (Hanlon *et al.*, 2006). Assault discharges were high in Dalmarnock, Bridgeton (east) and Calton, marking around 7 per 1000 population, highest after Kingston (9.2 per 1000 population) during the three year period of 01/02-03/04, when the Scottish average was only 1.4 per 1000 population (Hanlon *et al.*, 2006).

## **6.5.4 Distinctive features of the area**

### *6.5.4.1 Proximity to city centre*

While many other parts of the city share the similar level of deprivation, the East End has certain distinctive characteristics. Some of them could be attributed to the relative spatial proximity to the centre of the city as compared to equally deprived neighbourhoods in Glasgow. First, the west of the area became the part of the city so early that it has a much richer and longer history, whereas similarly deprived peripheral housing estates were only developed in the 1970s. Second, the difference seems to be reflected in the demographic structure. Third, possibly reflecting the long history, the residents of the East End tend to show strong place attachment to the neighbourhoods.

### *6.5.4.2 History*

The East End of Glasgow once was ‘the engine room of the Scottish industrial revolution’ and ‘at the heart of British imperial accumulation’ (Middleton, 1987, p. 18). In the nineteenth century, the city grew eastwards along Edinburgh Road and London Road, merging the weaving villages of Calton and Bridgeton and the peripheral weaving and mining villages of Shettleston and Parkhead. By the late nineteenth century, the Parkhead Forge had become the largest employer in the city of Glasgow. As the city experienced a rapid growth of population attributed to the migration mainly from the Highlands and Ireland, the East End, the villages of Calton and Bridgeton in particular, ‘took most of the strain of a growing and poverty-stricken population’ (p. 20), so that the area became to suffer over congestion and poor housing conditions, causing severe health problems. During the first world war period, the business in the East End expanded and diversified, producing motor vehicles, aero-engines and aircrafts, but by the 1920s, it withdrew from car and aircraft industry, and retreated into steel production, which ‘was critical for the industrial future of the east end of Glasgow’ (p.23), as it meant a lost opportunity for further capital investment.

As Middleton (1987) contends, the decline of the area in the post-war period was starker than other part of the city. As a result of the decline of the shipping industry along the River Clyde, the steel production in the East End also declined, and a number of people suffered

the loss of jobs. Combined with the industrial decline was the slum clearance that finally took place in the 1960s. Consequently, the young, skilled and healthy working population was hastened, which left the area with the concentration of the old, disabled and poor. The population of the GEAR area decreased from 145,000 in 1951 to 45,000 in 1981. Between 1971 and 1977 in particular, the rate of population loss averaged around 7 percent each year, leading to a 45 percent loss in these six years (Middleton, 1987, pp. 27-29).

#### 6.5.4.3 *Demography and ethnicity*

The population of the East End is predominantly White. While deprived neighbourhoods elsewhere in the UK tend to have a higher proportion of Black and Minority Ethnic group population, this is fairly common among deprived areas in Scotland, where the percentage of people from minority ethnic backgrounds is only 2 per cent (Hanlon *et al.*, 2006). Although Glasgow has a higher proportion of minority ethnic population, it is highly concentrated (17 per cent) in Greater Shawlands on the south side of the city, while the East End has only 1.5 per cent (Eastern Glasgow, including Easterhouse) to 4.3 per cent (Bridgeton and Dennistoun, including City Centre) (Hanlon *et al.*, 2006).

In terms of the age structure of the population, the East End appears different from deprived neighbourhoods located on the periphery of the city, such as Easterhouse, Castlemilk and Drumchapel. While these peripheral, relatively new housing estates are among the 10 neighbourhoods that have the highest population of under 16 years old (near 30 per cent) in the West of Scotland, Bridgeton and Dennistoun (including the City Centre) has the lowest percentage (14 per cent) of young people under 16, which is as low as the West End, the most affluent area in Glasgow (Hanlon *et al.*, 2006). In the same way, Bridgeton and Dennistoun, along with West End, has the highest concentrations of 16-64 year olds. Although these figures in part reflect the fact that the city centre is included in the category of Bridgeton and Dennistoun in the analysis of Hanlon *et al.* (2006), it can be also said that the East End has relative advantage of geographical proximity to the city centre, so that the area can potentially attract working population, who prefer to live near their workplace in the centre.

#### 6.5.4.4 *Place attachment*

One recurring feature emphasised about the area is the strong attachment of the local residents to the traditional neighbourhoods, despite having been through a series of changes in political jurisdictions (East End Social Inclusion Partnership, 2000; Middleton, 1987). To date, it is understood that the area is ‘not homogeneous’ and ‘made up of distinct areas, with different characteristics’ (East End Social Inclusion Partnership, 2000, p. 5). The survey result in the 1980s showed only 14 percent of the residents answered that they lived in the ‘east end’, while more than half mentioned a part of the area not identified as a ward (Middleton, 1987, p. 14). Indeed, the fieldwork for this study supports these claims, as it has been found that within relatively large neighbourhoods such as Dennistoun and Parkhead, young people often mentioned a smaller part of the areas as the place they lived; for example, Duke Street in Dennistoun and Lilybank in Parkhead. The EESIP (2000) underscores the results of the baseline survey conducted in 1999 that might imply the strong sense of attachment to the area. It highlighted that over three quarters of the sample had lived within the area for over ten years and had no intention of moving out. Interestingly, despite the fact that the area has been officially considered as one of the most deprived areas in Scotland, ‘the vast majority of people considered their quality of life to be very or fairly good’ (East End Social Inclusion Partnership, 2000, p. 6), which might represent their affection to the area.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has described the research methodologies employed and the actual research procedures. Conceptually guided by the capability framework proposed in Chapter 5, it has explained how a grounded theory approach is suited for the purpose of theorising the process in which sport may contribute to regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods. The East End of Glasgow was selected as the case-study site, not because it was representative of deprived neighbourhoods, but because of the accessibility to a range of projects covering the relevant themes to the four hypotheses identified in Chapter 3. A range of qualitative approaches were employed as they have strength in generating data concerning social processes. The chapter has also provided the background information about the case-study area, both in terms of the common feature with other deprived neighbourhoods and

distinctive characteristics. The following three chapters present the findings from the fieldwork. The next chapter focuses on what the lives of young people who lived in the East End looked like, in reference to the nature of capability deprivation they were faced with and its underlying mechanisms.

# Chapter 7 Leisure Deprivation, Territoriality and Limited Horizons

## 7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores in what way young people who lived in the case-study area were deprived, so as to specify the nature of the problems the sport-related regeneration projects were intended to tackle. Although area deprivation is widespread throughout the UK and there are common features of deprived neighbourhoods, each of them also faces its specific issues. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to elucidate such commonalities and specifics in the case of the East End of Glasgow, particularly as they affect young people, so as to contextualise the role of the sport-related projects within it. The previous chapter has provided a brief statistical and historical account in this regard, but this chapter offers more in-depth description based on the evidence from the fieldwork.

As explained in the previous chapter, the fieldwork was guided by the conceptual framework discussed in Chapter 5. That is, in the analysis of data generated through the fieldwork, particular attention was paid to the capabilities of young people at the present time as well as in the future. Sport-related projects may hypothetically improve the capabilities of young people either constitutively *via* contribution to their leisure capability, or instrumentally adding to the capabilities to successfully go through the transition period into adulthood. The chapter aims to uncover the nature of the capability deprivation experienced by the young people in the East End of Glasgow.

It emerged that central to the mechanisms was territoriality, or what the local people called 'territorialism', which seemed to play a significant part in perpetuating the deprivation in

terms of leisure as well as youth-to-adult transition. Territoriality might be defined as hostility between different neighbourhoods and associated violence prevalent among groups of young people, so-called 'gangs'. It is argued that in the East End of Glasgow, there was a vicious circle of leisure deprivation, territoriality and limited horizons, which hypothetically may be tackled using sport. It is shown that the vicious circle contains the elements that correspond with the four hypotheses with regard to the process through which sport might contribute to neighbourhood regeneration (see Chapter 3).

The structure of the chapter is as follows. First, it is argued that young people in the East End were deprived of leisure capability. The section goes on to explore the limiting factors to leisure capability, among which territoriality is singled out as a particularly significant one. Then, it is pointed out that territoriality contributed to relative deprivation across neighbourhoods within the East End. Second, the nature of territoriality among young people is discussed in detail. It is highlighted that 'gang fighting', the most visible manifestation of territoriality, served as an alternative leisure activity, while threatening the safety of the majority of young people. Possible links between territoriality and other elements of well-being such as friendship and health are also discussed. The third section considers how territoriality might also be a significant factor to limit the horizons of young people at the critical stage of transition into adulthood. The chapter concludes by summarising the vicious circle of capability deprivation, which may hypothetically be broken down with intervention using sport.

## **7.2 Leisure deprivation in the East End of Glasgow**

### **7.2.1 'We just walk about': leisure deprivation and boredom**

As discussed in Chapter 4, the lack of leisure time opportunities for young people is not only one of the most common concerns for the young themselves (Hine, 2004), but also one of the most commonly perceived neighbourhood problems for adults (Anderson *et al.*, 2005). The East End of Glasgow was not an exception in this respect, but the level of leisure deprivation seemed perpetuated in part because of the high level of economic deprivation and in part because of territoriality, or 'territorialism' as the local people called,

which could be summarised as the hostility towards adjacent neighbourhoods and associated violence prevalent among young people.

Many of the respondents, both adults and young people, shared the view that the young people in the East End of Glasgow were deprived of the opportunities in leisure. The focus group sessions with the participants of the Friday Night Drop-in Services of the Urban Fox Programme (Urban Fox) revealed that they generally experienced the lack of activities available for them to do in their spare time and the boredom strongly associated with it. When asked why they participated in the programme, one of the common answers was that they had nothing else to do but to 'walk about':

*Interviewer (I):           What did you use to do before [the Friday night club] started?*

*Girl 1: Just walked about the streets.*

*I:           Walked about?*

*Girl 2: Aye, walked about the streets.*

*Girl 3: Walked about the streets as well.*

*I:           What about weekends?*

*Girl 3: What did we do on the weekends?*

*Girl 1: We just walked about the streets.*

*I:           Is there anything else to do?*

*All:    No.*

(Focus Group 4)

Many other young participants of focus groups expressed the similar feeling that they had 'nothing else to do' and 'nowhere else to go', and so were 'bored'. Thus the most common thing for them to do in their spare time seemed to 'walk about' with friends. A young football coach, who had used to participate in Urban Fox as a participant, said that he was also bored when he was younger:

*I used to just sit, sit in a close, or sit on stairs. If I find somebody, we sit. And we share boredom. That was...just really boredom. Then we go to shops, came back, sit*

*in the same place, then go to the club for a couple o' hours, came back, sit in the same place. We've done that every single night. It just kept being very boring.*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

Nonetheless, the high level of boredom evidently shared by the young people in the area might not be the direct effect of leisure deprivation in an objective sense. An experienced football coach of Urban Fox considered there actually were more opportunities than people might think in deprived neighbourhoods:

*But sometimes there's a lotta people with weans, particularly, young kids, making excuses, saying there's nothing to do in the East End. But do you know there's more to do in the East End than in some of the well-to-do areas? See some of the areas that have got a lot of money, a lot of fancy houses and all that ... There's more for the kids to do in the so-called poverty-stricken areas than there is in the posh places. I mean, they [= young people in Lilybank]'ve got a football park out there. Right? I've got a friend that lives in a quite fancy area and he's always complaining that there's nothing for his kids to do up there. They've no got the facilities to play football in, you know what I mean. [...] They've no got a lot of clubs. I mean, sometimes you're better off in a poverty area place than you are in a well-off place and they don't realise it. Sometimes people in the well-to-do areas get forgot about for facilities because people just assume that they're OK. But their kids have no actually got anywhere to go. That happens a lot.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male)

Ultimately, some objective measure has to be introduced to see if the extent of leisure deprivation is linearly related to the level of boredom. Possible alternative explanations include psychological (i.e. a negative psychological effect such as depression associated with living in a poor neighbourhood) and anthropological (i.e. part of 'culture' shared within poor neighbourhoods) ones. Although it is beyond the scope of this exploratory study to carry out a further investigation on this matter, there has been a study showing that the majority of the leisure centres in Glasgow are actually situated in the most deprived neighbourhoods (Marrison, 2004 cited Hanlon *et al.*, 2006). Thus, the coach's comment may have a certain degree of validity. Nevertheless, the fieldwork uncovered a number of

reasons that made it plausible to understand that young people in the East End were considerably deprived of leisure capability.

### **7.2.2 Limiting factors to leisure capability**

The East End of Glasgow had many conditions that might well restrict young people's access to leisure opportunities. A number of limiting factors to leisure capabilities of young people were raised by interview respondents. They include, low income, the low level of car ownership, the lack of affordable transport, the hostility from leisure providers and other customers, and above all, territoriality. While the primary cause of leisure deprivation seemed to lie in economic disadvantages of the area, territoriality seemed a critical factor that further exacerbated young people's inabilities to operate using their already limited resources. The case-study projects were all concerned with these constraints and were making efforts to ameliorate them. The following part goes through each of these constraints.

#### *7.2.2.1 'Kids have no enough money': low income*

The East End of Glasgow contains areas with the lowest average household income in Scotland (see Chapter 6). Collins (2003) insists that low income is the most significant determinant of exclusion from sport participation. Recognising the fact that the children and young people they engaged with were presumably from low income households, many respondents stressed the importance of low cost or free access to their services:

*If you want to make a difference in a deprived area, you can't charge ... you can't put a cost to your programme because the people that you're trying to target won't access it. They don't have the pound to attend, the 50p.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

Although several council-owned sport and leisure facilities such as the Tollcross Leisure Centre and Glasgow Green are situated in the East End, it was thought that young people were not able to use them because they could not afford them:

[A worker of Urban Fox] explained to me that the Tollcross Leisure Centre is far too expensive (£1.05 per hour) as compared to Urban Fox (£1.50 per year). Therefore, she said that young people would not come to the centre apart from their free football coaching sessions.

(Fieldnotes, 4th May 2004)

Thus, the people running the sport-based programmes commonly emphasise the benefit of providing activities that 'cost them nothing' or very little. For example, the project co-ordinator of Urban Fox was concerned with the high price to hire a football pitch of the East End Healthy Living Centre:

[The project co-ordinator of Urban Fox] was not happy about the cost of the venue - £16 per hour per pitch (They will hire 5 pitches every time). He said that the cost was the same as the city council's rate. 'Kids don't have enough money to hire a pitch £16 per hour. The Healthy Living Centre is supposed to be a community facility. It should be something like £4 per hour or even nothing.'

(Fieldnotes, 18th May 2004)

The same theme was raised in an informal conversation with workers of Urban Fox, in comparing the basketball camps organised by the Scottish Rocks, a professional team, and the Glasgow City Basketball Club, a local, amateur club:

According to [a worker], the Scottish Rocks also run a programme for young people, but they charge a lot. [Another worker] showed me their website. She said they were quite good, though it was for more affluent kids as they would sell their products to the kids. By contrast, [the Glasgow City Basketball Club's] camp does not charge the kids, who can get T-shirts free of charge. She said it had been successful attracting about a hundred young people.

(Fieldnotes, 2nd September 2004)

The same benefit of free access was mentioned by the head coach of the Glasgow City Basketball Club, when talking about their coaching sessions in the Eastbank Community Club:

*All the kids now know if they come to Eastbank, no matter what school they go to, no matter what background they come from, they come in. The access costs them nothing. It doesn't cost the kids any money to play. No matter what social background they are from, they can come in and play basketball equally to get better.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

#### 7.2.2.2 'People are driving in from outside': car ownership

Not only low income but also the low level of car ownership in the East End may well mean significant leisure deprivation relative to affluent areas with higher car ownership rates. The fact that the leisure facilities in Glasgow tend to be in deprived areas may be of less significance to the young people who live in affluent areas where most households own cars so that their parents can drive them to facilities outside their neighbourhoods. In their study in the Glasgow East Area Renewal (GEAR) area in the 1980s, Donnison and Middleton (1987) argued that car ownership was increasingly an important predictor of the variety of leisure activities people could enjoy, and thus the residents of deprived neighbourhoods like the East End where the percentage of car ownership was low might well be disadvantaged in this respect. To date, the level of car ownership remains low in the East End. Five out of the ten census data areas in the West of Scotland with the highest rates (some 80 per cent) of household without access to car or van are situated in the East End (Hanlon *et al.*, 2006).

In fact, the council-owned leisure facilities in the East End were perceived to be 'booked up' by those driving in from outside:

*There's lots of local criticism, for example, of the Tollcross Leisure Centre, that it's not accessible to local people, that people drive into the centre from outside Glasgow, and from outside the East End of Glasgow. I am not totally convinced that that's the 100% the way it is. If you talk to the staff of the Tollcross Leisure Centre, they would say, a very high percentage of the users come from very, very close to the centre, they come from very close by. But if you talk to local people, they say*

*'Oh, we've been trying to book a room in the leisure centre, but they are very expensive, or they are all booked up.' That kind of thing. It is indeed that the facilities in the Tollcross Leisure Centre get booked up. They also do it in Glasgow Green as well. And they get booked up by people who drive in to use the facilities from outside.*

(East End Healthy Living Centre, Manager, female)

Of course, the fact that these facilities are subsidised by the city means that they are not only for the residents nearby but also for those of the city on the whole. As far as the local young people were concerned, the high demand from people outside the East End did not seem to be a main issue, as it was not raised in any of the focus groups.

#### 7.2.2.3 *'There are no buses': public transport*

Under the conditions of the prevalence of low income and the low levels of car ownership, providing free transport was of particular importance to many sport-related regeneration projects. It seemed especially the case for facility-based projects such as the East End Healthy Living Centre and the Eastbank Community Club, as well as the projects using a central facility such as the Tollcross Leisure Centre (e.g. the Friday Night Fun), which aimed to cater for young people from the entire East End (see Appendix C).

*But a huge issue is transporting young people to the centre. They won't get on the bus to come. So we'll have to get them travel in groups, so using our minibus.*

(East End Healthy Living Centre, Manager, female)

Not only was it widely perceived that young people could not afford to use public transport frequently, but also respondents considered that leisure facilities such as the Glasgow Green Football Centre and the East End Healthy Living Centre were isolated from the public transport network:

[The co-ordinator of Urban Fox asked me how I had found the facility of the Glasgow Green Football Centre.] 'That was good,' [I answered. But he looked

unhappy and said,] ‘But the transport is not nice. It’s isolated. There’s no bus to go there.’

(Fieldnotes, 18th May 2004)

*The physical location of [East End Healthy Living Centre] isn’t ideal, in that Crownpoint Road itself isn’t a good road to have a front door on basically. It’s not a particularly safe road to walk along. There are no buses. I think there might be one bus [service] along Crownpoint Road. So, the access to it isn’t very good.*

(East End Healthy Living Centre, Manager, female)

Thus, more affordable and elaborate public transport would improve the leisure capabilities of young people in the East End, who could be from households with low income and/or no car. Meanwhile, the sport-related regeneration projects could also contribute to improving it by providing free transport to their venues. More crucially, though, the need for providing transport was also important for safety reasons owing to territoriality, as discussed below.

#### 7.2.2.4 ‘They say our kids are cheeky’: hostility by facility staff

A less frequently mentioned limiting factor was the hostility by the staff or other users of leisure facilities towards young people:

[A worker of Urban Fox said that there were] also other barriers. For example, people who were using the activity hall next to the one where Urban Fox was on sometimes complained because they didn’t want children to be watching them. [The worker] wasn’t happy about it. When the [final] session was about to start, a manager of the centre came to talk to the coaches, because, according to [the worker], a boy had lost money and so came back to the hall, in spite of the regulation stating that children have to leave the centre soon after the session is finished. [The worker] was not happy with the fact that the staff of the centre is not friendly to children. [According to her,] they don’t come to the centre other occasions because they cannot get in. [She said that] staff of the centre complained that some of the boys were cheeky, though they had never been cheeky to the staff of Urban Fox.

(Fieldnotes, 4th May, 2004)

This kind of 'hostility', however, might not always be negative. One of the football coaches of Urban Fox, who were in charge of the sessions in the Tollcross Leisure Centre, even welcomed disciplinary actions taken by the staff of the facility, reckoning that it was an opportunity for young people to learn. This trade-off between accessibility and discipline will be explored in more depth in Chapter 8.

#### 7.2.2.5 'We cannae go through other schemes': territoriality

These factors may be generally applicable to the neighbourhoods elsewhere with similar socio-economic profiles. What seemed to be somewhat distinctive in the case-study area was the pervasiveness of territoriality among young people. It was commonly perceived to be the most serious limiting factor to young people's opportunities in leisure as well as other activities. The project co-ordinator of Urban Fox clearly explained why tackling territoriality was the main theme of the project:

*Main ethos behind the project is breaking down territorial barriers. It's very, very important. People are aware of that. Lots of gang warfare within different communities. This is Lilybank, right? There's a gang here. Dalmarnock, Shettleston, Tollcross, Parkhead ... where you've got a housing estate, you get other housing estates around it. So what you've got there, you've got large groups of teenagers in every one of these. Now, if you got a young person from Lilybank, who goes to Eastbank Secondary School, [he needs] to cross a territorial barrier to go there, because gang fighting happens. There's hundreds and hundreds of gangs within the East End of Glasgow. Hundreds of them. Right? So that means they need to cross boundaries to go for even swimming, they need to cross boundaries all the time. Not every young person within these communities gang fight, but all you need is a young person to be from an area going through another area, then somebody notices him. So he stays in such and such a place. Even though they don't gang fight, they chase them, or they attack them or assault them. You know? So that's the fear factor.*

(Urban Fox, Project Co-ordinator, male)

Thus, territoriality was perceived as the most significant factor that geographically confined young people in their own 'schemes' so that their options of leisure activity were minimised. Territoriality was characterised by the rivalry between young people from different housing estates and the associated violence, so-called 'gang fighting'. Both adult and young participants of interviews and focus groups reported that young people in the East End were discouraged to travel across the 'territorial boundaries' because of the fear of being attacked by 'gangs' while walking through other 'schemes'. As a result, their leisure opportunities are limited within the boundaries of their own neighbourhoods.

Many young people in the East End were indeed deprived of leisure capability because of the economic disadvantages. However, territoriality was the factor that exacerbated their already limited capabilities in leisure. At least two of the factors discussed above would not have affected their capabilities as much as it did, had there not been such intense territoriality. First, as far as the council-owned leisure facilities are concerned, low income might not be a serious issue considering that there are two discount card schemes available for young people of different age groups: Glasgow Kids Card for 5-11 year olds and Young Scot Card for 12-18 year olds. These schemes allow free access to swimming pools and discount admission to other leisure facilities (Glasgow City Council, 2007a, 2007b). Second, the cost of transport would not have been so much an issue; the intensity of territoriality meant that many young people did not travel, even on foot to adjacent areas when they were within an easy walking distance.

Indeed, the facilities were accessible to those who lived close enough to them that they did not have to cross territorial boundaries. Among the focus group participants, there were frequent users of the Tollcross Leisure Centre notwithstanding the inaccessibility perceived by the staff members. Two male participants of a focus group, who lived in Tollcross, reported that they booked the court by themselves to play five-a-side football every week by splitting the fee with friends:

*I: And what about weekends? What do you do?*

*Boy 1: Aye, we go and play football in the [Tollcross] leisure centre.*

*Boy 2: Aye, in the leisure centre. We go ourselves.*

*Boy 1: Swimming.*

*I: Do you book the court?*  
*Boy 1: Aye, we book it.*  
*Boy 2: Aye, we book it ourselves, and go.*  
*Boy 1: Aye. Five-a-side.*  
*Boy 2: Five-a-side.*  
*I: So you need to pay?*  
*Both: Aye.*  
*Boy 1: We all split in. We all give money...*  
*Boy 2: To each other.*  
*Boy 1: ...to each other, and then we build up to it.*  
*I: How many [of you]?*  
*Boy 2: Ten.*  
*Boy 1: Ten people go, cos it's five-a-side.*

(Focus group 6)

It was not only them but also a few female participants from Tollcross also reported that they had used to go swimming there. Thus, the leisure centre seemed accessible at least for young people who resided nearby. By contrast, however, none of the focus group participants outside Tollcross reported that they would go to the centre in their spare time, including even those from areas adjacent to Tollcross such as Parkhead, where the Tollcross Leisure Centre was within a walking distance (some 15-20 minutes). The design of focus groups were far from adequate to estimate what proportion of young people from, say, Parkhead regularly used the centre. However, it was quite evident that it was not the distance but the territorial boundaries that determined where young people would go. The participants of focus groups almost unanimously agreed that there was the fear of travelling into neighbouring areas:

*I: Why don't you go to RAPA<sup>3</sup>?*  
*Boy 1: It's too far.*  
*Boy 2: It's too far away.*  
*Boy 1: And can't walk through Gallowgate.*

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<sup>3</sup> Reidvale Adventure Playground. See Appendix C.

*Boy 2: 'Cos people try 'ae...*

*Boy 3 Fighting. Gang fighting.*

*Boy 4: You can go to [Glasgow] Green, but it's not that great. You know I mean?*

*Boy 1: I cannae go to Green either, cos Bridgeton.*

*Boy 4: Oh, aye.*

*I: So, [name of Boy1], you basically don't go to RAPA, or other areas, because of the gangs?*

*Boy 1: Yeah.*

*I: Yeah? And if there's no gang around there, would you go to RAPA?*

*Boy 1: Aye.*

(Focus group 3)

The participants of another group also thought it as a fear factor:

*I: I wonder why you don't go to other places to find something else to do.*

*Girl 1: Lots of different people fight us.*

*I: Could you tell me about it a bit more?*

*Girl 1: Between schemes.*

*Boy 1: Like, Bridgeton gangs going to Calton.*

*Girl 1: And fight.*

*Boy 1: Gang fighting.*

*Girl 1: Gang fighting, so that we cannot really go to other places because of the gang fighting.*

*I: So gang fighting, [Name of Girl 1], do you feel it's dangerous for you to travel across [area boundaries]?*

*Girl 1: Uh huh. People ask me 'Where are you from? Where's your scheme?'. If I'm in another scheme or another place, people ask me 'Where's your scheme?', and people don't like me because of where I stay.*

*I: So do they actually attack you?*

*Girl 1: Yes. They want to fight with you. Like, if I come up here [= the venue of the Friday Night Club in Lilybank], nothing would happen, but if you are in like all places like Haghill, then they will want to fight with you because you're from a different area.*

*Girl 3: Aye.*

*Girl 2: So...*

*Girl 3: Aye.*

*Girl 1: Lots of, lots of gang fighting.*

(Focus group 1)

This hostility towards people from different neighbourhoods seemed to be a common experience amongst the young people in the East End.

*I: Do you not go to other areas to, you know, do something else?*

*Boy1: No, sometimes I go to my gran's in Parkhead, but...*

*Boy2: I've got my gran stays at Parkhead as well, you can't, there's, cos o' the gang fighting, you can't go anywhere.*

*Boy1: Aye, cos they jump you.*

*Boy2: Different schemes, you cannae go to. You can go to the town and the Forge [a retail park in the East End] and that. No happen, but if you're gonna like different areas, like Parkhead or Cranhill or Greenfield...*

*Boy1: As soon as you walk in there, they will notice you.*

*Boy2: They will ask you where you're frae. Then you just say I'm frae here, and they go like, 'we don't like you!', and they jump you or something.*

*Girl: Slash you, or something.*

(Focus group 6)

Thus, territoriality seemed to extremely circumscribe the geographical horizons within which young people in the East End could operate themselves. This significantly contributed to the deprivation of their leisure capabilities.

### **7.2.3 'They've got more up there, we've got nothin' down here': relative deprivation across areas**

Furthermore, it seemed that there was relative deprivation in terms of leisure opportunities within the East End. It was identified via the focus groups that the capabilities for young people to participate in leisure activities might be unequally distributed across sub-areas

within the East End of Glasgow due to territoriality. Leisure opportunities were defined to a large extent by the locations of leisure facilities, which were inevitably scattered unevenly. For these young people who had little freedom to travel beyond their home neighbourhoods, their leisure capabilities were determined by where they lived. As was discussed earlier, Tollcross was one of the areas where the leisure opportunities seemed relatively abundant because of the presence of the Tollcross Leisure Centre. Similarly, Duke Street, where the Reidvale Adventure Playground (RAPA) situated, was relatively better-off than Calton, as the following excerpt from a focus group illustrates:

*Boy1: But can you not move the RAPA, please?*

*Boy2: Haha. Move the RAPA. Because he lives there, move it. [...]*

*Worker: What the main issue is here we're trying to say, Naofumi, is, it would be much better if there was more places for youse to go! That's what I was trying to say.*

*Boy1: Aye, but they [=boys from Duke Street] 've got the RAPA. In Calton, there's nothing to do. Just walk about the streets.*

*Worker: There is nae enough for them to do, outwith the Urban Fox and the RAPA. [...]*

*Boy1: Naofumi, up in Duke Street, they've got something to do, but down in Calton we walk about the street getting into trouble, cos I have nothing to do, just standing about in your house and playing football.*

(Focus group 3)

The boy from Calton (Boy1) was envious of RAPA in Duke Street (Dennistoun), since Calton neither had an equivalent of it, nor was RAPA accessible for him. Although the Calton club and RAPA are just a mile apart, and some participants in the Calton club were actually from Duke Street, for the boy from Calton, RAPA was 'too far', mainly because of the territoriality. In the same focus group, the boys from Duke Street said that if they invited their friends from other area to RAPA, there would be someone who would want to fight with them. It was also known that the Gallowgate Bridge just beside RAPA was where gang fighting often happened. On another occasion, the same worker in the focus group above mentioned the newly planned development of a sport centre in Dalmarnock, reckoning that there should be an equivalent facility in each area.

#### **7.2.4 Approaches to tackling leisure deprivation**

All of the sport-related projects studied were intended to contribute to alleviating the leisure deprivation aggravated by territoriality. The approaches taken by the projects can be categorised into three. One is to provide safe, protected transport for young people. As discussed above, many projects help them travel to where activities are held using minibuses and coaches:

*We have a minibus. We're aware of issues around territorial barriers and people not travelling from one part of the East End to another, so we're committed to provide a transport to bring in the excluded people to use the centre.*

(East End Healthy Living Centre, Manager, female)

Not only facility-based projects and projects using a central venue, but Urban Fox also drove around with a minibus or a coach to each of their venues whenever it organised a trip outside the East End in which members of more than one club participated.

Another approach is to offer activities *within* the territorial boundaries. The police officer organising Shoot for Success considered it important to supply activities within the boundaries, while regarding the timing also as a key:

*So, that is a bit of getting the right activities in the right place and at the right time. So, this is what I am looking for. I am really keen to put activities that interest people in the right place, 'cos young people don't travel nowadays across perceived area boundaries. So you've got to put the activities where they are, and you've got also to put it at the right time that suits the young people.*

(Shoot for Success/Street League, police officer, male)

As will be discussed in Chapter 9, however, providing 'the right activity in the right place at the right time' could be painstaking exercise. Nevertheless, the co-ordinator of Urban Fox also agreed that the first step to engage with young people would be to provide

activities within their own neighbourhoods, as opposed to taking young people directly into a central venue. Further discussion on this is provided in Chapter 9.

More importantly, of course, crumpling territoriality would be the third, and the best, resolution. The latter two approaches are only to ease the pain but not to cure the disease. How this could be addressed is one of the subjects of the next chapter which considers the instrumental contribution of sport-based projects to improving young people's capabilities. Before moving on to this task, the nature of territoriality must be explored in more detail in the following section.

### **7.3 Territoriality and gang fighting**

This section describes the nature of territoriality in more detail. In particular, it analyses how territoriality functioned as part of the vicious circle that seemed to perpetuate the capability deprivation in the East End of Glasgow. It is argued that the fact that young people were in the state of leisure deprivation made 'gang fighting' (i.e. clashes between rival territorial youth 'gangs') an attractive alternative to leisure, despite the fact that it seriously damaged the well-being of young people because it threatened their safety. It also seemed to affect their well-being in terms of friendship and health.

Before narrating what territoriality in the East End of Glasgow looked like, it must be noted that the phenomenon may not be unique just to the part of the city. It has been well covered by the media that territoriality and associated 'gang fighting' are observable broadly in the city of Glasgow on the whole. For example, *Evening Times* issued a-week long special investigation in February 2006, referring to the estimate by Strathclyde Police that there were over 110 youth gangs with more than 2000 members (Evening Times, 2006). A comparative study of Glasgow and Edinburgh confirmed that a similar phenomenon has existed for decades in some of the deprived areas in Edinburgh as well (Suzuki and Kintrea, 2007). Smith and Bradshaw's (2005) survey shows that one fifth of the cohort of some 4,000 young people in Edinburgh claimed to be gang members at the age of 13, falling to 5 per cent by the age of 17. Moreover, the formation of 'youth gangs' is universal and often territorial; it has been a theme of youth studies in the UK and elsewhere (for example,

Alexander, 2000; Brotherton, 2003a, 2003b; Cohen, 1997; Cotterell, 1996; Wallace and Coburn, 2002).

Nevertheless, Glasgow still seems somewhat distinctive, because of the pervasiveness, history and media coverage (Suzuki and Kintrea, 2007). Davies's (1996) historical study of youth gangs between the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century has found that while gang conflict in Manchester and Salford declined after 1900, 'Glasgow appears to have had a continuous history of conflict between rival youth gangs between the 1870s and the 1930s' (p. 2). Glasgow's youth gangs were also the object of Patrick's (1973) ethnographic study in the 1960s.

There also has been an enormous amount of other writing about 'Glasgow gangs'. The novel *No Mean City* by McArthur and Long (1935) is said to have massively contributed to Glasgow's reputation as a city of gang violence (Davies, 1998). Thereafter, countless novels and criminal biographies and autobiographies have been published, though a fair number of them were not about youth gangs but adult criminal gangs, which have not been a big issue the last few decades (to list a few, Boyle, 1977; Jeffrey, 2002a, 2002b; McKay, 2004).

Another dimension of gang violence in Glasgow is its association with the sectarian division between Catholics and Protestants. Of particular relevance to the East End, the most notorious sectarian gang, the Bridgeton Billy Boys, operated in the area in the 1930s (Davies, 2000; Murray, 1984). Sectarian violence has been the centre of attention also in relation to the rivalry between two football clubs, Rangers and Celtic (Murray, 1984; Ogasawara, undated). However, there have been indications that the formation of youth gangs in Glasgow has been more territorial than sectarian since the time of the Billy Boys (Davies, 1998; Patrick, 1973). The fieldwork confirmed that sectarianism was perceived as a separate issue from territoriality nowadays in the East End. Suzuki and Kintrea (2007) are also convinced it is the same in the other parts of the city.

While often attention of the gang literature may be drawn to the subculture of the minority who are deeply involved in a gang, the following narratives are more concerned with the question as to what territoriality meant to the majority, 'ordinary' young people living in

the area. Indeed, territoriality seemed a broader phenomenon that affected not only the lives of the ‘disordered’ young people, but also almost all young people in the areas. The following subsections describe what gang fighting looked like and how it affected the lives of young people in the East End. In particular, the focus is upon the link between territoriality and the capabilities of young people.

### **7.3.1 ‘It’s all about adrenaline’: gang fighting as an alternative leisure activity**

Territoriality may not only restrict leisure opportunities but could also be reinforced due to the very fact of leisure deprivation. It was suggested that young people committed gang fighting because they had few alternatives to leisure. One of the young football coaches of Urban Fox, who had used to participate in the project as a participant, admitted that he had frequently been involved in gang fighting when he was younger. He explained that youngsters, including himself, would participate in gang fighting because they had ‘nothing else to do’. When asked why he had started participating in the Urban Fox, he answered:

*Why? Because there’s nothing else to do on the streets. Cos I was bored, senseless, and what I was doing was, I was running about n’ gang fighting.*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

He said that gang fighting had been even ‘enjoyable’, providing rare opportunities for excitement:

*But a lot of young people go and fight, because they like the adrenaline rush. And then the police come, and they get another. They get chased and... it’s like, all just adrenaline. Just something to keep the night going. D’you know I mean?*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

Understandably, for some young people, especially some boys who do not have enough opportunities to get rid of their energy, ‘gang fighting’ could be a very fascinating option to do in their spare time. Thus, they did not necessarily do it because of any real hostility toward other ‘schemes’, but simply to pursue such excitement. A basketball coach, who

was brought up in Gallowgate, observed that for the gangs in his area it might have nothing to do with territoriality, but been 'just something to do'.

*Well, it's [said to be] territorial ... em, I think it's like that in other parts of the East End but roughly where I stay it's just something to do. I mean, I see it ... it's all of a sudden they just decide that there's energy there or something and they try and start a gang fight or throw some bricks and bottles.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

Nonetheless, no matter what their motive was, as long as each gang consisted of those from a certain 'scheme', 'gang fighting' would inevitably consolidate the territorial barriers. Thus, territoriality was maintained, or possibly worsened, as a consequence of leisure deprivation. As a result, not only those young people directly involved in gang fighting, but also those who were not, seemed severely deprived of safety.

### **7.3.2 What gang fighting is like**

Of course, 'gang fighting' was not only an alternative to leisure, but also a serious threat to the safety of young people in the East End. Many respondents testified that it happened very frequently and the level of violence could be quite intense.

#### *7.3.2.1 'A ritual every night': time and locations of gang fighting*

It was perceived that it happened almost 'every night':

*... gang fighting is nothing unusual. Very common. It's near enough a ritual every night of the week.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

Indeed, the football coach who had used to gang fight admitted that those who liked fighting would fight every night, although on some special occasions more young people would gang fight:

*How often did I fight when I was younger? Every night. Every week. [...] And then when the carnival, do you know carnival? The fairground in Glasgow Green? [...] See, when that comes, it causes more fighting, cos hundreds of different gangs are trying tae go there at the same time. Trying tae get into the fairground at the same time.*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

The basketball coach from Gallowgate testified that gang fighting tended to happen on Friday night, weekend or during holiday periods:

*Sometimes you look out the window and there's fights happening and stuff. It's ... it's not as bad as everybody thinks. It tends to be the summer time when the kids are off school. They do it every night because they can maybe get some drugs or get some alcohol, they can go and just fight. Generally through the year it's a Friday or a Saturday that, eh ... they get drunk and they do things that they shouldnae be doing.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

Thus, it was perceived that gang fighting would happen when young people had more spare time. This is a common perception by adult with regard to the reason why young people commit anti-social behaviour (Millie *et al.*, 2005). Not surprisingly, the respondent considered that gang fighting was associated with drugs and alcohol misuse as well. How gang membership might link to other types of anti-social behaviour is a subject of a later section.

Certain places were known to be where gang fighting often happened. Often they seemed to be open space and/or situated along area boundaries. Examples of such locations included Tollcross Park, Glasgow Green and the Gallowgate Bridge.

### 7.3.2.2 'They'll near enough kill you': intensity of violence

Territoriality in itself does matter because of the intensity of violence. The information as to how dangerous gang fighting could be was fragmentary, but it was believed that in extreme cases one could be seriously injured or could even get murdered in gang fighting:

*I: OK, well, but do those people fight really seriously?*

*Boys: Aye. Crush bottles, bricks.*

*Boy1: See, if they catch you, near enough kill you.*

*Boy2: They stab you, slash you wi' blades.*

*Boy1: Knives. Stab you.*

*Boy2: Murder.*

*I: Are they young people like youse?*

*Boy2: Aye.*

(Focus Group 6)

A few cases of serious injuries were actually experienced or witnessed by the informants. For example, a serious injury was one of the reasons that put the young football coach off gang fighting.

*And I ended up being hit on the head with a brick. Went to the Royal [Infirmary], everything's OK. And two weeks later, back down gang fighting again, and I got hit on exactly the same spot. I didn't go to the hospital. Two days later, I got a kind o' epileptic fit.*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

Some focus group participants reported another serious injury of a young boy.

*Girl: Have you ever seen it pure bad, [Boy 1]?*

*Boy 1: Aye. When Specs got the thing.*

*Boy 2: Aye. He's paralysed.*

*Girl: Ah, I've seen that, I know...*

*Boy 2: The boy got paralysed, because of a gang fight.*

*Boy 1: It was a big boulder. And a boy tossed it like that. And then the boy got hit or something. He was in intensive care for a couple of months.*

*I: Was he the one who often fight?*

*Boy 2: Aye, he fights all the time.*

*Boy 1: Aye, he fights all the time.*

*Girl: He just came up, no? Did he not?*

*Boy 1: he just came up, like, 'cos he just heard his pals were fighting and he just came up and got hot straight away and jumped in it.*

(Focus Group 6)

### 7.3.2.3 'Revenge attacks': real threat to safety

Such intense clashes could result in 'grudges', which would expose the individuals to further risks of revenge attacks. It seemed very common that young people were assaulted or chased on the street by young people from other areas. The above mentioned fear of attack that prevented young people from travelling freely indeed came from the real risk. It usually happened when a young person travelled through neighbourhoods outside their own. The risk of getting attacked seemed higher for those who were more deeply involved in gang fighting, although those who were not involved could also be a target. The young football coach expressed that he still felt unsafe in walking through different areas:

*'Cos I was fighting with the Gorbals [gangs], and I go to town for clothes and all that. Do you know the town? That's where you get your clothes, and you buy clothes. That's where I go for mostly my clothes. And when I was going out for my clothes, that's where the Gorbals hang around there. So I've been going out for my clothes and I've been get chased. I've been in train stations and chased. On the buses. D'you know I mean? I've been just getting chased all the time. Then if you're fighting, you cannae go anywhere. Just to keep on getting chased.*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

Thus, frequent involvement in gang fighting would considerably restrict the freedom of a young person to travel outside his home neighbourhoods. It was suggested, however, that

such danger was mostly to those who were involved in gang fighting, and if not, one would be safe enough to travel to other areas.

*Eh ... it tends to happen but only ... it's weird ... for such a big place the East End of Glasgow is ... the people [who] are involved in this gang culture, they know each other. They know people from other places that are involved and for the most part ... I'm no saying all the time ... but for the most part, they're only interested in trying to beat up each other and if you're no really involved with the gangs and stuff, you can travel. I mean, when I was growing up, when I was a teenager, I travelled all over the place pretty much by bus. We were training in different places ... Easterhouse, Eastbank, St Mungo's, even going across to the other side of the city ... places like Kelvinhall. Em ... sometimes you get a wee bit of trouble but most of the time in my experience because they didnae recognise your face from a fight the week before ... they're no really interested. They'll just ... if your nose is clean ... you don't ... you don't get the mark, you know. But if you start running with the gangs and stuff ... word gets around.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

Nevertheless, his opinion might be a little too optimistic, because almost all focus group participants reported the fear of going into other areas. Even the above quotation implies that he had not been always safe. Another young football coach from Cranhill, who had never gang fought, also reported such fear.

*In my own experience, I remember, I was walking down in Parkhead actually, and there was this group of boys on one side of the road, and they were, 'Oh, where are you frae! Where you frae!' shouting over. They were shouting. And eh... I think they kind a get a wee bit boisterous. Shouting over, shouting things. And one of the boys actually knew me. [...] I see if they didn't know me, I could have had a... they could have maybe jumped me, or attacked me or something.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male, 19)

Furthermore, even staying in their own neighbourhoods might not be safe enough to escape any danger at all, since gangs sometimes would travel to other areas for the purpose of

attacking a certain person there. Although it was generally perceived that those who were involved in gang fighting were the likely victims of such attacks, one of the focus group participants reported that he had been seriously assaulted by mistake.

