

**Active
Communities
Network**

Breaking Barriers

Community cohesion, sport
and organisational development

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Supporting Statements



My passion for sport springs from the fact that it can be used to bring communities together. This report demonstrates how sport can offer young people new chances to succeed in life. The young people who have participated in the Breaking Barriers project have experienced huge personal growth, such as greater self-confidence and a better understanding of others, whilst the commitment shown to them by the staff has also enabled them to start on their personal pathway to the future through education, training, volunteering and mentoring. Building self-esteem, motivation and closer links between communities makes for stronger neighbourhoods and a better quality of life for all residents. Of course, we cannot forget that this project has also helped create a generation of healthy, physically active young people who will continue to make sport part of their daily routine. I am looking forward to making the most of this research to deliver real change to communities.

Kate Hoey

MP and Mayor of London's Commissioner for Sport



This report is a valuable study into the effectiveness of various approaches to using sport to engage with minority ethnic communities and to strengthen community cohesion generally.

The report underlines that, if they are to be successful, community sports projects cannot operate in isolation, but must work in partnership with key organisations, such as housing associations and local charities. It also illustrates the importance of entrusting outreach delivery work to the right people to ensure maximum impact in engaging with hard-to-reach groups and individuals.

The significant community regeneration and social cohesion impact that a sports facility can have on an area is also clearly demonstrated in this report. It illustrates how the recently-transformed community sports hub in Stonebridge Estate, North London, which was funded with a £1m Football Foundation grant, has been a key factor in the wider regeneration programme for the area, and a major platform from which to effect positive change across the whole community.

I do hope that you enjoy reading this document and that you find it a useful contribution in helping to shape how we are using our sporting spaces and sporting activity to improve the quality of life for everyone in our towns and cities.

Paul Thorogood

Chief Executive, Football Foundation

Foreword



Growing up in North West London, on the Stonebridge estate featured in this research, I am acutely aware of the challenges faced by young people growing up in areas where opportunities, role models and employment are thin on the ground. For young people whose race, ethnicity or culture somehow excludes them from 'mainstream' services – be they in sport, education or any other arena – these challenges are magnified and can often seem insurmountable. Often the answer seems to lie with insular approaches, bonding only with people from the same culture, class or locality. This further reinforces stereotypes and can have extremely negative impacts on both individuals and the wider community. We only have to look at the gun and knife crime, postcode territorialism, gang culture and divisions that currently blight our urban centres and young people's lives for proof.

Throughout my own life I have seen the power that sport can have in engaging young people from all backgrounds, creating a common bond and familiar environment within which people relate regardless of background. I have also witnessed the way that coaches can be so much more than just the coach, acting as advisor, role model and motivator for young people from all backgrounds. For me, football provided a pathway for employment and opportunity to play a sport I love at the very highest level. It has also, through the Jason Roberts Foundation, given me an opportunity to put back into the communities from which I came.

The Breaking Barriers research is a very important document in underpinning my belief that sport can be used to change individuals and communities, to bring people together and forge a wider understanding of different cultures. It not only demonstrates how the use of sport and facilities contribute to the wider social agenda, but also illustrates perfectly why local community groups and role models are so important if we truly want to turn lives and communities around.

For my part the research has helped frame a new initiative for my Foundation, the Respect Brent programme launched in July 2010, and I very much look forward to working with the Active Communities Network, Football Foundation and other partners in ensuring the success of that programme. I am certain the Breaking Barriers research will help decision makers, funders and other delivery organisations alike in delivering effective projects to promote community cohesion in our most marginalised communities.

Jason Roberts MBE

Premier League and Grenada International footballer
Founder and Patron Jason Roberts Foundation

1.0

Introduction

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1.1

The Project



Breaking Barriers was a three year Community Cohesion project operating on a pan-London basis, with an emphasis on engaging and supporting minority ethnic communities into mainstream participation in sports, education and employment. Operating from 2007–2010, it was led by the Active Communities Network (ACN)¹ and designed as an ‘action research’ project utilising three different approaches to delivery in order to illuminate and evidence good practice. As such, it was launched with an integrated research strand that was designed to both inform the project as it progressed as well as providing an overall evaluation. This report is the Final Report on that research.