*I: Could you please tell me, your own experience of gang fighting? You know, even though you don't fight...*

*Boy 1: Me! I've been stabbed.*

*Boy 2 And slashed and all that.*

*Boy 3: He's been stabbed. He got attacked.*

*I: Seriously?*

*Boy 3: Aye, he got attacked.*

*Boy 4: But it was because he fought wi' somebody else. Or because the way he looked. He fought with somebody else. He doesn't fight or anything. It's just because they mistook him for somebody else.*

*Boy 2: Who did fight.*

*Boy 4: And... who did fight. And he got attacked because of it. It's just he was in the wrong place at the wrong time.*

*I: Alright. Do you know where those people were from?*

*Boy 2: Uh huh. Royston.*

*Boy 3: Royston.*

*I: Is it where about?*

*Boy 2: About four miles away from here. Way, way up there.*

*Boy 3: But they can move down here looking for a certain person that...*

*I: So they come down to find someone and mistook him from you?*

*Boy 3: Aye. [...]*

*Boy 1: I got stabbed in the back. [...] Thrown a broken bottle, and got stabbed at the back of the head.*

(Focus Group 3)

Hence, not only those who were directly involved in fighting, but also other young people were at risk of being attacked. Furthermore, as discussed later in detail, it was suggested that almost every young boy in the East End would be involved in gang fighting at least once or twice. If this was true, every young boy would be a potential target of an attack. In

these ways, territoriality not only kept young people from travelling around, but also made it unsafe to live even within their own 'territories'.

### **7.3.3 Other adverse effects of territoriality on young people's present lives**

Territoriality seemed to have other negative impact on the well-being of young people in the East End at least in two ways: limited friendship network and possible deeper involvement in anti-social behaviour.

#### *7.3.3.1 'They fight in school': limited friendship network*

Territoriality seemed to determine young people's social relations so strongly that other sources of social network became rather powerless in defining their social world. For example, kinship might not be as important as territories, as it was testified that even cousins would fight each other if they lived in different neighbourhoods. School is obviously a very common place where young people make friends; however, territorial rivalry could easily override friendships through schools. It was supposed that young people would not hesitate to fight those with whom they go to the same school.

*There's kids that'll go to school with each other and then they'll fight at night. They go to the same school and maybe they're friends at school and then at night time they're fighting in the street. It's crazy. It's crazy stuff.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male)

Moreover, young people would fight even in school.

*I: Do you have friends in those teams [= gangs]?*

*All: Aye.*

*Boy1: Two of them. Two teams we've got friends.*

*Boy2: And the next day at school they battle wi' you.*

*Boy1: I know. All our school is mixed up part with Tollcross and Parkhead. And it's mostly fighting.*

*I: So even though you go to the same school you fight against each other?*

*Boy1: Aye. Even in the school.*

*I: Even in the school?*

*Boy1: Aye.*

*Boy2: Aye, in the school people fight.*

*I: Because you are from different areas?*

*Boy1: Like, if they've fight the night before they go, 'you hit me last time with a brick!' and they punch you or something.*

*I: Really? Does it happen in school?*

*Girl1: Aye.*

*Boy1: Aye. Then you get suspended like two weeks or something 'cos you've punched somebody.*

(Focus Group 6)

Some focus group participants, however, commented that they would sometimes go to other areas to see their friends from school, although in many cases they seemed to feel uncomfortable, if not dangerous, to do so because of the fear of attack or the hostility toward outsiders from the local residents.

*I: I think you have friends from school as well, right?*

*All: Aye.*

*I: And where do they come from?*

*Girl1: Easterhouse.*

*I: Easterhouse?*

*Girl2: Aye.*

*I: Do you go to Easterhouse to see them?*

*Girl3: Aye, we used to go.*

*Girl1: Aye, we used to go.*

*Girl3: Sometimes we go.*

*Girl2: We used to, but not anymore.*

*I: Why not?*

*Girl1: 'Cos we just hang about down here.*

*Girl2: Aye. There's too much fighting, you know, frae different areas. You know, they fight against each other.*

*I: Right.*  
*Girl2: That's how. So, we don't go.*  
*I: Right, but when you used to go there, was there any dangerous thing happened or...*  
*Girl1: No.*  
*Girl3: No, we just, we just stopped going.*  
*Girl1: Didn't like the people stay there.*  
*I: Apart from your friends?*  
*All: Aye.*  
*I: Why?*  
*Girl2: Cheeky. Don't know. Just don't like them.*

(Focus Group 5)

Thus, territorial bonds seemed stronger than those of schools or kinship. Nonetheless, friendships developed through schools do help to ease their discomfort when they have to mix with people from other areas in some occasions. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

### *7.3.3.2 Territoriality and other types of anti-social behaviour*

Territoriality might also increase the risk of involvement in other types of anti-social behaviour, though the evidence was inconclusive. Earlier it was mentioned that gang fighting happened on weekends and school holiday periods when young people had more spare time, and it might be related to substance misuse. It is indeed a common perception widely in the UK that youth-related anti-social behaviour is induced by the lack of opportunities in their spare time (Millie *et al.*, 2005). However, it is a different matter if those who were more frequently involved in gang fighting were more likely to be involved in other types of anti-social behaviour, or *vice versa*. The study by Smith and Bradshaw (2005) indicates that in their sample of young people in Edinburgh, rates of delinquency and substance use were much higher among those who defined themselves as gang members.

In the case of the East End of Glasgow, however, the evidence from the fieldwork was inconclusive. At the perceptual level, it seemed quite widely perceived by both adults and young people that the hardcore members of gangs would be more likely to drink alcohol, smoke cigarettes and/or take drugs. Male participants of a focus group talked about a gang from another area who had chased one of the participants, believing that their fitness had been affected by these things:

*Boy 1: You've got chased!*

*Boy 2: Oh, I've got chased a couple of times, but that's nothing.*

*Boy 3: Aye he's got chased, and that was it.*

*Boy 1: Everybody has got chased.*

*Boy 2: They are smoking too much to catch up. When catch up, like that. (He pretends to be choked.)*

*I: [Boy 2], I couldn't hear you.*

*Boy 2: See, because they are smoking and all that, that's why they cannae really run if they chase you.*

*Boy 1: Because they smoke so much.*

*Boy 3: Because they smoke cannabis and take drugs.*

*Boy 2: Because they smoke so much, it damages their lungs and they cannae run.*

*Boy 1: Because they drink.*

(Focus Group 3)

Crucially, though, the link between higher levels of substance use and frequent involvement in gang fighting was firmly denied by the respondent who had used to be a frequent fighter. Unfortunately, he was the only respondent who had admittedly been keen to gang fight. Thus, his comment can hardly be generalised, although it can never be ignored, either. After all, it is impossible to draw any conclusion without taking into account the views of many more young people who are involved in gangs. Also crucial is the fact that frequent involvement in gang fighting may not mean gang membership *per se*, which is the theme explored in the following subsection.

In terms of other criminal activities, this study did not explore how gang involvement may link with them. The study by Suzuki and Kintrea (2007), however, indicated that in both

Glasgow and Edinburgh it was perceived that those who were involved in territorial gangs were more likely to commit crimes such as robbery, car crime, housebreaking and so on. Their study, though, does not take the young people's view into consideration, either.

Nonetheless, if frequent involvement in gang fighting also meant higher risk of committing crime and/or anti-social behaviour, it would threaten the health and safety of young people at the least, and possibly the life chances in their transition into adulthood in many ways, as was discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to criminal careers of young people.

### **7.3.4 Who is involved/affected?**

This section considers who is involved in and/or affected by territoriality and gang fighting. Although the violent clashes between groups of young people were called 'gang fighting', it was unclear whom the 'gangs' actually consisted of. The word 'gang' might imply some degree of organisation, but evidence was insufficient to reveal any structure of 'gangs'. At least it was pretty clear that the simple fact that one had participated in gang fighting did not necessarily mean that the person was a member of a 'gang'. Thus, this subsection explores the question as to who participated in gang fighting in what ways, but not considers gang memberships *per se*. First, it is discussed how old the young people involved in gang fighting were. Then, the section goes on to look at the various ways that young people experienced gang fighting, first for boys, and then for girls.

#### *7.3.4.1 Age*

Most of the informants agreed that the core of the young people who were involved in gang fighting would be young people, mostly boys, aged 13 to 16 years:

*They're basically just all youngsters ... there is a few older ones kick about that are like 18 to 21 but [...] basically their day consists of nothing but drinking and watching football on the TV. They don't get involved in any of the gangs anymore. They let all these youngsters at 14 and 13 run about. [...] it's generally all youngsters. Once you get over 16, they pretty much leave you alone. They'd look at you and think, oh he's old or she's old and they'll no do anything [...].*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

However, it was indicated that the youngest ones would start getting involved with a gang at 10 years of age or even younger:

*I: Are they [= gangs] young people like youse?*

*Boy1: Aye.*

*Boy1: Aye, some of them.*

*Boy1: Say, in between 9 and 16 at least.*

*Boy2: Aye, nine year. Nine years old.*

*Boy1: 9 and 16.*

*I: As young as nine?*

*Boy1: Probably even younger. 7, isn't it?*

*Boy2: No, I doubt it, ain't it?*

*Girl1: No, never.*

*Boy1: Wee [name of a boy]. When he was younger he was 7, I think. He smoked and all that when he was younger.*

*Boy2: Aye, he was nine.*

*Boy1: Nine, and he smoked.*

*Boy2: Smoked. He still smokes and he's only ten.*

*Boy1: Cannabis and all that. Smokes anything.*

(Focus Group 6)

Again, one of the indicators with which young people judged whether or not a young person was a gang member seemed to be the fact that he 'smoked everything'.

Although it is said that most of them would stop gang fighting by the time they are in their late teens, there were also a small proportion of older ones who were still involved in gang fighting:

*There's people who gang fight are still... There's people who gang fight at 19, 20. There's people who gang fight at ten, eleven. D'you know I mean? It goes from ten to twenty-two, twenty-three. Just stupid people, who are twenty-three, running*

*about and fighting. You know I mean? [...] Cos I've got pals I used to gang fight with, they are still gang fighting. They're still doing it, with the same age as me, do you know I mean?*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

#### 7.3.4.2 Boys

Whatever the impression the word 'gang fighting' may convey, those young people who were involved in it were not necessarily the most delinquent group of youngsters, who were by far more deviant than average. On the contrary, evidence suggested that it might be rather 'ordinary' for any teenage boys in the East End to participate in gang fighting.

Local people's contrasting views as to who was involved illustrated this ambiguity of gang memberships. An experienced football coach, who also had been a resident of the East End for about 40 years, said that it was the minority of young people that would gang fight:

*It's just the young people from ... no all ... no all the young people, just a minority of the young folk from areas will fight. It's no all young folk. It's a minority. Eh ... young people from Tollcross, young people ... people from Parkhead, young people from Shettleston. It is a minority. Aye.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male)

On the other hand, the young coach who used to gang fight suggested mostly all boys would gang fight owing to peer pressure:

*Does every kid fight? Aye, mostly. [...] Mostly, because there's peer pressure. [...] If you're standing, and now your pal say, 'you're gonna fight?' you're not gonna stay yourself. Do you understand? You're not gonna just say 'No, I'm not fighting. You go away.' [and] just sit yourself. You're gonna go wi' 'em. So, I'd say mostly every teenager would fight, but whether they go 'ae fight every night or no, it's ... a big factor, cos [...] a lot of young people would go and gang fight, but a lot of them would go and gang fight once or twice, and say, 'Oh, that was boring. Just as bad as standing about.'*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

Another experienced coach agreed:

*Aye. I know a lot of them that get involved with fighting. [...] In the East End, I would say most of them have been involved at one time around gang fighting. Some of them have only done it once or twice. You get the ones that do it all the time. But it only needs to take one time and you can get caught or you could get killed. You could actually get murdered. It happens all the time in Glasgow. A young boy will get murdered every week.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male)

Some focus group participants overtly admitted that they had actively participated in gang fighting. For example, this young boy admitted he had experience of gang fighting, though very limited:

*Girl1: But you used to gang fight, didn't you?*

*Boy1: No. Not really. Once or twice.*

*I: Have you?*

*Boy1: Aye, once or twice. That was it. It's kind of scary.*

(Focus Group 6)

Despite his experience of gang fighting, however, this participant certainly did not regard himself as a member of a 'gang', who he reckoned would not be as interested in Urban Fox as he was. This teenage boy showed no sign of bad behaviour at least in the three occasions when he was present at the time participant observation was conducted. On the contrary, he appeared one of the relatively well-behaved participants, who willingly helped workers set up and clean up.

The same focus group session also suggested that gang fighting could be part of their daily life whether they opted to participate or not. The same boy and his friend also said that they had had to run away from the police, when they were 'just watching' others gang fight. The

following quotation might provide a flavour of excitement they had experienced at the time:

*Boy1: We've been chased wi' the police before. We were just standing there and they started chasing, didn't they? Down the hill. He was down on a bike going down a hill, and didn't have any brakes.*

*Boy2: Brakes to stop.*

*Boy1: He just used his feet!*

*Boy2: I was going down a big hill.*

*I: What? Sorry, were you chased?*

*Boy1: Aye, that's the police. We watched the gang fighting. All the gang fighting was happening and we were like up there. We were all watching it.*

*Boy2: And the police came.*

*I: So you were just watching?*

*Boy1: Aye. And then the police just jumped on their motors and started chasing us. Me and him were doing nothing.*

*Boy2: Now, I was going down on a bike full speed wi' nae brakes! Huh huh.*

*Girl1: huh huh huh huh.*

*Boy1: I was trying to, I was trying to jump over the burn at the time. I was jumping at another...*

*Boy2: See, the wee river?*

*Boy1: The wee river goes through the park. So the wee river goes through the park we were trying to jump it.*

*Boy2: I'd been going down wi' the bike this time.*

*I: So the police would arrest you if you are watching?*

*Boy1: Aye, we go away frae them. We go away frae them.*

(Focus Group 6)

Such was the life of 'ordinary' young boys in the East End. Gang fighting was nothing special but something readily available in the neighbourhood.

#### 7.3.4.3 Girls

Although it was generally perceived that the gang fighting was mainly for boys, in fact girls were also involved in many ways. Indeed, it was not only boys but also girls who would ‘enjoy’ gang fighting. The most common way of involvement would be as a spectator, though some girls do gang fight:

*Sometimes girls do gang fight, but not as much as boys. I know a couple of areas that girls go and gang fight, but mostly girls just go and watch the gang fighting. Go and watch the boys gang fight. [...] It's still pretty dangerous, because you can still get hit with everything. Do you know I mean? [...] They were standing watch from the back. But they won't... never really like girls go on such a thing. I mean [when] boys are gonna gang fight, there's gonna twenty or thirty of them. I've seen five girls fighting. But I've never seen girls gang fight. Just girls against girls, I've never seen it.*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

Data generated by focus group sessions supported this comment well. Some of the girls who participated in focus groups admitted that they had used to watch it, or even fight. For example, one of the female participants said that she had used to enjoy watching gang fighting:

*I: What are the bad things then?*

*Girl1: The other scheme come and fight with the other boys there.*

*Girl2: Gang fighting.*

*Girl1: Gang fighting.*

*I: Does it happen often?*

*Girl2: Uh huh.*

*Girl1: All the time. Every night.*

*Girl2: Don't get that around here anymore. That's too boring. I quite liked it when that happened.*

*Boy1: Used to be ...*

*Girl2: My mom came up here raging. Going like that. What are you doing!!!!*

*Girl1: Ohhh, it's none of your problems.*

*Girl2: It's all right. It doesn't matter.*

*I: Is it a boy thing?*

*Girls: Aye. It's a boy thing.*

*Girl2: We just watch them fighting.*

(Focus Group 1)

There were also several girls who had fought as part of a gang consisting of both boys and girls:

*I: Have you ever experienced it yourselves?*

*Girl1: Aye. (Giggles)*

*Girl2: Aye.*

*Girl3: (Giggles)*

*I: Did you fight?*

*Girl1&Girl2: Aye.*

*I: Really? Did you?*

*(Giggles)*

*Girl1: Aye, we used to fight.*

*I: Was it gang fighting?*

*All: Aye.*

*Girl1: Two schemes. We used to fight with the Wee Men.*

*Girl2&Girl3: Parkhead.*

*I: Are they girls or boys?*

*Girl2: Two of them.*

*Girl3: Boys and lassies.*

*I: Were you also boys and girls?*

*All: Aye.*

(Focus Group 5)

However, they said that girls would not fight as intensely as boys:

*I: Ok, ... well, have you got injured or anything dangerous?*

*Girl1&Girl2: No.*

*I: So it's not that hard?*

*Girl3: Could be.*

*Girl1: Oh, yeah, people get stabbed and all that, but...*

*Girl2: People get like, stabbed and... there's a boy frae here that's been stabbed [by people] frae Parkhead, and people frae here stab people frae Parkhead, so.*

*I: But in your case you didn't?*

*Girl1: No. None of us got hurt.*

*Girl2: No. It's boys that usually get hurted. Boys frae each area get hurted more. Lassies don't get hurted.*

*Girl3: Lassies don't really fight as much as boys. Boys fight more.*

*Girl1: None of the Wee Men lassies came up to fight with us.*

*I: How do you fight, by the way?*

*All: .....*

*Girl3: ... ha ha, just fight.*

*I: You throw bricks or stones or...?*

*Girl1: Aye, bricks and*

*Girl1&Girl3: bottles.*

*[...]*

*I: I heard that girls are mostly watching the fighting rather than fighting.*

*Girl2: Aye.*

*Girl1: Aye, I didn't watch, but.*

(Focus Group 5)

As was the case of the young boy who had gang fought, none of these girls appeared particularly delinquent, and had already stopped fighting or watching by the time the focus group was held.

Hence gang fighting could be an alternative to leisure for girls as well, most commonly by watching it, but sometimes by actively fighting, so that it eased their boredom as did boys'. However, because their involvement in gang fighting was rather marginal, girls might have more freedom from territorialism. Indeed, it was hinted that girls could be more trans-

territorial. For example, it was reported that even when boys were gang fighting, girls could talk to both sides of the gangs.

*[...] when me used to go and gang fight, there were girls just used to stand, used to go and talk to the Gorbals. Used to go and talk to the boys of the south side and then come back talk to us, and go back talk to them. They just walked between them talk to everybody and all that. That's the lassies.*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

Moreover, some girls told that they had boyfriends in other areas and so they would go there to see them, though the information was insufficient to conclude that boys did not do the same. Also one of the focus group participants interestingly expressed her dual identity, though it does not deny the possibility of similar examples of boys:

*Girl1: Aye. You would rather you didnae fight, so that you could go to Parkhead and get pals with lassies from Parkhead or whatever. 'Cos I stay in Parkhead. I don't stay in Tollcross.*

*I: Alright, do you?*

*Girl1: So. And they fight with Tollcross and then Tollcross fight with Parkhead, I could [be in trouble] 'cos, like, I hang about Tollcross but frae Parkhead.*

*Girl2: But Tollcross are not gonna touch you, 'cos you used to stay in Tollcross.*

*Girl3: None of them do it anyway.*

*Girl1: That's what could happen, but. I'm from Parkhead but hang about Tollcross. And Tollcross fight with Parkhead. So when I was walking here at night and...*

*Girl3: No, you could be.*

*Girl1: Aye.*

*I: Why do you hang out here?*

*Girl1: Cos I used to stay here and moved to Parkhead.*

*I: Recently?*

*Girl2: She didn't change her pals. She just kept the same pals.*

*Girl1: I just stayed here cos I liked the pals here.*

*I: OK. But what you think? Which scheme do you feel you belong to?*

Thus, territoriality might be relatively irrelevant to the mobility of girls. Nonetheless, it still matters as most female participants of focus groups also expressed their fear of travelling through neighbourhoods outside their own. In addition, it was a fact that there were some girls who were involved in gang fighting, and if those who watched it were taken into account, they could probably be a sizeable minority.

### **7.3.5 Summary**

As described above, gang fighting could be understood as a form of leisure for the young people, both boys and girls, in the East End, where the deprivation of leisure capability prevailed. As a consequence, the vicious circle of leisure deprivation and territoriality was maintained: territoriality threatened young people's safety so that their freedom to pursue leisure opportunities outside their home neighbourhoods was circumscribed, and then the lack of leisure opportunities induced gang fighting so that territoriality was reinforced. Moreover, it seemed to limit the friendship networks of young people also within their home neighbourhoods, while it might possibly increase the risk of substance misuse so that their health could be undermined. Thus, it was an enormous issue as far as young people's present lives were concerned. In the meantime, it seemed to have some adverse consequences in later stages of their life. The next subsection explores this.

## **7.4 Adverse effects of territorialism on youth-to-adult transition**

So far, territoriality has been highlighted mainly as a significant factor that limited the capabilities of young people in the East End at the present time in terms of leisure, safety, health and friendship. This section considers how it could affect their capabilities in the future. Although the conclusive assessment of its impact in the future is not possible here, the information given by the local people revealed several issues relevant to young people's career opportunities.

#### 7.4.1 Limited career opportunities

At least two reasons could be thought of to assume that young people are possibly limited their career opportunities in their transition from school to further/higher education or employment. First, it could be deduced that limited social network itself would limit any kind of career opportunities. Hypothetically, territorialism could reinforce the inward-looking nature of social relations. In Chapter 4, it was discussed how young people in deprived areas where social networks tend to contain more ‘bonding’ social capital than ‘bridging’ social capital may be limited their employment opportunities.

Second, the fear of travelling through neighbourhoods outside their own could discourage young people to take a job anywhere else but the home neighbourhood. Some respondents did comment that territoriality would limit employment opportunities. The project co-ordinator of Urban Fox was one of them:

*A young person leaves schools at 16, and has got an opportunity to do apprenticeship, for talking's sake. Apprenticeship at Parkhead Cross, and a young person comes from [adjacent areas], they can't go to Parkhead Cross, because there're gangs in that area that have been fighting them away in the past. That means they do not take up their apprenticeship. That's why a lot of young people stay on the broo<sup>4</sup>, because they've got that fear factor when crossing that boundary.*

(Urban Fox, project co-ordinator, male)

One of the experienced football coaches agreed:

*Well, I would imagine when you're older ... there'd be a situation arisen a boy from down here [Parkhead] had a chance of a job in Tollcross but he's not taking it because he cannae get to Tollcross every night. So ... you know what I mean ... he has to take a job elsewhere cos he cannae go to Tollcross. Or a boy from Tollcross probably couldnae take a job down here [Parkhead] cos he couldnae come down*

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<sup>4</sup> ‘On the broo’ is slang for ‘unemployed’, which was derived from ‘the Employment Bureau’ which predates the Benefits Agency.

*here. You see it happen ... you see it all the time. You see it ... 'oh I can't ... I cannae go there, I'll get done in if I go up there.' All that sort of stuff.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male)

Thus, territoriality might be a major factor that might well circumscribe job/educational opportunities for young people. Suzuki and Kintrea (2007) also believe that this is actually the case at least in some parts of Glasgow, though the scale of such an effect is unclear.

#### **7.4.2 'Moving on': growing out of territoriality?**

Nonetheless, it was often perceived that most youngsters would 'move on', except for a limited number of 'hardcore' members of gangs:

*I think there's a hard core of these kids that they get into the habit of the sort of gang thing and they'll no break it. So if your gang consists of, say, 15 people, I would reckon maybe only 3 or 4 of them ... that they just never break the habits they've built up. Maybe the drink and the drugs. They've always been surrounded by groups of people. But the rest of the group ... at some time they're going to wake up to themselves, some time they've got to get a job, they'll go to do something. I know a lot of people like that ... that ran with some of the gangs and done some stuff they shouldn't have but now I meet them ... I'll be in the town and I'll bump into somebody and they're married with kids of their own, they're working and so I don't think the majority carries on in later life but there will be the sort of hard core people that just cannae shake it. They like it. They like the idea of fighting, drinking, doing drugs. I just think it's bad, but that's the way it is.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

Again, it was considered that those who would not be able to 'move on' were likely to be more exposed to drinking and drug taking. An experienced football coach agreed that 'gang fighting' was a phase of life for most young people to go through, and its adverse effects would be just temporary:

*Sometimes it can be a problem. What tends to happen a lot of the time [is that] the kids'll gang fight from the age probably maybe 12 to about 14, 15 and most of them*

*grow up a wee bit and they grow out of it, but there's some that don't and then they just end up in trouble all their life. But I've seen it over the years. Most of the young people grow out of it and they move on, but there's some that don't and they end up on the slippery slope. I've seen it for years, you know. [For] most of the young people, it's a phase they go through, the gang fighting. They don't continue gang fighting all throughout their life. They get to a point where they grow up a wee bit, maybe 15, 16 and say 'what was that all about?' and they move on. And they're OK. They can start to move, but there's the young ones that grow up and they still want to fight, and still want to be thugs and vandalise everything. They find it difficult to go from area to area. But a lot of young people that move on, they can go [from] scheme to scheme. I've seen it for years. But, aye, there is some that'll no go to Parkhead. There is some that'll no go to Tollcross. But the majority, once you get to a certain age, they forget it.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male)

Young people also considered that the involvement in 'gang fighting' could result in such things as alcoholics, drug addicts, drug dealing, or dropping out of education, but it would be dependent on how deeply one was involved in the gang activities:

*I: If you are part of gangs, usually what will you become later on?*

*Boy1: An alcoholic. Or junkies, something like that.*

*Boy2: Aye.*

*Boy1: Cos you forget about anything.*

*Boy2: Drug dealers.*

*Boy1: You wouldn't, you wouldn't care...*

*Girl1: Depends how much [you are involved] really, doesn't it?*

*Boy1: Aye, you could be in the gang fighting, but you would nae really go out every night. Actually you stay or something. You go out once or twice at the weekend.*

*Girl1: Aye, you could be there in gang fighting but purely you're not.*

*Boy1: If you're in gang fighting that much, you end up... some people just end up just stop school [and] gang fight constantly. I see people doing that all the time.*

Many of the adults responded to the interviews sounded as if they believed that there were not very serious consequences of gang fighting once they became adults, referring to the fact that the large majority of young people would stop gang fighting by the time they got jobs or went to a college. However, it would be too optimistic a view that there was no adverse effect if territorialism on the whole was taken into consideration.

### 7.4.3 Summary

It was hard to reach any absolute conclusion about the extent to which young people in the East End were limited their horizons in their transition into adulthood due to territoriality. Nonetheless, the overall indication was that the impact must be anything but positive. If it was the case that young people in the East End were disadvantaged owing to territoriality in the critical period of transition into adulthood, it would naturally affect their capabilities as adults. This would never positively contribute to the alleviation of area deprivation. Consequently, the leisure deprivation in the area would not be ameliorated, as the economic status of households would not improve. Thus, territoriality perpetuated the vicious circle at two levels, as illustrated in Figure 7.1.

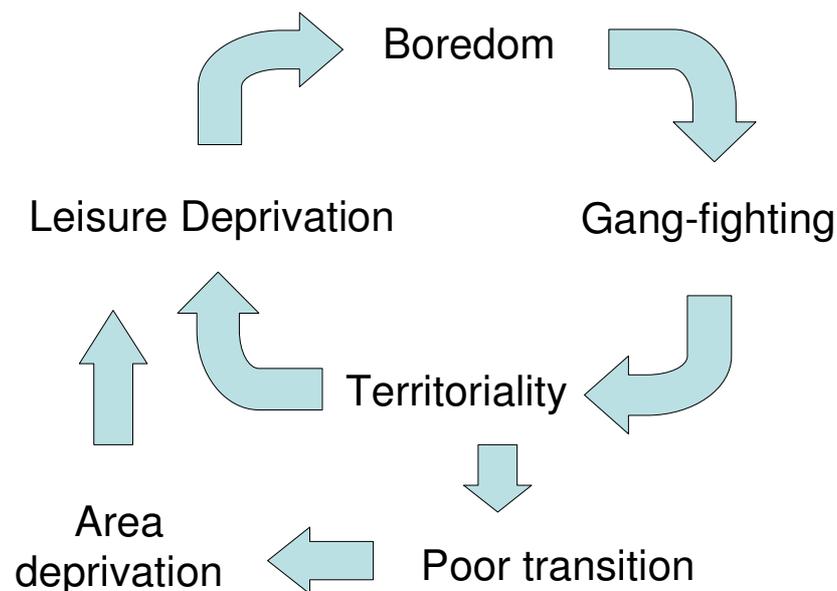
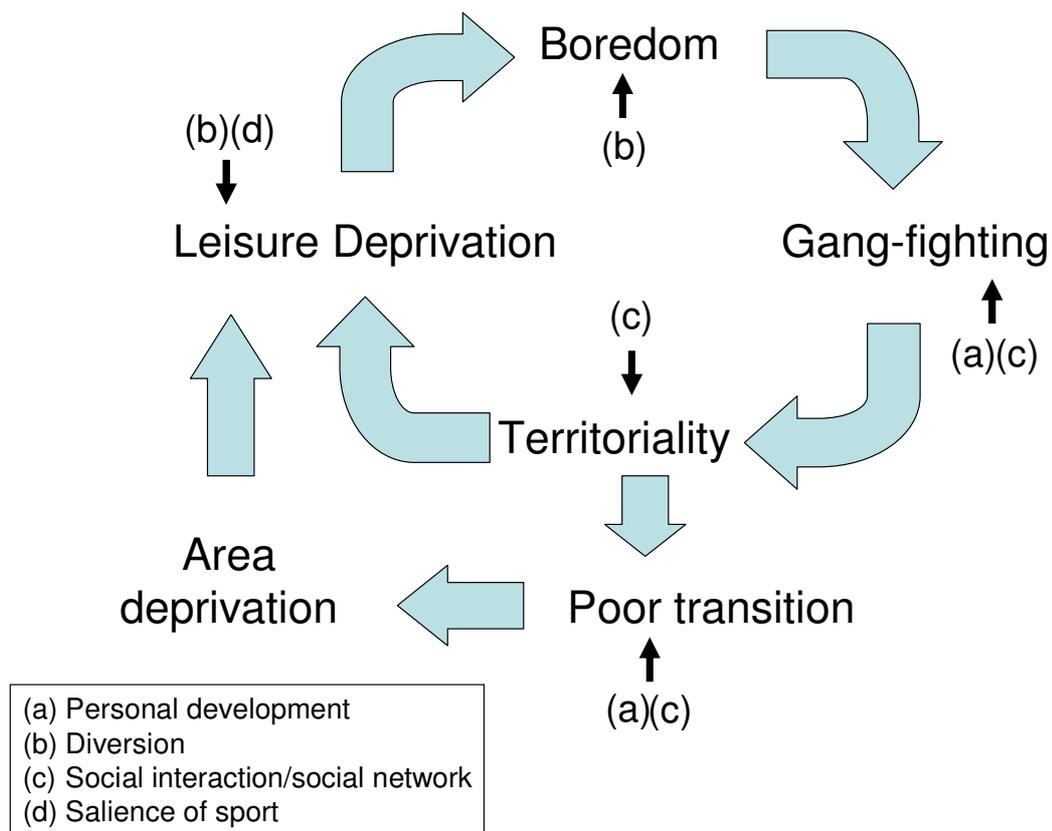


Figure 7.1 Vicious circles of area deprivation and territoriality

## 7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an account as to how the capability deprivation of young people in the East End of Glasgow seemed perpetuated because of territoriality. There seemed to be vicious circles operating at two different levels (Figure 7.1), but linked via territoriality. The economic disadvantages prevalent in the area meant that young people there were limited their leisure capability. Under the circumstance of leisure deprivation, ‘gang fighting’ provided rare occasions of excitement in various ways and so served as an alternative to leisure for many boys and to a lesser extent for girls, many of whom shared a strong sense of boredom. ‘Gang fighting’, however, was a major threat to young people’s safety, so that they were considerably limited their freedom to travel through neighbourhoods outside their own. Thus it seriously aggravated their leisure capability, and possibly affected their transition into adulthood. This would mean that the area would remain economically disadvantaged, so that the deep cause of leisure deprivation would be maintained.

The sport-related regeneration projects were to tackle these vicious circles in one way or another. Their approaches, as well as how effective they seemed, will be looked at in the next chapter with an aim to theorise the process in which sport is likely to contribute to regeneration. Before that, in concluding this chapter, it should be noted that the vicious circles identified through the fieldwork contain the elements that are covered by the four hypotheses (see Chapter 3) with regard to possible processes in which sport may contribute to neighbourhood regeneration, as shown in Figure 7.2.



**Figure 7.2 Vicious circles and hypotheses of sport and regeneration**

First, the vicious circle may potentially be broken down by personal development as it could potentially improve the outcomes of transition into adulthood. It also may help young people mature so as to stop being involved in gang fighting. Second, providing alternative sport activities may alleviate leisure deprivation so that it may divert young people from boredom. Third, sport participation may foster social interaction so that social networks may be formed beyond the barriers of territoriality. Friendship networks beyond territories may reduce gang fighting. Extended social networks may have the benefit of increased employment opportunities, so as to improve the outcomes of school-to-work transition. Fourth, the salience of sport may mean that young people are better attracted to sport-related projects. In other words, young people's leisure deprivation may be more likely to be ameliorated by sport which is salient among them.

These, however, are all hypothetical. In reality, these theories might not work. The next chapter, therefore, considers whether and how these theories materialised in the operation

of the case-study projects in the East End. In so doing, it is aimed to develop a model representing an effective way of using sport for the purpose of tackling problems young people in deprived neighbourhoods are faced with.

# Chapter 8 ‘Signposting’ to Well-Being: the Processes of Improving Young People’s Capabilities Using Sport

## 8.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to theorise the processes through which a sport-related regeneration project can contribute to neighbourhood regeneration. The previous chapter has uncovered the vicious circles of capability deprivation in place in the case-study area, and demonstrated that it had the elements related to each of the four hypotheses, namely, personal development, diversion, social interaction/social network, and the salience of sport. The current chapter in part considers whether and how these hypothetical mechanisms actually materialised for the case-study projects, and in part aims to re-construct them into an integrated theory grounded in the actual practice of the case-study projects in the East End of Glasgow, though transferable to future projects there and elsewhere.

It is argued that ‘hooking’ and ‘signposting’ are the two main components of a sport-related regeneration project. The common assumption of the case-study projects was to utilise sporting activities to get young people ‘at risk’ involved in the projects (‘hooking’), and then to guide them in the right directions so that they could achieve successful transition into adulthood (‘signposting’). Each project could vary in terms of the effectiveness in these two elements. It is argued here that one way of evaluating sport-related projects is to assess the effectiveness with regard to ‘hooking’ and ‘signposting’.

The focus of the current chapter is on ‘signposting’. The question as to who is ‘hooked’ is closely linked to another as to whether the project is to contribute *constitutively* or *instrumentally* to improving capabilities of young people (see Chapter 5). This is of direct relevance to the ‘salience of sport’ hypothesis. This intriguing issue is thoroughly dealt with in the next chapter. For now, it is considered how those who choose to participate in a project could benefit from the participation, covering the four hypotheses. In so doing, the chapter presents various ways of ‘signposting’ identified through the fieldwork.

The chapter consists of three sections. The first looks at the diversionary benefits of participating in sport-related projects, both for the communities and the individuals. The second section discusses the educational effects of participating in sport-related projects. In this section, three domains that are relevant to neighbourhood regeneration will be discussed. They are development of personal skills, health benefits (including drugs and alcohol issues), and conflict resolution (with particular reference to gang fighting and territoriality). Then the third section discusses how sport-based programmes can stimulate young people’s interests and promote their continuous involvement in sports. This section also discusses the issues of career development in sports as well as that in more general terms.

## **8.2 Simple Diversion**

‘Hooking’ young people into the activities provided by sport-based projects could have an instant benefit of simple diversion, both to the neighbourhoods and the individual participants. Young people participating in sport-based youth services may be diverted from various problems concerning youth disorder. In other words, young people are ‘signposted’ to a ‘trouble-free’ life. Most adults involved in the case-study projects agreed that by using sports and other leisure activities, sport-based projects could – and they often believed their projects actually did – keep young people ‘off the streets’. That is, the projects provided young people with ‘constructive’ alternatives to ‘hanging about the streets’ or ‘running about causing trouble’, so that they would reduce the number of young people involved in anti-social activities. In particular, in the case of the East End, it was

crucial to divert young people from boredom and gang fighting so as to break down the vicious circles of deprivation (see Chapter 7).

### **8.2.1 ‘They are gone!’: immediate community benefits of diversion**

The diversionary effect of sport-based youth services could be beneficial to both young people themselves and the communities. The benefits to the latter are primarily concerned with ‘community safety’, as the manager of the East End Healthy Living Centre said:

*Whenever you do any consultation almost in any area, very high up on local people’s list of priorities is providing activities for young people. And that’s partly around sort of community safety issues, and kind of getting young people off the streets and doing something aspirational.*

(East End Healthy Living Centre, manager, female)

Thus, providing alternative activities to ‘hanging about the streets’, sport-related regeneration projects could remove the cause of the perceived insecurity in the neighbourhoods. Such benefits of simple diversion were repeatedly stressed.

*When you think that [Urban Fox] maybe brings in maybe 3 or 400 kids a week, maybe even more than that, [...] it’s taking kids off the street. Now, that has got to be good. It means if you’re taking kids off the street in the simplest form, they’re not on the street causing trouble. You can take it right back to the simplest form. You’re taking kids off the street for activity, so they’re not on the street causing trouble.*

(Shoot for Success, Co-ordinator, male)

A basketball coach also said:

*At a very basic level, when the kids are playing basketball, they’re not in the street and [...] they’ll not be making themselves a nuisance somewhere else, that’s got to be good already.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

This simple diversion could bring an immediate benefit to the communities. For example, the development officer of the Eastbank Community Club reported that its Friday football league had made an instant impact in terms of the perceived community safety. According to the record provided by the officer, the programme, offered from 6:00 to 7:30 every Friday, attracted 29 to 72 (average 52) young people (8-16 years old) in the first three months of year 2004, though the participants were predominantly male. The development officer said that as soon as it had started, he had received a number of positive responses from the local residents saying that now the young people who had used to hang about the streets had disappeared, and they had requested to do the same on Saturday night as well.

### **8.2.2 ‘Aye, it keeps us off the streets’: individual benefits of diversion**

Letting young people take part in ‘constructive’ activities was thought by respondents to be good not only because it removed ‘nuisance’ from the neighbourhood, but also because it was a ‘good thing’ for the young people themselves. On one hand, it was because of a range of ‘educational effects’ that the activities were supposed to bring about (this will be discussed in the next section). On the other hand, simply being kept away from ‘trouble’ was thought to be beneficial to young people themselves. At least two reasons were identified for such immediate benefits to a young person.

Firstly, in a moralistic sense, it was taken for granted by adults that not engaging in anti-social activities was good for young people. This might have been already implied by the previous two quotations by the co-ordinator and the coach of Shoot for Success, but an experienced football coach of Urban Fox provided a view relatively individual focused:

*I don't really know what they're up to when [they're] not here. But what I can say is ... if the Urban Fox wasn't on, they could be up to no good. If they're not at football or they're not at the Friday night club or if they're not away camping, they could be up to something else. They could be doing something else.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male, 40s)

By contrast, the second reason was offered from a standpoint much closer to young people. Apart from the benefit of not being ‘up to no good’, a young football coach, who as a

young person had experienced a serious injury as a consequence of gang fighting, provided a slightly different perspective. He talked about the benefits in terms of the security of young people themselves:

*That [= his experience of injury]'s why I like teaching these children, because if they are in a secure location with me, they are not out gang fighting. They are not getting hit with bricks, or hitting somebody with a brick. You know I mean? They are no' getting injured. And that's the way I see it. If they are with me, and then there's nobody to hurt them. So, that's why I like doing it.*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

Indeed, young people themselves, too, seemed to acknowledge the benefit of simple diversion. When asked what they thought about what Urban Fox did for them, many focus group participants answered 'taking them off the streets' was a good thing.

*It's good, because it takes us off the street.*

(Focus Group 1, Female, 14)

*It keeps us off the streets, like booze and all that.*

(Focus Group 2, Female, 14)

*Aye, keeps us off the streets and all that.*

(Focus Group 6, Male, 13)

Quite clearly, these young people seemed happy to be kept 'off the streets'. Given that these young people valued staying 'off the street', it was possible that these young people were not the ones who were likely to 'cause trouble' to the neighbourhoods. Therefore, it might have been the case that their participation in the programme added little to actual neighbourhood safety although there may have been perceived to be an impact as a consequence of a reduced number of young people visible on the streets.

Arguably, however, it was still beneficial to both the neighbourhoods and the participants, as there always was the potential for this group to be involved in antisocial activities in the

future. Several respondents pointed out that even those who were not involved in ‘trouble’ at one point were also at risk, regardless of their preference because of the peer pressure from those who had been:

*I mean ... there's a problem. People say that young people hanging about are only there to cause trouble and that's sometimes not the case. Sometimes it's a meeting place where they meet their friends, you know. But there are a lot of problems in the area. And one of the things that you do get is what you call peer pressure, you know. You could be forced into drugs or alcohol or crime because there's nothing else to do. There's no alternative and hanging about the streets is usually the place where it all happens, you know. They're hanging about the streets, there's drugs exchanged, there's drink exchanged, boredom sets in ... so, it could start with a little bit of mischief, then the mischief then ... at times could turn into crime.*

(Shoot for Success, co-ordinator, male)

In deprived neighbourhoods like the East End of Glasgow, where problems of youth disorder such as alcohol and drug misuse and gang fighting were widespread, any young people could be prone to these problems as they were always exposed to them, as a football coach mused from the standpoint of a parent who resided in the area:

*There's a lotta alcohol and there's a lotta drug abuse in the area, eh ... that goes throughout probably everywhere. But, coming from the East End, there's quite a lotta alcohol abuse and drug abuse. Definitely. [...] Especially with the young people, at the weekend especially, [...] drink and drugs is a major problem in the East End of the city. [...] I see kids from the age of 13 up to maybe 17, 18, drinking at the weekend, just standing in the street corners, bare ground. I see them with their carry outs and away they go. Big groups of them. Aye, it's bad. It is quite bad for, like, drink.*

[...]

*I've got three daughters myself. Three teenage daughters. And it's very difficult as a parent bringing your kids up in the East End of the city. It's very, very hard because if their friends are drinking, they're saying ... drink, drink ... you know, it's very*

*hard. As a parent, you've got to be really on the ball and responsible for your children, you know, so it's hard as a parent.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male)

Thus, providing 'somewhere to go' for those young people who wants to stay away from trouble still is beneficial. To 'hook' and 'signpost' them to 'trouble-free' ways of spending their leisure time is probably as important for them as it is for those who are already involved in 'trouble'.

### **8.2.3 'It reduces gang fighting, but never stops it': limitations of diversion**

Of course, the effect of simple diversion is limited to the hours when the projects are open. Young people still can do anti-social activities outside the service hours. The young football coach pointed out that Urban Fox or any other project would only *reduce* gang fighting but would never stop it. Those who were keen to gang fight, as he himself had once been, would fight before and/or after the club if they wanted to:

*It reduces it. Uh huh. It's the same as every other programme. Every other programme reduces it. But it's really, really hard for any one programme to stop it. See, after they leave the club, they can still go and gang fight. Because there's no one there with them and tell them no tae. Most clubs will finish about nine o'clock, right? Most children will go upstairs about 11. So that gives them two hours to go and gang fight, if they wish, rather than going and sitting on the street. You are not gonna get a lot of people that are willing to take on a job that they're gonna be working from four o'clock to eleven o'clock, when the children are gonna go upstairs. You know I mean? So the Urban Fox definitely reduces gang fighting. Same as a lot other community groups. [They] reduce gang fighting, but, there's a difference between reducing it and stopping altogether. Because, I don't think you could ever really stop it altogether.*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

Therefore, in order to divert them from gang fighting or other types of deviant leisure outside the time when they participate in the activities provided by the projects, there must

be other mechanisms that are enabled through participation. The following two sections discuss these mechanisms.

### 8.3 Educational effects

The claim that participation in sports has a wide range of educational, or ‘therapeutic’, benefits to the participants is a very common rationale for the use of sports to engage with young people at risk of disorder (see Chapter 3). This ‘personal development’ hypothesis is of particular relevance to breaking down the vicious circles of deprivation in two ways: by reducing instances of gang fighting and by assisting young people’s transition into adulthood (see Chapter 7, Figure 7.2). In addition to the fact that young people were simply away from ‘problems’ such as gang fighting (i.e. eliminating negatives), participation in sport-related projects was believed to provide learning opportunities, because of the range of *virtues* with regard to sports:

*And the idea of that was that you don’t have to run about in a gang, you don’t have to get into trouble; there’s other things that you can do and sport’s a good medium to take part in, get rid of your energy, [...] you learn good communication skills because to play in a team sport you’ve got to communicate with the other members, you learn a bit about discipline, [...] there’s rules you’ve got to abide by, it’s healthy, it gets you running about, it gets you active, and if you want to play sport at that kind of level, you’ve got to start looking after your body, you’ve got to start talking about the things that are bad for you, things that are good for you. [...] it’s a good tool to try and produce, as I say, better citizens, you know.*

(Shoot for Success, co-ordinator, male)

Thus, sporting activities were thought to provide personal and social skills that would help a young person to ‘get on’. However, it was hard to tell whether such benefits actually had been accrued by young people in the case-study projects, as the same respondent acknowledged:

*Sometimes it's very hard to judge how much of a difference you've made, you know, because that takes a long time because you've got to track a youngster from an early age and track him all the way through to see where he eventually goes. [...] say you catch them at primary school, he's went through secondary school, he's went to college and he's made a reasonable success of his life, he's stayed away from trouble, maybe got married and had kids and got a job and all that sort of thing. So it's hard to track that.*

(Shoot for Success, co-ordinator, male)

Despite the difficulty in measuring these effects, the staff members of the projects were often confident that they actually offered such benefits, as they always 'saw them get matured':

*It's good to see we do attract kids who could do go away and then may do some crime or maybe do something else in the pastime. They come to the football. We're kinda watching them maturing quite well. You know, they mature into young adults, and they don't wanna go and do stupid things, like smash bus shelters, smash windows, which they used to do as young people. You know? I've seen quite a few people grown up since I started, who were young tearaways and kind of started all coming to the football programme, and learning and knowing [they have] ability there to do something with themselves.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, male)

While it is often assumed that these benefits are direct outcomes of doing sporting activities, the evidence generated through the fieldwork seemed to suggest it would require more than simple participation to generate them. What turned out to be important was to incorporate into a sport-related project the mechanisms to deliver messages that would guide them through their journeys to adulthood, in a word, 'signposting'. There were three kinds of mechanism in place. First, organised sporting activities themselves were one of the media through which a range of positive messages could be delivered to the participants. Second, formal educational activities were sometimes coupled with sporting activities. Third, informal communication seemed to be the most effective channel for delivering educational messages. The following subsections demonstrate these through the examples of three

commonly perceived benefits of sports participation; namely personal skills, health, and conflict resolution.

### **8.3.1 ‘They’re gonna get shouted at’: developing personal skills through discipline**

Sport participation is often believed to provide opportunities to learn a range of personal skills. The fieldwork uncovered what properties of sports were the key to this effect. It seemed that the organised nature of sessions and associated degree of discipline were of particular importance. For an experienced football coach, playing sports naturally required a range of personal and social skills, and thus he could teach them to young people in his football coaching sessions:

*Self-discipline. Physical fitness. Teamwork. Organisation. Listening to people. Fulfilling a task. Right? If we ask them to do a task, it’s great for helping them to do that.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male)

Sports coaches seemed to commonly acknowledge that young people would acquire these skills because a certain level of discipline was required to participate in sports. The head coach of the Glasgow City Basketball Club believed that participants of coaching sessions in the Eastbank Community Club had been learning the importance of observing rules that he had set out:

*... they are gonna basketball. They’re gonna get coached. They’re gonna get shouted at. They’re gonna have to follow rules. If they don’t follow rules, they’ll be in trouble. I think that’s one of the things. The kids now have got self-discipline, because if you turn around and get somebody out, we always tell the person next to him, ‘you tell him what I mean.’ So the kid will turn around and say, ‘People won’t get a game if you don’t be quiet. Put the ball down and we will get a game.’ So, if you just say to somebody, ‘Which team are you in here?’ ‘I’m in Team 3.’ And Team 3 does not get a game. You only have to do once, you get everybody involved, and next time, ‘Shut up! You, be quiet.’ So you are teaching them that they can have*

*a voice, they can influence anybody else round about them. They go the right way about it.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

Thus, the benefit of learning to follow rules was extended to another kind of social skill: to influence others.

Of course, rules come with punishment. In the event of disruption, sports coaches often took disciplinary action. For example, in the sessions of Shoot for Success, the coaches often used ‘sin bin’ and ‘two-week bans’ when they spotted ‘bad behaviour’:

Rather than talking to them and telling them to behave themselves, the basketball coaches told them to stay out for two minutes (‘sin bin’) as soon as a participant misbehaved. Examples of such bad behaviour included shooting a ball without being allowed, arguing with others, committing a bad foul, and not listening to the coaches while they were speaking. Depending on the extent of bad behaviour, some participants were told to leave the session completely. In a session in the Helenslea Hall, a girl, who seemed to me one of the most enthusiastic participants of the session, was told to leave during a game but she still argued with the coaches. [One of the coaches] told her to choose whether to go at once or to be back on the last 5 minutes but out for two weeks. She chose to go at once, though looking angry. I asked [the coach], ‘Do you think she is coming back?’ He answered, ‘Yes,’ because ‘she likes it.’

(Fieldnotes 15 November 2004)

By contrast, football coaches of Urban Fox occasionally had a quiet word with participants who misbehaved during a coaching session.

After running several drills to develop basic skills, [an experienced football coach (Coach 1)] told the young people to go by the wall opposite to the entrance. Although they did so, they kept playing around with the ball and speaking to each other. The coaches told them to put the ball behind one of the two benches, which were laid on the floor at both end of the hall as goals. Some kids did so, but a few

kids were still playing around with balls. [Another experienced coach (Coach 2)] approached me again and said, 'They never listen.' Then, the coaches went to tell each kid who had a ball to put it down. They finally did so.

Just about that time, two boys with yellow football strips came into the hall. One of them had an orange football. He put the ball near by the door behind the bench and joined the rest. [Coach 2] asked them why they were late.

Then, [Coach 1] made them into three groups of five. One team put blue bibs on, another red, and the other none. Just as they were about to start games of five-a-side, one of the boys with yellow tops dribbled across the hall, whereas he should have left the ball behind the bench. [Coach 2] tried to stop him at first, but he was already reaching the other end of the hall, and he told him to put it in the far corner surrounded by partitions. The boy did so.

During the games, some boys of the team off the pitch sometimes tried to climb up partitions at the corner of the hall or sneak behind them. Each time, [Coach 2] walked to them and quietly told them to stop.

On one occasion, a boy with a Celtic top in the blue team kicked another boy. [Both coaches] separated them immediately. The boy shouted 'bastard!' and left the hall. The next game started and finished. He came back on and was ready to play, but [Coach 1] did not let them play at once. He talked to the boy, sometimes putting his finger on the boy's chest. Then, he was allowed to play the game.

(Fieldnotes 18 November 2004)

In these ways, the styles of disciplinary action differed. It was impossible to tell which style would be more effective in getting through to young people, but there could be a risk of putting young people off if rules were too strict. This is of particular relevance to accessibility and openness of a project, or its ability to 'hook', and so revisited in the next chapter.

It was not only the fact that young people were being coached, but also the organised nature of events that provided young people with learning opportunities. For example, one of the football coaches said it was a good thing for young people to get disciplined by the staff of the Tollcross Leisure Centre:

When the session is finished, one of the boys seemed to be called by a staff member of the centre. [The experienced football coach] whispered me that they would have a word with him because he had been 'cheeky' to them. He said it was good for the young people because it was an opportunity for them to learn discipline. He said that if they participated in a formal activity like this, they could learn that there were rules that they had to follow.

(Fieldnotes 23 November 2004)

A similar example was observed during a go-karting event:

Young people tried to make fun banging into each other in the first rounds (which were for training). In these rounds, the amber light was on, which meant 'drivers must slow down to halfway speed and cannot overtake'. One of the staff members of Scotkart had a word with us. He said that if they didn't follow the rules, they would not get a green light, which meant 'drivers can drive by full speed and overtake'. Then, the second rounds started. Although the staff member had said that we would have another 'amber light' round, he allowed us to have a green light after 2 laps of amber light. Young people well behaved the rest of the night; everybody followed staff's instructions, even in the event of a 'black flag', which signified 'disqualification due to a dangerous driving'.

(Fieldnotes 21 January 2005)

The key to this kind of disciplinary action seemed to be the fact that young people would be 'rewarded' with something they really liked (in this case, go-karting), so that they had the incentive to well behave. The less tolerant approaches by the basketball coaches seemed to be also based on the assumption that participants liked basketball, so they would come back after a 'ban'. This could be a merit of using sports (cf. the 'salience of sport' hypothesis).

Disciplinary action had to be taken also outside the sessions of sporting activities. The Big Night Out event (in which participants of the Friday clubs were taken to either a musical theatre or football and golf) by Urban Fox was a good example. Throughout the night, the staff members had to shout at the participants very often in order to keep control of about 60 boys. The following excerpt shows one of those instances:

As the bus approached the destination, somebody started ringing the bell repeatedly. [The development officer] tried to stop it. [A young worker], who had been standing in the front of the coach with the boys from Dalmarnock, came to the back seat to watch the boys there. He held the buttons to prevent the boys from pushing them. The bell still rang. [The development officer] was now shouting. The bell still rang. He was standing in the middle of the front of the coach, shouting at the back. Nobody seemed to ring the bell in the back of the coach. [Another worker] told everybody to raise their hands up. The bell still rang. We had now arrived at the destination. The bus stopped. 5-a-side football pitches were on our left. After the bus stopped, [the development officer] told them again not to do it, otherwise no activities today. There was a silence for a short while. He let the football group get off. A bell rang once again. The golf group also got off, and headed to the building where golf is on.

Having heard about this incident, the project co-ordinator of Urban Fox, who had been with the other group that had been to a musical theatre, came to join this group to reprimand them:

As we [got on] the bus [to go back], [the project co-ordinator] first let all the kids to go to the back of the coach, and took the golf group to the front. He then started to talk to them about their bad behaviours tonight. [...] The kids were noisy while he was speaking, so he had to say, 'Listening, please!' several times. Then he started talking about the incident of bell on the way coming. He told them that he had got their parents' numbers, so if somebody rang it again, he would get him off, and he would have to wait on Great Western Road until his parents would come and pick him up. A bell rang again. [The co-ordinator] said, 'Everybody, go off,' and everybody was taken out of the bus. They were still complaining. [...] Soon, all the

boys were out of the bus. But some of them tried to get on the bus saying they were freezing. [The development officer] told them, 'Everybody, stay over there. Naebody will get on the bus until everybody goes there.' Boys followed reluctantly. Then, [the co-ordinator] allowed the football group to get on the bus. Some of the golf group tried to get on, but [the development officer] stopped them. Then finally the golf group were allowed. They allowed the boys to go on one by one. One of the boys said to me, 'It was yooou!' He said he had seen me press the button. 'No, I didn't,' I smiled.

(Fieldnotes 10 September 2004)

Thus, participants of the sport-related projects were certainly required to behave well if they wanted to stay involved, although it was hard to assess whether young people were actually getting matured through these experiences. An experienced football coach, though, was confident that it worked for most young people:

*There's always 4 or 5% of the kids that you just cannae get through to. You just seem to cannae get through to them, no matter what. They just keep doing the same things every week, every week and every week. You keep telling them to stop but they keep on doing it. [...] Waste time, don't work, kick other kids and shove other kids, they'll not listen to what you're saying to them. It'll be their turn to do the exercise and they don't even listen to what you say and you'll go ... 'right, it's your turn to go.' ... and they just don't know what they're doing 'cos they've no listened, 'cos they're too busy fighting and hitting people and kicking people. But basically you can get through to most of the kids, but there's a small percentage that you just seem to cannae get through to. And it's the same ones. It's usually the same ones at every session.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male)

Thus, sessions of sport-related projects were full of opportunities to 'signpost' participants towards 'more disciplined' lives. There was an indication that sport inherently conformed to the virtue of discipline; however, more important was the level of organisation. In this respect, sports can be replaced by any leisure activity as long as it is provided within the same level of organisation. Meanwhile, 'signposting' implies that a person who sees the

‘signpost’ may not follow it. Thus, a question has to be raised as to what to do with the ‘4 or 5 per cent’ who would not follow it, though would need most to learn discipline. Indeed, there is a risk of discouraging participation if too much stress is placed on organisation and discipline. A possible answer to this was to counterbalance the level of organisation with activities attractive enough for young people to be ready to listen. This trade-off between organisation and attractiveness is further explored in the next chapter in relation to ‘hooking’.

### **8.3.2 ‘Think about your body’: health benefits (including drugs and alcohol issues)**

One of the strongest cases commonly made for promoting participation in sport is its health benefit. It is widely accepted that a certain level of physical exercise is good for a person’s health in both physical and mental terms (Chapter 3). The fieldwork indicated that health issues could not be fully addressed by merely offering sports and physical activities, but more effectively by providing information continuously and repeatedly through formal and informal communication.

#### *8.3.2.1 ‘Wanna be a footballer? Then, you cannae smoke’: sport as educational media*

Apart from the apparent benefits of physical exercise, it was repeatedly said that participating in sports would make young people think about taking care of their bodies, without nagging them:

*If you are to look at the East End, one of the unhealthiest areas in Glasgow, if not in the UK. I think it is in the top 3 or 5 most unhealthy places in the UK, the East End, for a number of reasons. But if we are to offer and encourage sport activities, then we also hopefully, reduce incidences associated with poor health, heart disease, and such kind of things. Because young people increasingly are more interested in activities which don’t involve exercises, you know, playing [computer] games and things like that. Things that don’t necessarily actually increase their health. So we’ve got to basically almost, kinda, encourage the interest in health and sports. OK? You couldn’t force the young persons in the East End, and lecture them what to eat and, say, don’t eat chocolate, don’t eat takeaway food. But by basically*

*encouraging them to play sports, you're sort of selling the messages about eating properly, about thinking about the body.*

(Shoot for Success/Street League/Friday Night Fun, police officer, male)

Thus, sport was expected to motivate young people to have healthier lifestyles without being patronising. A development officer of Urban Fox thought the same benefits would extend to drugs and alcohol issues:

*Sometimes the kids decide the drink and the drugs have got a better attraction and don't progress. But at the end of the day, [...] you can't make somebody want to do something. You can only give them the information and let them be the people to take it on board and do something about it. You can't physically just take somebody and constantly [tell him what to do]. If they don't want to be there, they're gonna do what they want to do and it's to try and get them to realise that there is different choices. And sometimes stimulating them through sport which they like anyway helps stimulate them to realise that all the other choices that you're giving them are sometimes a viable option.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

In short, it was believed that sport helped young people to think about their body, so that they would become to avoid what damaged their bodies, such as unhealthy diet, drugs and alcohol. However, it was also suggested that simply participating in sports would be insufficient to achieve this goal. The same development officer said that she had witnessed that young people who played sport often could still go in the wrong directions.

*We've saw a lotta kids being really talented in sport but not having the understanding, you know, to stick with it and like having the right kinda frame of mind to make anything of it. We just think, they've got a talent and they'll achieve but there needs to be more to that talent. There needs to be an understanding, an awareness. Some folk think they're good at sports and they can drink all the time and they can take drugs. 'It doesn't matter. I'm good at my sport'. But they need to realise the impact of not managing the two aspects in their life and how it could be their downfall. We've saw a lot, you know, in this area, of talented young kids being*

*picked up by Celtic, when they become 16, 17, starting to kinda make choices that have got an impact on their sport and it ends up they don't achieve anything.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

Thus, even the most talented young footballers will not necessarily succeed in maintaining healthy lifestyles. The development officer continued to stress the importance of giving them the right information.

*But if they had been educated younger to understand, you know, like, if I make that choice, this is what could happen. Or if I make that choice, I have to manage it to a level that balances with my sport ... I can make it and have the two of them equal. So I just feel ... it doesn't really matter if you've got a great talent, you have to be aware of the kinda influences in how it makes a difference to the choice you take.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

Thus, the sports coaches might be expected to give the information about health issues at the same time as running the coaching sessions. However, in practice, it seemed hard to do them at once. Such educational talks were hardly observed within coaching sessions, apart from the disciplinary talks mentioned above.

#### 8.3.2.2 'You do the coaching, we do the talking': separate functions within a project

In fact, Urban Fox recognised this difficulty of talking and coaching at the same time, and had set up additional programmes to do the talking. The participants of the football programme were encouraged to participate in other programmes within the project as well, so that they had the opportunities to talk.

*It started off as a football programme and from there we brought now the Friday drop-in because we realised that you had to work, you know, different aspects separate. You couldn't do it all in the football programme. You had to try and split the programme so the kids were getting correct information. But you find it's the same kids that goes to all the different parts of the programme. So a kid that comes to the football will also go to the Friday night club, also will take part in the*

*Healthy Fox Cubs, who will also take part in the Outward Bound or the residential. So you're having the same kids but in a different part of the programme and it's how you deal with them.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

The educational talks could take either formal or informal forms. Two of their programmes, namely the Schools Programme and the Friday Night Drop-in Clubs, respectively represented the two types of educational activities.

### 8.3.2.3 *'She never turned up tae talk tae me': difficulties in formal educational sessions*

The Schools Programme was a PE programme for P5 to P7, jointly run by Urban Fox and the primary schools in the East End of Glasgow. In an eight-week programme, six sessions were allocated for football coaching or physical exercises and two were for educational inputs. In the educational input sessions, lecturers were invited from other organisations, such as the fire brigade, the police, the drug addiction team, healthy eating and so on. It is not intended here to assess the impact of these sessions, but many difficulties were identified when doing formal educational activities with young people.

When the researcher sat with the young people attending one of the educational sessions of the Schools Programme, the lecturer, who was invited from the East End Healthy Living Centre to introduce the facility due to open soon, seemed to be struggling to take control as the children often got noisy and restless. As a result, the school teachers sometimes had to intervene. Understandably, it must be hard for someone who had little experience to teach children to do it effectively. Nonetheless, her struggle suggested two kinds of challenge when an educational input is carried out formally.

First, to draw interest of children of that age requires special skills. One of the school teachers commented retrospectively that the way the message had been delivered could have been better had she used more active methods (e.g. moving children from corner to corner) rather than just lecturing using a video and a clip board. The teacher said that children could lose their interests very easily and so they should be kept busy.

Second, lecturers invited from other organisations might not have the same level of commitment as the project workers. The development officer arranging the Schools Programme was not satisfied with the lecturer's commitment level, mentioning in an informal interview that she had never come to talk to him about the lecture beforehand.

It is, however, impossible to conclude whether the educational sessions of the Schools Programme have been successful altogether, as one-day observation is far too little as evidence.

#### 8.3.2.4 *'We cannae say no tae dae, but discuss aboot 'em': informal talks with staff*

By contrast, the Friday Drop-in Clubs were expected to provide the opportunities of informal communication between the staff members and the young people. Of course, what was discussed in informal communication was not necessarily related to health issues, but the staff members admitted that they talked about drugs and alcohol issues in the Friday Drop-in Clubs.

*We discuss about them. Like, see, the Friday night club? We discuss drugs and discuss alcohol. We're trying to advise them not to do it.*

(Urban Fox, young football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

Indeed, Urban Fox emphasised the importance of this kind of informal communication as opposed to formal educational activities. However, the staff members were also aware that the influence of their informal conversations was limited, as there were always other influences such as parents and peer pressure. The young coach agreed with the development officer that all they could do was to give them information.

*... alcohol, you cannot really advise not to do it because their moms and dads make them drink alcohol. [It's not] seen as bad, do you know I mean? We cannot really do that, but we can say to them, 'It's all right to drink alcohol as long as you're legal age, because...' We are trying to explain them all the hazards that arise from alcohol. Their bodies aren't really ready enough to drink alcohol.*

(Urban Fox, young football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

Also in informal communication, they could link football with drug and alcohol issues.

*We're trying to bring football back in again. Because if you say to a wee boy, 'What you want to be when you grow up?' So he says, 'Football player.' If you say, 'Cannot be a football player if you smoke hash,' he's not gonna smoke hash anymore. Do you know I mean? If he wants to be a football player. Do you understand? We're trying to bring that in, and then conversation. And that might help them to think, 'I don't wanna do this. This is stupid.'*

(Urban Fox, young football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

In fact, this kind of informal conversation could happen not only in the Friday Drop-in Clubs, but also whenever the staff members thought necessary. And the more opportunities they had, the more chances they had to make them understand. At the same time, it was also considered important by the case-study projects that the projects should not be regarded as 'another school'. Indeed, most of the conversation between the staff and the participants of Urban Fox were not about serious agenda. The fact that they did not very often discuss these issues implies that they would need to maintain the significant amount of interaction so that the amount of educational talk would be significant in absolute terms while keeping it small in relative terms.

The implication here is that for a sport-related project to effectively 'signpost' young people to a healthy, drug- and alcohol-free lifestyle, there should be efforts in addition to normal sport activity sessions. Although sport may naturally go along with healthier lifestyle, sports coaching sessions are not suitable for talking about how to be healthy. Formal educational sessions can be integrated into a sport-related project, but their effectiveness could be limited. Thus, efforts should be made to generate abundant, continuous opportunities for young people to informally talk with staff members they trust.

### **8.3.3 'Let's break down territorialism': conflict resolution**

One of the perceived benefits of a sport-based programme was its contribution to conflict resolution, mainly because it could provide the opportunity for young people to meet new

friends. This is related to the ‘social interaction/social network’ hypothesis, one of the premises of which is that sport promotes social interaction between different groups of people so that it contributes to the formation of new and/or broader social networks (see Chapter 3). Of utmost relevance here is not the intrinsic value of making friends (this was discussed in Chapter 7), but its consequential benefits of eliminating the division causing the conflict between groups. In the context of the case-study area, it was the divisions between ‘territories’ that had to be resolved (see Chapter 7). Three possible ways to ‘signpost’ young people to ‘conflict-free’ lives, via breaking down territoriality, were identified. First, sport is regarded as a useful tool for teambuilding, so that it could be used to form friendship networks beyond territorial boundaries. Second, a sport-related project could have more impact on the actual behavioural patterns of young people if it built on existing friendship networks. Third, informal talks again appeared to be useful.

#### 8.3.3.1 *‘We’re only pals, no enemies’: teambuilding/friendship building*

Sports and leisure activities were believed to be useful for teambuilding, so that they were often used as a tool to make young people from different neighbourhoods interact and get along with each other. Young football coaches explained why football might work to mix different groups of young people and thus prevent gang fighting:

*Playing football will help them? ..... Aye. See, if you can get five people from Bridgeton, and five people from Dalmarnock, and then mix the teams up, so there’s two people from Bridgeton in one team, and two people from Dalmarnock in the other team, then, it’s like, teambuilding. So building up confidence in one another. If I’ve got to pass the ball to you, and you pass it back to me, then we know that we’re only pals, but not enemies anymore, do you know I mean? We’re only friends, but we’re not enemies. That’s the way I see football and, I think, any sport will help. Any team sport will help. Do you know I mean?*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

Urban Fox used not only football but also other activities for this purpose. What seemed important was not only the type of the activity but also the setting in which the activity was offered. In particular, festivals, residential camps and the Outward Bound programme were

designed for this purpose. It started as a festival and evolved into residential camps and then the Outward Bound programme. A festival typically worked as follows:

*So we will take the young people from the four different communities throw them out of their local communities into a central area, and every young person was in a strange area so that we are on a level playing field. And as soon as we got that area we split them from their friends. Split them into separate groups. So there was no option. They had to get to know other young people. And because so many things we were doing, we were playing as a team, you can't play as a team without knowing somebody's name.*

(Urban Fox, project co-ordinator, male)

Then, Urban Fox started summer residential camps with the same principle as festivals: splitting young people into separate teams to mix with those from other areas. But this time they used outdoor activities. The effect of this, for a development officer of Urban Fox, could be seen in the contrasting behaviour of young people on the bus: young people would not talk with each other on the way out, but become to talk on the way back. The Outward Bound programme was also designed for the same purpose, using the same activities as residential camps but in a one-day trip. Typically, they took four young persons each from two of the clubs and mix them together while doing team building activities.

A young coach agreed that it would help young people to give up gang fighting:

*And you can take them away. You take a young person away... Like me and you, never met each other before, but if you go away a residential together, and we're no' gonna fight away. We're gonna say, 'You all right? Hello! How are you?' It's just trying to get all the children, start mixing them one another, they realise that the person they were fighting against is just another young person like them, just bored.*

(Urban Fox, football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

In fact, this kind of approach is a common practice for conflict resolution (e.g. Comic Relief, 2005; Prasad, 2003). Shoot for Success also had festivals quarterly for the same

purpose. They brought in the participants of each venue to the Eastbank Community Club for a one-day basketball festival.

However, there could be drawbacks of throwing a large number of young people from different areas into one place. In fact, a couple of instances of fighting were reported when Urban Fox had this kind of event. For this reason, the co-ordinator of Urban Fox preferred to work with smaller groups of young people. He considered it very hard to work with a large group, whereas with smaller groups, they could control them, discuss things with them, and encourage them to talk to each other more easily.

For the same reason, he was cautious about the approach taken by the Friday Night Fun at the Tollcross Leisure Centre, of which he was a member of the steering group. The project was held during the summer holiday in 2004. Young people from different neighbourhoods in the East End were transported to the centre and provided with a range of leisure activities. However, the co-ordinator of Urban Fox did not like the way it was since he considered that simply throwing a large groups of young people into one place would not be different from providing young people with opportunities to fight. In his opinion, young people from different neighbourhoods should be first engaged separately and then put together little by little. Likewise, he also recognised the tension involved in events such as the Big Night Out discussed above.

Thus, there seemed to be a trade-off between the numbers they work on at once and the controllability of the event. In terms of the benefit of simple diversion, the more numbers they get the better. But, for the purpose of teambuilding between the participants, the smaller the group is, the more workable it is. Moreover, if they took only a few people from each club, which had some 15-20 participants in average, the majority of the club members would be left out. Focus group participants often expressed a sense of unfairness in the selection of participants in the Outward Bound programmes and residential camps. Urban Fox, therefore, seemed to balance the two by holding both selective and open events.

These efforts by Urban Fox to mix young people together had in the main received positive responses from the young people. One of the staff members reported that their summer camp was successful in making new friends:

[The development officer] showed me pictures of the residential camp in Aviemore. They took four young people from each of eight areas and split them into four groups (i.e. one group consisted of eight young people from different areas).

They competed against each other in a range of activities. Each group was given points according to their performance in the games, but other things (e.g. tidying up etc.) also affected the score. So in the end, all four teams had 65 points evenly. She said that it didn't matter because it was in the bus on the way back.

In her account, they didn't like the grouping and were 'angry' at the beginning because they didn't know anybody else in their group. And so the first game (a blind-fold obstacle race) was a 'nightmare' because nobody wanted to get on together although the game required a lot of oral communication to avoid obstacles. However, by the end of the three days, they became to work together and enjoyed themselves, laughing at each other.

(Fieldnotes, 2 September 2004)

The young football coach who used to be a participant of the project also positively reflected on the festival he had attended:

*I went to a festival up at Crownpoint. It was enjoyable, because ... you're a bit intimidated as well, because there's people from different areas that you don't know. So you don't know what they're gonna react like when they see you. When I went, there was people from Baltic and Barrowfield I knew because I went to school wi' them. And all my friends and all that were intimidated. And I started to talk to them. And I still talk to them when I see them. I still say 'Hi,' and all that. It helped me, because a lot of people I met, I still speak to. Even though I only met them about twice or three times, I still talk to them.*

(Urban Fox, young football coach/ex-participant, male, 18)

The focus group participants agreed that it was a good thing to make new friends through these events. One of the focus groups, which included participants from four areas, seemed

to provide an opportunity for those who had known each other through the past events of the Urban Fox to reunite.

*I: You said that the idea of putting together people from other areas is good.*

*Girl 1: Uh huh.*

*I: But could you tell me more about this? Why do you think it's good?*

*Girl 1: Cos like you meet new friends are you...*

*Girl 2: We meet people from other schemes.*

*Girl 1: Aye. Cos I'm in the East End, we don't know each other. But through Urban Fox, we became friends. So now I came up to [one of the girls], it makes me feel OK.*

(Focus Group 1)

Some of the focus group participants agreed with the opinion of the young coaches that having friends in other areas would make it safer for them to travel through neighbourhoods outside their own.

*I: Right. Do you think it helps you to... you know, you told me that because of these gangs, you cannot go to other areas.*

*Boy 1: No.*

*I: But you know people there, some people there.*

*Boy 1: Some.*

*I: But, does this help you to go there?*

*Boy 2: Like not chased and all that?*

*Boy 3: Aye, helps us go there 'cos, like, most of the people that we meet are like chase us. So, if we're, like, again, chased, one of our pals would stop us [from getting attacked]. He would just go and talk to them.*

*I: So do you actually do that more often than before?*

*Boy 2: Aye, more of it. We met pals from different areas.*

*I: I mean, do you feel safer when you travel?*

*Boy 3: Aye, I feel a lot safer now.*

*I: Right. How about others?*

*Boy 1: Aye.*

*Boy 2: Aye, totally.*

(Focus Group 3)

To provide another example, two female focus group participants also reported that they travelled to the neighbourhoods outside their own because they had boyfriends there whom they met in the residential camp of Urban Fox and the Friday Night Fun at the Tollcross Leisure Centre respectively.

Nevertheless, the impact of friendship building on territoriality seemed somewhat ambiguous. There seemed to be some success, but there still were the barriers preventing the mobility of young people. In the main, most focus group participants still felt it dangerous to travel to other neighbourhoods to meet the friends they had met through Urban Fox.

*I: [Name of Girl 1], you said that you feel OK to stay with her [another girl in the group]. Does that mean you travel yourself or...*

*Girl 1: No.*

*I: You mean on this kind of occasion, you feel more comfortable?*

*Girl 1: Aye.*

*I: Is that what you mean?*

*Girl 1: Uh huh.*

*I: So you still feel like you cannot travel by yourself across the boundaries?*

*Girl 1: Uh huh.*

(Focus Group 1)

Moreover, a focus group session designed to see interaction between young people from different neighbourhoods made apparent that not all the participants of Urban Fox knew each other.

Two kids [a boy and a girl] came from Calton. Helenslea kids were curious, looking at their faces. The two looked intimidated. They were standing by the glass wall. [A worker] was sitting between them. I sat down by the boy and asked, 'Do you know these people here?' He shook his head, saying no. He had never come to Helenslea

before. Neither had the girl. Helenslea girls started to gather round us, asking the worker why they had come here.

(Fieldnotes 1 October 2004)

It appeared that the geographical division of friendships was persistent. Another focus group revealed that some young people felt uncomfortable about mixing with people from other clubs, preferring staying together with the members of their own club.

*Girl 1: Aye, I've got friends from other clubs. Aye.*

*I: What do you think about that? Urban Fox is trying to bring, you know, people from other areas...*

*Girl 2: Meeting new people at residential? No, we Calton girls [not] really get around because they're from different schemes.*

*Girl 3: Because of these arguments between people.*

*Girl 1: This wee scheme does not really like meeting people because we just like [to be] myselfs, this wee place.*

(Focus Group 2)

As a result, Urban Fox tentatively made a change to the Outward Bound programme following the request of the participants that they preferred it to be only with the members of the same club. This kind of uneasiness, however, could be interpreted as the normal reaction when one meets strangers. This is probably another reason that Urban Fox preferred to work with smaller groups, because young people could be easily parted from their friends and grouped with strangers.

### 8.3.3.2 *'He's ma pal frae school': building on existing friendships*

Rather than creating completely new friendships, the most successful examples of mixing together beyond territoriality seemed to happen based on the friendship networks that had already existed, of which the most evident sources were schools. The social networks of the staff members also seemed to play a part.

Although it has been suggested in the last chapter that territorial bonds could nullify other types of bonds including those of school friends, schools still appeared to be important sources of friendships. A male focus group participant from Dalmarnock said that he had invited a school friend who lived in another area to his club. The other focus group participants agreed that although in general it was unlikely that someone from other neighbourhoods would participate in their clubs because of the territorial barriers, it would be possible if the person was a friend of a club member.

One of the most successful examples where territorial barriers seemed to have been alleviated was found in the Friday Drop-in Club in Calton. Unlike other clubs, this group consisted of young people not only from Calton but also from its adjacent areas such as Duke Street and Bridgeton. The project co-ordinator explained that it was because many of them go to the same school. As a result, a group of five boys from Duke Street had become to visit Calton frequently even when the club was not open:

*What they do is to come down here outwith the club hours. They come down to Calton outwith the club hours. Maybe a Saturday or Sunday or whatever. And they don't feel restricted about coming to the area down here on the bikes or whatever. So it's more open, whereas there used to be a territorial thing. There was a barrier between Duke Street and Calton. It's not like that anymore. They will come here.*

(Urban Fox, worker, female)

It is worth noting that this staff member was the mother of one of the boys from Duke Street, and she was the one who suggested these boys in the first place to participate in the Friday club in Calton, where she was originally from.

Nonetheless, while the Duke Street boys had become to come down to Calton to see their friends, it was not the case in the other direction. A boy who lived in Calton was envious of RAPA located off Duke Street (see Chapter 7), but the boys from Duke Street considered it unlikely for them to take him to RAPA because there would be always who would want to fight.

*Boy 1: It depends, 'cos if it's people from, like, different schemes, it depends, cos if they come into the RAPA and play football with us, people might try and chase them there.*

*I: In RAPA?*

*Boy 1: Aye. That's where they all fight there, just beside the RAPA, so...*

*Boy 2: It's the Gallowgate Bridge.*

*Boy 1: The bridge.*

(Focus Group 3)

In these ways, even the most successful case of mixing young people beyond territorial barriers seemed to be limited, although it must be recognised that it was a painstaking process. The limited instances of cross-territorial exchanges indicated that schools were important sources of friendships beyond territories which could possibly be exploited to alleviate territoriality. Also, the case of the Friday club in Calton suggests that the commitment by the staff member to the cause was probably an important factor to make the club multi-territorial. This is another benefit of using local residents as workers.

#### 8.3.3.3 *'I just sit doon n' tell 'em ma story': informal talks*

Another important way to prevent gang fighting was to talk. It is the same as the other two domains discussed above that it would require continuous and patient talks to get through to young people. One of the ways to do it was to use locally recruited staff, especially those who had similar experiences to the young people in the area. The young coaches of Urban Fox were typical examples; they were expected to be good role models, not because they were well-behaved young persons, but could introduce a sense of affinity:

[The development officer] said that [the young coaches] were good coaches. [...] Although they were not very good at such things as putting registration correctly, she said that it was good to have them as coaches because they were young and so easily got on with the kids. They also knew what the kids liked and disliked. In her account, for example, filling a consent form before joining the club was important to the adults like herself, and they assumed no difficulty in doing it, but [the young coaches] knew that the young people didn't think it was important and they just

wanted to play. So, she said that it was a lot easier if [the young coaches] went and talked to the kids about the importance. 'Kids see the adults as old people. If [the co-ordinator] turns up to a football skills programme, they'll think they would have done something bad.'

(Fieldnotes 2 September 2004)

One of the young coaches, who had used to be keen to gang fight, agreed that young people listened to him because they saw him as their peer rather than an adult:

*If I was still gang fighting just noo, there's nae point of me working for the Urban Fox. Because I have gang fought, because I've had things happen to me and all that, because of the gang fighting I got epilepsy and all that, I feel that I can talk to the boys, and I can help them not to gang fight. The Friday night, when we went to the golf [i.e. Big Night Out], I was sitting to talk to the wee boys from Dalmarnock. They were all, 'Yah, ye stay in Bridgeton,' and all that. I was like, 'What is it?' He was like, 'No, I'm gonna battle wi' him.' Then I was like, 'No, you're not.' 'How you're not battling for? Cos we were fighting last time. We were gang fighting against one another, right?' And I was, 'Well, what's the point in that?' See, cos I'm younger, they talk to me. They talk to me like I'm a teenager. I'm one of the young people rather than a worker. So I was like him. 'When I was younger, I used to gang fight, and all that, and I ended up with epilepsy and all that' So I told them the story. He was like, 'Oops, I know, man. I've not gang fought for three month,' and all that. The wee guy just forgot all about it. Didn't think about it the rest of the night. That wee guy, the wee boy is not a nice wee boy the best I think. He's one of the ones who always wanna go and gang fight, always wanna start it. But, he was trying to stop something. I thought he was trying to see me as a young person. He was talking to me as if I was one of his peers rather than a worker. And I thought as if, just took it forward. Me sitting down telling them the story made them think, 'But, that could happen to anybody.' Do you know I mean? 'It might not be him next time. Maybe me, or maybe him, or maybe....,' do you know I mean? So I thought if I made them sit down and think, and any other time I hear young people talking about gang fighting, I just tell them what happened to me. And a lot of the times, they are all, 'Oops! That's shocking,' and all that.*

(Urban Fox, young football coach/ex-participant, 18)

Actually, not only the young coaches but also other staff members had been recruited locally for the same reason. And young people seemed to get on well with most of them. In fact, recruiting workers locally did not only add to effectively getting through to young people, but also seemed to have positive effect in terms of career development, as discussed in the next section.

#### **8.3.4 Summary**

This section has discussed the ways in which educational effects of sport on personal development could be brought about, in terms of three domains: social skills, health and conflict resolution. A sport-related project could deliver educational messages on any subject via three channels. First, the activity sessions could be effective media to send out messages, exploiting the properties of organised sport activities, though other types of leisure activity can also be used for the same purpose. Second, participants of sport activity can be channelled to other formal educational activities. Third, they can also be channelled to other programmes, where informal interaction with staff members can more easily happen than in sport coaching sessions, and this is probably the most effective way of the three. There is no guarantee, though, that these mechanisms always make impacts on young people's choices. Rather, these are the ways of 'signposting', implying that it is up to the young people who see the 'signposts' whether or not to follow them. But by using sport, it is possible that young people will have opportunities to get information without being patronised.

No matter what the subject is, a necessary condition for educational mechanisms to work is continuity. It is evident that education is a long process, and a one-off event would have little sustainable impact. The direct benefits of sports participation such as improved self-discipline, health and personal skills would be more likely to accrue from continuous participation. Similarly, in order to make formal and informal educational activities work, there must be a trust between the staff members and the participants, which can only be achieved via continuous positive interaction between them. Either way, it is essential to make the project sustainable. How to achieve the sustainability of a project will be discussed in the next chapter. Meanwhile, as far as the benefits accrued directly from sport

participation (e.g. diversion, social skills, and health) are concerned, there is another way to make them sustainable. The next section will discuss this.

#### **8.4 Continuous involvement in sports or other pursuit**

The other mechanism that could be fostered by sport-related projects is related to the promotion of sport participation in general terms. It was indicated through the fieldwork that sport-related projects could potentially stimulate the interest of a young person in the activity itself so that she or he would start playing it not only within the project but also on other occasions as well. It was often hoped that, having ‘tasted’ a certain sport (or any other activity) being offered, a young person who participated in the case-study projects would realise that it could be something that they could choose to do in a longer term in her or his life. Thus, the person might start being involved in the activity in addition to the sessions provided by the project through which he has been given the first experience. In other words, a sport-related project might help the participants to be ‘hooked’ into the activity itself, so that they would then continue being involved in it even after becoming too old to participate in the project. Consequently, both the benefit of simple diversion and the educational effects of sport participation become more permanent. Furthermore, some of those ‘hooked’ into the sport might even succeed in building their careers with it. These can be understood as ‘signposting’ to sporting careers.

For a basketball coach, Shoot for Success was to provide such an opportunity for ‘tasting’:

*I remember being that age and there wasnae a lot to do, so if you’ve got Shoot for Success happening and maybe if they try basketball, maybe they’ll like it. Maybe they’ll come every week. Maybe they’ll join a team after that. Maybe they’ll just make the choice to get into sport full-time. If you even get one or two kids through the whole programme doing that, it’s got to be a success. But just to get numbers of kids willing to try something new is good in my book because if I didnae know people that actually played basketball, I would never have come to it cos the whole of the East End is just football mad.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male, 20s/30s)

Thus, he hoped some of the young people participating in the project would choose to progress in basketball, just as he himself had done. Similarly, many sports coaches talked about the benefits of sports participation drawing from their own experience. A football coach said that because he had been always involved in football, he could be stay away from trouble:

*Aye. They come to the football every week. In my case, it's football coaching I do. So the young people who come to the football, they come every week, they put a lotta effort into their football coaching and they're getting fitness as well with playing football and you just hope, as a coach, that maybe one of them get the bug for the football and that may be taking them away from the gang fighting and any trouble that they're getting into ... the drink, gang fighting ... hopefully the football or the sport will take them away from that which as a young person probably football done that for me when I was a young kid. It took me away from any trouble cos I used to go about with all the boys and maybe they were drinking at the weekend but I got involved with the football and that took me away from a lotta trouble and it was brilliant, you know, and now I'm ... now I'm actually coaching kids. It's just been a continuation of playing football, then going into coaching. It's been great because it is hard, eh ... growing up in the east end of the city. There's a lotta distractions like alcohol, drugs ... and the football definitely took me as an individual away from any trouble, you know, and I hope, as a coach, I can do the same with some of they kids. Maybe they say to themselves, there's something better than running about the streets or there's something better than drinking, something better than fighting and they get hooked.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male)

What can be drawn from the experience of this respondent is that the more continuously and the more frequently a young person participates in sports, the more diversionary benefits he can enjoy.

The same logic can be also applied to the educational effects of sports participation. Another football coach said the personal skills, discipline and healthy lifestyle that he had

learnt through football had helped him throughout his life, and believed it would do the same to the young people whom he coached:

*I think [the skills that the participants acquire by attending the football coaching] must [be applicable to other occasions, too], cos I've done it. I've done it all my life when I was a kid and I could always adapt to working in teams and, you know, it helped me great. Because I had an attitude of being fit, I've always tried to keep myself fit even though I'm 43 now, you know, I try to keep myself fit. It's just something that's in-built in me because it's been built in at an early age.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male)

It should be noted, however, that these sports coaches were the most successful examples in terms of being 'hooked' into the sport; they had been involved in competitive sports for many years and eventually had become to play or coach as profession. Not everybody is talented or committed enough to be as successful as they had been. A large majority would end up with social sports, if not stop playing altogether. But one of the football coaches considered that it still would be a positive choice for young people to keep playing football at a recreational level:

*... even if they're no too talented at football, [...] but also there's different levels of football you can play. You don't need to be a superstar. You can play amateur football. You can play with a club team. You can play with your work's team. So it doesnae matter how talented you are or what level, you still can participate if you enjoy playing, you know, which we hope that's what we give the kids that come, you know, take them away from any trouble.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male)

Nevertheless, that the benefits obtained from continuous involvement in 'social sports' would in most of the cases inevitably be to a lesser extent than one could get from competitive sports. The diversionary benefits of 'staying away from trouble' might not be so much dependent on the level of excellence but more on the amount of time that a young person plays sports; however, it is unlikely that a social sport person spends as long a time playing sports as a person who plays it competitively. The difference would probably be

bigger in terms of the educational effects, considering that the level of discipline required for social sports is a lot lower than competitive ones. Since the majority of young people who participate in sport-related regeneration projects would keep playing social sports, it is an important question to what extent social sports may help a young person to avoid going down the ‘slippery slope’, as well as to build a better career, although the evidence on this matter was so limited that it was impossible to draw any conclusion.