Breaking Barriers was funded from two principal sources, the Football Foundation with additional support from the community sports coaches at the London Borough of Lambeth. The Football Foundation was interested in developing its work in relation to equality and diversity and the role that football can play in contributing to community cohesion in particular. Community cohesion has become a key strand for the Foundation and one of its seven community programme strategy objectives is to, ‘contribute to promoting respect amongst communities and bringing people together through football’.²

In its Community Programme Strategy document, the Foundation says that ‘it is widely accepted that many minority groups are insular and do not integrate into mainstream services’ but that:

Football and sport can provide a common language for communities. Football has the ability to engage those from all religions, ethnic backgrounds and social strata. Football can provide alternative activities to integrate communities and individuals into mainstream society, in the long term helping to improve educational attainment, employability and aspirations to achieve.³

Alongside its funding for the Breaking Barriers project, the Foundation has also supported work and developments closely related to it. This includes investment in facilities used by the project – the Stonebridge Pavilion (see 4.1.3) and Lilian Baylis Old School (see 3.2) – as well as investment in the Personal Attainment and Community Training (PACT) workforce development work (see 4.2.1). This is underpinned by its ongoing relationship with ACN as a strategic partner.⁴

Breaking Barriers has operated in targeted communities around Stonebridge/Harlesden in West London; West Bermondsey in the Central London area; and Streatham/Tooting/North Lambeth in the South of the City. Initially focused on Somali populations, but growing to work with a wider range of residents, it aimed to work in these areas to provide sports coaching and tournaments, educational projects and training, volunteering and vocational opportunities.

This approach allowed Breaking Barriers to ‘test’ different approaches to community cohesion delivery in each borough.

Southwark

In Southwark, the project sought to provide additional resources for an established service provider (ACN) to deliver focused activities within the context of wider sport/community development initiatives. It involved the recruitment of dedicated Breaking Barriers staff to develop grass roots initiatives focusing on community cohesion through sport. The role of staff was in part to identify and develop community leaders to reinforce cohesion messages and act as ambassadors for the programme within their own peer groups. This additional activity and resources were designed to act as a catalyst for wider partnerships and to embed the cohesion agenda within wider strategic frameworks.

¹ At the time the organisation was called London Active Communities, reflecting the focus of its work in the London area which has since broadened out from the capital. For clarity, we have chosen to refer to it by its new name throughout this report.

² Football Foundation (2008) *Community Programme Strategy 2008*, London: Football Foundation: 3.

³ Ibid: 18.

⁴ Stonebridge Pavilion received a £1m capital grant; LBOS received £20,000; and PACT was funded by a grant of £799,289.

Brent

In Brent, Breaking Barriers provided finance, training and support for an identified grass roots sports-based community organisation (Hornstars) that was at the time focused predominantly on one community group (Somalian young people). The approach and the associated case study research sought to determine whether the additional capacity allowed the organisation to 'work outwards' from this constituency and create interaction between different groups.

Lambeth

The Lambeth case study was to explore whether Breaking Barriers could work alongside statutory sector providers – including Lambeth Council and the Sport Action Zone (SAZ) – to develop new cohesion initiatives and partnerships. It sought to investigate how effective statutory and voluntary sector partnerships could be in addressing the community cohesion agenda, what learning could be developed and how this might be applied in the future.

In summary Breaking Barriers, has sought to achieve the following outcomes:

- i** Greater community cohesion and multi-cultural participation in football/sport
- ii** Entry routes into mainstream sports clubs for excluded communities
- iii** Entry routes into volunteering opportunities and sports coaching/administration for project participants
- iv** Greater cultural awareness and shared community identity through workshops and community events
- v** Improved citizenship and community ownership by project participants

However, despite having its own discreet funding, Breaking Barriers should not be viewed as a stand alone project in that it sat within the broader work of ACN and overlapped with other issues and initiatives around crime, education and training. As such, it was able to leverage additional work into the programme in the form of resources and partnerships from related initiatives, including:

- Training resources through the New Deal for Communities (NDC) in Southwark
- Funding from the Home Office Preventing Violence and Extremism (PVE) initiative
- Work undertaken as part of the Home Office Positive Futures programme, particularly in Brent

Breaking Barriers also developed and shifted its focus as it progressed, in part as a result of changing circumstances. The initial focus on south Lambeth was replaced by a concentration on and development of the Lilian Baylis Old School in the North of the Borough, as a delivery venue for a wide range of projects and agencies.