In addition, whether competitive or social, it depends on each kind of sports how easily one can choose to participate apart from the sessions offered by sport-related projects. The accessibility of each kind of sports varies in terms of popularity, cost to buy equipment, facilities available and so on. Most of the case-study projects offered services free of charge or with very low fees, but even when the participants got motivated to play the same sport by themselves, they might be unable to find out where opportunities were, to afford the cost incurred, or to travel by themselves to the venues. Thus, providing the opportunities to ‘taste’ a particular sport would not lead to young people’s permanent involvement in it, were these barriers to participation not removed or alleviated. Likewise, it also depends on the kinds of sports how easily one can become to earn through playing or coaching. The following section discusses how these issues were addressed by the case-study projects.

#### **8.4.1 ‘Hopefully, they’ll get the bug’: support mechanisms to build sporting careers**

Some of the projects seemed to have support mechanisms to guide their participants into the path of sporting careers. Not only did they run their own services, but also they could ‘signpost’ the participants to the opportunities outside so that they could move on to the next levels. Furthermore, they sometimes helped their participants to obtain coaching qualifications and, if successful, even employed them. Urban Fox and Shoot for Success did it for football and basketball respectively. Urban Fox also made the same effort for other types of activity, though to a lesser extent.

##### *8.4.1.1 ‘We’ll get you a team’: football coaches as gate keepers*

Since football was the most popular sport in the East End, the Football Skills Programme of Urban Fox was not to offer an opportunity to ‘taste’ it. All participants must have played

football somewhere else. Nonetheless, it still seemed to have mechanisms to help young people pursue their careers in football. First, they were offering proper coaching when the participants were very young, so as to provide the technical basis which participants could build on to make progress later:

*I've seen a lotta the young people going on to play with football teams that came to the football. So when they're young, we give them a base or a foundation, whatever you like to call it to go on and play football and I've seen an awful lotta the kids going on to play well at Leeds Boys Club or Clyde Boys Club, Wolves Boys Club ... and I like to see that because I say to myself ... the wee kid's got the bug for football and he's taking it that wee stage further ... cos that's where you've gotta start. You get coached, as you're growing up you go in and play the football teams, boys' clubs, your school team and I've seen a number of the kids that came to the 5, 6, 7 year olds move on to play in wee teams and that's brilliant. So it's been a benefit to them, you know. We've gave them a wee base to go on and play the game, you know.*

(Urban Fox, football coach, male)

It was perceived that some young people would not have such opportunities for proper coaching except for Urban Fox:

*They could come to play football. And learn. People who grew up never had, I think, really learnt how to play football and never learn how to be good enough to go to a football team, good enough to come and play in the establishment. Because you go tae a football team, if you're not a very good footballer, you kinda get picked on, so. It is not the case in the Urban Fox football. Everybody's the same.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, male)

Thus, by teaching them the basic football skills at an early stage of their life, the football coaches believed that the young people could become good enough to play for other local football clubs without being embarrassed.

Second, if there was a young person who was talented in football, the coaches would ‘get him a team’, by referring him on to coaches of local football clubs in their contacts:

*The children always ask us, ‘Is there any team you can get, isn’t there?’ and we’ll say, ‘There’re all men [that] I [can] phone.’ We’ll say to them, ‘Look, we’ve got this boy. He’s a brilliant player. I think you should look at him. I’ve got his phone number. You can phone him.’ And we’ll give them phone numbers and they could phone them. And next week the boys could say, ‘I went tae play for a team you were saying. You sent us there. They say we’re good.’ So there’s opportunities there. There’s teams they could go [...], but it’s always good to have a helping hand. Cos we know about the managers. They could probably trust us and say ‘OK, if you actually have a good player, he must be a good player,’ cos he would rely on me.*

(Urban Fox, young football coach, male, 19)

Although there are plenty of football clubs in Scotland and so opportunities must be far from scarce, it was with this help of the coaches’ contacts that young people in the East End could get easier access to them. And some of these clubs in the contacts of the coaches of Urban Fox were professional or semi-professional. How often this would happen was unclear, though. The development officer said he had done it for four boys for his four years of working for the project. Another football coach said that he had done it for ‘an awful lot of kids’ throughout his coaching career, including the period before Urban Fox started.

It was suggested, though, that not every boy, however talented, was interested in playing at the competitive level. For instance, the development officer said one of the four boys whom he had got a team had decided against continuing as he disliked the training. He also pointed out that another factor that could prevent them from continuing going to training was the commitment of parents; if parents did not bother to take their children to training and bring them back, the involvement in competitive football would never be sustained.

Hence, Urban Fox seemed to be able to link its participants to the wider football opportunity, mainly because of the abundant contacts (i.e. social network) that the coaches possessed. Thus, involvement in the project would certainly improve the capabilities for

young people to pursue footballing careers, although whether they would succeed to go farther would be dependent on their own and/or their parents' commitment and interest, not to mention their talent.

Regardless of whether or not to succeed in becoming a professional footballer, which is quite hard anyway, there seemed to be another way of pursuing football career: to become a football coach. Urban Fox had helped several young persons to obtain football coaching qualifications. In fact, two of the five football coaches and one of the development officers had been put through coaching qualifications by the project. One of them had been formerly a participant of the project, whereas the other two were recruited locally. They were psychologically encouraged and financially assisted by the project. As a result, they had become employed by Urban Fox. Furthermore, the development officer had been further encouraged to promote to the current position, after working as a coach for three years, during which he was awarded by the city council the community coach of the year. Thus, he had become a full-time worker as opposed to a part-time football coach. At the time of the fieldwork, one of the two young coaches had been awarded a football scholarship at a college in the United State, so that he was looking to promote his career with football further. In these ways, Urban Fox seemed to benefit not only the young people who participated, but also those who work for the project to develop their careers. The similar function was observed more generally for the workers of the project, which is discussed again in later in this chapter.

#### *8.4.1.2 'Do you want more? Join us!': developing basketball and the club*

A similar mechanism was found in the way that the Glasgow City Basketball Club used Shoot for Success as well as the coaching session in the Eastbank Community Club. While the sessions in the Eastbank Community Club were regarded as directly part of the club itself, Shoot for Success was considered as an independent project, which was organised in partnership with the Strathclyde Police London Road Office. Nonetheless, both projects were supposed to serve as the first step of career development in basketball.

Unlike football, it was perceived that there was a general lack of opportunities for basketball within the East End, as it was far less popular than football. The head coach of

the Glasgow City Basketball Club expressed his concern with the lack of provision, and considered Shoot for Success as a good opportunity for the development of basketball. Shoot for Success was supposedly the very first step of ascending the career ladder in basketball. It was open to anybody between 5 and 18 years of age. Although the aims of the project were mainly diversion and crime prevention, for the Glasgow City Basketball Club, it seemed to be considered also as a chance to 'hook' young people into basketball. Once a young person was 'hooked', he would be given further opportunity to play basketball by going to the more formal training sessions of the club, which were held in the Eastbank Community Club, St. Mungo's academy and so on. The sessions in the Eastbank Community Club were also considered as good opportunities for the club to 'hook' young people, but those of Shoot for Success seemed to be seen as a lower entry point. The idea of the co-ordinator of the club was that a young person would be fed into the sessions in the Eastbank Community Club, when he/she is interested and/or talented. The co-ordinator was reluctant to advertise these sessions to the participants of Shoot for Success otherwise, since they were already very busy.

For those who were keen to continue, the Glasgow City Basketball Club was prepared to provide even the highest level of basketball in the country. Those who were talented would be able to go on that road. If neither so talented nor interested in competitive basketball, a young person could still play 'social basketball'.

Either way, he/she could also be helped by the Glasgow City Basketball Club to get qualified as a coach, a referee or an official. The club would pay the fee for the examinations, and if he/she was successful, it would hire him/her on a game-to-game basis. Although it would be volunteer work the first few times, the person will get paid afterwards. Not only could he/she earn by assisting the club, but also the qualified person could work for other basketball matches in Scotland. Head coach of the club opined that this would give him/her to travel across the country, while transport cost would be covered by the clubs that play the games. Thus, this would improve their capacity.

In terms of the number of young people who had earned such positions, it was too early to comment, since both Shoot for Success and the sessions in the Eastbank Community Club were in their early days at the time of the fieldwork. The comments of head coach

suggested that there had been some examples in the recent club history, but as far as the case-study projects were concerned, it was more of a theory than what was actually happening.

#### 8.4.1.3 *'We'll be right with you till the end': encouraging progress in other pursuits*

Similar mechanisms were also sought for other types of activity by Urban Fox. The versatility of the services of Urban Fox could potentially open the ways for the participants to pursue careers in sports other than football. In theory, any leisure activity may serve this purpose. It was evident in the interview with a development officer of Urban Fox, who were responsible for developing the non-sport side of the project, that the project was intended to encourage young people to try any kind of sports and leisure activities, and if they were interested in any of them, to try to provide continuous support so that they could make progress in it as far as possible:

*I get really, really annoyed with the kids when they say, 'I'm not going to do that, I can't do that.' I'm like, 'it's OK if you try it' and it's, like, some folk just don't have a natural ability. You can do it, but it's to what level that you can achieve it and it's the same with the kids in here. We always try and get them to achieve the highest level possible. We don't say to them, you can go to the football coaching, that you'll get Level 1 and that's it, you won't get any other level. We give them the book that goes right up to the highest level and say to them, 'whatever level you want to go to, let us know, we'll be there right to the end. If you want to go halfway, fair enough. If you want to keep going through the levels till you reach the top, we'll make it possible.'*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

It was not only football, but also other activities that she had in mind. She considered that the more activities they could try the more chances they could find something that they were talented. She used the analogy of the contrast between state and private schools:

*I never thought I would believe in private education, but see, the more you look into it, they actually bring out the best in a kid, no matter what it is, because you're*

*paying them to find it. Whereas when you go to State school, they're always academic. If you're good at reading, writing, they will kind of push you. If you're good at a sport in schools in this area, they don't push you as much as they do if you're in a private school. Or music as well. Now, if you've got a musical talent in a private school, they will push you, they'll progress you, they'll bring in instructors. If it's a State school, they don't seem to ... this is just my opinion ... they don't seem to push a kid. Schools drive kids to be good academically and are good at Maths, Science and English. If you aren't any good at that in school, I don't feel they bring out anything else in you. You might have a talent for art, music and sport but when you look at the make-up of the time allocated in school, they don't give the same emphasis, you know, like in a kid if they're kinda sports orientated ... doing half their time at school in sports and the Maths and English comes secondary. It's still the same push to get them to be academically clever and I just feel private schools do that a lot better and I think it's because you pay them to educate your kids and you're looking for a return on it and even if it's ... if they're not academically clever, they'll say to you ... but they've got a talent and we've actually pursued it and like we've made them at a level where they can achieve something.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

Thus, for her, Urban Fox was to help young people to find alternatives to academic abilities, which they had talent for and so they could possibly build their careers on. If this could be achieved, the project would provide young people with many possible routes to establishing themselves as independent adults, that is, improve their capabilities in youth-to-adult transition. However, it seemed to depend on types of activity how easily the necessary support could be provided.

One of the examples was seen in the skiing and snowboarding programme. A few of the participants of each Friday club participated in skiing and snowboarding training for 10 weeks from December 2004 to February 2005, in the final week of which they went to a three-day residential camp. Ahead of this, during the Easter holiday in 2004, some young people were taken to skiing and snowboarding as part of the Outward Bounds programme. The winter residential was developed in order to provide additional opportunities to make progress building on this initial experience:

*The three girls that I took snowboarding, [...] the instructor said to me that the girls had a natural ability and it would be really, really sad if they never progressed with it, if they just came once a year and that was it. Because the girls were really, really good. And I said to the girls, 'the instructor said you're really good and if we go to do a winter camp in like the snow, that you should go because you're really, really good.' And I said, 'why don't you come yourselves?' 'Well, how am I supposed to get here?' And I said, 'well we could put a programme together on the Friday club that you came here, you know, like maybe every second Friday and you built up that skill' and then ... like, because the kids have got the freedom on what they do with their money ... I said, 'but you could actually arrange to go with your club ... like a small group ... and keep that skill and develop it.' And the girls were like ... 'that's great' and they're like, 'Will you do that? Cos my mum won't bother.' But you see the side of it with her mum because it's quite expensive to go snowboarding, if they don't have any transport and if they don't have any knowledge in how to get them to these areas, it's hard for the parents to kind of pursue that. So we try in here to get the kids to try out something. If they have a natural ability and actually are keen themselves, we try and put things in place that they get to go back and they get to do maybe an 8-week block and then at the end of the year we could arrange a camp up in the Cairngorms, you know, when it's snowing and they actually get to try it out in the real snow.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

In this way, Urban Fox used the Friday Drop-in clubs to give young people a chance to have a say, so that the project could provide support that young people needed (see Chapter 9 for detailed discussion on 'ownership'). It was suggested here that for activities like snowboarding, young people would not have enough resources to maintain their participation independent from the project. As already mentioned above in relation to footballing careers, lack of commitment from parents was a possible constraint; however, as the development officer acknowledged, it was also about access to information as well as monetary cost. Skiing and snowboarding were less accessible than other sports such as football and basketball, as there was no facility nearby the neighbourhoods and equipment and transport cost was high. Thus, as discussed in Chapter 7, for households with low

income and no car, it would be hard for parents to provide the necessary support for their children who wanted to do these activities. Therefore, Urban Fox was there to fill in this gap.

In fact, many of their activities, especially the ones Urban Fox offered in the Outward Bound programme, such as powerboating, canoeing, kayaking, gorge walking and so on, were among those difficult for young people to pursue by themselves. Another example was go-karting. The following excerpt from the fieldnotes shows that Urban Fox unsurprisingly could not always afford to provide continuous support. When a newly started Friday night club of Urban Fox went go-karting, young people were so excited that they wanted to go there again:

It was obvious that they had enjoyed go-karting. While taking their driving suits off, three boys were speaking excitedly that they wanted to come back by themselves. One of them asked how much it would cost and another said that it would be '20 quid or something' per person. After everyone got on the bus to go back home, some of the boys also seemed to have said to the co-ordinator that they wanted to come again. The co-ordinator told them that if they wanted to do it again, they should fundraise for themselves next time.

(Fieldnotes 14 January 2005)

It should be noted that the co-ordinator might have suggested fundraising possibly for an educational purpose, as fundraising seemed to be one of their common methods to encourage young people's autonomy. This notwithstanding, it was also evident that the project could not afford to take them to go-karting so often considering the cost involved. Thus, it would be hard for these young people to progress in go-karting, however talented or interested.

#### *8.4.1.4 External and internal structures for career development in sports*

The effectiveness for a sport-related regeneration project to enhance the continuous involvement of its participants, and consequently their career development, in a certain sport is dependent on the external structure of the sport. That is, in order for a young person

to pursue a sporting career, there must be opportunities outside the project, so that he or she can progress. Firstly, accessibility is a relevant factor. The sport should be accessible for young people without the financial help of the project. Although sport-related projects can provide the initial experience that can be an opportunity for young people to be 'hooked' into the sport, it is dependent on each individual, and the parents, whether she or he can afford to continue participating in the activity. Therefore, the more affordable the sport is, the more likely it is for young people to pursue a career in the sport. Football and basketball may qualify as affordable sports, whereas outdoor pursuits, go-karting, golf, skiing and snowboarding are not as affordable. Of course, the factors that determine the level of accessibility are not only financial but also could be social. In addition, the quantity of provisions outside the project is also a key; the more the opportunities to play, the easier to continue. In the case-study area, football was clearly the most abundant, whereas basketball was relatively limited in terms of the opportunities to play. For girls, dancing was the most popular and therefore there seemed to be a fair number of dancing classes available in community centres (see Chapter 9).

Secondly, even when accessibility is assured, there must be a 'career ladder' available. That is, there must be a structure through which a young person can go higher up to become to earn through sport. This also depends on the extent of the development of each sport. The relevant factors include the existence of professional teams, the demand of coaches/instructors/referees and so on. While football was undoubtedly the most developed sports in the city, basketball was underdeveloped so that the Glasgow City Basketball Club almost single-handedly provided the opportunities to play and progress in it in the case-study area.

Sport-related projects can only provide support mechanisms to connect the participants to these external structures, provided that they would otherwise be excluded from or have difficulty in accessing them. It is of particular importance to make these internal mechanisms sustainable and progressive, especially in the case of the sports difficult to access. Equally important is to find the activities that young people are interested and have talent to progress. This can be achieved via continuous communication with young people, and so the sustainability of project is a key also for this purpose. In fact, although the use of relatively inaccessible activities – such as go-karting – might be less cost effective in terms

of career development, these activities can be useful in relation to the overall strategy of making the project sustainable. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

#### **8.4.2 ‘Do you wanna help us?’: involving locals as role models for general career development**

Finally, a sport-based youth service may help career development not only in the sports and leisure activities it offers, but also in more general terms. In the end, it is still difficult to establish a sporting career even with the help of a project like Urban Fox. In fact, for the staff of the project, it might not be so relevant for young people to succeed in sports. The development officer believed that the most important thing was to make young people to have self-belief. By encouraging young people to try and progress in sports, she hoped to show them that there were choices that they could try and achieve something.

*And it gives them that expectation. [...] At least the kids have got that skill that they'll feel confidence, you know, like, in later years to go and participate with groups. Cos you find a lot of people just don't want to go, cos they're embarrassed, they don't have the right kinda equipment and they know it's something that they've never ever tried. So we feel we try and get the kids to experience it and try it out. At least they've got these skills that they can build on in years to come. [...] They're just kinda blinkered into thinking ... this is my life, this is what I'll achieve and there's nothing else beyond that. And I think if you can give that range, then it gives them choices whereas some kids don't have choices. [...] A lotta kids in here, that's basically, you know, like, thinking that their achievement sometimes is to get a Celtic ticket to go and see Celtic. Now, that's just ... what they'll work to do. Whereas there's other areas that kids can actually go.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

Thus, the project was to encourage them to have higher expectations to themselves. She thought it important in the neighbourhoods where ‘levelling down’ culture persisted.

*You find some of the parents come in here with primary school kids, like 6 or 7 years of age, and they'll say to [me], I'll have to get their kids a driving licence*

*because it's the only way they'll get a job. And I keep saying to them, 'but they're 6 or 7, they could do absolutely anything.' 'No my kids.' And I think ... they're only 6 or 7, they can do anything they put their mind to but you've got a parent who's constantly saying to them, 'you'll never get that, you better have a driving licence, I'll see if I can get you a job stacking shelves, cos that's all that you're gonna achieve.' And I think that's sad.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

Therefore, Urban Fox encourage young people to progress not only in the activities but also in general in their lives. The simplest way to do this would be to talk to the young people and show that there was someone who cared about them, given that this kind of encouragement was often lacking from parents.

One of the practices they had specifically for this purpose was apprenticeship. It was a similar practice as the encouragement that they had given to the football coaches, but apprenticeship was not limited to football coaches. Urban Fox sometimes offered a job to young people age 17 and over, who used to participate in their service but had become too old to do so now. 'Apprentices' would first work as volunteers, and if they were interested to progress, they would be provided proper training and eventually employed as sessional, or part-time paid workers. The project co-ordinator admitted, however, that this would not happen so often, either.

More importantly, though, it was not only young people but also adults that needed such encouragement. By encouraging adults to be positive about their prospects, Urban Fox hoped to raise the level of self-expectation of young people who would see those adults as their role models:

*So how do you break that [low expectation] down? You know, like with parents. And that's why we try and get local people to work in these projects, to get them to see, you know ... like what they see is ... we have a community centre, we bring people in to work with the kids. And what we've said to them is ... we don't have to bring people in, there's people out there, you might not think you've got the skill but all we ask is for you to give the commitment to come here and we'll work with you*

*to get what's required. It doesn't matter how bad you've been, you know, like if you weren't good at school ... like, you can change. It doesn't really matter what age you are, you can go on courses, you can learn that skill. It might be a wee bit harder because you're older but we are prepared to work with them. And I feel that's the success. Cos the young people see local people having jobs.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

It was expected that recruiting local people to work for the project would break down the low expectation by adults towards themselves, then young people would 'look up to them' and so their low expectation would be also broken down. Some of the focus group participants in fact said that they would like to become like the workers of Urban Fox. Thus, the function of the project in the communities was not just to help young people, but also adults. In this way, Urban Fox seemed to produce positive interactions between the local people both young and adult. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

### **8.4.3 Summary**

Hence, sport-related projects could 'signpost' young people into the paths of career development. Most directly, it can be done by enhancing young people's continuous, long-term involvement and progress in sport outside the project, though internally providing necessary financial, informational, and psychological support. At least this would add to the leisure capability of the person in the future. In addition, as for instrumental relevance to capability deprivation, the experiences of the sports coaches suggest that such continuous and progressive involvement is likely to come along with benefits of improved personal skills, discipline and health, as well as simple diversionary benefits. The most successful scenario is to play or coach the sports as a profession as a result. It must be recognised, though, that it will not happen to the majority of participants. How easily one can make a career in a certain kind of sport is dependent on the external structure of the sport (i.e. accessibility to activity and the availability of a 'career ladder').

One way of increasing the chances for young people to build their careers in sports and leisure may be to provide them with opportunities to 'have a say' as to what activity they are interested in, to offer the activities they request, and to provide the same kind of support

as above, so as to make as many channels of career development available as possible. Thus, young people will have more choices in building their careers. In other words, their capabilities to build whatever career they would like will be increased. In fact, this can be also done by 'signposting' between different projects that provide different range of activities, as discussed in next chapter. However, the limitation defined by external structures is also applicable to any other leisure and cultural activities, including the arts and music.

Perhaps more important, therefore, is that through these efforts of encouraging young people to make progress in whatever they are interested in, a sport-related project may be able to help them have higher expectations to themselves. This is of particular relevance to deprived neighbourhoods like the East End of Glasgow, where residents tend to have low expectation to themselves as well as to their children. Thus, a sport-related regeneration projects can be another source from which young people can get encouragement and support that they need in negotiating youth-to-adult transition. This may be more effectively done if staff members are recruited locally so that young people can see someone with similar background to theirs live positively.

## **8.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has explored the mechanisms observed among the case-study projects to help young people go through the transition period into adulthood. Mechanisms were in place so that participants could receive three types of benefits: simple diversion; educational effects in terms of personal skills, health and conflict resolution; and career development in sports and in general. The benefit of simple diversion is immediate and direct from participation, while educational messages have to be delivered through different channels including organised activity sessions, formal educational inputs, and informal communication.

Furthermore, a sport-related regeneration project can provide support for participants to participate in sport, as well as other leisure activities, independently, so that their participation becomes more continuous and longer-term. This will make it more likely for the benefits of diversion and personal development to accrue. Ideally, young people would

establish their career in the activities which they are interested in. But more importantly, young people will become to have higher expectation towards themselves through the experience of making progress in something that interests them, as well as through the interaction with locally recruited staff members.

Throughout these processes, it is young people who make choices; sport-related projects are there to provide necessary information to make it easier for them to do so. The analogy of 'signposting' signifies this role of agency. With the help of the 'signposts', young people will become more aware of the choices available at the critical stage of transition into adulthood, and thus have more freedom in choosing their lives. In short, their capabilities will improve.

'Signposting', however, also implies limitations of sport-related regeneration projects. Involvement in a project does not automatically result in improved transition outcomes. Painstaking approaches are needed to set up better 'signposts' to make it more likely for young people to actually follow them. Moreover, it must be recognised that 'signposting' is rather unlikely to happen in a sport activity session apart from disciplinary action attached to its organised nature. Most of them come from additional mechanisms. Thus, the majority of sport-related projects, which are simply to offer sporting activities, may well fail to provide effective 'signposts'. The case of Urban Fox suggests that even the most elaborate programmes in this respect may have only small impact, in terms of substantive outcomes such as employment.

For effective 'signposting', two conditions are essential. First, the right target has to be attracted, and then *kept* attracted. Second, the project has to keep on going for them. Thus, a sport-related regeneration project must have two sets of strategies: to maximise the ability to 'hook' as many and as various young people as possible, and to make the project alive beyond the initial funding period. In other words, to maximise the outcome of 'signposting', the input must be maximised at the same time as the mechanisms are maintained. The following chapter discusses these strategies, while also analysing what kind of young people were actually attracted to the case-study projects.

# Chapter 9 Sport as Tool to ‘Hook’ the ‘Excluded’ Youth

## 9.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the proposition that sport is an effective tool to engage with, or to ‘hook’, the young people ‘at risk’ of social exclusion. Thus, it is closely, though not exclusively, related to the ‘salience of sport’ hypothesis (see Chapter 3). The previous chapter has formulated the ways in which young people who choose to participate in a sport-related project can be ‘signposted’ to various routes to improve their capabilities now and in the future. The question addressed in this chapter is *who* sees the ‘signposts’. Although the word ‘signposting’ implies that it is up to the person who sees a ‘signpost’ to decide whether or not to follow the direction, the last chapter has discussed the various ways that make it more likely for him or her to follow it. Equally important, though, is for the ‘signposts’ to be seen by the right kind of young people, who really need the directions. And they must be kept ‘hooked’ so that the effectiveness of ‘signposting’ is maximised.

Young people who live in deprived neighbourhoods can be ‘at risk’ in many respects. It has been argued in Chapter 5 that sport participation potentially may contribute to alleviating capability deprivation in two ways: by improving leisure capability, which is a *constitutive* element of a young person’s well-being; or by *instrumentally* improving other capabilities relevant more broadly to youth-to-adult transition. Those who are deprived of leisure capability and those who are deprived of capabilities in terms of transition may or may not be the same. The ‘right’ target to be ‘hooked’ may or may not differ accordingly. Gender difference is of particular relevance here.

The purpose of this chapter is threefold. First, the chapter analyses what types of young people were ‘hooked’ into the case-study projects. Second, it extracts the strategies with which a sport-related regeneration project can enlarge the capacity to ‘hook’. Third, it also considers the strategies for making a project sustainable and expansive. It is argued that these strategies are interdependent; to keep a project moving, it must keep attracting young people, which can only be achieved by ‘evolution’ of the project. But at the same time, there seem to be certain limits, both in terms of the nature of young people this kind of project can attract, and with regard to the extent of expansion a single project can pursue.

The main body of the chapter consists of three sections. The first section describes the nature of young people who participated in the case-study projects in terms of gender, age and the level of ‘youth disorder’, while the elements that attract different kinds of young people are also discussed. An impressionistic assessment of the range of young people captured by some of the case-study projects will be given, showing that Urban Fox was the most successful in ‘hooking’. The second section explores the strategies for maximising the capacity of ‘hooking’ both as a project and as a community, though it is also argued that there could be a certain limit in such capacity. Then, the third section considers the strategies for making a project sustainable, which is instrumental to the enlargement of the capacity to ‘hook’. It is stressed that the strong organisational base is the key to making these strategies work.

## **9.2 Nature of participants ‘hooked’ by sport-related projects**

The analysis of the nature of the participants is conducted here in terms of three dimensions: gender, age and ‘youth disorder’. Often, sport-related projects are targeted at young people at risk of ‘disorder’. ‘Youth disorder’ might be understood as the involvement of a young person in delinquent or anti-social activities, such as drug taking, underage drinking and street fights among others. A person who is at risk of ‘disorder’ would be either already, or likely to be, involved in one or more of these activities. Sport is often used by community regeneration programmes because of its assumed ability to attract attention of this group of young people. The other two dimensions – gender and age – are

also relevant to the common assumption as to who is likely to be in the state of ‘youth disorder’: working-class teenage males.

In the context of the East End of Glasgow, leisure deprivation and poor transition were part of the vicious circles that perpetuated the deprivation of the area, with territoriality significantly contributing to both (Figure 7.1). It has been argued in Chapter 7 that the majority of young people – most boys and, to a lesser extent, girls as well – were disadvantaged in both respects because of territoriality. Thus, anyone who was affected would potentially benefit from participation. But presumably, those who are more deeply involved in ‘gang fighting’ should have the first priority when it comes to tackling territoriality. It is argued here, though, that the ‘disordered’ young males are not the only group who are deprived of relevant capabilities, especially, in terms of leisure activities.

### **9.2.1 Gender**

In terms of gender, sport-related projects indeed tend to attract more boys than girls. Given that it is often boys who are perceived to cause more ‘trouble’ in neighbourhoods, a case might be made for this bias towards male participants from the perspective of diversion. However, a case can be also made against it, as the fieldwork uncovered that girls as well were ‘at risk’ in many ways. Chapter 7 has argued that a sizeable proportion of girls were probably involved in gang fighting often as spectators, and many more were affected by territoriality their capabilities in terms of leisure as well as transition into adulthood. Thus, this subsection considers to what extent girls were involved in the case-study projects, arguing further that girls faced relative deprivation in terms of leisure opportunities.

#### *9.2.1.1 ‘Lassies cannae play fitba’: girls’ relative leisure deprivation*

Focus groups indicated that girls tended to be dissatisfied with the available activities in comparison with boys, and their relative deprivation might well be related to the incontestable popularity of football amongst boys, which is the very reason that many sport-based projects are virtually football-based. Simply, football is the most salient, and thus, the most efficient kind of sport to attract a large number of participants, despite the

fact that it is strongly perceived as a sport dominated by males. However, as far as leisure deprivation is concerned, it could widen the opportunity gap between genders.

Urban Fox, evolving from a football coaching project, had grown to have a range of services both sport and non-sport based. While the participants of the Football Skills Programme were predominantly boys, the Friday Drop-in Clubs did attract both boys and girls. Some of the workers even suggested that the clubs might interest more girls than boys. However, many of the girls participating in focus groups still expressed their relative deprivation in terms of leisure activities as compared to boys.

*Girl1: Girls don't get more than anything. Boys can play football and all that. [...]*

*There's not many things to do for us.*

*I: Do you all agree?*

*Boy1: No. They've got some things to do.*

*I: What about you, [Girl2]?*

*Girl2: What?*

*I: Well, [Girl1] says for girls there's nothing to do...*

*Girl2: Aye, I agree. [...]*

*Girl1: You can play football and all that. [...] We cannae. All we can do is to sit and watch them playing football, walk about the streets...*

*Boy1: Drink.*

*(Giggles)*

*Boy1: Go to library.*

*(Laughter)*

(Focus Group 2)

Some girls, however, said that they would be quite happy to play football, but they were excluded by boys:

*I: So, you mean, if you can play football, would you...*

*Girl1: Aye, I would like to play football but the boys just don't give a ball. [...] The boys just don't give us a chance.*

*Girl2: They don't even give me a chance. [...]*

*Girl1: All you do is [play girls] in goals.*  
*Girl2: When we go in goals, you'll attack a keeper, huh? [...]*  
*Girl1: They made me a goal keeper.*  
*I: You mean the boys don't allow you to join?*  
*Girls: No. No.*  
*I: No?*  
*Boy1: They cannae play football.*

(Focus Group 2)

For these girls, it was boys that excluded them from participating in football, whereas the boy unashamedly admitted that they would prefer not to have girls in his team. However, it seemed that the number of football teams or coaching services for girls was on the increase. For example, RAPA provided football coaching for girls every week. Some of the schools in the area also seemed to have football teams for girls, as the following excerpt of a focus group shows:

*I: Do you like football?*  
*All: Aye.*  
*I: Do you play football?*  
*Girl1: No, but watch.*  
*Girl2: I used to play football all the time. [...] Boys are sexist.*  
*Girl3: Boys do not like lassies [to play football with them].*  
*Girl2: So when we went to the other club on Friday [= Friday Night Fun], we  
 wanna... boys didn't want us to play football.*  
*Girl3: Cos they play too rough, so.*  
*I: If they allow you to join, would you play?*  
*All: Aye.*  
*I: Or if there is a girls' football team?*  
*Girl1: There IS lassies' football teams, but...*  
*Girl3: Lassies' football teams are in school. [...] So there's a lassies' football team  
 in our school, so...*  
*Girl2: I'll join a lassies football team.*  
*I: Will you?*

*Girl2: Uh huh. Not the one in the school, but for me I'll go another one.*

*Girl1: Aye, Tollcross?*

*Girl2: Anywhere.*

*Girl1: I'll join you.*

(Focus group 5)

#### 9.2.1.2 'We loved it!': false gendered perception

This discussion notwithstanding, in general, football did not interest girls as much as boys. It was evident that the gendered view that football was a sport for males played a significant part. In fact, sport in general was perceived to be more for boys than for girls. Some young people attributed the perceived gender inequality to the sport-based orientation of the project. The following excerpt is from a focus group held a week after the participants had been go-karting:

*I: I also interviewed people from different clubs and some of the girls said that they don't have as much stuff to do as boys. Do you agree?*

*Girl1: Aye, definitely. You got football and that. We don't get anything.*

*Boy1: 'Cos football is the main thing of the Urban Fox. So the Urban Fox is mostly...*

*Boy2: It is, really, but, the Urban Fox...*

*Boy1: And like sports. Look at go-karting. I think that's really a guy sport than lassies'.*

*Girl1: That's brilliant!*

*Boy1: Lassies can do it, but I think boys like it more than lassies. Cos, they'd say, 'Go-karting? Huh, I'd rather stay in doing my nails.'*

*Girl1: Aye, right. As if.*

*Boy1: Some lassies are...*

*Girl1: I LOVE go-karting! [...]*

*I: Was there anyone, any girl who didn't like go-karting?*

*Girl1: No. We loved it.*

(Focus Group 6)

Hence, not only was Urban Fox often perceived as a football-based project, but also its other sport-based services were thought to be more for boys, as one of the boys above contrasted energetic, masculine activities, such as football and go-karting, with static, feminine activities like beauty treatment. However, the passage also suggests that a seemingly masculine activity like go-karting could be as entertaining for girls. The girl repeatedly stressed her love of the event, although she also agreed that some girls would prefer to 'stay in'. In fact, in this go-karting event, in which fifteen boys and eight girls participated, girls seemed as excited as boys. Moreover, even the most reckless driver was a girl, who banged into the sidewall of the circuit with full speed and was disqualified for dangerous driving. Thus, despite the perception that many sporting activities are better suited for boys, they could potentially interest girls as much as boys. A development officer of Urban Fox provided a supportive comment for this point in an informal conversation, in which she reflected on a summer residential camp that girls had taken dominant roles in all the activities except for football.

### 9.2.1.3 *Dancing: the alternative to football?*

One of the few physical activities that are strongly perceived as feminine was dancing. One of the boys above explained how much girls loved dancing:

*When we went to the camp, all the lassies, like [a girl's name] and all that it was, ain't it? They said, they just stayed in practising all dancing. They love to dance. And they were just the same, practising dancing. Then we went speed boating, whereas they just said 'we stay all the time practising dancing'. They've done that in the camp as well. They just practised dancing.*

(Focus group 6, male, 15)

Thus, for some girls, dancing had better attraction than activities such as outdoor pursuits. It seemed so popular among girls that when a dancing programme was available, they would not have the sense of relative deprivation:

*I: I interviewed other people from different clubs, and some girls said that girls didn't have as many [things] as boys do.*

*Girl1: We havenae. Boys have get like football and...*

*Girl2: No, but in Tollcross, just about the same.*

*Girl1: Aye, cos there's dancing here for girls and football for boys, so.*

*Girl2: We can go to another, we can go to a club on Tuesday and Wednesday in here, in this centre.*

*Girl1: It's not wi' Urban Fox.*

*Girl2: It's not wi' Urban Fox. [Name of the dancing programme] or something.*

*I: And boys have football?*

*Girl2: Aye on a Tuesday. [...] In the [Tollcross] leisure centre.*

*I: So [...] you don't think boys have got more.*

*All: No.*

*Girl3: Just about the same.*

(Focus group 5)

Thus, arguably, dancing is the equivalent for girls to football for boys, in terms of popularity. Most of the areas seemed to have a community group teaching dancing, and some girls went to private dance schools, like the daughter of one of the workers of Urban Fox, who had been brought up in the East End:

She proudly showed me photographs of her daughter performing on a stage. She said that she took her to a private dance school located far from the East End.

(Fieldnote 8th October 2004)

But evidence was too limited to compare the actual opportunities of dancing and football for girls and boys respectively. At least, as far as the contribution of sport-related projects is concerned, few projects had dancing in their services, and if they did it was rather marginal, as compared to football and other 'masculine' sports. Thus, sport-related regeneration projects are more likely to improve capabilities of boys, whereas they are unlikely to add much to those of girls. Nonetheless, Urban Fox and the Glasgow City Basketball Club's basketball coaching sessions somehow seemed to contribute to improving leisure capabilities of girls.

#### *9.2.1.4 'Girls only!': tailored services for girls by Urban Fox*

Being aware of the dissatisfaction of girls, Urban Fox tried to offer activities specifically for girls through the Friday Drop-in Clubs. For example, the co-ordinator was keen to equip the clubs with a computer game called Dance Max. A beautician was sometimes invited to clubs to do 'health and beauty' programmes. Moreover, Urban Fox occasionally organised events designed for girls, the focus being upon dancing, as the staff members knew that it was their favourite activity. For example, when they held the 'Big Night Out', where the participants of all the Friday Drop-in Clubs were taken out together in two groups, one of the groups went to the King's Theatre to watch the musical, 'Fame', while the other went to play golf and football. The first group was primarily meant to be for girls, and in fact only four boys opted to join over 50 girls, while no girl was in the other group which consisted of 55 boys. Another example was a dance event for girls. On one Friday, girls from all clubs were gathered in the Bluevale community centre in Haghill, where a hip-hop dance instructor was invited to teach them dancing.

These one-off events, however, might not compare to football for boys, for girls were not able to do this kind of event spontaneously. By contrast, boys could simply go out with a football coach to the outdoor grounds attached to most of the community centres where the Friday clubs were held. Holding these events might not have done much to alleviate the apparent dissatisfaction of girls. In fact, the focus group, from which the excerpt regarding the complaint from girls about the lack of things to do is taken, was held just a few weeks after the dance event, and girls said that they did not enjoy the event so much.

#### *9.2.1.5 'Gimme a buzz': beating boys in Basketball*

Meanwhile, sport-related projects may add to the capabilities of girls by offering kinds of sports that are not perceived to be as masculine as football. The basketball coaching sessions that the Glasgow City Basketball Club ran through Shoot for Success and the Eastbank Community Club were supposed to provide an alternative to football, as basketball was thought to be friendlier to girls. These sessions were not one-off but held regularly so that they could potentially make the improved leisure capabilities of girls more permanent.

Basketball was supposedly more approachable for girls as it was unlikely to be dominated by boys. The basketball coaches commonly suggested that they might have attracted greater attention from girls than boys. In fact, in every session where participant observation was carried out, the ratio of female participants to male was relatively high as compared to the football coaching sessions of Urban Fox, although girls never actually outnumbered boys. Unlike elsewhere in the world, the coaches considered, basketball was not labelled as a male sport in Scotland. On the contrary, it might be even perceived as rather 'feminine' by some boys. As a consequence, girls might feel that it was relatively accessible as compared to football.

*Actually [there]'s probably more girls than there is boys. [...] A lot of them ... and they seem to be the more interested. They seem to be more ... like they're kinda more interested in what you've got to talk about, you know, the boys are kind of ... [...] boys are a wee bit more kinda mouthy and you've got to tell them to be quiet. Whereas girls are more ... they listen [...] They're the ones you'd rather coach because they're asking and you can see them actually taking it on ... because you think you can see them improving.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

Not only were girls more interested in basketball, but also his comment suggests that boys could have such attitude that it was hard to make them listen to coaches. By contrast, girls would pay more attention to what coaches told them. He continued to explain why girls were more interested:

*Football is put down mostly as a man's sport. Basketball can be [something at which] they [=girls]'re actually better than some of the guys. It gives them a kind of adrenaline buzz, because, like, say, when they play football, they'll no get a touch of the ball or anything, [whereas] because you're better at basketball than what the guys are, it kinda makes you feel really good about themselves. 'I'm better than you.' It kinda gives them a good feeling about themselves.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

In his account, because basketball was not what the majority of boys were familiar with, for girls it was something they could become better at than boys. Thus, if a sport is not labelled as for boys, it could potentially provide an equal opportunity for girls. Another coach, talking about the sessions in the Eastbank Community Club, said that both boys and girls had quickly progressed through their coaching to become to represent the city of Glasgow:

*I mean, as I say, we started in August and already two of the kids from here played in the Glasgow under-12 team. Not for the Glasgow City Basketball Club, but the whole city. They represented Glasgow through the east coast, just three weeks ago. Two of the girls were picked as well for the girl's side of it. Two of the girls, as you've seen there in the training tonight, they are in the Glasgow under-13 team. But they are also in the Glasgow under-14 team. So they've been picked to represent both levels. So when you think, how quick some of them do come along. And, let's face it, if this wasn't here these kids would have never played basketball. They started in August. I'd better not saying through great coaching, but by getting the basics of the game, by learning how to do things properly, they continue to... you know, give them a little push every so often that expect more of them, they have done it. And if we send them trial and things, you know, let's see how good they are. You put them along to trial and just look... that kid's the best kid here. When you look and see, the second best kid here. She's an Eastbank kid as well. If you look at the two girls, they are in this club.*

(Glasgow City Basketball Club, head coach, male)

The fact that both boys and girls equally progressed to represent the city suggests that basketball at least could be played as enthusiastic by girls as by boys. The coach seemed to be particularly impressed by the progress made by the two girls who had become to represent the city in two age categories. One of the workers of Urban Fox said in an informal interview that her daughter also regularly participated in the basketball coaching in the Eastbank Community Club. She said that providing something different from football was good and testified that their sessions equally attracted both boys and girls.

Despite this relative appeal to girls, however, it is unclear whether basketball has successfully catered for the group of girls who feel deprived of leisure. While the age of the focus group participants, who complained about the lack of activities, ranged from 12 to 16

years, the girls who participated in Shoot for Success were mostly under 12. In fact, a 14-year-old girl, who participated in a focus group, said that she had been to the session of Shoot for Success, but a few weeks later, she was ‘walking about’ outside the community centre when the basketball coaching was supposed to be held inside. It might suggest that they failed to provide enough attraction for older girls. Actually, it is not only girls but also boys in their late teens that the case-study projects had difficulties in attracting, as discussed in the following subsection.

## 9.2.2 Age

### 9.2.2.1 ‘Let’s get them younger’: difficulties in engaging with late teens

The target age of the case-study projects was mostly between 5 to 18 year olds (see Table 6.2). In particular, 12 to 15 year olds were the core group. For instance, Urban Fox was targeted at 5 to 17 year olds, but had four different programmes for 12 to 15 year olds, as opposed to two and one for the younger and the older age groups respectively (see Table 6.4). The abundance of available activities for this age group was related to the fact that it was considered that young people began to be exposed to the risks of ‘youth disorder’ when they were in this age category, and therefore that they needed to be diverted from it more than any other categories.

*When you do consultation with local people, they’re normally talking about children of around the age of 11 and 12, at the age where they’re beginning to become vulnerable to get into trouble, if you see what I mean. Capturing them before they get into trouble. So, that’s normally the age group that people focus on. Yeah, normally. Just at that age where they start getting into trouble.*

(East End Healthy Living Centre, manager, female)

Hence, from the perspective of diverting young people from ‘trouble’, 12 to 15 year olds (or roughly, secondary school pupils) were thought to be the ‘right’ target. However, from the perspective of school-to-work transition, a case could be made for targeting the older age categories of 16 and over. In addition, with respect to territoriality prevalent in the East End, supposing that the hardcore of ‘gangs’ were more likely to keep being involved in

‘trouble’ in their late teens and early twenties (see Chapter 7), it can also be argued that older young people are the ones who need more the guidance via ‘signposting’

It was perceived, however, that as young people got older, it became harder to ‘hook’ them. First of all, those older than 18 years were not targeted at by the case-study projects, apart from the East End Healthy Living Centre, which was intended to serve all ages. As a development officer considered, the majority of them would be in employment or further education and so might have little time to participate in projects like Urban Fox.

However, the attendance seemed to start falling away well before they got to that stage. Shoot for Success, for example, clearly struggled to capture those older than 14. Especially, there seemed to be the lack of older male participants. The basketball coaches said that it was because basketball was not ‘cool’ for them.

*[The target of Shoot for Success is] 8 ... 8 and 14 [year olds]. 8 to 18 really. You don't really get [young people] between 14 and 18. It's not the done thing. Basketball is not the done thing. [...] Over 14's. It's not cool. No, it's not hip.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

The changes that Shoot for Success made to its target age at the early stages of the project were somewhat suggestive of this difficulty. The initial intention of the police officer who organised the project was to attract young people age 13 and over, which was confirmed by the interview with the head coach at the start of the project. Only two months later, as is seen in the quotation above, the target age group was said to be 8 to 18 year olds. However, it obviously failed to attract the higher age group during the summer holiday period. From what was observed, it can be safely concluded that the majority of the participants were probably younger than 10 years of age. Thus, by September the official target group was stated as 5 to 18 year olds (Strathclyde Police, 2004c) almost identical to that of Urban Fox.

The football sessions of Urban Fox seemed to have the same setback in attracting older age groups. One of the football coaches raised a concern with the decline in the number of older participants of their coaching sessions at RAPA:

I asked [a football coach], 'Did you coach at RAPA last Tuesday?' 'Last Tuesday? ... Yes, I would have.' 'Really?' Noticing that I was doubtful, [he] asked, 'Did you go there?' 'Yes.' 'What time was it?' 'That was around 6.' 'No, that was too late. We were finished by that time. We are finished by 5. We did only one session there, from 4 to 5, and went to Tollcross [to help other coaches] there.' 'How come you do only one session there?' 'Because older kids don't turn up. Because older kids don't turn up, we go to Tollcross.'

(Fieldnotes, 10th September 2004)

Although the decreasing number of participants sometimes was also attributed to the declining population in some of the neighbourhoods in the East End, it seemed to be the case that the attraction of football coaching in a community centre weakened as young people got older. A worker of RAPA also considered that the older they became, the less likely they would come to the facility regularly.

Nevertheless, it was not the case that anything organised by adult is not 'cool' post-14. The worker also said that the older ones were still enthusiastic about the outward bound activities that RAPA organised during school holiday periods. This suggests that as long as the activities provided are attractive enough, older young people would still be interested.

Importantly, though, the difficulty in attracting older young people was often understood in relation to 'youth disorder'. The co-ordinator of Shoot for Success argued that young people should be 'hooked' before 'going down that road':

*They're set in their ways to the idea of going down that road, but the other solution is work with the younger kids so that when they grow up, they don't go that way. OK, you work with older ones but that's fire-fighting. That's ... trying to deal with the problems already there, you know, that's crisis management, which you have to do, but you've got to look at preventive stages ... getting kids younger and getting them into sport, education, whatever they want to do earlier to prevent what happens when they're 13, 14, 15. It's hard to work with 13, 14, 15, 16 year olds. Extremely hard. Unless they're used to being in the system and I mean a system in the nicest way ... when they're used to going to clubs, when they're used to playing*

*the sport. Once you've done that, it's no difficult to carry on doing that. It's when they haven't done and you're going up to a 14, 15, 16 year old ... you know ... so that's why we're working with younger kids.*

(Shoot for Success, co-ordinator, male)

Working with younger age groups might be justifiable on the basis that the age that young people start 'getting into trouble' was also perceived to be getting younger.

*I was talking to a police officer and he said the highest reports of incidents now are 6 to 10 year olds. So the kids are getting younger. Right? So we've got to start working with them younger, you know, to try and stop them from getting into that. I mean, there's kids at 8 and 9 who are up in front of Children's Panels and all sorts of things who are practically down that road already, so how can you prevent that, you know. So, yes ... an awful lot of the work is done with younger children.*

(Shoot for Success, co-ordinator, male)

The co-ordinator of Urban Fox seemed to share with him the idea that their work was about both 'prevention and diversion':

*Diverting young people away from gang fighting. Giving them more positive choices in life. That's we're trying to do. Prevention part is that don't wait till a young person gets involved in gang fighting. Don't wait till a young person gets involved in drugs or alcohol or vandalism. Get them before they go down that road, you know. We're trying to educate them that there's more positive choices in life. You don't need to go down the same road that your big brothers went. You know I mean? Your cousin or your uncle. You can take a different road. You can take an easier road. Yeah? That's what we're trying to explain to young people.*

(Urban Fox, co-ordinator, male)

Furthermore, it was suggested that the younger they started working with young people, the more effectively they could guide them in the right directions.

*I always believe that you get morals, and if you can install them into a child early enough, like, when kids are really, really small, when they come to a level where they have to make a choice, it kicks in and these things start to make a difference. It's really, really hard when you get kids, like, teenagers and try and give them choices because they've got opinions and they've got morals and it's hard to challenge, you know, especially if you think that the morals that they're living by isn't the correct way to conduct themselves. It's really hard to challenge that and that's how I always feel that you should get them a lot younger and we're trying with this programme to go into nursery schools 'cos I feel that sometimes when we get them at eight and nine years of age, the damage is already inbred in them and it's hard to start.*

(Urban Fox, development worker, female)

Thus, these assumptions by the staff members conformed to the idea of 'early intervention'. Based on this belief, Urban Fox ran several programmes for younger age groups. The Schools Programme and the Healthy Fox Cubs were for under-12, while a pre-5 programme was also under development. The participants of these programmes were supposed to be fed into other programmes for older age groups as they got older, so that they would keep being 'hooked' (this 'feeder system' is discussed later in this chapter). At the time of the fieldwork, it was confirmed by coaches, school teachers and young people, that there was a flow from the Schools Programme into the Football Skills Programme. However, the assessment as to how effectively this theory works has to wait. Meanwhile, the following subsection assesses the ability for sport to attract more 'disordered' young people.

### **9.2.3 'Youth disorder'**

#### *9.2.3.1 'They drink! They smoke!': division between 'inside' and 'outside'*

In general, it seemed difficult for sport-related projects to attract 'disordered' young people. Focus groups as well as participant observation in Friday Drop-in Clubs of Urban Fox suggested that there might be division between the young people who were willing to participate in the project and those who were not. The following excerpt from a focus group

shows a shared opinion that those who would not participate in the clubs would be 'drinking' or 'taking drugs' instead:

*I: Do your friends all come to the club?*

*Girl1: No. I've got a pal. She does never come up as [often] as I come up. It's only, like, in [the Friday Night Drop-in club in] Bridgeton, [there are] a lot of boys [but not as many girls].*

*I: You have other friends who don't come to the club?*

*Girl1: Uh huh.*

*I: Right. Why do you think they don't go to the club?*

*Girl1: I don't know. They do other things.*

*I: For example?*

*Girl2: Like, They drink.*

*Boy1: They get drunk.*

*Girl3: They are smoking.*

*Boy1: Smoke cigarette.*

*Boy2: Smoke. Drink.*

*I: Do you think people who don't go to the clubs are doing those things?*

*Girls: Uh huh. Yes.*

*Girl1: I don't know. Some of them are nice.*

Of course, it should not be naively understood that all young people apart from the participants of the clubs would be up to these things. As the last line of the excerpt says, there must have been 'some of them' who were 'nice' but just not interested in what Urban Fox had to offer. Nevertheless, the fact that they immediately linked non-participants to anti-social behaviour might indicate the division between those likely and unlikely to be 'hooked' into youth-club-type settings. The following observation in a Friday Night Drop-in Club might also exemplify such division:

[A female worker] was at the reception, being in charge of 'signing in, signing out'. [...] When I was hanging about in the Helenslea Hall after a focus group session, I saw two boys (probably in their late teen), who were standing outside the entrance and looking into the hall. [The worker] was in the office at that moment, so I went

there and told her that there were boys outside. As soon as she approached the door, the boys went away. [...] Later, I realised that there were actually many more boys and girls hanging about outside the building. According to [the worker]'s account, some of them were drunk. She said that young people wanted to grow up quickly in these days. Towards the end of the evening, three or four workers were standing outside the door [...], telling those young people to go away. [One of the workers] told me that there were such young people every week, drinking alcohol, or taking drugs, sitting in the same place [in the open space behind the community centre]. I asked whether they were not allowed to come or whether they would ever come in anyway. He said they never came and 'Some of them are too old as well. 16, 17.'<sup>5</sup> The same worker drove me home after the session. When passing by a bus stop nearby Bridgeton Cross, there were five or six boys making noises, presumably drunk. He said that such under-age drinking involved those as young as 12 year of age.

(Fieldnotes 1st October 2004)

While the Friday Drop-in clubs of Urban Fox accommodated some 200 young people every week, there certainly were other young people who did not participate in the clubs. The Friday Drop-in club above in the Helenslea Hall, which was among the busiest ones with 20 to 40 young people every week, presented a symbolic contrast between those inside and outside the community centre.

#### 9.2.3.2 *'It's for the greater good': excluding the excluded?*

There were further indications that 'disordered' young people could be likely to be excluded from the case-study projects. For instance, the regulation of community centres often prevented 'disordered' young people from participating in the services provided inside them:

*[P]art of conditions young people enter the building in Friday evening is that they are not under the influence of alcohol or drugs. They don't carry offensive weapons, etc.*

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<sup>5</sup> Friday Night Drop-ins were for 12-15 year olds

(Urban Fox, Co-ordinator, male)

Therefore, the workers had no choice but to shut out those young people who were drinking outside the community centre, although this might result in excluding those more in need of diversion: the ones who were actually involved in under-age drinking, or possibly drug taking. At the same time, though, projects like Urban Fox have to protect their participants from such bad influence. Thus, they are required to deal with a difficult task of balancing the two: protecting those inside and attracting those outside.

Also bad behaviour such as violent conduct was often led to exclusion of the person from the project, either temporarily or permanently. Several of such instances were observed or reported in the fieldwork. For example, during a coaching session at Shoot for Success, one of the participants was sent home because of violent behaviour:

A boy was told to leave while they are doing a shooting game. It seemed that he was arguing with other kids. He said to the coaches that he wouldn't come back again. [One of the coaches] answered, 'You never come again? Fine! Don't come!' After that, [the other coach] came to me and said, 'See, the boy who was just kicked out? Three times...' According to him, it was the third time that he got kicked out. He said that the boy had got a 'two-week ban' and when he came back he had got another 'two-week ban'. And then he came back this week and was kicked out again. [The coach] said that he would never allow him to come again.

(Fieldnotes 15th November 2004)

This is another example of disciplinary action discussed in Chapter 8. While 'getting disciplined' may be beneficial to a young person from the perspective of personal development, if he or she does not improve his/her behaviour, he or she could be either temporarily or permanently excluded from the programme. Thus, those who would be most in need for improving their behaviour could be likely to be excluded from a project:

*You see, it's for the greater good. If you've got a session with 15 kids, there's lines you're no allowed to cross. If two kids step out of line, you've got to deal with it because it's the greater good. You cannae just let three or four people make it bad*

*for the whole group. So what'll happen is they'll misbehave ... it's like ... it's the bad apple theory. If you're there and you've got 15 people and two are misbehaving to the point that they're restricting the enjoyment of the whole group ... the whole group will leave. It will last two or three weeks and the rest of the group will go, 'no I don't want to be here, they just annoy me.' So I would much rather the two people left and the whole group enjoyed themselves than just catering for two or three people. The flip side of that is they need to know there's boundaries. When you're dealing in schools and sports centres, there's behaviour that you cannae have. You cannae have a lot of bad language. You cannae have fights. It's just the rules.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

Thus, for the coach, when young people tried to 'push the boundaries', they had to be disciplined, in the worst case to be banned. He went on to talk about the particular boy who got banned:

*Well, that's the way it works. You get spoke to, you maybe get [sin bin] two or three times. If you keep going, you get barred for two weeks. Once you get back, if you do the same, you're barred for another two weeks and it's three strikes and you're out. Cos you cannae waste everybody [else's time, who] behaves and listens [by] dealing with somebody that just every single week is gonna do something to actually get them kicked out. So ... three strikes and you're out. But the guy you're talking about, every week, still shows up at that door saying, 'Can I come in and play, can I come and play?' Sooner or later ... maybe the first week back after Christmas I'll let him in and we'll see how it goes. But if he does it again ... I mean, the head guy in the community centre says he's actually been banned from the football, the karate and the tai kwan do. So what chance have you got?*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach, male)

A similar example was reported in the case of Urban Fox as well. Reportedly, when Urban Fox took young people to the Midnight Football League organised by the Scottish Football Association in the Glasgow Green Football Centre, one of the participants from Dalmarnock fought with a boy from another club of Urban Fox, which saw him permanently banned from the project. Thus, ironically, those who would most benefit from

personal development, which sport activities are supposed to provide, may be likely to be excluded from activities for the benefits of well-behaved ones.

#### 9.2.3.3 *'In the right place, at the right time'?: failed efforts to attract 'disordered' youth*

It is understandable, therefore, that the police officer, co-ordinating Street Football and Shoot for Success, believed that there were some young people who were not captured by a project like Urban Fox, because they would dislike the formality of community centres. This belief had led him to developing services to cater for this group.

*In this area, in terms of sport, there is the Urban Fox Programme, which [...] has been going for a number of years. It has operated successfully and engaged young people within the confines of after school clubs. After school clubs in local community centres, offering a football coach. I am trying to, I suppose, develop activities, which should complement that rather than duplicate that. [...] I am trying to cater for the people who WON'T go into mainstream provision, who WON'T want to attend their clubs, who WON'T go into a community centre. And there's a lot of young people [who] don't want to, 'cos there's these perceived barriers.*

(Shoot for Success/Street Football, co-ordinator/police officer)

Street Football and Shoot for Success were designed for this purpose, based on the philosophy of providing 'the right activities, in the right place, at the right time'. The philosophy was reflected in the venues of the projects. Street Football were supposed to use a mobile football pitch, which could be delivered to anywhere young people would 'congregate', while Shoot for Success at first used outdoor playgrounds. However, both projects initially faced difficulties. Street Football failed to convince any funder, whereas Shoot for Success, though successfully awarded the lottery fund by sportscotland, struggled to attract substantial numbers.

The changes of venues made by Shoot for Success at the early stage of its operation suggest that it is hard to gain a substantial number of participants without accessing those who have already been involved in existing programmes. Having been held on outdoor playgrounds during the summer of 2004, the project moved into indoor facilities from September. This

was mainly because it had become too dark and rainy to play basketball outside, but it also shows that venues were an important factor to obtain a substantial and stable number of participants. In fact, even during the summer, they had to make changes to the venues several times due to the lack of audience. Although Strathclyde Police (2004c) publicised that they had attracted 150 young people on weekly basis during the summer of 2004, the records from participant observation indicate that the maximum number per session was not more than ten. Moreover, often sessions were called off because there were too few participants, if any at all.

One of the changes they made was to cancel the session on the outdoor playground in Parkhead, and to move to RAPA, where there had already been many young people coming on daily basis. This could be understood that they tried to capitalise on the capacity of a well-established community facility that had already captured audience. However, despite the indication that at least one of the focus group participants, who also regularly dropped in RAPA, had participated in a session of Shoot for Success, they still failed to attract audience there. Thus, their service remained rather irregular there as well. Similarly, at the Bambury Centre in Barrowfield, they also failed to attract audience and in the end gave up offering the service there. Hence, they struggled to get numbers even at these established community facilities. Meanwhile, they had relatively stable numbers at Dalmarnock Community Centre and the small park off Whitehill Street, Dennistoun, though they were still well below ten per session.

Even at these relatively well-performing venues, services were rather irregular for a variety of reasons. Weather was obviously one of the main factors causing instability. The following observation was made on a day when a session of Shoot for Success was scheduled:

[It was just a little drizzling, but I suspected it might not be bad enough to call off the basketball coaching.] I passed through a path by a building to Whitehill St and found the playground. It was in a small park off Whitehill St. There was nobody. The surface of the ground was asphalt. There was a double-door iron gate, but it wasn't locked and the wirework at the lower right corner of the left door had been taken away. Suddenly, a group of kids ran into the park from the opposite entrance

to the one I had entered. There were four or five kids, most of whom just passed by me. There were both boys and girls. [They looked younger than ten years old.] One girl [stopped and] asked me if I was working for the basketball. I answered yes. She had her hair in braids, had freckles and wore a light blue New York Yankees cap, a Rangers away top (red and white stripes), and a dusty jacket. She continued, 'When will you see the coaches next?' 'I don't know. Maybe next week.' 'When you see them, tell them they are fucking arseholes, 'cos they didn't come.' 'Because it is wet today,' I replied. She shouted and asked the other kids, 'Is [the name of a coach] the fat one?' Somebody answered 'Yes!' I also said 'Yes.' She told me again to tell them they were 'arseholes', and they were 'bitches'. And she ran away. [Although she was swearing, she was smiling as well and didn't seem really angry at the coaches.]

(Fieldnotes 3rd August 2004)

More than one of these children seemed to know the coaches of Shoot for Success, and the girl was clearly expecting them to show up. To be fair to the coaches, it *was* wet enough to call off the session for a safety reason, given that the surface of the ground was asphalt. However, it cannot be denied either that it seemed to have disappointed some potential eager participants.

Even when the weather was fine, their coaching sessions were often disrupted by other factors. When Shoot for Success was running a session in the playground off Whitehill Street, they had to deal with the interruption from some adults who were drinking by the playground:

[T]he woman [in her late thirties or forties, who had been sitting in the play area next to the ground] came into the ground with the two girls [about 8 to 10 years old, who had popped out of the session a few minutes before]. The woman proposed to play a game to [one of the coaches]. He agreed and started playing a game with them. [The other coach] whispered me, 'I think she's the mother of the girls' and 'she's pissed.' 'Is she?' I replied. He nodded. 'And another girl [who was with the woman], I think she's 19 or 20 years old, she is probably her sister.' He also mentioned a young man who was with them, and said he thought he was her

boyfriend. He was clearly unhappy with their behaviour. ‘They were kissing. It’s not a good thing to do in front of the young guys.’ [...] After playing just for five minutes or so, the woman and the girls left the ground again.

(Fieldnotes, 31st August 2004)

Prior to this conversation, the coach had said that he had had to tell them to go out of the ground before starting the session. Although they left the basketball court, they stayed in the park and continued drinking, and the coaching session was disturbed by their presence. The same group of adults kept bothering the basketball coaches in many ways.

During the session, the adults drinking in the opposite play area started singing a song. Robert whispered me again that the idea behind the programme was ‘No alcohol n’ no sectarianism. They are drinking and singing a Rangers song. There’s no way.’

(Fieldnotes, 31st August 2004)

Thus, under the influence of misbehaving adults, it is difficult to deliver the educational messages as they intend to, notwithstanding the question as to whether or not the particular ‘Rangers song’ had sectarian orientation. Of course, it is another matter whether a basketball coaching session can ever deliver such messages (see Chapter 7). But at least, the coaches had to deal with an ‘anti-sport’ matter, which would have been unnecessary if it had not been for the presence of the adults:

The young woman approached and asked the coaches, if they had a light. Robert said, ‘We don’t smoke.’ Saying ‘thank you,’ she went back to the play area. Robert whispered, ‘Good role models. Basketball coaches don’t smoke.’

(Fieldnotes, 31st August 2004)

In these ways, the presence of adults can undermine the cause of sport-related regeneration projects. Furthermore, one of the coaches talked about another incident, while still unhappy about the behaviour of the adults drinking in the park:

After finishing the coaching session, Robert whispered while walking away from

the park, 'When you get drunk, why do you need to come here? It's not a park like Glasgow Green or [another park's name]. It's just a small park for kids.' He said that they should drink at home, and watch 'Eastenders'. [Then,] he also told me another incident they had had. 'It could be another good story. Three weeks ago, we had to cancel the whole evening, because a guy was shooting an airgun at us.' He said the guy was shooting from behind trees and one of the kids participating was hit on the face.

(Fieldnotes, 31st August 2004)

Thus, if a sport-based youth programme uses a venue open to outside influence, it also raises a concern for the safety of the participants. In fact, this was a concern for other projects as well. The development officer of the Eastbank Community Club, for example, said that their football session was once disturbed by a group of young people who were drunk and threw bottles in, and one of the coaches had to go and speak with him to stop it. The co-ordinator of Urban Fox was also concerned with the influence of people drinking alcohol when he planned to start a football league of their own. He even considered taking young people away from the East End, but finally decided to use the confined facilities of the East End Healthy Living Centre. In these ways, it was one of the priorities for the managers of the case-study projects to provide their services within safe environment.

The move of Shoot for Success into indoor facilities in September made an apparent difference in terms of the number of attendance as well as the stability of their service. For example, eleven participants attended a session in the Helenslea Hall (although there was none on another occasion, it was an improvement compared to the outdoor playground within a few minute walk from the centre where no one ever showed up). The Bridgeton Community Centre, which the basketball coaches described as the 'busiest', once had eighteen, of which ten or so were the core. Thus, one of the basketball coaches found indoor facilities better than outdoor:

*It's better from a point of view, from like getting them to start coming every week. During the summer, cos it's Scotland, it rains and when you go out and you look out and see nothing but rain, you cannae play basketball outdoors (HA HA) ... so indoors makes sense from the point of view that I can say to a kid, come every*

*Monday. Every Monday you come you can play basketball. Fair enough. And he'll turn up every Monday. But if I said that to them outside, every third Monday it might rain, every third Monday is one time that we were at Dalmarnock and it was a thunder storm, there was lightening, I had to take the kids off (HA HA) ... and go and find some cover. But indoors ... rain, hail, snow ... brrrr ... it doesnae matter, we play basketball. If you're trying to break habits and make new ones ... that's what it's got to be I think.*

(Shoot for Success, basketball coach)

It is suggested that the use of confined indoor facilities provided mainly two kinds of benefits. Firstly, because the service was not affected by weather, as well as other external influences as discussed above, it encouraged young people to come regularly. Secondly, by regularly participating in a sporting activity, a young person might have better chance to 'break their habits', which were supposedly unhealthy, and possibly related to 'youth disorder', such as gang-fighting, drug taking or drinking. In other words, it added to the continuity of the service, which could help produce better outcomes (see Chapter 8).

Another notable change made during/after the summer was the fact that several indoor sessions were added on. For example, the session on Saturday at Eastbank Community Club was added some time between July and November 2004. The Glasgow City Basketball Club had already had that session independent of Shoot for Success for over a year, but as the co-ordinator of the project confirmed, they decided to count it as part of Shoot for Success. Having been part of the Glasgow City Basketball Club's regular sessions, this open session had already had substantial audience. The session in St. Mungo's Academy was also added on. It was probably owing to these already established sessions of the Glasgow City Basketball Club that the statistics publicised by the Strathclyde Police was made possible.

Hence, despite the initial intention of providing services in different settings from other established projects, Shoot for Success in the end moved to confined facilities of community centres and schools. Ironically, they, then, started to gain numbers.

In the meantime, the nature of the participants of Shoot for Success appeared slightly

different from Urban Fox. First, despite the relatively small number of participants, Shoot for Success did seem to attract a relatively high percentage of female participants as discussed above. Secondly, it might have entertained some boys who were less into football as well. One of the most enthusiastic participants of Shoot for Success in Dalmarnock looked not as keen when Urban Fox were at a fun day held in the same place another time. Notwithstanding this capacity to attract young people with different tastes from football, Shoot for Success did not appear distinctively successful in catching the eyes of relatively more ‘disordered’ ones.

#### **9.2.4 ‘Rowdy’ is nothing: behaviour of the participants of Urban Fox**

It was also hard to tell to what extent Urban Fox had attracted ‘disordered’ young people, but it can be safely said that many participants of Urban Fox often did appear to be ‘rough’. Several excerpts from the fieldnotes might give a useful insight as to how usual it was for young people, especially boys, in the East End to be ‘rough’. The following excerpt describes some of the young people’s behaviour observed on a Fun Day event in Dalmarnock.

When we arrived at the playground, [the development officer] told me that kids were ‘rowdy’ in Dalmarnock because it was a ‘rough’ area. Around ten young boys age 10 to 15 came to speak to us, asking about the games we were going to do. We went on to the Astroturf football pitch with the boys. [...] After a short while, two of them started punching and kicking, and then throwing stones towards each other. [The development officer] did not react soon, but finally shouted at them ‘that’s enough!’ They still threw stones a couple more times and stopped.

(Fieldnotes, 6th August, 2004)

It might have been the case that this particular neighbourhood was one of the rougher ones within the East End, as even the worker who had grown up in a different neighbourhood within the East End described the young people from this neighbourhood as ‘rowdy’. What was striking in young people’s behaviour there was the way they ‘physically’ interacted. It appeared as though punching, kicking, and throwing stones to each other were common ways of interacting with friends. The delayed intervention by the worker conveyed the

impression that such behaviour was acceptable to some extent. Unsurprisingly, such 'physical' interaction sometimes escalated to a fight:

When it was becoming close to the end of the event, two boys started fighting. Jonny punched Rory many times. Rory got angry. [The development officer] was smiling and just watching them. Another boy with a purple football top and shorts, asked me to give him the ball so that he could continue the game. I was just smiling holding the ball, because I wondered what to do although at least I felt it was not a right thing to ignore the fighting. [The development officer at last] shouted at them, 'Jonny! That's enough! Jonny!' A middle-aged woman came in to separate them. But Rory started punching Jonny again, with his face red and eyes wet with tears. Rory started chasing Jonny. Jonny was laughing as he tried to run away, but soon turned to Rory again and started hitting back. This time, [the development officer] also went in to separate them. The woman spoke to Rory, who was pointing at Jonny, as if he was saying Jonny was to blame. Meanwhile, [the development officer] was having a word with Jonny. Soon after that, Jonny started playing games, but Rory was leaning onto the fence, with the woman still beside him.

(Fieldnotes, 6th August 2004)

It seemed that local people regarded this kind of incident as quite normal. The fight between the two did not seem to concern another boy, who wanted to go on with the game despite the fact his friends were fighting just behind him. Also, the worker did not intervene until it had got to the point when one of the two started crying. Thus, roughness seemed to be part of the culture of young boys in the area.

In fact, these boys might not be particularly 'rough' from the standard of the East End. Even a boy, Gavin, who was described as a 'quiet lad' by a worker, did similar things. When young people from Lilybank were taken to a bus to go to the Big Night Out event, the following incident happened:

Everyone left the Helenslea Hall to walk to the bus. Outside the building, Gavin was throwing stones at another boy. [The development officer] told him, 'Stop throwing stones, Gavin!' He didn't listen. Another worker came out of the building

and said a little more quietly, 'Stop throwing stones, Gavin.' Gavin still threw stones a couple of times more, and joined the others walking out onto the street.

(Fieldnotes 10th September 2004)

Thus, a 'quiet lad' in the East End might not be so quiet. In fact, many young people participating in Urban Fox were often boisterous, which made it difficult for the workers to take control (see Chapter 8). Also recall that some of the focus group participants admitted that they had been involved in gang fighting, and they were probably not particularly 'disordered' (see Chapter 7). Thus, it is rather safe to say that 'ordinary' young people in the East End of Glasgow were exposed to the culture where 'roughness' was somewhat acceptable.

#### **9.2.5 'Be cool': types of activities attractive to 'rough' boys**

Furthermore, Urban Fox actually seemed to have ways to access a relatively large number of 'disordered' young people, who would commit gang fighting or drink alcohol. This was contrary to the perception of the police officer who considered the formality imposed by the use of community centres would not attract more 'disordered' young people. The football skills programme and special events occasionally organised through the Friday night drop-in clubs particularly appeared to have a strong appeal to this group. The staff members insisted that the football skills programme certainly attracted many 'rough' boys:

*They might commit crime or be going away doing drug or something like alcohol. You know. And that's the kids we've been attracting. We attract other kids as well, but, you know, the other kids are good and when we go and do that they are coming to the football anyway. But it's good to see we do attract kids who could go away and then maybe do some crime or maybe do something else in the pastime. They come to the football.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, male)

Another football coach testified that one of the boys who had participated in the Football Skills Programme was alcoholic:

Pointing at one of the boys, Ewan, [the football coach] said, 'He's only 16 or 17. He's alcoholic.' He told me that Ewan's father died when he was 12 years old and since then his mother had 'given up about him.' He said that he often saw Ewan drinking or drunk on the streets.

(Fieldnotes, 23rd November 2004)

Thus, it seemed that those more problematic young boys tended to participate in the Football Skills Programme of Urban Fox despite the formality of the setting.

Similarly, their special events that typically utilised rather unusual activities (e.g. bowling, go-karting, golf and so on), though football was also often a key component, seemed also popular among boys who appeared 'rougher'. For example, among the 55 boys who participated in golf and football in the Big Night Out, there certainly was, as one of the workers testified, a boy who used to be very keen on gang fighting. Another worker also said on the night that 'many of them' would have experienced gang fighting.

Another example is when young people from Tollcross were taken to go-karting as the launch of a new Friday club in the area. While there were 23 participants (15 boys and eight girls) in the event, only seven of them (three boys and four girls) came to the Friday club of the following week, when two focus groups were held. The participants of one of the focus groups commented on the rest of the group who did not come to the club on the day:

*I: Well, we went go-karting last week and there were a lot more people, and are they all ...*

*Boy1: They're all from Tollcross.*

*I: Do they gang fight, some of them?*

*Boy2: Aye, most of them. Mostly all of them who went.*

*I: The majority of the gangs, do you think they would come here?*

*Boy2: Not every single one, but I've seen someone. They probably cannae wreck one place and then go again.*

*Boy1: What?*

*Boy2: Gangs. Just, like, [if] people who fight frae Tollcross come here.*

*Boy1: Eh...*

*Boy2: Some of them. I don't think they would wreck it.*

*Girl: Aye, they would.*

*Boy2: It depends who came up.*

*Girl: Derek and all that.*

*Boy2: Derek? No Derek. I don't think Derek would come but Scott or someone.*

*Girl: He came in.*

*Boy2: I know, but did nae [really] come in.*

*Boy1: No, they wouldn't. The answer is no. They probably would nae come.*

(Focus Group 6)

It was suggested that most of the participants in the previous week were those who would gang fight. The disagreement as to whether a particular individual, in this case, 'Derek' and 'Scott', of whom the latter had appeared at the door earlier on the night but had not stayed, would be interested in participating in the weekly Friday Drop-in club suggests that there might be a grey zone between those who were willingly participate and those who would never. But in the main, the participants agreed that the hardcore of the gang in the area would not be interested in the weekly club settings, although it must be noted that the dramatic decrease in the number of participants has to be interpreted in the context that this club had opened in the area just a few weeks before. Nevertheless, more important is the fact that 23 young people, including those who were reportedly keen on gang fighting, participated in the go-karting event, which is the evidence that Urban Fox were capable of engaging with hardcore members of gangs.

Another example is the incident already mentioned above concerning the boy who got banned from Urban Fox as a result of fighting in the Midnight League. One of the focus group participants, who had also participated in the event, furiously talked about the incident, as the violent conduct resulted in the withdrawal of the whole team from the tournament in addition to the permanent ban imposed on the boy. This focus group participant even did not regard the boy who had fought as a member of his club, but that he had only turned up for the tournament and caused trouble. This episode also suggests that those who would not be interested in a youth-club-type provision might well be keen on other types of events held in the same timeframe.

These observations suggest that it might not be the formality of the settings, but the kind of activities provided that determine the attractiveness of the service. Arguably, many of these special events were more formal in the sense that a higher level of organisation and discipline were required when, for instance, they travelled by bus to the venues outside their home neighbourhoods. They were also required to follow more strict rules imposed upon by the other service providers (see Chapter 8). By contrast, the usual drop-in clubs had more relaxed atmosphere, where young people could only ‘drop in’.

### **9.2.6 Summary**

This section has explored the nature of the young people who participated in the case study projects, mainly Urban Fox and Shoot for Success. The analysis was conducted in terms of gender, age and ‘youth disorder’, largely dependent on qualitative data, whereas quantitative evidence was only fragmentary and far from statistically valid. Nonetheless, the discussion above has raised some important points, some of which may be worth statistical examination in the future.

Overall, it was clear that different kinds of activity were suitable for different groups of young people. It was indicated that football-based projects might add to the feeling amongst girls of relative leisure deprivation. The use of dancing, which was strongly perceived to be feminine, would alleviate it, but other sport and physical activities could also interest girls as well as, or even better than, boys, despite the prevalent perception that sport in general was more for boys.

In terms of age, the most case-study projects had difficulties in attracting the attention of young people as they got older. The difficulties were often understood in relation to the higher levels of ‘youth disorder’ among late teens, but it should not be overlooked that the settings of community centres might simply loose attraction to them. Activities must provide better excitement for this age group to be ‘hooked’.

That said, it seemed also true that the higher the level of ‘disorder’, the more difficult to engage with the young people. Although ‘youth disorder’ here was only vaguely defined, an impressionistic estimation of the range of young people attracted by the case-study

projects shown in Figure 9.1 might provide an insight. Among the case-study projects, Urban Fox seemed to be able to reach the widest audience including more ‘disordered’ and older ones, whereas Shoot for Success appealed to lower age group and failed to attract older, more ‘disordered’ ones. The same estimations are given to the Eastbank Community Club and Score Goals for a comparative purpose. The Eastbank Community Club had a range of activities, and thus seemed to have a similar range of audience to Urban Fox. Score Goals, a police-led football project featuring Celtic Football Club, was targeted at secondary school pupils with higher educational attainment, who presumably had lower risk of ‘youth disorder’.

Notwithstanding an obvious limitation of the vague definition and subjective nature of the estimation here, the framework could be useful in analysing the nature of the current participants and revising strategies to attract the right target. The categorisation in terms of ‘youth disorder’ in fact parallels with the framework proposed by Brantingham and Faust (1976, cited Nichols and Crow, 2004), which categorises crime prevention programmes into primary, secondary and tertiary, depending on the level of delinquency, although the implication of ‘youth disorder’ here is not limited to delinquency.

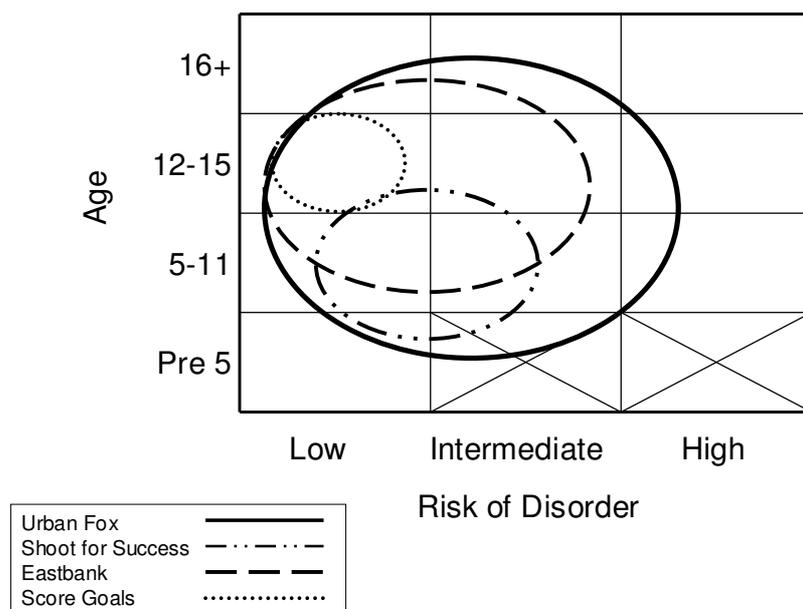


Figure 9.1 Estimating nature of participants

### **9.3 Strategies for maximising attractiveness**

This section turns to the strategies to enlarge the capacity of a project to ‘hook’ a broad range of young people. It has been made obvious that a project has to have a range of activities to attract a range of audience. It is straightforward in theory, but hard to happen in practice. In addition, in relation to effective ‘signposting’, it has been argued that young people must be kept attracted continuously (Chapter 8). The following subsections explore the approaches taken by the case-study projects, mainly Urban Fox, to maximise the capacity in both fronts.

#### **9.3.1 ‘Feeder systems’**

It has been argued that to attract older and/or ‘disordered’ young people, rather unusual, exciting activities are suitable. Despite the better attraction, however, these activities tend to be one-off, so that they would hardly produce sustainable effects in terms of the intended outcomes (Chapter 8). But the use of one-off events by Urban Fox shows one of the ways that they could be used for the purpose of ‘feeding’ young people into other parts of the programme. The principle of ‘hooking’ and ‘signposting’ is also applicable to this system.

Urban Fox used one-off events in conjunction with regular ones. For example, the go-karting event with young people in Tollcross was held presumably for a promotional purpose as an opening event for the new Friday drop-in club. Thus, it was aimed to ‘hook’ the audience and then to ‘signpost’ to the Friday club. It was too early to assess the effect of this particular opening event at the time of the fieldwork, but similar feeder systems were ubiquitously found between the programmes of Urban Fox, and they did seem to work. In fact, it was well represented in the way that it was made possible to attract the twenty-three young people to the go-karting trip, including presumably the hardcore members. The presence of the ‘rougher’ boys in the event implies that Urban Fox were able to engage with them somehow, and the most likely reason would be that they had participated in the football skills programme, which had been already delivered in the area for a few years.

Hence, Urban Fox’s success in attracting a relatively large number of ‘rougher’ young people could be attributed to the ‘feeder systems’ to link different parts of the project:

*Oh, we do engage with more problematic young people. Those young people still*

*link into parts of the project. The Football Programme, lots of problematic young people attend that. Lots of problematic young people. And that means you get an opportunity then to speak to them, say, 'Look, you could also go to the Friday Club, but this is the condition, etc. etc.'* You know, we have attracted young people through doing that system. Where they attend the football programme we can direct them to Friday Drop-in, to Cyber Fox.

(Urban Fox, Co-ordinator, male)

Feeder systems have been also highlighted in Chapter 8 as a key to enlarging the educational potential of a sport-related project. By 'feeding' participants, say, from the Football Skills programme to the Friday Night Drop-in clubs, Urban Fox managed to do both 'talking' and 'coaching', which would help produce better outcomes in terms of personal development of young people. The idea also can be extended outside a project to link with different youth-related projects. The co-ordinator of Urban Fox called it 'channelling':

*[We are] linking other organisations. So we're offering sports coaching and crafts... and say, there are other organisations, there are youth services, there are local youth projects, there's East End Mobile Play Team [a community group offering service for younger children], there's lots of other organisations offering service to young people. We are trying to link these people. Say, 'We're in Bridgeton on Monday. Can youse go on Tuesday?' Linking another service going there on Wednesday. So there will be a lot of activities happening for young people. It means they will get a full week programme there, if you see what I mean. So what we do is we're linking other organisations to make sure that there's a strong programme of activities for young people to offer different services. We link together. So we put so much money in a pot, they put so much money in the pot, to offer that service. And everybody gains from it at the end of the day, which means, like, young people know on Monday that there's other club on tomorrow, a different kind of activity there is. And it is basically the same on Tuesday, there's another club on tomorrow, on Wednesday this activity is. So we're kind of channelling young people into different activities in different projects. We encourage them to use these services within this community.*

(Urban Fox, co-ordinator, male)

Thus, young people who are 'hooked' by a project can be 'signposted' to other projects operating on different days, so that they can be 'hooked' throughout a week. This would at least increase the diversionary capacity of the community as a whole. It was also meant to use the community resources effectively. To complement the existing services was what the police officer who organised Shoot for Success intended to do as well. He considered that provisions for young people should be developed in a 'strategic' way to avoid duplication and competition, especially under the current financial conditions where funding was so scarce. However, it did not seem to work always as expected. Sometimes, there was conflict of interests between projects. This point is discussed next.

### **9.3.2 'Hands off!': the more options, the better?**

The youth-related projects within the East End seemed to link up together quite well in general terms, but the conflict of interests between them was also observable, which seemed to hinder the process of making 'feeder systems' work both within a project and between projects. The effort of Urban Fox to expand their services sometimes faced difficulties, induced by the reluctance of other organisations to co-operate. The project co-ordinator in informal conversation often moaned about how other organisations lacked commitment.

More importantly, contrary to the intention to 'channel' between projects and not to duplicate services, there seemed to be competition between projects to get numbers. For example, a worker of the Friday Drop-in club in Calton was not happy about another project, PEEK (see Appendix C), that had started to operate recently also on Friday in the area, because in her view, some of the participants had been taken away from Urban Fox. She went on to say that young people would need somewhere to go everyday, rather than having two services on the same day. Similarly, the co-ordinator of Urban Fox once had to issue a warning to another community group who had tried to 'poach' the participants:

[The project co-ordinator] received and made many phone calls during the lunch break. One of them was about an incident, which had happened on Wednesday.

According to him, [one of the football coaches] had told him that a guy working for another community group, who had used to work also for Urban Fox before, had come to the Dalmarnock Community Centre when Urban Fox was running a session there, and started to ask the young people to participate in a football league organised by him elsewhere also on Wednesday night. [The co-ordinator] was furious (he said he was ‘unhappy’) about it and called two people to issue a warning. He explained to me and young coaches sitting in the room that the guy was ‘jeopardising’ the service provided by Urban Fox, by taking away the young people, whom the coaches had been working with and being ‘linked’ well; and that if the boys were taken away, the staff that Urban Fox employed would lose their jobs. ‘It doesn’t matter whether the guy used to work with us. I cannot allow him to jeopardise our service,’ he said. In addition, Urban Fox had been trying to set up a football league for themselves, and so, to [the co-ordinator], the football league organised by another group was to ‘jeopardise’ it as well. He said that the person should know ‘what the backlash of that would be’.

(Fieldnotes, 23rd September 2004)

This episode shows that the interaction between community groups was not always cooperative, neither their services were complementary, despite the intention by some of the projects to link up together. Of course, some of them *did* seem to link well, as was observed in the fun day event in Dalmanock, where Urban Fox offered football games in response to the request by the Dalmarnock Youth Project, along with many other community groups. Nonetheless, the incident above suggests that there was also competition.

The ‘poaching’ incident above also is suggestive of the fact that to capitalise on the already captured audience of other projects was a common, and probably the easiest, way to get numbers up. For example, the same worker of the Friday club in Calton, who talked about the competition between projects, also said that the police officer organising Score Goals (a joint initiative between the Strathclyde Police and the Celtic Football Club to provide educational programmes and football coaching for secondary school pupils), which was also held on Friday night, had come to speak to her and recruited some of the participants of the club for his project. The discussion earlier in this chapter as to how Shoot for Success

changed their programme to include the already established services in the Eastbank Community Club is another illustration.

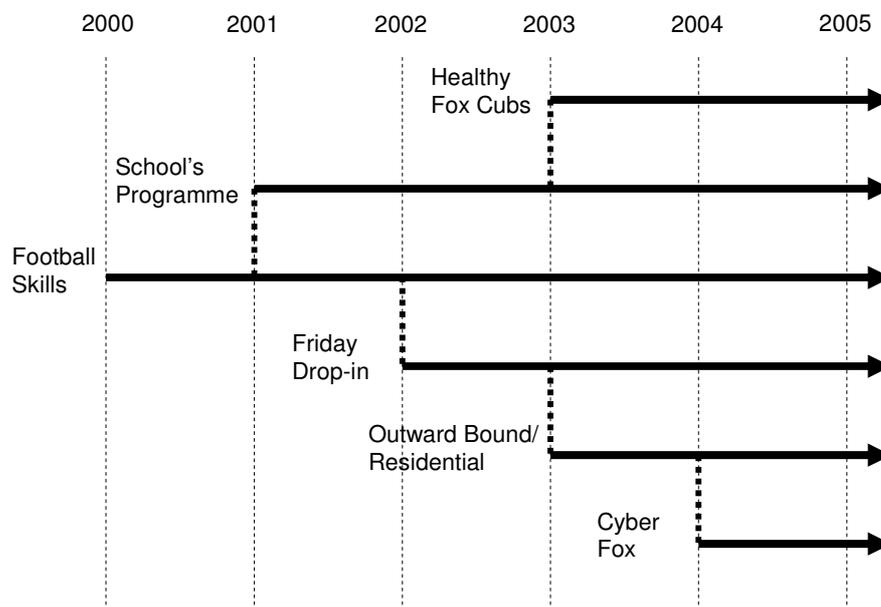
This competition between projects is ironic, because the increase in the number of services is supposed to benefit young people in terms of options from which they can choose to do. It indeed adds to their capabilities in terms of leisure. From young people's point of view, this is always beneficial. Nonetheless, from the viewpoint of each project, young people's improved capabilities could result in losing participants to another project.