This was partly a result of the opportunities that centre offered and partly due to personnel changes in the London Borough of Lambeth which are commented on later in this report.

1.2

The Evaluative Framework



Although principally a project that was to deliver activities, participation and opportunities, Breaking Barriers 'was always seen as an interactive research programme,' says Gary Stannett, Chief Executive of ACN, which 'allowed [the organisation] to rethink what they were doing as it progressed'.

The evaluation of sports based social interventions has advanced greatly in the course of the last few years, although many approaches continue to be over reliant on output data relating to the numbers of participants and their achievements or the telling of individual life stories rather than the impact of, or learning from, the work.

What our own participatory action research approach reveals is the importance of more contextualised observations of what is happening on the ground. Our previous work has revealed that it is only when quantitative data is utilised to support a qualitative approach that we can achieve an evaluation which communicates the social structures, processes, 'feelings' and context in which participants find themselves, and the changes this can engender.⁵

As such, our approach was developed with an action imperative motivated by the desire to *impact* upon the nature of 'community sports' policy, practice and evaluation in a way that actively contributes to developing responsive, effective programmes. In this context it has not always been easy to separate the evaluation of the Breaking Barriers programme from all of the wider work that delivery agencies are involved in, or indeed from the histories of those organisations and those they work with. Indeed the contribution and impact of particular sporting interventions cannot always be considered in isolation from the wider social policy and regeneration environment and the presence of multiple funding streams.

As Oli Rahman from ACN put it: 'Any other work that was done [on the Aylesbury estate] had a Breaking Barriers emphasis, so when we did the summer programme, for example, although it was multi-agency, everyone knew it was a bit of the Breaking Barriers programme. Partner agencies need to be part of it as well, to have a multi-disciplinary way of thinking. That's a key part of it, because you can only achieve so much as a stand-alone project.'

In this sense much of the best activity owes its success to the years of outreach and detached work done by ACN workers, partner agencies and volunteers. Indeed it could be argued that instead of a project brand, what is most recognisable to young people in the Aylesbury area in particular are staff. As one interviewee said 'for the young people it's not [ACN]... it's Oli.' Furthermore, Danielle Towner, a NDC volunteer and coach education officer, emphasised, the NDC team fund and support a lot of coaching around the estate as well as detached youth work, and work in schools. 'That's where a lot of them know us from,' she said. 'Through the NDC we've been able to spend so much time on these kids.'

In a context where very few initiatives were branded or marketed as 'Breaking Barriers', partly because few were solely concerned with issues of community cohesion, the approach of the team was more about embedding a certain way of working among all relevant agencies and workers so that a focus on community cohesion emerged through new and existing programmes of activity. Correspondingly, this suggests that rather than establishing exclusive and definitive boundaries around the evaluation of 'Breaking Barriers' we need to consider those elements of work which relate to the achievement of 'Breaking Barriers' *outcomes* rather than specified project *outputs*. This is born of a recognition that defined outcomes relating to the community cohesion agenda (and other agendas) can be better and more cost effectively achieved through flexible models which filter *multiple* funding streams through appropriate delivery agencies who then work alongside partners with access to complimentary resources.

⁵ Crabbe, T (2006) 'Going the distance': Impact, journeys and distance travelled. Third Interim National Positive Futures Case Study Research Report, Sheffield: SHU

In terms of the outputs and outcomes for the project, Breaking Barriers employed the Substance Project Reporting System to record statistical data. In total Breaking Barriers:

- Engaged 5,524 young people in the reporting period
- Delivered 293 separate schemes of work
- Delivered 7,085 session hours
- Recruited 675 volunteers
- Recorded 1,000 qualifications achieved by participants and 121 other outcomes
- Engaged a wide range of people from different backgrounds as evidenced by the recorded ethnic breakdown of participants below.