This might suggest that the capacity of 'hooking' young people into diversionary activities in a certain area can get saturated at some point. That is, there may be a certain group of young people who would be likely to participate in these types of projects, and projects compete against each other to obtain higher shares within this pool of young people. On the other hand, there may be other young people who would not be interested in any of these projects.

### **9.3.3 Ownership and evolution**

'Channelling' between projects might not always work, but it works more effectively if it is between different parts of a single project. However, it is only made possible when a variety of services are available, and it requires painstaking efforts to achieve this within a single project. In the case of Urban Fox, 'ownership' seemed to have been the key to successful expansion of its programmes. This 'evolution' of a project seemed to be of particular importance to attracting young people continuously.

As shown in Figure 9.2, Urban Fox had developed over the five-year period of its operation, from a football coaching programme in four neighbourhoods to a versatile project providing a range of activities in ten different neighbourhoods (see Appendix C for detail).



**Figure 9.2 'Evolution' of Urban Fox**

This versatility was a result of the constant effort to make the project 'evolve' so young people would not get 'bored'. The co-ordinator of Urban Fox pointed out the importance of constantly changing the services of the Friday Drop-in clubs:

'We've been doing this for three years. Some of the kids say, "We are bored." It's not easy. We are trying to change constantly, but some of the centres are too small. So they are trying to get funding to expand the facilities. Some of them are successful.'

(Fieldnotes, 7th May 2004)

The development officer in charge of the sporting side of the project also said:

*We've run the clubs for three years now, the football clubs. It might be longer than that. They may get fed up sometime if it's just the same thing they come for it. We try to develop it so that they keep coming back to the football all the time. You know? Kids get fed up very easily, so we try to do the best we can to keep them coming back all the time.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, male)

These changes are based on the input from young people themselves:

*We always get their ideas. We are always talking things. We all speak to the kids and ask them, it's not always, but, in terms of what things they want, what kids want sometimes. We've got to look at what sort of things kids want to do, and they keep on coming back. They get an idea, they get an input to tell us what they wanna do. 'Do you wanna make it?' 'Is it OK to get this?' 'Is it OK to get that?' You know? I've got good relationship with the kids so that they can come to me and tell me. So that's a kind of my role to develop the programme that way in the sports side.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, male)

The other development officer, who was responsible for the non-sport side, called this the 'ownership' of the project by the young people:

*It's usually the Friday night drop-in that the kids access the outward bound [programme], because you've got them in on the Friday night and it's a chance to talk to them. That's where we get the interaction. 'What do you like?' 'What do youse want to do?' 'Would you like to try this?' So that's where you're getting the kids to start taking a wee bit of ownership of what they want to do in their life and we put these things into place and the information comes to myself on a Friday. All the staff on the Friday night club write down what has happened, who's taken part, and they send it to me on a Monday and I read through them and I'll say to [the co-ordinator and the other development officer]. What we say to the kids is, we're the tools to make things happen for you. Now, we're only here to listen to you, to give you guidance. So I feel that's our role ... that the kids need to be with people that come up with what they want to do.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

As an example of such development, the plan of starting up a football league on Sundays was being discussed at the time of fieldwork:

*[The other development officer]'s doing the football league now because the boys that attended on Friday night wanted to start playing football against each other. I said to [him], the kids have indicated they would really like to start playing against each other and he put that programme where they come now in a bus and take 7 of the kids away and they all play in a tournament and then they come back. So that's the linkage. They come for the football and they play in their own area, they come to the Friday night club, you can talk to them more. 'Do you like the football?' 'Uh huh,' 'it's good, you're developing your skills,' 'but what can I do with my skills? We've got a really, really good team,' and I'll say ... 'Bridgeton's got a really good team as well ... so has Dalmarnock.' So the kids will say ... 'Why can't we all play against each other?' So if they speak to me, I say to [the other development officer], he says to [the co-ordinator], and we get it to happen.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

As discussed earlier in this chapter, this was also how Urban Fox catered for the needs of female participants, organising the dance event and the trip to see a musical, and so on. Through this 'ownership', young people could have more autonomy in making decision for themselves, and be positive about what they could do:

*So in the Friday night clubs, we use that as the area where we try and get the kids to think about what they want to do. They don't just come in here and sit and say, 'What are you gonna do for me?' ... 'cos the answer's nothing. You know, like you're 14 and 15 years of age, take a chance, try and think what you would like to do or what you would like to try out and we'll try and get it to happen. If you like it, you like it. If you don't, you don't. But at least try and use this time to try things out, to see if it's what you like.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

Thus, through the 'ownership' of the project, young people could have more freedom in terms of what to do, and thus improve their leisure capabilities. This was the key to developing programmes that was of real interest to the young people so that they would be 'hooked' more continuously, even after they had lost interest in the activity that had initially 'hooked' them into the project. 'Ownership' and 'evolution' go hand in hand in

such a way that a project keeps offering the right kinds of activities that keep attracting young people.

#### **9.3.4 Summary**

This section has discussed how a sport-related regeneration project can enlarge its capacity to 'hook' a range of young people continuously. The essential condition to 'hook' different kinds of young people into the project is to have a wide range of activities so as to cover different interests. Activities that are either very popular (e.g. football for boys, dancing for girls) or not easily available but exciting (e.g. go-karting, outdoor pursuits) are useful in getting initial attention from a large number of young people. The occasional use of such activities is also useful in maintaining participants' commitment to the project. However, they are likely to be one-off, and thus the benefit of continuous 'signposting' is unlikely to accrue. This drawback can be offset with 'feeding' participants into other more regular activities within the project. Similarly, a project can 'channel' participants into other projects so that the capacity of 'hooking' increases for the community as a whole while using community resources efficiently. However, there can be conflict of interests between projects, so that 'poaching' between projects can happen in pursuit of getting numbers. Thus, it is more effective to have different programmes with different purposes within a project. To have a range of different programmes that effectively attract young people, a project should allow 'ownership' by the participants, so that new programmes are of real interest to them. By repeating this process, a project may 'evolve' to have the versatility to serve different types of young people in terms of the three dimensions discussed above. 'Evolution' is also a key to keep young people interested in the project, so that their involvement becomes continuous enough for 'signposting' to be effective. Obviously, though, a necessary condition for 'evolution' to happen is the sustainability of the project, which is discussed next.

## 9.4 Strategies for sustainability

### 9.4.1 Marketing and publicity

While ‘ownership’ and ‘evolution’ were the secrets of continuously attracting a substantial number of participants, ‘marketing and publicity’ were the keys to the financial sustainability of Urban Fox. It had used many marketing items including slogans, a logo, apparel and stationery with the logo printed on, and a mascot. Many other community organisations (e.g. RAPA, Shoot for Success) had similar items for marketing and publicity, but Urban Fox appeared to have used them in a very noticeable manner.

They used a fox as the character. Along with the slogan, ‘Redcard the gang’, it symbolised the main aim of the project: to break down territorial boundaries. The reason why a fox was chosen as the character was that foxes, though territorial in nature, travelled beyond their territories. Then, the logo was used in many ways to publicise the project. The mascot of Urban Fox was claimed to have been also very beneficial in attracting attention of young people, their parents and other organisations. As an example of how the character helped the project develop, the co-ordinator explained how T-shirts with the logo had attracted attention from other organisations and led to a campaign called ‘Gonnae No Break That’, from which the project benefited both financially and in terms of publicity. It was a campaign against vandalism, which involved various organisations such as Strathclyde Police, BT, First Bus, among others, using the logo of Urban Fox with the slogan of ‘Gonnae No Break That’, and the project received 4,000 pounds in return. But this only happened because the logo caught a police officer’s eye by chance:

*‘Gonnae no break that’ campaign, over three years ago, that happened in London Road community safety forum. [...] If anybody has seen sort of a damaging or vandalising within the community, there was a contact number on that publicity. And it was another chance meeting that this all came about. There was an inspector, who ended up joining the steering group of the Urban Fox programme. [...] We held a festival on that weekend, so he’d volunteered [as a] police officer, you know, offering services for us to steward on that weekend. [That’s when the] T-shirts were made. And he took the T-shirts away straight to that meeting, to the London Road community safety forum. [...] He put that T-shirts down. Then, the logo. With that*

*logo, with that size, very full colour, and that was facing up that way. And there was other inspectors of the police and heads of departments and stuff like that. The logo was really good, but assumption nothing. And at that point, another inspector seeing the logo on the T-shirts, said, 'What's that?' That's how they found out about the Urban Fox programme. [...] 'See we can maybe use the character.' And I went along down and talked. I explained that corporate belonged to the voluntary management committee, blah blah blah. And we conditioned, if they were using this... we conditioned, and they accepted that. 'We had money for the youth diversion.' 'The money you've got within that budget, we would like it to develop the Urban Fox programme to another stage.' They then paid us 4,000 pounds for one year. Only for one year. We got 4,000 pounds for free publicity through First Bus. There were big banners, there was the Urban Fox on it, across the buses, [...] and telephone kiosks with an Urban Fox on them. There were 15,000 handbills with logos on them, through everybody's doors and ... so it was beneficial, you know. That was just another chance meeting.*

(Urban Fox, co-ordinator, male)

While the character had been primarily used to attract young people's attention, the co-ordinator of Urban Fox stressed that it was instrumental in attracting the attention from adults, including the parents of young people, and other organisations. As a consequence, they formed new partnerships with these organisations, which was beneficial to the further development of the programme.

#### **9.4.2 Strength of volunteer organisation**

The financial sustainability of Urban Fox seemed to be also founded on the fact that it was a volunteer organisation (a registered charity). It was suggested that volunteer organisations had relative advantages in comparison with projects run by the city council or the police. The relative strength of a volunteer organisation suggested is three-fold. First, a volunteer organisation has the flexibility of being free to access any funding sources, which increases the chance to win funding. In fact, Urban Fox had been funded by a variety of sources in the past, although the main source had been the East End Social Inclusion Partnership (EESIP).

Second, the fact that the organisation is run on a voluntary capacity means that it can demonstrate what they can do before actually applying for funding:

*The best I can do is to show something work before yet applying for funding for it. And we've been quite successful in doing that. Because the project itself, the Urban Fox Programme itself is built on a voluntary capacity, not paid staff. I put three years of voluntary until building up to the Urban Fox Programme. Debbie put two years as a voluntary and built on it, and so did other people.*

(Urban Fox, Co-ordinator, male)

Thus, the policy of Urban Fox was, 'show that it works first, and then the money will come'. As a development officer also believed:

*It might sound stupid because folk keep thinking you have to have money for things to work. But we've proved this project works and money has got paid because you believe in the commitment to making a difference in [these neighbourhoods]. The money comes after it, because people see it succeeding.*

(Urban Fox, development officer, female)

Thus, Urban Fox usually ran a pilot programme when they had a plan to develop a new service. And it was only possible because of the commitment and dedication of the staff members who would be happy to do unpaid work.

Third, a volunteer organisation, in the same way as funding application, can do marketing and publicising more freely than a city council or the police. For example, the logo and other marketing items of Urban Fox all belonged to the organisation, so that it was up to them how to use them. Moreover, Urban Fox even sold the service to other organisation:

*There's now 12 [areas where the Urban Fox provides services], because 3 areas started buying the servicing promise. So that went from 9 to 12. These areas are outwith the SIP areas, which means the other areas have started to buy a servicing promise, which is other part of growth of the project.*

(Urban Fox, Co-ordinator, male)

The project co-ordinator even had an aim to make the project self-sustainable:

*It's really good for us, because they see it as a good practice. There's a business plan and a marketing plan being done for the organisation. [We're looking at] a product that can be sold and use this good practice within communities. Britain wide, not just Glasgow, all over Britain, which means we set up a package where we sell it to a council for them to get delivered within other communities. That would be an ideal situation, because that means we are self-supported there, yeah? We wouldn't need to depend on people to fund us to continue. But that may be another couple of years away.*

(Urban Fox, Co-ordinator, male)

Of course, it would be an enormous challenge for a project that had originally started to serve a community to become a nation-wide 'brand', but this co-ordinator's vision shows the unlimited possibility of a volunteer organisation owing to its independence.

To sum up, sport-related regeneration projects 'owned' by volunteer organisations have relative advantage as opposed to council- or police-led projects, in terms of the flexibility in financing them. With a sensible use of this strength, it may be even possible for a project to become self-sustainable.

#### **9.4.3 Commitment, leadership and social capital**

As already noted above, the foundation of a volunteer organisation is the commitment of staff members. Local ownership of a project is discussed by Coalter *et al.* (2000) in relation to volunteering, and they point out that 'bottom-up' approaches by community-based organisation are preferred to 'top-down' recruitment by council-led projects (see Chapter 3). Urban Fox certainly qualified as a successful example of the former. Urban Fox was keen on recruiting local people, and the most of the staff members either lived, used to lived, or had worked in the East End for a substantially long period. Their high levels of commitment to the cause of the project were evident.

By contrast, Shoot for Success, a police-led project, though run by a local basketball club, seemed to show the gap between the levels, as well as the *kinds*, of commitment shown by the police officer co-ordinating it and the coaches. While the police officer was clear to use basketball instrumentally for the purpose of diversion and community safety, the primary focus of the coaches was upon the development of basketball.

This division was probably inevitable to some extent; sport development is the *raison d'être* of sports coaches. The similar motivation of sport development was observable in the football coaches of Urban Fox; however, as a project, it seemed to be well co-ordinated in the way that even the commitment of the coaches on sport development worked consistently with the cause.

The difference between the two projects was evidently in their organisational bases. Urban Fox had, among its 20+ staff members, three core, full-time workers, who concentrated on development and co-ordinating roles, whereas Shoot for Success had no full-time staff, but two co-ordinators with other full-time commitments and three sessional coaches. For Urban Fox, the leadership of the project co-ordinator seemed particularly instrumental in achieving its strong organisational base.

The recruitment of staff members of Urban Fox seemed dependent to a great extent on the social network of the project co-ordinator, who seemed to have extensive contacts. The network had been probably in part formed through his effort and ability to link with other organisations, in which marketing and publicising also played a part, as discussed above. But there was little doubt that he had used family and friendship networks in recruiting many of the staff members. In fact, this also applied to recruiting participants as well. It was often the case that children of staff members were the participants of project as well. Despite the possible setback for the project to be biased in favour of the people within the reach of his and staff members' immediate social network (of which a certain conclusion cannot be drawn), it was also possible that for a worker to have someone personally attached to him/her as a participant could help him/her to have a higher level of commitment.

Nevertheless, the organisational capacity of Urban Fox was also limited within the capacity of the core staff. Although the co-ordinator's vision to further expand the project was very clear, at the time of fieldwork, the development of the project seemed to have slowed down due to the shortage of manpower. For example, although the Healthy Fox Cubs was listed as one of their four regular core programmes, its operation was suspended at the time of fieldwork, and a development officer admitted that it was because the workload on the core staff was too heavy.

#### **9.4.4 Summary**

This section has discussed how a sport-related regeneration project can achieve sustainability, which is the key to its successful operation in terms of both 'hooking' and 'signposting'. 'Short-term-ism' of funding is said to be one of the common setbacks that cause unproductiveness of many sport-related projects in pursuit of the intended outcomes (Coalter *et al.*, 2000). In this respect, Urban Fox exhibited an exceptionally successful example of securing funding for over five years, while even expanding the range of services, as well as the geographic coverage.

Behind the success, there seemed to be the successful effort of marketing and publicity, which was only possible because it was a volunteer organisation independent from the city council or the police so that it had the freedom in doing these activities. The strength of a volunteer organisation is not only in the freedom in marketing and publicity, but also in its flexibility to access any funding sources. It can also show what works before applying for funding by running a pilot on voluntary capacity. Such capacity for volunteer work, of course, depends on the commitment from the staff members. The key to draw high levels of commitment is to recruit local people with a 'bottom-up' approach, exploiting local social networks. The successful recruitment and effective deployment of the staff is dependent on the leadership and the personal social network of the project leader.

## **9.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has considered the ability for sport-related regeneration projects to 'hook' young people. Although it is often those at risk of 'disorder' from the 'diversion' point of

view, the target of a sport-related project may vary in terms of what element of capability deprivation is to be tackled. The chapter, therefore, explored the nature of the participants who were 'hooked' into the case-study projects in terms of gender, age and the level of 'youth disorder'. It has been suggested girls can feel relatively deprived of leisure capability when a project is based on masculine sports such as football, but they can be as interested and excited when activities are not as strongly labelled as masculine. Meanwhile, while the core target of most projects is age 12 to 15, the recent trend shows that the target age is getting younger partly because it is thought difficult to attract older age groups, who are likely to have been already affected by 'disorder'. Indeed, many projects seemed struggling to capture older, more delinquent young people, Urban Fox being a rare exception.

The relative success of Urban Fox in attracting more difficult-to-reach young people could be attributed to their strategic use of different activities in different parts of projects. In particular, a 'feeder system' or 'channelling' was identified as the mechanism that maximised the capacity to 'hook'. This could be understood as a variation of 'signposting'. Although 'channelling' could work both inter- and intra-project, 'poaching' can also happen between projects. It has been suggested, therefore, that the improved capabilities of young people in terms of leisure might not contribute to the capacity for a community as a whole to 'hook' young people; it may get saturated at one point. However, sensible development of project, emphasising the 'ownership' by young people so as to keep the project 'evolving', could make 'channelling' more effective. To sustain this system, the organisational aspect of the project is of fundamental importance. Volunteer organisations, founded upon the well-committed staff members and social capital, have relative strength in terms of financial sustainability.

# Chapter 10 Conclusions

## 10.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis summing up its main findings, reflecting on the research methods, and suggesting possible further research. The thesis has explored the ways in which sport can help regenerate a deprived urban neighbourhood. The focus of the research has been on the process of regeneration and the roles of sport within it, rather than the causality between sport participation and regeneration of an area. Thus, it was intended to theorise such a process in the case of sport-related projects aimed to tackle youth-related issues in deprived neighbourhoods. The case study was undertaken in the East End of Glasgow and provided the empirical basis to achieve this goal. A grounded theory approach was employed for the purpose of building a theory transferable to a wider context.

In many respects, the thesis shares many of its findings with key parallel studies in the field, most notably, Nichols's (2007) work on sport and crime reduction and the commissioned evaluative research of Positive Futures (Crabbe, 2005; 2006a, b; Crabbe *et al.*, 2006). These references only became available after the completion of the fieldwork. The latter in particular has striking similarities, as with its orientation towards the exploration of the dynamic process of effective project management. These studies, *inter alia*, are referred to recurrently in this chapter so as to locate the findings of this research within a wider context and examine their external validity, or transferability.

The next section highlights the main contributions and research findings of the thesis in relation to the research questions set out in Chapter 1. Then, this is followed by a section reflecting on the research methodology and its implementation. Next, the possible

directions for the development of future research are discussed. Finally, the final remarks of the thesis are given.

## **10.2 Main contributions and findings**

The contribution of this thesis has been both conceptual and empirical. Conceptually, it has carved out the limitations of the previous studies in the field of sport and regeneration, hypothesising the possible processes by which sport projects may lead to regenerating a deprived neighbourhood (Chapter 3). Moreover, the thesis has made a theoretical advancement with regard to sport and social exclusion/inclusion, by introducing the concept of ‘capabilities’. The proposed conceptual framework potentially helps the future research in the area to be more constructive, overcoming the unproductive logical loop between the social inclusion *in* sport and *through* sport discourses (Chapter 5).

Empirically, the thesis added to the knowledge both in terms of young people’s social exclusion in deprived neighbourhoods, and the roles of sport in tackling it. In particular, in relation to the first, it has provided a detailed account as to how territoriality could work as a limiting factor to the lives of young people in their journey to become independent adults. This was such a significant achievement that led to the development of two further separate research projects (Suzuki and Kintrea, 2007; Kintrea *et al.*, forthcoming), especially in the wake of the increasing media coverage on the incidence of serious violence by ‘youth gangs’ in many British cities.

At the same time, the role of sport-related regeneration projects in attempting to break down the vicious circles of deprivation has been also explored in detail. Embarking with the four hypotheses regarding the possible processes that are said to be enhanced by the use of sport (Chapter 3), the research has resulted in a more detailed, coherent formulation of such processes, grounded in the in-depth qualitative data. Through the comparisons between different types of project, it has shed light on what *an* effective way of managing a sport-related regeneration project might look like (Chapters 8 and 9). This has laid out an interesting base for future research into youth-, sport-, and leisure- related regeneration programmes.

Nonetheless, the research has not provided answers to all the working research questions deduced from the four hypotheses (Section 6.3). In particular, the questions under the ‘personal development’ and ‘diversion’ hypotheses were not answered as much as the ‘social interaction/social network’ and the ‘salience of sport’ hypotheses. This was mainly due to the fact that the first two included more questions with regard to the outcomes accrued to the wider communities outside the projects. That said, the research still could have been done differently to explore some of the working research questions with more depth and breadth. These are discussed in Section 10.3. Before that, the answers to the main research questions set out in Chapter 1 are provided in this section.

### **10.2.1 Redefining the goal of regeneration: a capability perspective**

This section conceptually answers the first research questions: what is the goal of a sport-related regeneration project targeted at young people? Having adopted a conceptual framework built on the capability approach (Sen, 1992), it has conceptualised the criteria for the achievement of a sport-related regeneration project to be assessed against.

From the capability perspective, a person’s well-being is assessed in terms of ‘capabilities’ (i.e. ability to achieve functionings – beings and doings – important to one’s life), as opposed to other measures such as utility, primary goods, resources and real income (Sen, 1992). Capabilities represent the substantive freedom to choose a life from another. Thus, poverty is conceptualised as the deprivation of freedom (Sen, 1999). Hence, this thesis defines the goal of neighbourhood regeneration as to improve the capabilities of those who live there.

The advantages of this definition are both analytical and normative, which are of particular value to researching sport and neighbourhood regeneration. Explicitly founded on a robust normative theory, the notion of capability has a greater degree of precision than social exclusion as an analytical concept. Both concepts could similarly overarch the different dimensions of neighbourhood regeneration (e.g. employment, education, health, crime); however, the latter has no agreed rigid definition, while it disguises the different political ideologies behind it, which renders the use of the term arbitrary (Levitas, 1998; see Chapter

5). The particular value of these advantages to researching into the roles of sport in neighbourhood regeneration is first pointed out by Suzuki (2005) in relation to the 'sport and social inclusion' literature. The thesis has consolidated the argument theoretically and empirically. This section summarises the theoretical side.

One serious problem of the previous studies into the social benefits of sport participation to deprived neighbourhoods is the inconsistency of the results (see Chapter 3). Many have attempted to capture the impact made by increased participation on intended outcomes separately, but failed to accumulate conclusive positive evidence. Yet nor has enough evidence been established to refute the claims about the benefits. The recent introduction of the notion of social exclusion/inclusion added to this unproductiveness in two ways.

First, it has provided an opportunity of justification for the so-called 'normative citizenship paradigm' implicitly prevalent within the literature to claim that promoting inclusion in sport equates social inclusion (Coalter, 1998, 2000), which could logically compensate the lack of evidence about the extrinsic benefits of sport. This has resulted in a deadlock of logic shuttling between the 'social inclusion in sport' and the 'social inclusion through sport' discourses, so as to make the claim above irrefutable.

Second, the notion of social exclusion/inclusion embraces such a broad range of dimensions that empirical studies to measure the impact of sport on them either cover them superficially or look at only a small part. Thus, approaches oriented towards impact assessment can struggle to be both comprehensive and in-depth at the same time.

These problems have been approached from the capability perspective. First, it has been argued that 'social inclusion *in* sport' and 'social inclusion *through* sport' should be conceptualised separately. In so doing, the capability perspective has shed light on the question as to whether or not sport is of any relevance to the well-being of a person. In a capability approach, a person's well-being is assessed in terms of the capabilities to achieve functionings that are regarded to be important in society (Sen, 1992). Thus, assessment of well-being is ultimately founded on the value judgement as to what is important to life. The question here, therefore, is whether or not 'participating in sport' is such an important functioning that it should be included as an element of well-being.

If sport participation is agreed in society to be of intrinsic importance to a person's life, that is, if it is considered important in itself without referring to its consequential benefits, the answer to the question is yes. If this stands, sport participation is of *constitutive* relevance to a person's well-being. While this may be ultimately subject to a public debate, the thesis has taken the position that sport is only a secondary element; it adds to the overall well-being only through its contribution as one of the elements of the vector representing the person's leisure capability, which *is* one of the constitutive elements of the overall well-being. This is because, despite the apparent popularity of sport among young people, a young person who willingly opts for another activity cannot be considered more 'deprived' only on the basis of his/her non-participation in sport. Less popular non-leisure activity, therefore, may be given the same weight in terms of its impact on a person's well-being. In addition, a popular sport might be relatively well provided so that those who prefer it are better-off than those who like unpopular leisure. Thus, promoting inclusion in a dominant sport, such as football in the East End, might cause a sense of relative deprivation for those who are not interested in it, which were expressed by some of the female participants of Urban Fox (Chapter 9).

Of course, it can still be debatable whether leisure should be so highly regarded to be of intrinsic importance to a person's life. But the normative position of the thesis is that if a person does not have the freedom to choose to spend her/his leisure time it would be a serious deprivation (and this is particularly true for young people, whose identities strongly attached to leisure, see Chapter 4), whereas whether to choose sports or any other activities for the leisure time would not make a big difference to the well-being (it is probably still an important deprivation if a person has no option but sport for their leisure). This view is consistent with the normative standpoint of the capability perspective that sees poverty as deprivation of freedom.

Nevertheless, the relevance of sport to a person's well-being may not only be constitutive, but also *instrumental*: participating in sport may have effects on other important capabilities that constitute the person's well-being. This is the claim that is made in relation to the contribution of sport participation to neighbourhood regeneration. This may be true whether or not 'participating in sport' *per se* is regarded as intrinsically important, although the

evidence for such claim, as long as the direct benefits from sport participation is concerned, has been lacking except for the health benefits associated with regular physical activity (Chapter 3, also see Department of Health, 2004). It is argued here that the assessment of such effects can – and *should* – be independent of the intrinsic importance of sport.

As for the instrumental relevance of sport to regeneration, a more essential implication of the capability perspective was drawn in relation to the second source of the unproductiveness. The capability perspective values substantive freedom: the real availability of alternative ways of life. This implies that the more alternative routes a person has to achieve a certain functioning, the richer the person's life is. This poses a question about the meaningfulness of the kind of research aimed to establish the causality between increased sport participation and improved outcomes with regard to urban regeneration. It is indeed easy to see that many of the claims about the benefits of sport participation can be also claimed about other things. People who don't play a lot of sport may easily be better than those who do in terms of social skills, for example. Sport's instrumental relevance to a person's capabilities, therefore, lies in its potential contribution to adding to the ways that are available to improve capabilities, but not in its relative advantages over other alternatives. The former is what a sport-related regeneration project should be aimed at achieving.

Hence, the focus of research is better placed on the process towards such a goal rather than impact assessment. This change of focus, coupled with the analytical insights provided by the capability perspective, has proven empirically productive as demonstrated by the main findings from the fieldwork, which are now discussed.

### **10.2.2 Tackling territoriality to break down vicious circles: the contextual goal**

This section provides a contextual answer to the first question. The thesis has brought to the surface the importance of territoriality as a key feature of young people's capability deprivation both now and in future. The capability framework was applied to the situation in the East End of Glasgow, so as to define the nature of deprivation that the young people there were faced with, which, therefore, the case-study projects were aimed to tackle. Consequently, the goal of regeneration was contextually defined as to break down the dual

vicious circles of capability deprivation, in which territoriality functioned as a limiting factor in respect both of leisure capability and of poor youth transitions (Figure 7.1). The case-study projects operated in the East End of Glasgow were intended to tackle the vicious circles in one way or another, and they neatly fitted the purpose of exploring the four hypotheses as to how sport might help regenerate a deprived neighbourhood (Chapter 3). Territoriality itself is not unique as an issue to be tackled by sport-related projects, as Crabbe (2005, 2006a) also identified in several localities through the case studies of Positive Future projects, although it is not explored at the same level of depth in relation to the mechanism of social exclusion.

This finding that territoriality is a key aspect of capability deprivation is also important for two other reasons. First, it has shed further light on the relevance of leisure in defining young people's horizons, and in a rather more intriguing way than some previous studies which have looked at statistical association between 'constructive leisure' and positive transition outcomes (see Chapter 4).

Where leisure deprivation prevails, an activity like 'gang fighting', which might be a sign of deviance in outsiders' eyes, can provide rare occasions of excitement for rather 'ordinary' young people, both boys and girls. This results in the geographical confinement of not only those who are frequently involved in 'gang fighting' but also those who are not; territoriality is part of the environment within which any young person in the case-study area must live. Consequently, the large majority may well be disadvantaged in terms of youth transitions. Thus, to better understand the extent of its effects of average young people is of considerable importance to tackling the problem.

The relevance of 'leisure careers' to young people's transition into adulthood is also pointed out by Macdonald and his colleagues (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005; MacDonald and Shildrick, 2004), who argued that 'leisure careers' determine to a significant extent the nature of a young person's social network, which provides resources for him or her to exploit in the process of transition to adulthood (Section 4.5). The vicious circles found in this research can be understood as another empirical contribution in this vein. It would be of considerable value, therefore, for research into the benefits of sport to investigate to what extent the social networks formed through participation in sport (as a form of leisure)

provides such resources, rather than just to measure the effects on ‘transferable’ personal and social skills.

Second, the thesis was instrumental in setting the agenda for further research on territoriality among young people in Scotland (Suzuki and Kintrea, 2007) and across the UK (Kintrea *et al.*, forthcoming). Despite the specific context of the case-study area of this thesis (in particular, Glasgow’s reputation as a ‘Gangland’ as well as abundant media coverage; see Section 7.3), these further studies have confirmed that conflicts between territorial youth gangs can be observed in many other areas similarly suffering deprivation elsewhere in the UK. The Scottish study, however, has found that territoriality is more pervasive and its limiting effect on youth transitions more evident in Glasgow than Edinburgh (Suzuki and Kintrea, 2007). Meanwhile, the UK study has so far suggested that there are local variations of territoriality in terms of the intensity of violence, the connection to organised crime, and the relevance of ethnic/racial division, among others (Kintrea *et al.*, forthcoming). Although much is still to be explored, the further research in this direction could potentially draw important implications to tackling young people’s social exclusion.

### **10.2.3 Towards a model of sport-related regeneration project targeted at young people**

#### *10.2.3.1 Hooking and signposting – a process for young people to improve capabilities*

The three subsections starting from this answer the second to fourth research questions. This one corresponds to the second: through what process does young people’s participation in a sport-related regeneration project lead to the goal? The thesis has found that the process for a sport-related project to improve the capabilities of young people can be formulated as ‘hooking’ and ‘signposting’ (Chapter 8 and 9). ‘Hooking’ signifies the initial step of a sport-related project. Whatever the objective, a project must first attract the attention of potential participants so that they become involved in the project. Then, the participants are ‘signposted’ to the destinations where the project wants to guide them. ‘Signposting’ represents the various mechanisms with which young people are given the information with regard to the choices that they can make.

Sport-related regeneration projects vary in terms of the abilities to 'hook' and 'signpost'. In terms of 'hooking', a project has to have the right activity to appeal the right target in a substantial number; any addition of sport/leisure provision in theory adds to leisure capability, but in practice a project that fails to attract substantial audience would be unable to sustain itself, as was illustrated by the struggle of Shoot for Success (Section 9.2.3.3). How effective sports can be as a 'hook', is a question strongly relevant to the 'salience of sport' hypothesis (Coalter *et al.*, 2000), and has been also pursued by Nichols (2007) and Crabbe (2005; Crabbe *et al.*, 2006).

While it is apparent that different activities would have different attraction to different groups, the thesis has found that two properties of activity are important to the ability to mobilise a large number of participants continuously: popularity and rarity. The importance of the first property is obvious. Certain activities could be so popular, or salient, among young people (e.g. football for boys, dancing for girls), that they would always promise a certain number of participants, in comparison with less popular ones. Even these activities, however, could lose the appeal over time, if they are routinely provided in the same setting. Thus, the second property, rarity, is important for two reasons. First, activities or events that are normally inaccessible and so provide greater excitement can mobilise a larger audience, potentially including those more 'disordered', who would not be interested in more conventional settings such as youth clubs. Second, despite the obvious shortcoming that it is costly to run such events frequently, the occasional use of them can be combined with regular activities so that the participants keep attracted to the project. These form the prerequisite to make 'signposting' effective: many more of the more 'excluded' are engaged with continuously. Since it depends on the context what is popular and what is rare, projects could use a different mix of activities that suit the context.

Similarly, Nichols (2007) argues that sport can play an important role in crime reduction programmes as a hook, both initially and in longer terms, so that young people could keep being diverted from crime, while enjoying the benefits of pro-social development that could accrue from project participation. At the same time, he also considers that different activities, including non-sporting ones, can appeal different audience, while some may

deter participation of a certain group. Thus, the above findings add to the knowledge as to how different activities could be used for different types of ‘hooking’, initial or long term.

Crabbe (2005) has also found that the Positive Futures 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’ (p. 5). This trend was observable in the projects in the East End of Glasgow, among which Urban Fox was the one that effectively used different types of activities for different purposes (Chapter 9). It was not only to appeal different types of young people, but also the mixture of more conventional, but popular, activities and more unconventional, rare ones was the part of strategies to continuously and expansively attracting participants (Section 9.3.3; see also Section 10.2.3), while also enabling to accommodate different ways of ‘signposting’ (see below).

Gender difference in terms of ‘hooking’ has been a major concern in this area of research as the masculinity attached to sport in general is often considered deterring female participants. Both Nichols (2007) and Crabbe (2005, 2006a) consider the use of a wide range of activities desirable in order to attract female as well. The observation in both Shoot for Success and Urban Fox indicated that females could be as interested in and excited with more unconventional sports (e.g. basketball and go-karting), in which some of them could ‘outplay’ their male counterparts and gain self-confidence.

Meanwhile, ‘signposting’ can happen in many ways, so as to direct the participants towards a range of benefits. The observation has suggested that the case-study projects were able to address *not* all the alleged benefits of sport with regard to the ‘personal development’, ‘diversion’ and ‘social interaction /social networks’ hypotheses.

The simplest form of ‘signposting’ is simple diversion (Section 8.2). Just ‘hooking’ young people would ‘signpost’ them to a ‘trouble-free’ life. This may sound strange, but considering that ‘signposting’ here means to provide information which helps young people make choices, just providing an activity on which they make a decision to opt in or out is already a variation of it. A project, however, would need more devices to go beyond this. As Crabbe (2006a) contends, diversionary work could be used as a ‘taster’, which is then linked to developmental work. This thesis argues that even in the diversionary activities,

there could be opportunities for development, although the developmental effect would be much larger with additional developmental work. This is illustrated below as different types of 'signposting'.

The types of signposting observed in the case-study projects can be categorised in terms of the contents and the media. The common contents intended to be delivered include: personal and social skills (e.g. discipline); health (including drugs and alcohol issues); conflict resolution (via teambuilding); and career development (sporting careers and in general) (Sections 8.3 and 8.4). The media that were used to deliver messages about these contents included: sport activity sessions, formal educational sessions, and informal communication with the staff (Section 8.3). It was clear that just playing sport was insufficient in providing 'signposts' effectively.

First, sport activity sessions could deliver messages with regard to the values directly attached to sport such as discipline, health and teambuilding. Even among these domains, however, the level of organisation and discipline may be more relevant than playing sport itself. In this respect, other activity could have the same effect as long as it is provided with the same level of organisation and discipline. Of the three domains, discipline was most frequently addressed, followed by teambuilding. Despite the widespread perception linking sport participation to better health, it was not explicitly addressed as frequently as the other two. This highlights the importance of the other two media.

It is a common approach to supplement sport activity session with formal educational sessions by specialists in health, community safety and so on. There has been an indication, however, that such sessions may not be as effective as informal talks with staff members, who can address personal issues of each young person when needed. A youth-club type of setting could be useful in this respect, as it would allow more time for participants and staff to communicate informally.

Crabbe (2005) similarly has found that health and substance misuse education could happen both formally and informally in sessional activities of the Positive Future projects, but they varied in terms of how well these issues were addressed. He recommends the flexible use of

the both styles, while avoiding ‘mainstream educational styles that have proven alienating’ (p.10).

Career development could be effectively addressed using all three media. If a young person is ‘hooked’ into the sport itself through participation in the sessions provided by a project, he or she can be signposted informally via the personal contacts of sport coaches to further opportunities in the sport. This makes more permanent the effect of signposting directly gained in sport activity sessions. In the mean time, the most successful ones would go on to become sport professionals. In so doing, some of them can be signposted to formal training and examinations to acquire coaching qualifications. This may conform to the model of the long-term personal development enhanced by a programme, considered desirable by Nichols (2004, 2007).

Again, these processes could potentially happen in any sport or leisure activity. But in reality, two factors can be critical. First, the more accessible the activity is (i.e. many more opportunities with low cost), the easier it would be for a young person to continue it without the help of a sport-related project. As Taylor *et al.* (1999) consider, the local availability would be a key to a sustainable ‘exit route’. Second, the more the activity is developed, the bigger the market would be for young people to make their careers within it (Section 8.4.1.4). In this respect, popular activities such as football and dancing might be more promising, although in the case of Urban Fox the effect of this type of signposting was still limited in scale for football.

Meanwhile, those who are not as successful as a sports person could also develop themselves as project workers more generally with the same kind of support provided by the project. Urban Fox used a few ‘apprentices’, who had previously been participants, and provided necessary training for them. Crabbe (2006a) also argues that one of the common achievements by the Positive Futures projects was the creation of alternative pathways for career development through helping participants move up the hierarchy from participants to volunteers, and to employees within a project. In this progressive process, he argues that young people need to be:

- formally recognised for their contribution, through accreditation and awards

- informally recognised through having the same status as staff
- supported through a volunteering action plan and supervision (p. 64)

Urban Fox certainly enhanced a similar process, though limited in numbers (Section 8.4.2).

The discussion thus far has made it evident that a project could be more effective in terms of both ‘hooking’ and ‘signposting’, when it consists of a combination of various activities and programmes. The same effect might be achieved, when two or more projects link up with each other. Consequently, participants of an activity could be fed into other parts of a project and/or other projects, which function to provide different types of signpost in terms of the contents and the media. This ‘feeder system’ is also a variation of ‘signposting’.

This model of ‘hooking’ and ‘signposting’ is quite similar to Crabbe’s (2006a, pp. 38-39) three-step model of engagement mobilised by effective projects within Positive Futures. In fact, he uses the same terms in explaining each step. Step one is the ‘initial engagement and relationship building phase’, in which an activity (sport or non-sport) is used as a ‘hook’. Step 2 is the ‘maintaining engagement/development phase’, in which young people’s needs and interests are distinguished and they are ‘signposted’ to ‘appropriate schemes of work’. Step 3 is the ‘purposeful and tailored engagement’ phase, in which young people are given ‘personal specific advice and signposted to specialist agencies’ so as to encourage positive behavioural change.

While this coincidental similarity of the findings as well as the use of the terms is striking, a notable difference is that this thesis expanded the application of the term ‘signposting’ to a more abstract level, so that it analogically represents generally the process for young people to be given guidance, with which they then make their own choices. Thus, it is implied that the intended outcomes would not accrue automatically from participation, but *via* the autonomous decisions that each individual makes in response to the ‘signposts’ he or she encounters. In short, it is agency that makes a difference.

This should not be misunderstood that each individual can get out of capability deprivation only with their own effort. To start with, no doubt the cause of social exclusion fundamentally lies more in the structure than the agency, as many thinkers have argued (e.g.

Byrne, 1999; Jordan, 1996; Macdonald and Marsh, 2004). Some do stress the role of agency in social exclusion (Atkinson, 1998), but it is on the side of those who do the excluding, not of those excluded. In this respect, a relatively large programme like Urban Fox is probably not large enough to make an impact on the macro structure of social exclusion (also see Section 10.2.4).

On a different note, though, the analogy of ‘signposting’ goes well with Sen’s concept of capabilities, which does represent the roles of both structure and agency. The capabilities of an individual – i.e. the extent of well-being potentially achievable, as well as the number of ways to achieve it – are determined by the social structure as well as the ability of the individual to operate within it. They represent the freedom, or power, of the individual to make choices within the structure. Simply there are only two ways to improve them: to change the structure, or to improve the ability of the agency. On one hand, improved capabilities may mean a change in structure so that the agency can operate itself better even with the same abilities. For example, institutionally setting up a quota for ethnic minorities for admission in higher education may open up more opportunities for the minorities who have previously been disadvantaged. On the other hand, an individual may also improve his or her own ability to operate him/herself better even within the same structure. For example, better educational training in the earlier stages would improve the probability for the individual to be admitted in a university without any change of its admission policy.

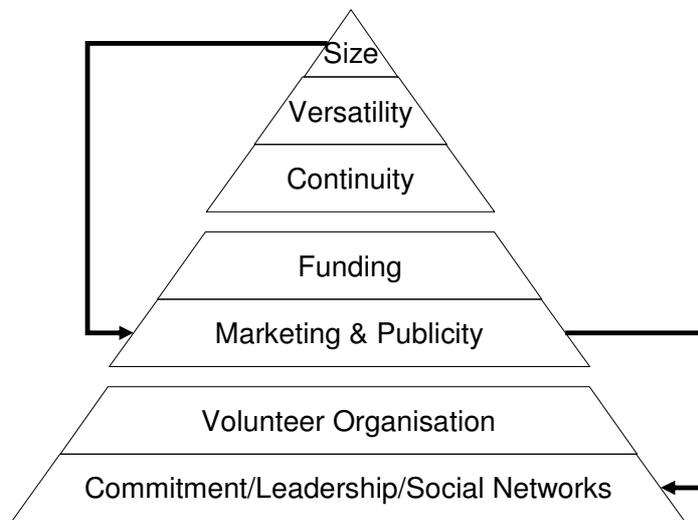
Through ‘hooking’ and ‘signposting’, a sport-related project may contribute in either way. A sport-related project that has a number of ‘signposting’ mechanisms in place would create an additional structure, though at a micro level, so that an individual who can access the project would gain an alternative route to well-being. However, the individual always has the final say as to whether he or she would follow the ‘signposts’. Yet, it is by following the ‘signposts’ that he or she actually improves his/her ability. The evidence was insufficient to make the full assessment as to how well a sport-related project in general could do this. This was particularly true in terms of the latter, as it would require the observation, if not measurement, of the ‘outcomes’, or in Crabbe’s (2006a) term, the ‘distance travelled’ (p. 53).

It could be said, though, that as far as the case-study projects were concerned, Urban Fox did very well in relative terms in adding to the structures of inclusion with a number of ‘signposting’ devices in place. Its relative success was clearly more owing to ‘people’ factors, rather than sporting. First, the management strategies were well considered, in particular, the way it developed different programmes within the project and linked them together so that various types of young people were hooked, and that sport coaching and informal education could be dealt with separately (Sections 8.3, 8.4 and 9.3). Second, the staff members showed the strong commitment to the project (Sections 9.4.3). By contrast, Shoot for Success made little impact, except for some improvement in the leisure deprivation of some females. It failed to attract a significant number of participants with a significant length of time, and had only poor, if any, ‘signposting’ mechanisms. It should be noted that it was in its early days, but its ineffectiveness could arguably be attributed to the shortage of manpower, and the mismatch of motivations between the staff (Section 9.4.3). These ‘people’ factors are further discussed in the next two subsections.