Table 1
Ethnic Breakdown of All Participants
in Breaking Barriers.

These are aggregate figures across the Breaking Barriers for financial years 2007–08 and 2008–09 where information has been recorded. For a fuller breakdown please see the Appendix.

Ethnicity Category	2007–08	2008–09
Asian or Asian British	81	129
Black or Black British	806	1,012
Mixed	94	255
White	94	174
Chinese or Other	26	157
Not Specified/Did not answer	319	657
Total	1,681	2,466

1.3

The Research



The research project has been managed by Prof Tim Crabbe and Dr Adam Brown from Substance. The principal researchers have been Matthew Brown and Imogen Slater, both associates of Substance. The research was initially intended to focus on:

- The capacity of sport and popular culture to engage target groups
- The success of the project in retaining participation
- The impact of sport in breaking down barriers between racial/ethnic groups
- The project's capacity to create pathways into mainstream provision
- Improvements in community relations

In pursuit of these objectives the research team established a range of preliminary research questions around the following issues:

- Planning and strategic thinking
- Understanding of the target neighbourhoods and communities
- Project organisation and local administrative contexts
- The process of engagement with participants
- Styles of delivery and staff/volunteer profiles
- Engagement profiles and developmental pathways
- Sport and community relations
- Modelling of approaches

The principal methods employed by the research team to address these questions included:

- The deployment of the Substance Project Reporting System (SPRS) to generate project statistics and qualitative case studies
- Desk top research and mapping
- Interviews with:
 - ACN personnel
 - Key project stakeholders
 - Local project leaders
 - Local project stakeholders (including local authorities, delivery partners etc.)
 - Project participants
- Participatory observation around:
 - Delivery sessions
 - Tournaments
 - Workshops
 - Meetings

Over a two year period this work took place in three London boroughs including Brent, Southwark and Lambeth. The focus of the research was on relatively tightly defined geographical areas and partner organisations including the work of Hornstars on the Stonebridge estate in Brent, the work of ACN on the Aylesbury and Rockingham estates in Southwark and partnership work in a number of locations in Lambeth.

The research in Lambeth began by focusing on the Breaking Barriers programme in the south of the borough. The plan had been that Lambeth's Sports and Recreation department, who were one of the main funders of the overall project in the borough, would train a number of new community sports coaches. These workers were to offer targeted sports delivery alongside ACN staff who would add their skills and expertise to help them work with specific communities to raise their participation and engagement with mainstream services and provision. However, for ACN this was a new venture, working with new partners and so, unlike their interventions in Southwark and Brent, did not benefit from an existing profile or networks on which to build.

Despite sustained efforts to identify partners and to work with a local Somali football club, the work was rarely sufficiently dynamic or consistent to enable a similar pattern of research to be established as in the other areas. This was less to do with ACN than as a result of a shortage of suitable venues from which to deliver sessions; an initial lack of 'buy in' amongst some partners; and the departure of the key sponsor, Binnie Crookes, from the local authority 12 months into the project.

In this context, in autumn 2008, the research in the borough shifted focus to north Lambeth where Lilian Baylis Old School (LBOS) provided a hub for a range of activities and programmes, including Breaking Barriers. The concentration on this venue allowed the research to further consider the role of an alternative space within community cohesion approaches, which had been identified as an important theme at the Interim Report stage⁶ and which we comment on later in the report.

⁶ Crabbe, T, A, Brown, M and Slater, I (2008) *Breaking Barriers Case Study Research: Interim Report*, Manchester: Substance

It is important to note though, that two years on, ACN has maintained its commitment to the delivery aspects of the project in the south of the borough which has led to the successful establishment of relations with new partners who offer resources, venues and geographic specificity. The delivery in south Lambeth now ties in with the programme in the north of the borough at LBOS where groups access boxing, in particular, as well as other training sessions and events. With the work now on a firmer footing there are plans to extend the reach of the research back into these areas.