#### *10.2.3.2 Strategic pyramid – a snapshot of ‘successful’ project structure*

This subsection corresponds to the third research question: what does a project that successfully enhances such processes look like? The comparisons between Urban Fox and the other projects were somewhat suggestive of what elements might have made it distinctive from the others. These elements have been touched in various parts of Chapter 9 but are brought together here. Although it is presented in a form of ‘pyramid’ shown in Figure 10.1, the evidence may not have been robust enough to make any claim that this is a universally applicable structure of a ‘successful’ project. On the contrary, it should be considered as a hypothetical framework, which should be refined by looking at many other projects.

The pyramidal structure has been chosen, as it seems useful in explaining how different elements might be inter-related with each other within a project. Each tier of the pyramid is supported by the next tier beneath it. There are also positive interactions between the tiers next to each other. In addition, feedback mechanisms from top to bottom are represented by the two connecting arrows. Again, the discussion here highlights similar features with the Positive Futures projects deemed effective by Crabbe (2006a, b).



**Figure 10.1 The strategic pyramid of sport-related regeneration project**

The pyramid might be seen to consist of three parts. The top three tiers could be seen to represent the ‘visible’ features of a project. ‘Size’ stands for the number of attendance, as well as geographical coverage. As far as the East End of Glasgow at the time of the fieldwork is concerned, Urban Fox was clearly the most sizeable in terms of both, claiming to attract 500-600 young people per week and covering all the neighbourhoods in the East End SIP area as well as a few outside it (Table 6.2 and Appendix C).

Despite the common difficulties experienced by the case-study projects in attracting the more ‘disordered’ young people (Section 9.2.3), insofar as the observation of the various types of event within and outwith Urban Fox could tell, the larger the attendance was, the more ‘disordered’ ones seemed to be involved. The go-karting event and the Big Night Out were typical examples (Section 9.2.5). Of course, this does not rule out the possibility that small-scale programmes more narrowly focused on a specific ‘disordered’ group (e.g. ex-offenders, drug addicts, school pupils with low educational attainment) could be more effective in engaging strongly with the target, as with the case, for example, of the West Yorkshire Sports Counselling (Nichols and Taylor, 1996). However, these schemes tend to be more resource-intensive in terms of staff ratios and costs, as Collins demonstrates by

comparing a primary intervention, Street Sport, and a tertiary one, Hampshire Sports Counselling (Collins with Kay, 2003).

The second tier is versatility: the range of activities/programmes offered. To increase the number, as well as the range, of participants, it would be better for a project to provide a variety of activities. Again, the go-karting and the Big Night Out were made possible because of the versatility; they were designed as part of the Friday Night Clubs but the audience was recruited also from the participants of the Football Programmes (Section 9.3.1). The ability to offer different kinds of activity added to the attractiveness of Urban Fox as a project, as discussed in the last subsection. Hence, the size of a project could be dependent on its extent of versatility. At the same time, size might also play a role to obtain versatility. Urban Fox became so versatile, partly because of the involvement of participants in decision-making as to what activities should be provided (Section 9.3.3 and Appendix C). In this respect, a project capable of attracting a range of participants might have a better potential to acquire versatility.

The third tier is continuity. In the case of Urban Fox, the process of ‘ownership’ and ‘evolution’ were made possible, partly because the project lasted for a significant period. It is not clear how long it would take for any given project to achieve, if ever, the same level of versatility as Urban Fox, but the process of evolution would inevitably go beyond at least the initial funding period, since the project would need to increase its resources to expand itself. Meanwhile, versatility may also contribute to continuity, as it could prevent participants from getting bored so that they would continue to be attracted to the project. The benefit of versatility to continuous participation was suggestive in the way Urban Fox developed different parts of the projects over time and linked them well to ‘feed’ participants from one another (Section 9.3.1).

The two tiers in the middle represent the financial features of a project. Undoubtedly, the continuity of a project is directly dependent on its financial sustainability; funding must be secured beyond the initial period. In fact, considering that the expansion of the project is a factor to make it more sustainable, the funding should be even *increased* in the subsequent period. Among the case-study projects, all of which were publicly funded, though from various sources, but Urban Fox was the only one that had survived beyond the initial period,

*and* increased the resources significantly over time. The Eastbank Community Club was in the pilot phase, and was assured the funding to continue as it was after it. The East End Healthy Living Centre and Shoot for Success were in the initial period, while Street Football Glasgow had failed to secure any funding (see Appendix C).

It was of course impossible to foresee whether any of the other projects would succeed in securing and increasing their funding as did Urban Fox. Nevertheless, Urban Fox did seem to have some characteristics that made them distinctive in terms of the ability to secure funding. One was clearly their marketing and publicity activities, which were instrumental in drawing attention of potential funders (Section 9.4.1). The good reputation may also matter to successful applications. As represented by the connecting arrow on the left of the pyramid, the size of the project itself might also play a significant role in terms of publicity, since the larger the project is, the more noticeable it would be.

The two tiers at the bottom stand for the organisational features of a project. These seemed to be the characteristics behind the financial capability of Urban Fox as well. A project run by an independent, volunteer organisation could have flexibility in financing itself. It is not restricted to seek different funding sources, as well as to do free marketing and publicity activities, or ‘branding’ of the project, through logos, slogans and so on. Urban Fox seemed to have been making the most of these benefits of independence (Sections 9.4.1 and 9.4.2).

However, flexibility does not necessarily coincide with stability. Indeed, there might be a trade-off between them. It might well be the case that the facility-based projects such as the East End Healthy Living Centre and the Eastbank Community Club had more stability as they were directly funded by the Glasgow City Council. The staff of these projects would not need to put so much effort into funding application since the decision would be made at higher levels in the council. However, council-led projects, and police-led ones alike, would not have flexibility, as the purposes of the budget usage are decided beforehand. This means that there would be little room for ‘evolution’, which is a key to the continuity in attracting audience. They may be sustainable financially, but maybe not in terms of keeping the same young people for long enough for them to enjoy the benefits of ‘signposting’, and so might be less capable as ‘regeneration’ programmes.

Finally, the tier at the very bottom is commitment/leadership/social network. In other words, they represent the ‘people’ factors that would help maintain the voluntary organisation. Arguably, the strength of a voluntary organisation does not rest on the mere fact that it is voluntary, but the quality of the people who run it. The instability that might come with flexibility should be supplemented by these factors. The operation of Urban Fox seemed founded on the commitment by the staff, the leadership of the project leader, and the social networks to connect people to join force for the cause (Section 9.4.3). The experience of Urban Fox also suggested that social networks and people’s commitment could be reinforced over time, partly through marketing and publicity in a broad sense, as shown by the connecting arrow on the right. Especially, the gradual expansion of the project could draw people’s commitment little by little, so that its organisational base would enlarge gradually (Sections 9.3.3 and 9.4.1).

Thus, the pyramid overall signifies that while the successful operation of a sport-related regeneration project could be most easily judged by the visible features, it could be ultimately founded on the organisational base of the project. A project could increase the abilities of ‘hooking’ and ‘signposting’ through ‘ownership’ and ‘evolution’, but the capacity for expansion might be determined by the organisational capacity. It could be that, as with the case of Urban Fox, a small number of core members have already fully committed their time, and so have little room to further their commitment to keep up with the expansion (Section 9.4.3). Thus, as important as attracting young people would be to ‘hook’ as many committed adults as possible into the project. This may well have similar ‘signposting’ effects to these adults as well (e.g. career development within a project, Chapter 8, also see Long *et al.*, 2002; Crabbe, 2006a).

These findings contain a number of similarities with Crabbe (2005, 2006b)’s evaluative study of Positive Future, especially in terms of the sustainability of a project and the relative strength of a voluntary organisation. In terms of sustainability, he maintains:

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 organisations and draw down further funding (Crabbe, 2005, p. 10).

This may be interpreted as explaining the interaction between the tiers of the pyramid, including the feedback mechanisms from top to bottom. Becoming established as a project would mean that it becomes visibly successful (the top three tiers), which would draw the attention of, as well as the commitment by, other organisations, that is, being better networked within the local practice of regeneration, so as to strengthen its financial and organisational features (the middle two and the bottom two tiers).

In terms of the strength of voluntary organisations, he observes ‘many community based voluntary sector groups have organisational structures which would more easily accommodate the preferred characteristics of PF lead agencies’ (Crabbe, 2006b, p. 65), namely, independent and innovative; organisationally transparent; co-operative and non duplicating; providing value for money; capable of growth; and funding from a range of sources (p. 35). He argues:

Voluntary sector status does not, of itself, provide any guarantee that a project will be successful but, other things being equal, it can provide a structural framework and degree of autonomy which enables projects to generate forms of working which are: small scale; locally based; well resourced and dynamic; with no single area of work dominating; thereby allowing design and approach to develop organically (p. 65).

Urban Fox seemed to have many of these features. It was independent and innovative, was putting much effort into co-operating with, but not duplicate, other organisations in the area, and had been growing over five years, funded by a range of sources. It started as a small-scale football coaching scheme. Many of its staff members were ‘locals’. Its resource base increased through dynamic interactions with people within the locality, utilising the personal social network of the project leader. It was aspired to respond to any issues concerning the young people who participated in the project. Its programme had been organically developed, accommodating different functions by its different sections. Some of these, among other issues, are highlighted in the next subsections, in particular, the process of project growth through strengthening its organisational resource base.

### 10.2.3.3 Expanding platform – a dynamic model of successful project

This subsection corresponds with the fourth research question: through what process can a project improve its effectiveness. Urban Fox achieved the pyramid structure only gradually by expanding the range of services and the organisational capacity at the same time. A key to the growth was the process of ‘ownership’ and ‘evolution’ (Section 9.3.3), which could be conceptualised as an ‘evolutionary’ project cycle (Figure 10.2), within which more people, young and adult, become involved in a project. Young people who were ‘hooked’ into the project would be granted the ‘ownership’ of it, and make an input as to what else they want from the project. The project would run a pilot programme based on the input. This ‘pilot’ phase was normally when more adults became involved since the expansion in the range of activity meant that there was the need for partnership work with an organisation that could supply the new activity (see Appendix C for detail). The partnership built during the pilot phase could form the base for the actual expansion of the project to follow. The ‘evolution’ of the project could attract many more young people who would then provide further input for future development.

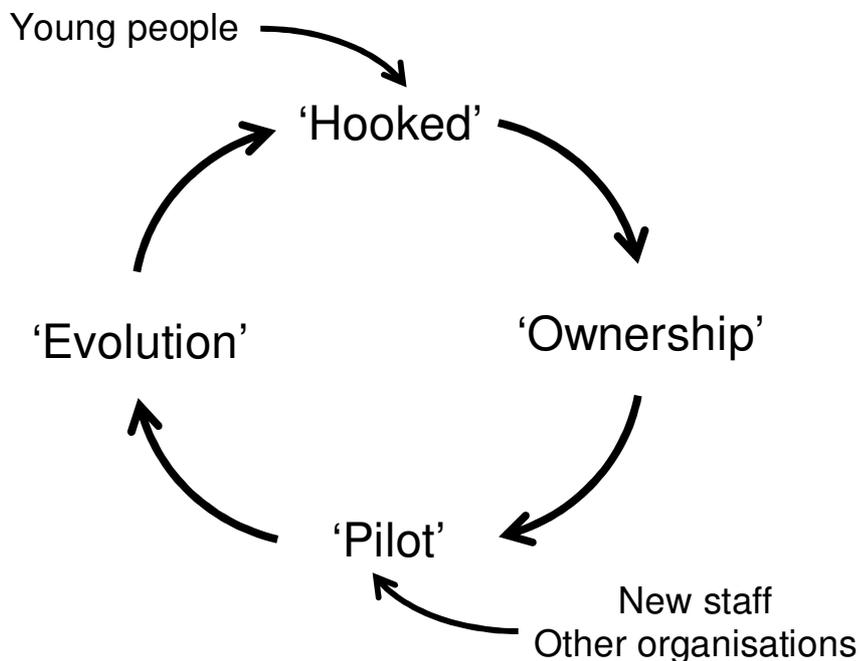
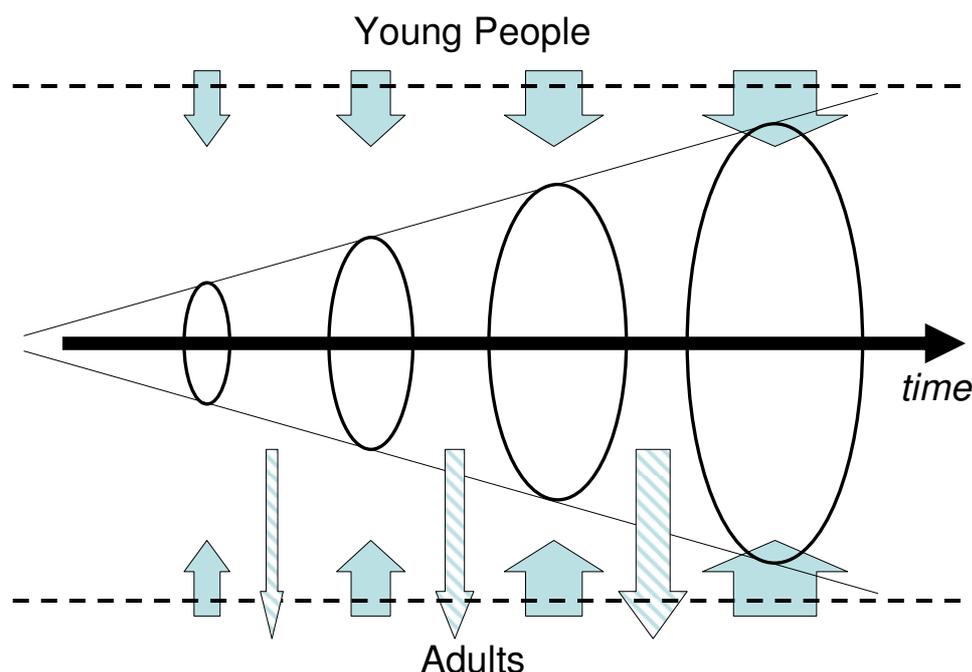


Figure 10.2 'Evolutionary' project cycle



**Figure 10.3 Sport-related project as expanding 'platform' of regeneration**

The project grew as a series of project cycles in the form of an expanding spiral (Figure 10.3). The number of young people participating would increase, and so would the number of adults committed to the project. In the meantime, the young people who have grown out of the project would form a pool of adults who could potentially show higher levels of commitment to the project, and thus would contribute to the strengthening of the organisational base. This process of expansion derived from the experience of Urban Fox indeed resembles that of Positive Future projects described by Crabbe (2006a).

Hence, a model of successful sport-related regeneration project might be one that functions as a 'platform' where an increasing number of local people, young or adult, including organisations, interact with each other, accumulating the resources to achieve the goal of neighbourhood regeneration. Crabbe (2006a, p. 49) observes in one of the projects that its expansion revealed 'the redundancy of more conventional approaches to this area of work', taking over from the council youth service the leading role in establishing 'the strategic direction of services targeted at disadvantaged youth in the city'. The situation surrounding Urban Fox might not have been quite as advanced; it was faced with the 'challenges' from the agencies beginning to provide similar services (Section 9.3.2). At the same time,

however, it was evident, though not dealt with as a major theme in the findings chapters, from the informal conversations with the youth-related agencies within the area, that what Urban Fox were doing was ‘respected’ and ‘looked up to’ by them.

#### **10.2.4 Potential reach of sport-related regeneration projects**

This section corresponds to the fifth question: to what degree can a sport-related project be effective in addressing the goal? Although the limited number of the case-study projects inevitably renders the answer to this question only tentative, the section makes comments on the potential of sport-related projects to address the goal of regeneration based on the research findings. Also, full assessment of the impact made by the case-study projects was *not* intended.

The thesis has defined the goal of a sport-related regeneration project as to contribute to the capability deprivation of the people who live there. In the context of the case-study area, it was to break down the vicious circles of deprivation perpetuated by territoriality. The case-study projects, Urban Fox in particular, seemed to have brought about some positive changes, while some important limitations were also observed, providing insights about the potential reach of this type of initiative. The external validity of the points made in this section is subject of further exploration in the future.

The positive changes, though often limited in scale, were observed in terms of each element of the vicious circles. First, the leisure deprivation of the young people in the area seemed to have been alleviated to some degree by the recent increase in the number of youth-related initiatives using sport and other forms of leisure (Table 6.2, also see Appendix C). This might have alleviated the boredom of the young people who opted to participate, as some of the activities discussed in Chapters 8 and 9, such as go-karting, evidently provided such rare opportunities for excitement that would not have been accessible had it not been the project. Among the participants of Urban Fox, there were those young people who used to gang fight but had stopped it by the time of fieldwork, although it was unclear *how many* of them were there (Chapter 7).

Also, friendships seemed to have been formed beyond neighbourhood boundaries through participation in Urban Fox. Some of them even had begun to travel across boundaries by themselves to see friends. This might not have been the direct result of the use of sport, but realised through the devices to mix young people from different areas together. Notably, the new friendships might have been more easily formed around the existing social networks of the staff members as well as the young people. Finally, although not through the alleviation of territoriality, some young people were helped to make positive school-to-work transition as they sought their careers as sport or youth workers. Again, this would not have been possible if the project had been designed only to provide sport coaching. The ‘apprenticeship’ system seemed to have played an important part (Chapter 8).

Despite these positives, the scale of the effects did not seem to be significant enough to break down the vicious circles altogether. Arguably, the scale of impact would be dependent on both the number and the characteristics of the young people who participate. In terms of the number, although accurate records were lacking, the case-study projects claimed to attract some 100 to 600 every week (see Table 6.2). A rough estimate of the population under 16 in the area is 5,000 to 10,000<sup>6</sup>. Thus, the largest project attracts some ten per cent of them. Meanwhile, some statistics suggest some 20 per cent are ‘at risk’<sup>7</sup>. The figure could be higher in deprived areas. Presumably, the ten per cent did not include only those ‘at risk’. This might mean that even the most successful project might leave out the majority of ‘at-risk’ youth.

In terms of the characteristics of the young people, it might be possible to refer to two reasons to suspect that the reach might have been limited. First, Urban Fox seemed to have succeeded in diverting some of those who would be opportunistically involved in gang fighting away from it, but it seemed harder to attract those who were involved more deeply and willingly (Section 9.2.3). More generally, the more ‘disordered’ young people might have tended to be excluded from the projects for the ‘greater good’, while many of those drinking alcohol while activities were on offer were observed nearby the sites. Therefore,

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<sup>6</sup> EESIP had 36,000 people (East End Social Inclusion Partnership, 2000), 14 (Calton/Bridgeton) to 30 (Glasgow East) per cent of which were under 16 (Hanlon *et al.*, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> E.g. gang membership at age 13 in Edinburgh (Smith and Bradshaw, 2005); experience of drug use by age 15 in Scotland (Child and Adolescent Health Research Unit, 2004). See Chapter 4.

those with more need to be diverted from potentially harmful activities might be harder to 'hook'. Second, the case-study projects might have tended to fail to attract those in their late teens and over, who were at the critical stage of school-to-work transition (Section 9.2.2). Therefore, there was a suspicion that the direct impact that the projects were making on career development may have been limited.

Overall, it might be possible to speculate that the situation in the East End might be approaching the point where a marginal addition of a sport-related project would not increase the total number of young people actually 'hooked' (Section 9.3.2). Theoretically, any addition of an alternative activity increases leisure capability. However, any meaningful improvement in capability should be reflected in actual achievement (Sen, 1992). However, the incidence of frictions between relatively new projects and Urban Fox might be an lead to an interesting question whether most of the young people in the East End who would be interested in a conventional kind of service had already been 'hooked' by the existing pool of initiatives.

### **10.3 Reflections on research methods**

This section reflects upon the research methodology. Despite its obvious disadvantage in terms of the available resources, the thesis shares significant part of the research findings with some key parallel studies such as Nichols (2007) and Crabbe (2005, 2006a, b), which were being done in a much larger scale over a longer period of time. For instance, the latter is commissioned by the UK Home Office to evaluate Positive Futures, arguably the most developed nation-wide initiative, conducted over two years by a research team of ten, with six case studies from three different regions in England. By contrast, the empirical part of this study was carried out exactly for one year in 2004, by a foreign doctoral student independently. Naturally, the research involved some limitations and some of the things intended to be done in the initial design were not done (Section 6.4.5.5). The rest of the section considers both the strengths and the weaknesses.

The 'success' of the fieldwork might be attributed to the sampling strategies and the combinations of methods. In terms of sampling, the procedures of theoretical sampling,

recommended by the grounded theory approach, seem to have worked out well. Strauss and Corbin (1996, pp. 205-211) recommend a three-step model of sampling: 'open sampling', where data is collected indiscriminately within a rough framework; 'relational and variational sampling', where data is collected more purposefully to relate theoretically relevant concepts to each other; and 'discriminate sampling', where data collection becomes highly selective to fill in the gap in data in order to reach theoretical saturation.

The selection of the area turned out appropriate as the first step of open sampling. It had right combination of different types of sport-related project, thus the relational and variational sampling to follow was made easier. One of which was sufficiently large with a history of development over time thereby allowing the exploration of processes, while the others provided insights as to what elements were keys to making the relative success of Urban Fox possible.

Also, the selection of the respondents for semi-structured interviews and focus groups were carefully done. Despite the fact that the target sample sizes had been set up for different types of people, the researcher did not rush to meet these targets. Rather, the sampling was done dialectically, taking time for analysis of each interview or observation before speaking to the next person, as the standard practice of grounded theory. The order of interviews, observations and focus groups was also sensibly decided. The scoping interviews with project leaders and the earlier interviews with the staff members were rather indiscriminately done as open sampling, but then participant observation was given priority to relate the ideas obtained in these interviews with each other as 'reality' in the field, during which interviewees were selected on the basis of the relevance to the ideas (relational and variational sampling). The focus groups, especially the later ones, played the role of discriminate sampling, in which the 'theories' constructed through the interviews with adults as well as observations were aimed to be validated/modified. All this might have slowed down the speed of data collection, which might have been the reason for not meeting all of the targets, but it probably paid off by the improved quality of each interview as the questions to be asked were more relevant to the emerging themes.

Coupled with this was the right combination of data collection methods. Interviewing key stakeholders – despite the regrettable omission of some of them such as parents and local government officials – were essential to systematically address the key issues, but to ask meaningful questions in these interviews, the understanding of the context strongly enhanced by the participant observation was vital. The scoping interviews with project leaders provided the overviews as to what were intended to do, and then the participant observation, including ‘hanging about’ the area, helped to make sense of these intentions. It also provided a good sense of who should be spoken to among the staff members encountered in the field in order to explore different themes. Moreover, meeting young people in informal settings, before formally interviewing them in focus groups, helped to establish the rapport with them. Also, leaving the focus group at the latest stage of fieldwork was appropriate. These focus groups arguably constituted the most important part of the data, breathing life into the more articulate, but distant construction of the young people’s situation provided by the adults. Hence, the three methods served well the purpose of triangulation.

Nevertheless, the research design also had limitations, and the research could have been implemented better. The first obvious limitation was the inability to assess the impact the project had made. Accordingly, some of the classic questions with regard to the social benefits of sport are left unanswered, such as: to what extent sport participation is to help personal development; whether the personal development through sport participation leads to improvement in neighbourhood performances in terms of education, employment, health and crime; if sport can create social capital; etc. In part, this was due to the shift of the research focus from outcome to process.

This position, however, seems to be shared by the recent research in the field. Nichols (2007) makes it clear that sport is only a catalyst for pro-social personal development, and thus the way it is used within a programme is important. Also, Crabbe (2006b) points out that outcome measurement would render fruitless, and he focuses upon the organisational aspects of the Positive Futures projects through participatory action research. Similarly, in the context of developing countries, Coalter (2006) advocates, and sketches out the guideline for, a process-led, participatory approach to the monitoring and evaluation of sport-in-development programmes since it would serve the improvements of the

programmes. He also argues that the sufficient conditions for sport to generate expected outcomes lie in the 'nature of processes and the various organisational and programme components' (p. 21).

Nevertheless, there seems to be a variation between these approaches, in terms of how outcomes, as well as the theories to link participation and the outcomes, to be treated. Arguably, the approaches by Nichols (2007) and Coalter (2006) are more theory-driven, and not given up hope with identifying standardised outcomes across participants, while Crabbe (2006b) is clear that there is too much complication in establishing causal links, given that participants are influenced by so many other factors, and focusing on providing narratives of the processes how each participant is helped to develop his/her career by the project. The thesis's position has been very close to Crabbe's, as is represented in the understanding of the process for a project to help young people get out of deprivation as 'signposting'. That said, effort for capturing outcomes might turn out still fruitful, especially with Coalter's (2006) emphasis on the internal use of the monitoring and evaluation for project improvement, which is arguably a version of the utilisation-focused evaluation (Patton, 1997).

Second, the emphasis of the thesis on the internal processes of a project, coupled with the selection of one area, limited the possibility of drawing wider conclusions. Alternatively, it would have been ideal to select several areas with similarly established projects like Urban Fox, as Nichols (2007) and Crabbe (2005; 2006a, b) have done.

These limitations notwithstanding, the researcher would have chosen broadly the same approach, if he had been to conduct the research all over again, given the same starting point (i.e. the unfamiliarity to the context, as well as the language skills). A genuine alternative would have been ethnography, which would have suited the purpose of deeper understanding of the context. In many respects, the research shared many features with ethnography. In fact, the lack of confidence in language at the start was a major factor that discouraged the researcher to aim to produce a well narrated ethnography that merit a PhD. This notwithstanding, an ethnography might not have produced the series of abstract conceptualisation of the processes (i.e. 'hooking and signposting', 'pyramid' and 'spiral')

that this thesis has employed, because they resulted from the orientation of grounded theory towards abstract, transferable theory building.

Yet, the implementation of the research was not completely flawless. The most significant thing that could have been done differently would be to make more effort in getting more deeply and frequently involved in the projects. The potential consequences would have included: better access to potential interviewees that had to be left out for various reasons (Section 6.4.5.5); more trust from the staff members so that they would have given the researcher more important roles; access to the participant records, or keeping records by the researcher himself; and deeper understanding of the nature of the participants. It would have been ideal if the researcher had moved into the area; not only could he have mixed with the local people more, but also he would have had more chances to naturally encounter the incidence of 'gang fighting'.

## **10.4 Future research**

The thesis has explored the ways that sport can be effectively used for the purpose of tackling youth-related issues in deprived neighbourhoods. In so doing, it has found a number of research agenda for future studies. This section suggests a few of the possible directions to develop further research.

### **10.4.1 Further exploration into the nature of young people that can be hooked by sport-related projects**

The thesis has provided an estimation of the nature of the participants involved in the sport-related projects (Chapter 9), and suggested that generally the older and/or the more 'excluded' young people are, the more difficult it could be for a sport-related project to engage with them, as has been demonstrated also by Collins (Collins with Kay, 2003). Moreover, the thesis has also speculated that it is possible that the ability for a community as a whole to 'hook' young people through this type of project could get saturated at some point, before reaching the majority of the older and the more 'excluded' (Chapter 9).

Nevertheless, there is room for further exploration on this matter possibly in three ways. The first is to examine the nature of participants more accurately. Some forms of standardised, regular quantitative monitoring are essential to this end, something in line with Coalter's (2006) manual to assess a programme's impact on sporting inclusion, including: enrolment registers, attendance registers, programme records, and leader/coach reports. This, however, would not be sufficient, as the purpose here is not limited to sporting inclusion, but social exclusion in general. While attributes such as gender and age can easily be known by quantitative monitoring, estimating the extent and the nature of 'exclusion' would require more in-depth qualitative approach. Thus, an ethnographic research of a well-developed project like Urban Fox would be fruitful.

Second, it is of both theoretical and practical value to explore what can be done to reach more of the older and the more 'excluded' young people through sport-related projects. If it is true that the ability for conventional types of initiative to 'hook' can get saturated at one point, it does not rule out the possibility that innovation will happen to go beyond that point. This type of research question may be better addressed using more radical participatory approaches, such as a participatory action research (Greenwood *et al.*, 1993). In fact, the evaluation of the Positive Futures initiatives has moved towards this direction, seeking for innovative management approaches of lead agencies (Crabbe, 2005, 2006a, b; Crabbe *et al.*, 2006), and the monitoring and evaluation manual outlined by Coalter (2006) alike, although their focus is not limited to the ways of 'hooking'.

An exploration in this direction might possibly provide some insights into the debates on the 'citizenship rights' of young people and the 'empowerment' of them (Chapter 4). The recent trend of 'empowering' young people has seen the development of various structures to involve them in decision-making in terms of youth-related issues. The most common type is a 'youth council' or a 'youth forum', which have been deemed ineffective in actually materialising the input made by young people. Meanwhile, participation in a council itself is often regarded to be 'good' as it fits the model of 'active citizenship', while the more 'excluded' are rarely involved (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 1998; Matthews, 2001). On the other hand, an alternative, more radical position maintains that young people should be allowed to 'have a say' through un-institutionalised, youth sub-cultural movement (France, 1998, see Section 4.3.3). In the light of this debate, the 'ownership' of a project found in

Urban Fox might provide a hint with regard to the more effective ways of reaching the more at risk of 'exclusion', while actually materialising what they want, though only within a project (Section 9.3.3). This looks somewhere in the middle of the two extremes. It may be an interesting question to ask if a sport-related community group like Urban Fox, which is inevitably part of an institutionalised structure, could become a forum for such sub-cultural youth movement.

Finally, the third area for exploration is the capacity for a community as a whole to 'hook' young people. This is of critical relevance to assessing the extent to which sport can contribute to neighbourhood regeneration. Ultimately, what matters to regeneration of a neighbourhood is how many of those 'at risk' were guided to make successful transition into adulthood. A sizeable project that deserts other projects does not make a difference in this regard (Section 9.3.2). It is probably too large a question for a single research project. One possible step towards the goal might be to better understand the networking among youth-related organisations within a neighbourhood. Wider literature on community work in general should be reviewed.

#### **10.4.2 Examining the transferability of the findings**

The transferability of the findings of the thesis could be further examined in different contexts. First, the vicious circles found in the East End may or may not be found in other deprived neighbourhoods within and outwith the UK. The geographical prevalence of territoriality as a key feature of young people's social exclusion has been explored within Scotland and the UK respectively by Suzuki and Kintrea (2007) and Kintrea *et al.* (forthcoming); however, a number of questions are unanswered, including, *inter alia*, whether territoriality manifests itself elsewhere in the same way as in the East End of Glasgow; whether and to what extent it is critical to the social exclusion of young people; and what decides its pervasiveness.

Second, the hypothetical models of sport-related project – 'hooking and signposting', the 'pyramid' and the 'spiral' – may or may not be transferable to wider geographical contexts. In the UK, the recent parallel work, such as Nichols's (2007) and Crabbe's (2005; 2006a, b), has indicated that Urban Fox had similar features with many of the successful sport-related

regeneration projects. Other possible locations for future research include: other countries, such as Japan, where sport is similarly used for the benefits of urban communities; and developing countries where sport is also expected to contribute to tackling poverty, though absolute one rather than relative (Section 1.1). Notably, the use of ‘sport for the development’ in developing countries seems to have been booming recently, and literature has started developing in this direction (Coalter, 2006).

#### **10.4.3 Application of the capability framework**

The conceptual framework of the thesis can be refined and applied to further research. While the broad applicability of the capability approach itself is obvious (Robeyns, 2006), few have applied it to the subject areas related to this thesis – e.g. sport, leisure, youth and urban studies. Further application of the framework to any of these areas may turn out fruitful.

A particular contribution of this thesis to the capability literature is the way in which ‘leisure capability’ is conceptualised. The notion of ‘leisure capability’ may be of potential use in better understanding the relationship between sport/leisure and youth transitions, which has often simplistically considered ‘constructive’ and ‘deviant’ leisure as protective and risk factors respectively (see Section 4.5). By contrast, ‘leisure capability’ questions whether a person has had freedom in choosing leisure, which reflects the capability deprivation at that point.

#### **10.5 Final remarks**

In contemporary Britain, young people are faced with more uncertainty in their transition into adulthood than a few decades ago (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). To make it successful, they rely on their resource base, such as ‘educational qualifications, vocational training and skills as well as knowledge and family resources’ (Furlong *et al.*, 2003, p. i). Young people who live in deprived neighbourhoods are greatly disadvantaged in terms of the resource base (Chapter 4). The value of sport-related regeneration projects lies in their potential to strengthen it. That is, if they are to contribute to neighbourhood regeneration, they must aim to provide an alternative to other sources or the resource base, which the

neighbourhood fails to supply. This is really what ‘social inclusion’ in Sen’s sense is all about (Sen, 2000). If it can provide resources that young people cannot gain from standard education or parenting, a sport-related project can offset the deprivation of their capabilities to achieve transition outcomes. Thus, the role of sport in regenerating deprived urban neighbourhoods is to be the source of ‘social capital’ in Bourdieu’s sense: the resources collectively owned by members of a social network (Glover and Hemingway, 2005, see Chapter 3). Young people who become involved in a project will benefit from the resources accumulated within the social network formed around the project. In other words, the social capital that the organisation has determines the limit of what young people can profit from participation. In this respect, many sport-related projects may be too small, and have too little to offer. But it is not impossible to accumulate social capital within a project over time, if it is well managed by committed staff members with a clear vision to achieve it. This is not really about instruments (e.g. education and vocational training), but about whether or not the staff members are prepared to do whatever it takes to support the participants, in much the same ways as parents are for their children. Sport, in itself, may or may not be an effective driving force for these efforts. At least, it is hardly the only thing that can be used for the purpose. Nevertheless, as long as a considerable number of disadvantaged young people keep being attracted to sport, it may well be worthwhile to do our best to help them.

## Appendix A Sport infrastructure and economic regeneration of a city

The first line of argument is in regard to physical development of high standard sports facilities and the attraction of hallmark events, such as the Olympics and the Commonwealth Games, which are supposed to generate economic benefits to the host city. For example, the experience of Barcelona subsequent to the 1992 Summer Olympic Games is often referred to as one of the most successful examples of this type (Percy, 2001). Recently, a number of British cities, including Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Glasgow and Cardiff, have adopted regeneration strategies building on the public investment in sport infrastructure and event attraction, with a view of economic development of the city (Jones, 2001; Sport England, 1999).

A number of stadiums have been recently constructed using public funding, mainly the National Lottery Fund, often linked with bids for international sporting events. Examples include: the City of Manchester Stadium for the 2002 Commonwealth Games, funded publicly the full actual construction cost of 145 million pounds; the Millennium Stadium in Cardiff for the 1999 Rugby World Cup, 50 out of total 130 million; and the Wembley National Stadium, bidding for the 2006 FIFA World Cup and the 2012 Olympics, 120 out of 450 million. In addition, substantial public money is usually spent on associated transport and public infrastructure (Jones, 2002a).

The public expenditure of this kind is often justified in terms of economic and physical regeneration. The economic benefits are supposed to directly accrue, partly from the job creation for the construction work and partly from the tourist attraction during the events. Moreover, the advocates of stadium development often argue that the existence of a national stadium and the attraction of a hallmark event can enhance the city image through international media coverage and consequently attract more tourist visitation and business investment afterwards (Jones, 2001, 2002a, 2002b). As Sport England (1999) claims, sport is considered:

as a powerful tool to enhance the physical fabric of communities, to stimulate the local economy, and to improve its image with outside investors and tourists (p.27).

This logic, however, almost parallels with that of the flagship projects in the 1980s, and so Jones (2002a) considers it as out of fashion in these days. Furthermore, a number of studies have been carried out, mainly in the US, and to a lesser extent in the UK and elsewhere, casting doubts over the claimed benefits of economic development of a city through stadium development. There are two traditions of economic analysis of the impact of sport stadium development: one is tourism studies assessing the impact of major sporting events, and the other is the analyses of the impact of the US professional sport.

The commonest approach to estimating the economic impact of a sporting event is a multiplier analysis, which is to estimate the amount of initial spending by the visitors that is additional to the amount it would have been spent without the event, and the proportion of the spending retained within the local economy after several rounds of re-spending (i.e. a multiplier coefficient) (Crompton, 1995; Gratton and Taylor, 2000; Rosentraub, 1997a). Examples can be found within tourism studies (for example, Burgan and Mules, 1992; Burns *et al.*, 1986; Mules and Faulkner, 1996).

Several examples are found in the UK. The studies by Gratton and his colleagues estimated and compared the initial expenditure by the visitors to major sporting events in several British cities in the 1990s, finding that expenditure pattern differed depending on the duration of the events and the nature of visitors, and so the level of media coverage was not as important (Gratton *et al.*, 1996; Gratton and Taylor, 2000). The study of Premiership football clubs in Merseyside by Johnston *et al.* (2000) estimated the multiplier effect through a survey of local businesses, and concluded that Premiership clubs are interdependent with the local economy as a part of the value chain in the consumer services sector.

Due to the technical difficulties of estimation, a multiplier analysis is often inevitably based on presumptions. Critiques have argued against the economic assessment research commissioned by proponents of sport events or stadiums that it often overestimates the

impact using unreliable presumptions (Baade and Dye, 1990; Crompton, 1995; Jones, 2001, 2002a, 2002b; Noll and Zimbalist, 1997; Rosentraub, 1997a). Examples of technical errors include: overestimation of initial expenditure by not subtracting expenditure switching (Crompton, 1995; Noll and Zimbalist, 1997), misapplication of multiplier coefficients (Crompton, 1995; Gratton and Taylor, 2000; Rosentraub, 1997a), inappropriate choice of variables to be estimated (Burgan and Mules, 1992; Crompton, 1995; Gratton and Taylor, 2000; Jones, 2002b), and misrepresentation of overall costs and benefits (Baade and Dye, 1990; Burgan and Mules, 1992; Crompton, 1995).

Moreover, a multiplier analysis is not able to estimate the long-term impact of sport facility development. Crucially, it is a common problem worldwide for sport facilities constructed for a special event to suffer from a long-term financial crisis due to the lack of substantial events to accommodate afterwards (Lee, 2002; Searle, 2002). Therefore, strategic planning is of critical importance, although efforts are often made reactively or as 'add-ons' (Jones, 2002a, p. 168). Furthermore, one of the main claims to support public expenditure on sport infrastructure is in regard to its ability of business attraction as a consequence of image promotion through media coverage (Baim, 1994; Bianchini and Schwengel, 1991; National Heritage Committee, 1995; Rosentraub, 1996; Short, 1999). This process, if it ever happens, must be assessed in a longer term. However, the effect of promoting the city image has hardly been measured, except for a series of studies on the 1988 Olympic Winter Games in Calgary, finding that the increased levels of awareness of the city internationally was dramatic, but only lasted for a year, while its impact on decisions on business location remained unexplored (Ritchie, 1984; Ritchie and Aitken, 1984, 1985; Ritchie and Lyons, 1987, 1990; Ritchie and Smith, 1991).

An answer to these difficulties in estimating the long-term economic impact of sport facility development and associated events by the economists researching the US professional sports is to look at the statistical correlations between the presence of a facility and/or a sport team and the economic performance of cities in terms of income and employment. As a result, it is largely agreed that neither facility (re)development nor the presence of a professional sports team make significant impact either on income growth (Baade, 1996a; Baade and Dye, 1988; Baade and Dye, 1990; Coates and Humphreys, 1999, 2001), or on job creation (Baade, 1996a; Baade and Matheson, 2001; Baade and Sanderson,

1997; Coates and Humphreys, 2003; Hudson, 1999). This lack of significant correlations is attributed to: the fact that professional sport sector is too small an industry to boost the economic growth (Baade, 1996b; Rosentraub, 1996, 1997a; Rosentraub *et al.*, 1994); the low wages of the associated service sector jobs (Baade and Dye, 1990); the leakages of visitor spending to the owner and the players who often reside outside the city (Baade, 1996b; Baade and Dye, 1990; Noll and Zimbalist, 1997; Rosentraub, 1997b); and the likelihood that sport-related spending and jobs are substitutions, which would have been spent and created without the facility or the team (Baade, 1996a; Coates and Humphreys, 2003; Rosentraub, 1997b; Rosentraub *et al.*, 1994). Nevertheless, more recent studies have indicated that the effect of substitution, if sensibly linked with the overall urban development strategy, can be utilised positively at more micro levels, by realigning the businesses within a city so that the wealth is redistributed to less prosperous neighbourhoods (Austrian and Rosentraub, 2002; Chanayil, 2002; Johnson, 2000).

Despite the agreement that sport infrastructure development makes little tangible impact on a city's economy, some commentators maintain that sport infrastructure as well as professional sport teams provide intangible benefits, with which public investment could still be defended. They include: civic pride and community identity (Johnson, 2000; Lee, 2002; Newman and Tual, 2002; Rosentraub, 1996); vitality and excitement (Rosentraub, 1996); and quality of life (Rosentraub, 1996, 1997a). Coates and Humphreys (1999) rather optimistically believe that:

the presence of professional sports in a city may increase the overall well-being of the residents. Although unmeasurable, these non-pecuniary benefits are also indisputable (p.622).

Rosenraub (1996) seems to agree to some extent in arguing that in the society such as North America where sport is extremely important in people's daily lives, 'any city without a sport team and a first rate facility is outside the mainstream of Western culture' (p. 27).

However, sport facilities or teams are not always perceived positively. In particular, they can accrue a range of social costs at a neighbourhood level. They are often linked with negative images, such as heavy traffic, litter, vandalism, noise, and so on (Lee, 2002;

Southern and Cleland, 2001); and often cause political conflicts locally (Johnson and Sack, 1996; Spirou and Bennett, 2002). Also, even when it seemed successful in promoting the image of the locality, the presence of sport facility may be powerless in resolving problems of deprivation in the surrounding neighbourhoods (Newman and Tual, 2002). Therefore, some commentators argue that publicly subsidised sport facilities should not be isolated from the adjoining area, but should also provide a place for local people to pursue recreational activities (Johnson, 2000; Lee, 2002). Others suggest that benefits of a professional sport team or a sport event to the immediate neighbourhoods lie in the associated programmes serving local people's participation, rather than the presence of the team or event itself (Johnson and Sack, 1996; Southern and Cleland, 2001). An example of this type of contribution by professional sport clubs is the Football in the Communities initiative in the UK (Football Task Force, 1999).