All of the research sites are reviewed in more detail in section three of the report.

1.4

The Report



This report is the Final Report of the Breaking Barriers research and evaluation programme. It is structured as follows:

- **Section Two** provides an introduction to the core themes being addressed in terms of debates around community cohesion and associated social policy issues and its distinction from more familiar aspects of sport for development work.
- **Section Three** provides a narrative account of the three geographical areas in London where the work took place.
- **Section Four** forms the bulk of the report and seeks to identify, in each of the three locations: the organisational approach; the role of ACN; ‘snapshot’ statistical data from the SPRS of project outputs; and ‘success stories’ from the projects with a view to identifying good practice; and illustrative material to inform conclusions and best practice guidance.
- **Section Five** provides conclusions and recommendations.

Alongside this report we are also publishing a series of case studies and good practice guides for others undertaking work in this area.

2.0

Marking out the Pitch

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2.1

What do we Mean by Community Cohesion?



'Community Cohesion' became a hot topic in public policy circles in 2001 following a series of disturbances in several towns in the north of England involving groups of young people, particularly those from white and Asian ethnic groups. Subsequently the Home Office commissioned the *Cantle Report* into the issues which lay behind the disturbances and this was a prime driver behind the development of a national strategy to enhance community cohesion.

Since then there have been a series of reports, studies and guidance documents relating to Community Cohesion which seek to develop both a better understanding of what is meant by the term as well as better practice in terms of how it might be developed and achieved.

The Institute for Community Cohesion (ICOCO – www.cohesioninstitute.org.uk) is a not for profit partnership established in 2005 to provide new information and approaches to 'race, diversity and multiculturalism'. It says that:

'There has been much debate over an exact definition of cohesion. We believe it is both a process and an outcome, comprising at least six facets:

- Interaction between individuals, communities and wider society to promote trust and common understanding
- Active citizenship: participation in civil society, in public institutions, the workplace and in political life
- Equality of access to the labour market, housing, education, healthcare and social welfare. Evidence of progress towards equality of outcome across society
- A society at ease with itself, with a real sense of security, welcome and belonging
- Respect for the rule of law and the liberal values that underpin society
- The possession of civil, political and social rights and responsibilities

We believe that cohesion enshrines the relationship between the individual and their community with wider society. It is important to stress that cohesion is a process and condition that applies to every member of society, not just migrant or minority households.'

Interestingly in relation to Breaking Barriers, ICOCO go on to say that they '*consider cohesion and integration takes place within different domains: the institutional domain of the workplace and places of learning; the social and socio-spatial domain of the community and neighbourhood; and political domain of trade union, political party and civil society organisation.*' Central to this is the promotion of '*greater interaction within and between communities*'.

Legislation relevant to community cohesion includes the Equality Act 2006; Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000; and The Children Act 2004. A range of other documents are also worth noting here:

- Communities and Local Government, *Community Cohesion Education Standards for Schools* (2004)
- Local Government Association, *Community Cohesion – an action guide, LGA guidance for local authorities* (2004)
- Communities and Local Government, *Community Cohesion: Seven Steps – A Practitioners Toolkit*, Home Office and ODPM (2005)

- Communities and Local Government, *Building a Picture of Community Cohesion* (2003)
- Communities and Local Government, *Strong and Prosperous Communities – the Local Government White Paper* (2006)

Much of the focus of the debate has been, and will continue to be, about how groups of people from different ethnic groups can live together better and prosper. However, it is important to stress that other factors, such as age and social class differences, may also contribute to conflicts that impact on the cohesiveness of a community – something increasingly being recognised in equality work. Many areas with significant minority ethnic populations embrace people who experience very different socio-economic circumstances often appearing to live parallel lives and where older people frequently perceive young people, regardless of their ethnicity, to be a ‘problem’. These factors in themselves do not mean a community will lack cohesion. However, understanding the different dynamics that shape the people living in any community can help us to understand where the pressure points might be.