## Appendix B Sport-related regeneration projects under SIPs

**Table B.1 sportsotland Lottery Fund awards to facilities in SIP areas (Up to 31/12/2003)**

Organisation	Project title	Local authority	Award	Facility type
Annandale & Eskdale Sport & Leisure Trust	Newington Sports & Leisure Centre Development 2002.	Dumfries and Galloway	187,627	Swimming pool- main
Clovenstone Community Education Centre	H.U.T.S. (Health Under Total Sport)	City of Edinburgh	147,000	Unspecified
Muirkirk Enterprise Group Ltd	Muirkirk Community All-weather Multi-Sports Area.	East Ayrshire	54,224	Pitch - multi-purpose
Viewpark Sport & Fitness Club	Viewpark Sport & Fitness Club	North Lanarkshire	200,000	Unspecified
Dumfries and Galloway Council	Hillview Leisure Development, Phase 2, Kirkconnel	Dumfries and Galloway	110,400	Unspecified
Cumnock & District Leisure Group	New Swimming and Fitness Centre	East Ayrshire	700,000	Sports hall - standard
Kilchoan Playing Field Development Group	Kilchoan Playing Field Development	Highland	100,700	Pitch - football (senior)
Glasgow City Council	Lochend Playing Pitches	Glasgow City	500,000	Pitch - football (senior)
Glasgow City Council	Nethercraigs Playing Fields.	Glasgow City	500,000	Pitch - football (senior)
Argyll & Bute Council	Campbeltown Community Project.	Argyll and Bute	700,000	Pitch - football (senior)
North Ayrshire Leisure Ltd	North Ayrshire Skate Park.	North Ayrshire	130,000	Skate Park
Dumfries YMCA	Kingholm Park - YMCA Leisure Development.	Dumfries and Galloway	174,018	N/A
The Gladiator Programme Limited	Gladiator Outdoor Multi Sport Facility.	Glasgow City	63,575	Unknown
Dumfries & Galloway Council	Changing Accommodation, Jocks Loaning Playing Fields.	Dumfries and Galloway	100,000	Pitch - football (senior)
Campbeltown & District Juvenile Football Assoc	Millennium Field Sports Facility.	Argyll and Bute	150,000	Pitch - football (senior)
Glasgow City Council	Crownpoint Sports Park Synthetic Pitches Redevelopment.	Glasgow City	358,000	Pitch - synthetic grass
Fife Council	Kirkland High School & Community College	Fife	291,121	Community Centre
Argyll & Bute Council	Hermitage Academy Synthetic Grass Playing Field.	Argyll and Bute	354,154	Pitch - synthetic grass
Gracemount Youth & Community Centre	Floodlit synthetic surface mulit court.	City of Edinburgh	67,500	Pitch - multi-purpose
Wester Hailes Education Centre	Fitness Suite	City of Edinburgh	65,378	Weights room - free
Fife Council	Dunfermline Centre Multi-court Project	Fife	42,993	Pitch - synthetic grass
Renfrewshire Council	Moorcroft Sports Centre	Renfrewshire	500,000	Sports hall - standard
Clackmannanshire Council	Tulligarth Community Leisure Complex	Clackmannanshire	500,000	Sports hall - standard
Fife Council	Outdoor synthetic pitch at Beath High School	Fife	385,773	Pitch - synthetic grass
Argyll & Bute Council	Dunoon Floodlit Synthetic Grass Multi-courts (76m by 36m)	Argyll and Bute	99,238	Outdoor training area
East Renfrewshire Council	Cowan Park - Barrhead High School Phase 1.	East Renfrewshire	500,000	Unknown
Aberdeen City Council	Full Size Multi Sports Pitch at Kincorth Academy, Aberdeen.	Aberdeen City	144,552	Pitch - multi-purpose
Cumnock Junior Boys Club	Cumnock Juniors Boys Club Building Upgrading Project	East Ayrshire	25,000	Changing Facility

Arbroath Football Club	Upgrading of main stand at Gayfield Park	Angus	176,343	Pitch - football (senior)
Fernieside Boys Club	New Changing Facilities.	City of Edinburgh	10,000	Pitch - football (senior)
Kilwinning Sports Club	Kilwinning Community FC - Pennyburn Phase 1.	North Ayrshire	200,000	N/A
Lochgelly United AFC	New Football Pavilion at Launcherhead Park	Fife	127,515	Pavilion
Annan Athletic Football Club	All Weather Synthetic Sports Facility	Dumfries and Galloway	102,000	Pitch - synthetic grass
Girvan Boys Club	Victory Park Pavilion Redevelopment	South Ayrshire	27,000	Pitch - football (senior)
West of Scotland Indoor Bowling Club	Replacing & Upgrading the Roof Area.	South Lanarkshire	124,227	Bowling centre - indoor
Cowal Indoor Bowling club	New Build at Cowal Indoor Bowling Club	Argyll and Bute	33,500	Bowling centre - indoor
Garnock Valley Amateur Boxing Club	Garnock Valley Amateur Boxing Club Facility Upgrade.	North Ayrshire	26,147	Boxing Facility
Sustrans Scotland	Irvine to Kilmarnock Cycle Route	East Ayrshire	200,000	Cycle Route
Dundee City Council	Cycling for all.	Dundee City	40,269	Cycling Facilities
Border Group Riding for Disabled	Arena Surface.	Scottish Borders	9,200	Riding Arena
Dumfries & Galloway Council	Fitness Suite at Sanquhar F.U.N Pool.	Dumfries and Galloway	123,750	Weights room - fixed
Dumfries and Galloway Council	Profiles Plus Fitness Suite, Ryan Centre.	Dumfries and Galloway	77,200	Weights room - fixed
West Dunbartonshire Council	St. Columbas High School Fitness Suite	West Dunbartonshire	177,326	Weights room - free
West Dunbartonshire Council	Dalmuir Municipal Golf Course, Clydebank	West Dunbartonshire	100,000	Golf course
Dunfermline Tennis & Bridge Club	All Weather Artificial Clay Courts (floodlit).	Fife	50,000	Outdoor tennis court
Kelso Orchard Tennis Club	Kelso Tennis Facilities.	Scottish Borders	116,685	Outdoor tennis court
The Factory Limited	New Factory Skatepark	Dundee City	196,170	Skatepark
Nithsdale Amateur Rowing Club	Dumfries Oarsome.	Dumfries and Galloway	22,051	Rowing Club
Loch Lomond Amateur Rowing Club	Purchase of New Rowing Equipment & Safety Launch.	West Dunbartonshire	9,327	Rowing Club
Glasgow Rowing Club	Boathouse Project Phase III	Glasgow City	17,886	Boathouse
Cumnock Rugby Football Club	Cumnock Rugby Football Club - Facilities Devt. Upgrade.	East Ayrshire	158,960	Pitch - rugby
Annandale & Eskdale Sports & Leisure Trust	Annan Swimming Pool Refurbishment.	Dumfries and Galloway	331,573	Swimming pool- main
North Ayrshire Leisure Ltd	Garnock Swimming Pool Improvement Plan.	North Ayrshire	19,695	Swimming pool- main
North Ayrshire Leisure Ltd	Auchenharvie Improvement Plan.	North Ayrshire	111,665	Sports Centre
Glasgow City Council	Easterhouse Pool Refurbishment.	Glasgow City	700,000	Swimming pool- main
Berwickshire Recreation Education Sport Trust	Duns Swimming Pool Upgrade	Scottish Borders	179,917	Swimming pool- main
Falkirk Council	Mariner Centre - Changing Village	Falkirk	169,206	Swimming pool- main
Inverclyde Council	Refurbishment of Port Glasgow Swimming Pool	Inverclyde	700,000	Swimming pool- main
			<b>11,488,865</b>	

Source: sportscotland

**Table B.2 sportscotland SIP programme revenue awards (2000-2003)**

<b>SIP/ex-NLUS</b>	<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Project title</b>	<b>Award</b>
<b>Area-based</b>			
All SIP 1&2 Areas of Dundee	Dundee City Council Leisure and Arts	Youth Sport Devpt Project	133,789
Argyll & Bute	Argyll and Bute SIP Multi-Award	Various projects	16,000
Ayr North	Ayr North Sports initiative	Sporting opportunities in Ayr North	33,340
Blantyre and North Hamilton	Blantyre/North Hamilton SIP	'Jnr Up for It' Project	97,320
Craigmillar	Venchie Children's and Young Peoples Project	Sport Activities for young people	14,988
Craigmillar	Craigmillar Adventure Project	Feasibility Study	10,000
Craigmillar	Castleview Sports Centre	Promoting physical activity	4,012
Craigmillar	Womenzone	Women's health project	4,000
Drumchapel	Drumchapel L.I.F.E.	Outdoor Activities for Children	68,000
East Ayrshire Coalfield Area	East Ayrshire Council	New Sporting Futures	113,000
East End/Easterhouse	Eastbank Health Promotion Centre	Dance Activity Group	11,576
Edinburgh	Dumbiedykes Children's Drama group	Activity & Training Programme	12,500
Edinburgh Strategic Programme	Oxgangs Neighbourhood Centre	Feasibility Study	12,625
Edinburgh Strategic SIP	South Side Old Town Sports Centre Association	Sports Development Worker	40,000
Edinburgh Strategic SIP	Broomhouse Tenants & Residents Association	Construction of rollerblade/skatepark	39,116
Fife	Dunfermline and West Fife Sports Council	Sports Activity Programme	38,826
Fife	FRAE Fife	Sporting opportunities for Black and Eth	10,000
Glasgow East End SIP	Glasgow City Basketball Club	Sport programme to reduce crime in Glasgow	10,060
Glasgow North	The Nolly Barge	Outdoor activities on the Canal	11,477
Glasgow Smaller Areas	Glasgow City Council (Greater Easterhouse)		124,998
Glasgow Smaller Areas (Penilee)	Glasgow City Council (Penilee SIP)	Sporting Opportunities in Penilee SIP	39,000
Glasgow Smaller Areas (Toryglen)	Glasgow City Council (Toryglen SIP)	Providing Physical Activity Opportunitie	40,491
Great Nothern Partnership	The Great Northern Partnership	Promoting play, physical activity & spor	21,476
Levern Valley SIP	SIP Lifestyle group	Physical Activity Development Officer	12,000
Motherwell North SIP	Focus Youth Project	Outdoor Training	45,496
North Ayrshire	Kilwinning Community Sports Club	Facilitator and Sports Development Co-ord	49,132
North Ayrshire	Kilwinning Sports Club	Development Worker	48,400
North Edinburgh SIP	Pilton Partnership	Physical Activity in North Edinburgh	65,320
North Glasgow	Possil Leisure Renewal Ltd	Centre Manager	120,334
Paisley	Paisley Partnership	Health Improvement through Sport (HITS)	115,348
Raploch, Top of the town	Stirling Council	sportstart coordinator	21,000
South Edinburgh SIP	South Edinburgh SIP	Sport & Recreation Activity	51,585

		Programme	
South Edinburgh SIP	South Edinburgh SIP	Sporting Chance in South Edinburgh	24,004
West Dunbartonshire	West Dunbartonshire Healthy Living Initiative	Increasing Physical Activity in W.Dunbar	90,000
<b>Thematic</b>			
Edinburgh Youth SIP	Edinburgh Leisure	Coach Training and Development	87,840
Go Project P & K	GO Project	Fitness Initiative	9,358
Moray Youth Start	Forres Skate / BMX Park	Construction of BMX / Skateboarding Eqpt	5,743
South Coatbridge	Parents Action For Safe Play	Parent Action For Safe Play	22,574
South Coatbridge	Rosehall High School	Community Rugby Development	13,687
Tranent	Tranent SIP	Increasing participation in sport & PA	10,000
Xplore (Dundee)	Xplore	xploring sport	10,000
<b>Ex-NLUS</b>			
Castlemilk Partnership	Glasgow City Council	Castlemilk SIP	63,120
Wester Hailes Partnership	Access to Industry Project	Sporting Chance	38,100
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>1,809,635</b>

Source: sportscotland

Table B.3 Sources for project review

SIP/Ex-NLUS	Annual reports					Other sources
	02/03	01/02	00/01	99/00	98/99	
<b>Area-based</b>						
Alloa South & East	no	no	no	no	no	Website
Argyll & Bute	yes	yes	yes	no	no	sportscotland
Ayr North	yes	yes	yes	no	no	
Blantyre & North Hamilton	yes	yes	yes	no	no	sportscotland
Cambuslang	yes	no	no	no	no	
Craigmillar	yes	yes	no	no	no	sportscotland
Drumchapel	yes	yes	no	no	no	sportscotland
Dundee	yes	no	no	no	no	sportscotland
East Ayrshire Coalfield Area	yes	yes	no	no	no	sportscotland
Edinburgh Strategic Programme	yes	yes	no	no	no	sportscotland
Falkirk	yes	yes	no	no	no	
Fife	no	no	no	no	no	sportscotland
Girvan Connections	no	no	no	no	no	
Glasgow East End	no	no	no	no	no	Email sportscotland
Glasgow Smaller Areas	yes	no	no	no	no	
Gorbals	yes	no	no	no	no	
Great Northern	yes	yes	yes	no	no	sportscotland
Greater Easterhouse	yes	no	no	no	no	sportscotland
Greater Govan	no	yes	yes	no	no	
Greater Pollok	yes	yes	no	no	no	
Inverclyde	no	no	no	no	no	
Levern Valley	yes	no	no	no	no	sportscotland
Motherwell North	yes	yes	no	no	no	sportscotland
North Ayrshire	no	yes	yes	no	no	sportscotland

North Edinburgh	yes	no	yes	no	no	sportscotland
North Glasgow	yes	yes	no	no	no	sportscotland
North Lanarkshire	yes	yes	no	no	no	sportscotland
Paisley	yes	no	no	no	no	sportscotland
South Edinburgh	no	no	no	no	no	sportscotland
Stirling	yes	yes	yes	no	no	sportscotland
West Dumbartonshire	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	sportscotland
Subtotal	22	17	9	1	1	
<b>Thematic</b>						
Big Step	no	no	no	yes	no	
Edinburgh Youth	yes	no	yes	no	no	sportscotland
FRAE – Fife	yes	no	no	no	no	sportscotland
GARA	no	yes	no	no	no	
GO - Perth & Kinross	no	no	no	no	no	sportscotland
Highland and Islands	yes	no	no	no	no	
Moray Youthstart	no	no	no	no	no	sportscotland
Routes Out	yes	yes	yes	no	no	
Scottish Border	yes	no	no	no	no	
South Coatbridge	yes	yes	no	no	no	sportscotland
Tranent	yes	no	yes	no	no	sportscotland
West Lothian	yes	yes	yes	no	no	
Xplore	yes	yes	no	no	no	sportscotland
Young Carers	no	no	no	no	no	
Subtotal	9	5	4	1	0	
<b>ex-NLUS</b>						
Castlemilk	no	no	no	no	no	sportscotland
Wester Hailes	no	no	no	no	no	sportscotland
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	

# Appendix C Case Study Projects

## **Focal Project: Urban Fox Programme**

### **Summary**

The Urban Fox Programme is arguably the most established sport- and youth-related project in the East End of Glasgow, claiming to attract some 500 to 600 young people (5 to 17 years old) every week. Started as a football coaching service in several areas within the East End in 2000, it had developed a wider range of activities, while also covering the most part of the EESIP area and beyond.

### **Aims and Objectives**

The official aims and objectives of the project were stated as follows:

- Breaking down territorial barriers and increasing opportunities for social interaction;
- Diverting young people away from crime and anti-social behaviour;
- Reducing the incidence of crime and the fear of crime within the community;
- Tackling social exclusion, integrating young people and encouraging participation from underdeveloped communities;
- Changing attitudes, modifying behaviour, and encouraging positive choices
- Promoting self-development and raising self-esteem; and
- Encouraging healthy living, by increasing participation in healthy activities and encouragement to make positive choices.

(Urban Fox Programme, 2004)

Among these objectives, the Urban Fox Programme put a particular emphasis is upon the importance of tackling territoriality, or ‘territorialism’, among young people, which turned out to be a commonly recognised local concern.

## Programmes and activities

Table C.4 Services and activities of Urban Fox

Programme	Activities	Age	Area coverage
Football Skills Programme	Football coaching	5-17	9 areas
Schools Programme	PE in primary schools	P5-7	9-12 <sup>8</sup> schools
	Football + educational input		
Friday Drop-in Clubs	Games/dancing/pool etc.	12-15	8 areas
Cyber Fox	IT/pc games	12-15	4 areas
Young Healthy Fox Cubs	Physical exercise	5-12	4 areas
	Festivals	5+	
	Drop-ins	5+	10 areas
	Residential camps	12-15	
	Outward bound activities	12-15	
Sunday League	Football league	5-17	10 teams

Sources: Urban Fox Programme (2004)

Table 6.4 shows the services and activities that the Urban Fox Programme provided at the time of fieldwork. The description of each service is as follows.

➤ *Football Skills Programme:*

The Football Skills Programme was a football coaching service, provided by qualified coaches from Monday to Friday at different 9 venues in Calton, Bridgeton, Dalmarnock Haghill, Tollcross, Lilybank (Parkhead), Camlachie and Reidvale (Dennistoun), and Whitehill (Dennistoun). Forty-five minute or one-hour sessions were allocated for three (5-8, 9-12, 12-16) or four (5-8, 9-11, 12-15, 16-17) different age categories.

➤ *Schools Programme:*

The Schools Programme was a PE service that Urban Fox provided for local primary schools (P5-7). An eight-week block in each school consisted, at first, of six football

<sup>8</sup> The number had changed from time to time due to the recent school restructuring during the fieldwork period, which was too hard to keep track of.

coaching and two educational input sessions. Later two basic movement and two fun game sessions have replaced four football sessions. Educational input sessions highlighted community safety and health issues (e.g. drugs, smoking concern, healthy eating, territorialism, and fire and water safety).

➤ *Friday Night Drop-in:*

The Friday Night Drop-in services were provided in local community centres on Friday night. It was intended that young people themselves would take the ownership of clubs, providing input as to what activities they would like to do. Typical activities included computer games, dancing, football, pool, and darts. Occasionally, one-off special events were organised through these Friday Night clubs; for example, weekend visits to theme parks, Friday night-outs for bowling and go-karting, and visits to other Friday Night clubs. These clubs also provided young people with opportunities to discuss personal issues with specialists such as drug addiction teams and the health board.

➤ *Cyberfox:*

It was a drop-in service on Saturday, where young people age 12 to 15 played online games, or accessed to the internet for other purposes. At the time of fieldwork, it was only provided in one venue, the Helenslea Hall, Lilybank, as a pilot, but a discussion was taking place for a possible expansion into other venues.

➤ *Young Healthy Fox Cubs:*

The Young Healthy Fox Cubs was designed for 5 to 12 year olds with the aim of starting to educate at an early age the need for exercise and healthy eating to promote a healthier life in later years. The activities on offer were football, fitness, and movement and co-ordination. The pilot projects were held in four primary schools in 2003, but one of the development officers admitted that it was not offered regularly at the time of fieldwork, mainly due to personnel constraints.

➤ *Holiday Programmes:*

During school holiday periods, programmes were provided in addition to the regular services. The venues of the Friday Night Drop-ins were opened for 5 year olds and above. Festivals were held at the end of holiday periods. Activities provided in festivals

included face painting, inflatables, arts and craft, football skills, badge making, fire displays, police displays, interactive computing demonstrations etc. Also offered during holiday periods were the outward bound activities, which provided opportunities to participate in activities including: camping, caving, climbing, kayaking, archery and go-karting. These activities were also used for the purpose of teambuilding. In particular, given the concern with 'territorialism', it was intended to provide opportunities for young people from different clubs to mix with each other so as to break down the territorial barriers.

### **Project Development**

Prior to the launch of the Urban Fox Programme, in 1999, the co-ordinator had been involved in the operation of a one-week programme, in which he provided 16 to 18 year olds from the East and North of Glasgow with fun activities and educational inputs. This inspired him that a similar programme would work well with younger age groups.

When it started in 2000 as a football coaching programme, the project was called the East End Football Programme. Funded by the Scottish Executive's Millennium Fund, the project provided football coaching sessions in four different communities for a whole year. In addition, they held four festivals in every three month to bring the participants of each community together. Usual sessions attracted some "10" young people in average, while the attendance of the four festival in total was "some 350", the first one "85". While the first festival was only a football festival, they expanded the range of activities toward the fourth. Meanwhile, halfway through the first year, the co-ordinator and his colleagues started developing tools to make the project more attractive. As a result, they came up with the new project name, the character, the logo mark and the slogan "Redcard the Gangs".

In 2001, because of the "success" in the first year, the East End Social Inclusion Partnership approached them with suggestion to apply for funding. They took that opportunity for development of a new programme called Schools Programme, while keeping the Football Skills Programme going. Working with 9 local primary schools, the Schools Programme was a 32-week programme, 8 weeks being a block, which consists of 6 football coaching sessions and 2 educational in-puts. This development led to further

geographical expansion of the Football Skills Programme, which developed into 9 areas. This year also saw the birth of the mascot, a caricatured fox, which was first introduced in a festival only to make the project noticeable to many people, both young and adult, including other organisations.

Toward the end of the second year, some of the staff members of the Urban Fox Programme attended the Community Safety Forum with the London Road Police and other community organisations, where they had another opportunity to access additional funding source to expand the service. Subsequently, the third year, 2002, saw a running of the pilot project of the Friday Night Drop-in at Helenslea Hall, Lilybank. The Friday Night Drop-in club was a youth club type provision open to 12 to 15 year olds from 6.30 p.m. to 10.30 p.m. every Friday evening, where they provided activities such as pool, computer games as well as sporting activities. It attracted about “13 or 14” young people every week for the whole year.

In 2003, Year 4, the Friday Night Drop-in service expanded into 8 areas, this time funded by the East End SIP. Each club attracted between “15 to 40” young people. Meanwhile, they expanded the idea of festival into a summer camp, where five young people from each Friday club go to a residential camp together during summer holiday. This cost the participants nothing. In the summer camp, they did outdoor activities such as canoeing, kayaking and so on. They also started the Outward Bound activities in other holiday periods (i.e. Easter and October), in which they took four young people from two different clubs to a one day trip to do outdoor activities. The project co-ordinator said proudly that the project became busier during holiday periods because they provide additional services while keeping their regular services of the Football Skills Programme and the Friday Night Drop-in, as opposed to many other youth provisions that tended to be closed.

The same year also saw the kick-off of a new service called Cyber Fox, an IT and computer game drop-in on Saturday morning. Stemming from Friday Night Drop-in, this was a pilot programme and so was only held at Helenslea Hall. The target age group was also 12 to 15 year olds. It regularly attracted “15 to 20” young people. At the time of fieldwork, in 2005, it was planned to expand to other areas. In the mean time, there was the development of another new service: the Young Healthy Fox Cubs. This was to teach basic body

movements to a younger age group in order to tackle the issue of poor health among young people in the area. They used the link with the primary schools they already had through the Schools Programme, and ran pilot projects in four primary schools. After the pilot, they were starting the same service at two community centres in Lilybank and Gallowgate.

DJ and Music Editing was another service they were offering at the point of the interview. It was a 40-week programme on Monday, provided in partnership with the East End Internet Broadcasting (EEIB). This partnership continued so that EEIB occasionally provided music editing lessons in the Friday Drop-in clubs.

By January 2004, the project has expanded beyond the East End SIP area as well. For example, 3 primary schools outside the SIP area have bought their service so that the Urban Fox did the Schools Programme there, too. Also, Whitehill Secondary School, which is located in Dennistoun and so outside the SIP area, bought the service of Football Skills Programme. The project co-ordinator had the ambition to sell the services to other areas so that the project would become self-sustainable in “a couple of years” time.

## **Secondary Project 1: Shoot for Success**

Shoot for Success was a basketball coaching programme implemented in partnership between the Strathclyde Police London Road Office Community Safety Unit and the Glasgow City Basketball Club (GCBC), a local basketball club, which had been based in the East End of Glasgow for over 20 years. This two-year programme (2004-2006) was awarded the Lottery Fund through sportscotland. A police officer seconded to the East End SIP was officially the co-ordinator of the project. At his request, GCBC took charge of the operation of the project. Four staff members of GCBC (a co-ordinator and three coaches) were involved. The aims of the project was to engage the 'excluded' young people positively, for the purpose of personal development, employment training as a coach, health awareness, and tackling territorialism.

It was kicked off in the summer of 2004, with the opening festival held at ECC, which the project claimed to attract some 100 young people. Then, basketball coaching sessions started to be held in four to six venues weekly. The number of participants was initially very small; the interviews with coaches and participant observation indicated that the attendance figure varied from 0 up to 20 per session. Meanwhile, the weekly total officially claimed by Strathclyde Police was 150 at the end of summer of 2004, and increased to 250 by the end of June 2005 (Strathclyde Police, 2004c, 2005)

One of the distinctive features of this project was the fact that at first coaching sessions were held in outdoor playgrounds where basketball hoops were situated on the top of football goals. Supposedly, this style of operation was preferred so as to attract those young people who would not prefer formal settings such as community centres. However, after being held outside until the end of August 2004, it moved into community centres in September as it became darker and rainier. Indeed, even during the summer period, the number of participants was often so small that there were frequent changes of the venues in an attempt to increase it. The target age group was also inconsistent in these early days. According to the interviews with coaches as well as the website of Strathclyde Police, the target group changed from 13-18 (in May 2004), to 8-18 (in July 2004), and then to 5-18 (in September 2004). See Chapter 9.

## Secondary Project 2: Street Football Glasgow

In 2004, the same police officer had a plan to launch a football programme named *Street Football Glasgow*. Although unfortunately it failed to secure funding, the idea itself was of comparative use. Borrowed from a successful model in South America and Germany, the idea was to utilise a mobile football pitch that could be transported to and erected on any local area with any surface, so that the service could be provided wherever young people would 'congregate'. The objectives of the project included a range of themes related to personal development, community safety, employment, gender, health and empowerment:

- To engage young people in the heart of their community;
- To divert young people from being drawn into anti-social behaviour;
- Develop skills, confidence and self-esteem of young people;
- Teach citizenship and reengage excluded young people;
- Tackle territorialism where it occurs;
- Encourage equality between males and females;
- Promote employability of young people;
- Provide a healthy alternative to alcohol and drugs;
- Promote health by involvement in sport; and
- Develop a management structure ultimately operated by young people.

(East End Social Inclusion Partnership, 2004)

Targeted at 12 to 15 year olds, this project was intended to engage with those who were experiencing relatively higher levels of 'exclusion' and so supposedly were not interested in other established youth services. The idea of a mobile pitch was also considered ideal given the territorial barriers which could be more intensified for this group.

After the collapse of the original plan, the idea was carried forward and later resulted in a Scotland-wide programme called *Street League in Scotland*, which is an expansion of an established, London-based initiative targeted at excluded young adults, especially homeless people (Street League, 2006). It was decided not to further follow the development, since at the time of fieldwork it was unpredictable.

### **Secondary Project 3: Eastbank Community Club**

This was the pilot project of a council-led city-wide policy to utilise secondary schools as community sport facilities. It provided opportunities for young people after school to play a variety of sports: football, basketball, karate, hockey, badminton, dance etc. Some of these sessions were delivered by local sports clubs, who are allowed to use the facility in return of providing services for young people. GCBC was one of them. ECC was not primarily aimed for neighbourhood regeneration as such, but for promoting young people's participation in sport. Nonetheless, health and community safety issues were regarded as important side effects. ECC was very well attended, attracting a substantial number of young people every session. For example, the football league held on Friday night attracted some 60 young people in average every week. The range of services is so broad that total number of attendance was hard to know, but the average attendance of sessions ranges from 15 to 55.

### **Secondary Project 4: East End Healthy Living Centre**

The *East End Healthy Living Centre* (EEHLC) was one of the Healthy Living Centres, a UK-wide initiative led by the New Opportunities Fund. While normally a Healthy Living Centre is a revenue programme, EEHLC received significant capital investment by the Glasgow City Council, since it involved the physical redevelopment of the Crownpoint Sports Centre. The new facilities included: an IT suite, a training kitchen, a crèche, an art room, multi-use studios, a healthy eating café, football pitches and a fitness suite. At the time of fieldwork, EEHLC was still under construction so that there was no activity on offer. Partner agencies such as East End Health Action, Alternatives Stress Centre, the Council's Family Support Project, and the Primary Care Trust's new Pain Management Clinic were expected to provide their services using the facilities of EEHLC (East End Partnership Ltd., 2004). Although EEHLC was meant to be open to all age groups, the 'excluded' young people were regarded as one of the priority target groups. Despite the fact that EEHLC was not in full operation at the time of fieldwork, it will be mentioned in later chapters for comparative purposes.

## Other projects

There were other sport- or youth-related projects in operation within the East End of Glasgow. Although no formal interview was held with the people involved in them, they were useful in providing a variety of insights in relation to the projects listed above. First, *Reidvale Adventure Playground*, operated by a volunteer organisation called *Reidvale Adventure Playground Association* (RAPA) – thus the facility itself is often called RAPA – is located off Duke Street, Dennistoun. It was open to local young people from Monday to Friday until 6 o'clock for drop-in, providing a range of activities using its outdoor and indoor facilities; Urban Fox and Shoot for Success were among the providers of the activities. RAPA also organised holiday trips in partnership with Drum Adventure just like Urban Fox did. The facility was built on derelict land in the early 1990s. It had been one of the few youth provisions which had been in operation substantially longer than Urban Fox. One of the staff members of Urban Fox was a member of the management committee of RAPA.

Second, within the EESIP area, there are three youth projects: *Dalmarnock Youth Project (DYP)*, *Parkhead Youth Project (PYP)*, and *South Camlachie Youth Project (SCYP)*. All of them worked in partnership with Urban Fox. For example, DYP asked Urban Fox to provide activities when they hold a fun day at Dalmarnock Community Centre. PYP is one of the venues of the Friday Night Drop-in. Although these youth projects and Urban Fox worked together, they had their own agendas which could be in conflict with each other's. This point will be revisited in Chapter 9. In the same way, Shoot for Success works with,

Third, secondary schools are important places for young people as far as sport provision is concerned. After the one-year pilot at Eastbank Academy, other secondary schools also started 'community clubs', *Whitehill Secondary School* being one of them. Although outside the SIP area, it is also one of the venues of the Football Skills Programme of Urban Fox. Although it is not a 'community club', *St. Mungo's Academy* is also a venue of Shoot for Success.

Forth, there were two other police-led projects. One was the *Friday Night Fun* in the Tollcross Leisure Centre targeted at young people in different neighbourhoods within East End, providing a variety of sport activities during the summer of 2004 (Strathclyde Police, 2004b). The other was the *Score Goals* programme was on offer during the summer of 2004 using Tollcross Leisure Centre (Strathclyde Police, 2004a). It is a police-led initiative in partnership with professional football clubs in the city. In the case of the East End, Celtic Football Club provided coaching sessions for young people selected from local secondary school pupils, as the reward for attending educational sessions. This project offered an interesting perspective in terms of the recruitment of participants, which is explored in details in Chapter 9.

Finally, there have been a few SIP-funded initiatives targeted at young people apart from Urban Fox. *East End Internet Broadcast* (EEIB), though not sport-based, had similar aims to those of Urban Fox, using activities such as music editing, radio broadcasting and so on. based in Barrowfield, EEIB provided its services in wider areas in partnership with other projects including Urban Fox. Another substantial project was *Possibilities for East End Kids* (PEEK). Based in Calton area, this relatively new project offered activities ranging from sporting activities to musical and drama. PEEK is mentioned as an example of conflicting interests between youth programmes in Chapter 9.



# Appendix E Target Sample Size

Target sample size for semi-structured interviews with adults

Total sample size = 15 interviewees

To include:

- At least 3 full-time workers
- At least 3 coaches
- At least 5 graduates
- At least 5 sessional or volunteer workers
- At least 1 individual from each community in the case study area.
- At least 5 individuals related to sports aspects
- At least 5 individuals related to non-sports aspects
- At least 5 local residents

Target sample size for focus groups

5 to 6 focus groups will be held with 6-10 young people in each group, so that in total approximately 40 young people, age 13 and over, will participate in discussions.

Participants will be recruited to include:

- At least 10 female and 10 male.
- At least 10 participants of sports activities.
- At least 10 participants of non-sports activities.
- At least 10 young people from communities known to be relatively deprived in the East End of Glasgow.
- At least 10 young people from communities known to be relatively affluent in the East End of Glasgow.

## Appendix F Sample of Interview Schedules

### **Sample 1: Scoping interview with manager (Urban Fox)**

#### **Introduction**

My name is Naofumi Suzuki. Thank you very much for your cooperation today.

Before I start asking questions, could you read and sign this please?

Well, as I explained in the letter, I am doing a study for my doctoral dissertation, which looks at the role of sport in regeneration of deprived urban neighbourhoods.

I am now at the stage of selecting my own case study area, and the east end of Glasgow is one of the possible areas. Today, I would like you to give me some information regarding the Urban Fox programme. Actually, I have been offering the same request to the managers of other sport-related projects in the east end. Based on these interviews, I will choose a couple of projects to do a more detailed study. So, if I want to choose your project, I will ask you for permission for it again.

## Programme Development

It seems that the Urban Fox Programme started from Football Skills Programme and then developed many more programmes. **First of all, could you please explain when it started for what reasons?**

- *Who started the project when and why?*
- ***What was the primary concern that led to the establishment of the project?***
  - *What are “the issues and influences” the young people “may face growing up in the east end”?*
  - *What are “the skills” required to “make positive decisions”?*
  - *Which is the focus, to increase participation in sports or to produce wider social benefits?*
- ***What are the target communities and why?***
- ***Why football was chosen in reality? Was it simply because of its popularity, or was there any theoretical basis (e.g. to maximise outcome, to approach a certain group of people)? Was the demerit of selecting football considered?***

Why it was funded by community safety fund?

How did you develop such various programmes?

## Programme Contents

### Football Skills Programme

Let me move on to the details of each programme. First, in terms of Football Skills Programme, you focus on community safety issues. But, **how do you deliver community safety issues in running football sessions?**

Who are the coaches?

- **Who are the coaches currently employed?**
  - *Are they those young people who are regarded as problems?*

- *How old are they?*
- *Are they full-time or part-time?*
- **Why are locally trained coaches are needed?**
  - *What does “local” mean?*
  - *To fulfil shortage? To make the provision more effective? Or for other side effects such as local employment?*

How did you choose the venues?

- *Why did you expand to two schools?*

#### Schools Programme

**As for Schools Programme, why was it started?** It seems to me that the contents of the programme are almost the same as Football Skills Programme, except that Schools Programme has special sessions for community safety issues.

- *What does the partnership with school provide?*
- *In order to emphasise community safety issues?*
- *Are the participants different from those of Football Skills Programme?*

#### Health Fox Cubs

Why was Healthy Fox Cubs developed?

#### Friday Night Drop-in

Friday Night Drop-in seems another key programme. **What role does it play in the overall programme?**

**Why was it developed?**

**What about the ownership?**

#### Holiday Activities

*What are the difference between Sports programme and Sports & Crafts Programme?*

One of the important theme seems to be **territorialism**. **Could you explain what is the problem and what is the contribution of your holiday programmes?**

#### Nature of Participants

##### Participants

Could you please tell me more about participants? **Who is the target of the programme?**

**When you say “young people”, what age range do you mean?**

- *What are the targeted age groups?*
  - *Primary school? Secondary school? Over school ages? All?*
- *What are the reasons of it?*

What are the young people who come to the sessions like?

##### Staff

- What are the partnership with people from other organisations like?

#### Benefits

*What do you think the benefits of the programme.*

- *How do you think the programme can “promote self-development” and “raise self-esteem”?*
- *Do you think this personal development helps them to “make positive decisions”?*

#### Monitoring & Evaluation

It seems that you evaluate the programme constantly and feedback to the next year’s programme. **In what way do you evaluate the programme?**

Do/will you keep records of the participants?

*If yes,*

- *What kind of information are you recording?*
- *Can I use that data for my study?*

*If no,*

– *Can you keep records of participants for me, if I ask you to do so?*

**The data will be anonymised and kept confidential.**

### **Conclusion**

Thank you very much indeed. Can I contact you again when I need further information? It'd be helpful if you could let me have your email address or fax number. If I would like to do a case study here, I will ask you for permission probably in a month.

## Sample 2: Interview with staff (football coach)

### 1. The East End of Glasgow

I heard that you live in Tollcross. And I assume you were born in Pakhead? How long have you lived in the East End?

The East End of Glasgow is known as one of the deprived areas in Glasgow. As a resident of the East End of Glasgow, **what do you think the problems of this area are?** NEED EXAMPLES

- Gang fighting?
- Alcohol?
- Drugs?
- Vandalism?
- Poverty?
- Unemployment?
- Sectarianism?
- Stigmatisation (labelling)?

What do you think the causes of those problems?

- Poverty?
- Parents?
- Peer pressure?

Could you tell me more about **gang fighting**, because it is one of the main issues the Urban Fox is concerned with. People say it's been always there in the East End. But as you were brought up in the East End, was there already there when you were a wee boy?

When did it start?

As compared to the situation at that time, what do you think about the present? Has the gang fighting or territoriality got better or worse, or stayed the same?

### **Why do you think it has?**

Have you been involved in one of those incidents of gang fighting in any way? Or have you witnessed one of them? What was it like?

### **Why do you think they gang fight?**

- Boredom? – why?
- Territoriality? – why? Parents?

People call them “territorial gangs” and say there are particular groups with particular names, but they also say most young boys gang fight. **Who are the “gangs”?**

- Are they involved in any organised crime?
- Stigmatised or labelled?
- Do you personally know any boy in the gangs?
- **Has any of them ever participated in your coaching session?** How was his behaviour? Did he changed his behaviour through football coaching?

## **2. Urban Fox**

So let me move on to my questions about the Urban Fox Programme.

- Have you been involved in the Urban Fox from the very start like John?
- How did you start it
  - Michael?
- Have you coached for any organisations other than the Urban Fox?
- (As compared to other programmes,) what do you think about the Urban Fox?
- The Urban Fox is well reputed as a good practice, but what are the successful factors in your opinion?
  - Commitment of staff? – where can you see it?
  - Co-ordinator? – what is his strength?

- What are the benefits of the Urban Fox to the communities in the East End?
- Do you think the East End get any better because of the presence of the Urban Fox?  
Apart from young people are happier?
- **Can you see the improvement in terms of territorialism? In what occasion do you see it, for example?**

### **3. Benefits of Sports/Football**

Do you think programmes like Urban Fox can contribute to preventing or overcoming the problems in the East End? NEED EXAMPLES

- Diversion?
- Self-development?
- Health?
- Football development?
- Community development?
- Social integration?

Do you think football is distinctive in any way from other sports?

- Popularity?
- Characteristics of the game?

What do you think of the way the Urban Fox use football in the programme?

- To 'hook'
- To educate

### Sample 3: Focus group

#### Introduction (3 min)

Thank you for coming today. I'm doing some research about sport and leisure activities of young people in the east end. You may have seen me somewhere because I've been hanging round for a wee while. The reason why I want to interview you today is because you are going to the winter residential next year. So, what I would like you to tell me today is what do you think about the event coming in the near future. I would also like to ask more general questions, such as what you usually do in your spare time, what do you think about Urban Fox, whether you are happy with the leisure activities available in the east end, or what are the benefits of sports and leisure to you, that sort of things.

Before we start, I would like to ask you for two things. One is, I have a little bit of difficulty in listening to English, so it would be very helpful if you could speak more slowly and loudly than usual for me. And the other thing is because I need to record the interview, and later I will listen to it and type it down on a paper, it would be also helpful if you try not to speak at the same time. If you speak at the same time, it will be very difficult to tell what you said when I listen to the tape. But, apart from that, please feel free to talk whenever you want. OK?

So, first of all, please introduce yourself to me, and the other boys/girls in here, if you don't know each other yet.

- Could you tell me your name, age, which school you go to, and where you live?
- How long have you lived around there?
- If you are not at school, what do you do?
  - college, employed, on a training programme?

Personal Information							
Name							
Age							

Club							
Area							
School							
(if not?)							

**The Local Areas (5 min)**

OK. Next question. Tell me your opinions about what are the good things and bad things of living in the East End of Glasgow?

- What are the good things? And the bad things?
- Is it a good area for young people? Why? Why not?

**Leisure time in general (10 min)**

Next topic is, what kind of things you generally do in your spare time/at weekends? And where?

- What do you do when you don't come to Urban Fox?

*Do you go to other activities organised in the community centres?*

*How often do you go to the community centres?*

*What do you do when you don't go to the community centres?*

- Stay at home? Nothing to do?
- Just sit? Why do you just sit? Why don't you go somewhere and kick a ball round with friends?
- Bored? Why do you feel bored?
- Seeing friends?
- What kinds of sporting activities are available in the area you live in?  
*Urban Fox? Organised activities? In community centres?*  
*Somewhere else? Unorganised ones? Where do you do it?*  
*Basketball? Do you know "shoot for success"?*
- (For girls) Do you like football? Do you play it? Why? Why not?
- Do you play football in local teams?  
*What kind of club is it? Professional clubs?*  
*How often do you play? Where do you play?*  
*If not, why not? Did Urban Fox help you to join those teams?*
- What kind of non-sports activities do you like to do?
- Do you travel to other areas to do any of those activities?
- Do you go to places outside your community for any other purpose?  
*Why? Why not?*
- Who do you most often spend your spare time with?  
*How did you get to know them? Schools? Neighbours? Else?*  
*Does Urban Fox help you meet new friends?*
- Are you happy with your way of spending your spare time? Is there anything else you would possibly like to do?

### **Urban Fox (7 min)**

Now, tell me about your experience in Urban Fox.

- Who goes to football coaching by Urban Fox?

Right. Now I would like you to answer the next question one by one.

- When and why did you come to Urban Fox in the first place?

*Football, then others?*

*Friday Drop-in, then football?*

*Only either of them?*

*Schools Programme?*

- How often do you come?
- Do you go to Urban Fox in other places?
- What are good things about Urban Fox? The less good things? Why?

Urban Fox Participation							
How long?							
How often?							
Football	Yes / No						

### **Mixing with other areas (territoriality) (7 min)**

As you know, Urban Fox takes you to some activities, like outward bounds activities, the Big Night Out, or residentials, and you meet young people from other areas there. Have you all participated those kinds of activities? What do you think about it?

- How do you feel about mixing with people from other areas?
- Do you get any opportunity to see these people apart from Urban Fox?
- Are you intimidated when crossing boundaries between communities?

Does it makes you feel safer to travel across boundaries that you know some people in other areas?

### **Outcome/Evaluation (7 min)**

- What difference has involvement in Urban Fox made to you?
- Do you think sport brings you any wider benefits? What?

For example:

- Caused you to think differently about yourself?
  - Learned new things?
  - Helped you to get on better with people?
  - Given you a healthier lifestyle?
  - Helped you stay off drink or drugs?
  - Less boredom?
  - Kept you out of trouble in the community or with the police?
  - Less/no gang fighting?
  - More friends?
  - Made you more confident about going outside your home area??
  - Encouraged you to think differently about your education/ the job you would like to do?
  - Helped you future prospects?
- What do you think you would be like if there weren't Urban Fox?

**People who don't come (5 min)**

- Are all of your friends come to Urban Fox, or do you have friends who don't come to Urban Fox? What kind of people are they?
- What puts off other young people from coming to Urban Fox? Or causes them to stop coming?

**Staff (5 min)**

- What do you think about the workers and coaches of Urban Fox?
  - Do they have a good attitude towards young people?*
  - Do they provide good training and coaching?*
  - Do you talk to them about other things than sport or urban Fox activities?*
  - Such as?*
  - Do you want to become like any of them? If so, who?*

**Anything Else? (3 min)**

Are there any further points you want to raise about Urban Fox and your experiences with it , or in this area?

## Appendix G Original Design of Focus Groups

Time	19:00-21:00 on Fridays in October (1, 8, 15, 29)
Venue	One of Friday Drop-in Clubs
Participants	6-8 young people per session (2 each from 7 Friday Drop-in Clubs)
Sessions	8 sessions (2 sessions per night)

1 Oct	Group 1	Male only	4 areas	HEL, BAM, BLV, L&A
	Group 2	Female only	4 areas	HEL, BAM, BLV, L&A
8 Oct	Group 3	Male only	4 areas	PKH, BRI, DAL, BAM
	Group 4	Female only	4 areas	PKH, BRI, DAL, BAM
15 Oct	Group 5	Mixed	4 areas	BLV, BAM, PKH, HEL
	Group 6	Mixed	3 areas	L&A, BRI, DAL,
29 Oct	Group 7	Male only	4 areas	HEL, BLV, DAL, BRI
	Group 8	Female only	4 areas	HEL, BLV, DAL, BRI

HEL: Helenslea

BAM: Bambury

BLV: Bluevale

BRI: Bridgeton

DAL: Dalmarnock

PKH: Parkhead

L&A: St Lukes & St Andrews

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