The Local Government White Paper *Strong and Prosperous Communities* placed the emphasis on local authorities to help make communities more cohesive. This included an increased focus on the contribution of both the voluntary and private sectors and the strengthening of youth forums.

A research study conducted for the Department of Communities and Local Government, *What Works in Community Cohesion?*,⁷ emphasised the need for:

- A common understanding of ‘community cohesion’
- A recognition of the complexity of the issues
- The prominence of ‘meaningful interaction’ between people and groups as a key indicator of cohesion
- The importance of adopting approaches that have been proven to work in generating cohesion

It suggested that community cohesion was:

- A multi-faceted concept
- About positive relationships
- About meaningful interaction
- Linked to socio-economics and, more particularly, deprivation
- Indicated by levels of engagement and participation
- Based on a sense of commonality around real life issues
- Defined differently in different local contexts

7

DCLG (2007) *What Works in Community Cohesion?*
Research study conducted for DCLG and the Commission on Intergation and Cohesion, London: Department for Communities and Local Government

The *Commission on Integration and Cohesion's* (CIC) Final Report in February 2008 built on this work to paint a vision of a cohesive society as entailing:

'Thriving and prosperous places where people from all different backgrounds are equal, and where everyone matters – whether old or young, settled or new, Black or White. There are local places where all groups feel that they are treated fairly, and that they have a responsibility to others that transcends the differences between them. Places where people are not fearful of meeting their neighbours, and where they don't see individual differences as a barrier to the success of the whole community. Imagine places where people are confident about change and the benefits it brings, who are not threatened by others, and who are able to welcome newcomers and offer them the support they need.'⁸

This report proposed four key principles underpinning a new understanding of integration and cohesion:

- i Firstly, the sense of shared futures which we believe is at the heart of our model and our recommendations – an emphasis on articulating what binds communities together rather than what differences divide them, and prioritising a shared future over divided legacies
- ii Secondly, an emphasis on a new model of rights and responsibilities that we believe will be fit for purpose in the 21st century – one that makes clear both a sense of citizenship at national and local level, and the obligations that go along with membership of a community, both for individuals or groups
- iii Thirdly, an ethics of hospitality – a new emphasis on mutual respect and civility that recognises that alongside the need to strengthen the social bonds within groups, the pace of change across the country reconfigures local communities rapidly, meaning that mutual respect is fundamental to issues of integration and cohesion
- iv A commitment to equality that sits alongside the need to deliver visible social justice, to prioritise transparency and fairness, and build trust in the institutions that arbitrate between groups.⁹

Importantly for our research, and illustrating the complexity of the issues, a Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) report in Autumn 2007, focused on the wider regeneration agenda, which many see as supporting community cohesion, arguing that in some circumstances initiatives might be exacerbating community division. It said that '*new buildings and public spaces must allow for interaction between different communities. However, these schemes often create further divisions between these groups.*' It said that local authorities and public bodies were '*uniquely placed to shape and revive the communities they serve*' but that they needed '*plans and governance structures to ensure that race equality is embedded in the policy and practice of regeneration so that it has a real impact on communities.*'¹⁰

A fresh agenda associated with the concept of community cohesion and the ways to facilitate it has since emerged around the concept of Community Empowerment. In 2007 the Department for Communities and Local Government announced an *Action Plan for Community Empowerment* in which it stated:

'Community empowerment' is the giving of confidence, skills, and power to communities to shape and influence what public bodies do for or with them. 'Community engagement' is the process whereby public bodies reach out to communities to create empowerment opportunities.'¹¹

⁸ Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2008) *Our Shared Future*, Commission on Integration and Cohesion's Final Report: 2

⁹ *Ibid*: 7

¹⁰ *Regeneration and the race equality duty: report of a formal investigation in England, Scotland and Wales* www.nationalschool.gov.uk/policyhub/news_items/regeneration_race07.asp

¹¹ DCLG and Local Government Association (2007) *An Action Plan for Community Empowerment: Building on Success*, London: DGLC: 12

With £35m of funding attached to associated initiatives, the action plan called for new approaches in ensuring that *'more people will be given more power over their communities in everything from tackling anti-social behaviour, managing social housing, tackling litter and fly tipping and improving playgrounds and parks.'*

In 2007 the Government adopted Public Service Agreement 21 (PSA 21) to 'build cohesive, empowered and active communities', ¹² measured against six indicators:

- i** The percentage of people who believe people from different backgrounds get on well together in their local area
- ii** The percentage of people who believe they belong to their area
- iii** The percentage of people who have meaningful interactions with people from different backgrounds
- iv** The percentage of people who feel they can influence decisions in their locality
- v** A thriving third sector
- vi** The percentage of people who participate in culture or sport

PSA 21 indicators reflect much of the content of earlier reports but also help to specify some of the terms. For instance, the indicator relating to meaningful interaction defines it as 'mixing socially': Engaging in conversation or some other form of social interaction, rather than simply dealing with them at a place of work or business, in one or more of the following spheres:

- At your work, school or college
- At your child's crèche, nursery or school
- At a pub, club, café or restaurant
- At a group, club or organisation you belong to e.g. a sports club or social club
- At the shops
- At a place of worship' ¹³

Alongside this has been specific guidance for both local authorities and schools in relation to the integration of community cohesion:

- **DCSF (2007)** *Guidance on the Duty to Promote Community Cohesion*, which outlined the duty to promote community cohesion in schools, introduced at the end of 2007 and rolled out in 2008.
- **DCLG (2009)** *Guidance for Local Authorities on How to Mainstream Community Cohesion into Other Services* which highlighted 'how cohesion can be built during the course of projects or service delivery that are not specifically aimed at cohesion' with a 'key message... that cohesion is for everyone and for it to be sustained it needs to be mainstreamed'. ¹⁴

12
HM Treasury (2007) *PSA Delivery Agreement 21: Build more cohesive, empowered and active communities*, London: HMT

13
Ibid: 18

14
Dept. Communities and Local Government (2009) *Guidance for Local Authorities on how to Mainstream Community Cohesion into Other Services*, London: DCLG

Within Government guidance there has been a recognition that community cohesion approaches need to be broader than a focus on one Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) community and may not be focused around issues of race or ethnicity at all.

‘For some areas, the priority may be to bring people from different faiths or ethnic background together, for others, it may be about enabling people from different estates or areas to mix, whilst for others, it may be about helping young people and old people to get to know and understand each other. Some Pathfinders have made the point that for them it was important not to focus on race since this can sometimes create a perception amongst the majority community that they are excluded.’¹⁵

As we shall see, this has been reflected in some of the work of the Breaking Barriers project which, although initially focused on race and ethnicity – and Somali communities in particular – has also embraced inter-generational work, territorialism and bringing young people from different estates together. This has also helped to broaden the notion of ‘community cohesion’ work beyond the confines of a ‘race, ethnicity and diversity’ framework.

15

Home Office (2005) *Community Cohesion: Seven Steps, A Practitioner’s Toolkit*, London: Home Office: 19

2.2 Understanding Sport’s Role in Generating Community Cohesion



16

Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2008) *Our Shared Future: Commission on Integration Cohesion Final Report*, London: CIC: 10

The Commission on Integration and Cohesion report *Our Shared Futures*, suggested that an integrated and cohesive community is one where:

- There is a clearly defined and widely shared sense of the contribution of different individuals and different communities to a future vision for a neighbourhood, city, region or country
- There is a strong sense of an individual's rights and responsibilities when living in a particular place – people know what everyone expects of them, and what they can expect in turn
- Those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities, access to services and treatment
- There is a strong sense of trust in institutions locally to act fairly in arbitrating between different interests and for their role and justifications to be subject to public scrutiny
- There is a strong recognition of the contribution of both those who have newly arrived and those who already have deep attachments to a particular place, with a focus on what they have in common
- There are strong and positive relationships between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and other institutions within neighbourhoods¹⁶

This definition embodies the four key principles underpinning community cohesion, referred to above – namely a shared future, citizenship, ethics of hospitality, and visible social justice. Clearly, no single project, football or sport more generally, will be able to deliver this on its own, even within geographically limited areas. To some extent this ‘vision’ of an integrated community will always remain an (unrealised) goal. Some aspects such as creating equal life opportunities – relate to such fundamental questions about the global distribution of resources that no social intervention could be expected to address them in anything other than a marginal sense.

However, Community Cohesion has emerged as an increasingly key agenda for those working around the social uses of sport because sport is cited as one of the mechanisms by which people from different backgrounds can be engaged together and, if part of a wider developmental programme, this can lead to other ‘meaningful interaction’. As the *What Works?* report highlighted, one successful approach is to engage participants ‘with activities that interest them and which will benefit their personal development’, such as sport.

As such, sport is seen not only as a physical and temporal ‘space’ that allows barriers to be broken and meaningful interaction to take place between people from different backgrounds. It is also an activity that can be used as an engagement tool that then leads to further development. This is especially important in relation to the effect of socio-economic, educational, skills, and employment deprivation on exacerbating community divisions. Considered in this context a focus has been placed on the potential for sport to be used as a ‘gateway’ to ongoing development in education, volunteering or even less structured understanding of other communities, which can help underpin community cohesion.

This is reflected to some extent in the strategic direction of both the Football Foundation and, to a lesser extent, Sport England. The Football Foundation’s mission is to ‘improve facilities, create opportunities and build communities’ and its Community Programme Strategy aims to:

‘use the power of football to engage participants in positive activities and improve community cohesion, education and health outcomes as a result.’

Indeed that strategy document highlights Breaking Barriers as a flagship project in their drive to use football to develop social cohesion¹⁷ and in their role at ‘the intersection of football and sport’s three key priorities – quality participation, social cohesion and corporate social responsibility’.

Sport England has developed a new strategy for community sport in England which sets the agenda for community sports development for the period 2008–11. This promises that England will have a ‘world leading’ community sports sector by the time of the Olympic and Paralympic Games in London in 2012 and aims to deliver more people playing sport; clearer pathways and support to elite level; everyone being given the chance to fulfil their potential.¹⁸

Given the emphasis in recent years on promoting physical activity in general, the strategy ‘features a significant shift in focus and direction’ to one of ‘Sport for Sport’s Sake’. However, whilst the more developmental aspects of Sport England’s work are now not so central to the strategy, there is still a concern with encouraging more people to participate in sport, particularly those groups that historically do not do so including disadvantaged and BAME communities in particular. This relates to a key theme in community cohesion approaches of increasing access to institutions and opportunities for meaningful interaction.

Considering the role of Breaking Barriers more particularly, the research was keen to establish a more closely defined and widely accepted definition of community cohesion and the barriers the project was seeking to address; or whether a looser and more locally defined set of criteria was most appropriate.

¹⁷
Football Foundation (2008)
Community Programme Strategy,
London: Football Foundation: 18

¹⁸
Sport England (2008) *Sport England
Strategy 2008–2011 Executive
Summary*, London Sport England: 1

Indeed this question is of fundamental importance to how projects might consider the differing needs of groups within their target communities; how their different needs can be met without increasing segregation (e.g. the balance between targeted delivery for specific groups and wider, more integrated, open access provision); and whether 'cohesion' is something that is essentially imposed from above, as opposed to an approach to engagement which implies a more organic exchange.

In initial interviews with project workers, understandings of 'community cohesion' included:

- Bringing *different* communities together, overcoming stereotypes, interacting with and learning about each other
- Engaging *specific* communities with the 'mainstream'
- Bringing members *within* specific communities together to share cultural knowledge and understanding
- Providing a supportive social framework that provides people with confidence and acceptance, from which they can move on
- Empowering communities to help themselves

Perhaps more significantly, though, sport was widely recognized to be a strong 'driver' for many young people, with the provision of sports activities providing a launch-pad for further developmental work aimed at building more cohesive communities. Sport combines a unique mixture of physical, social and psychological aspects, with the nature and interplay of these aspects varying with each activity but having a uniformly pleasurable and non-academic ethos which is attractive to many young people.

3.0

Sport Streets: Locating the Work

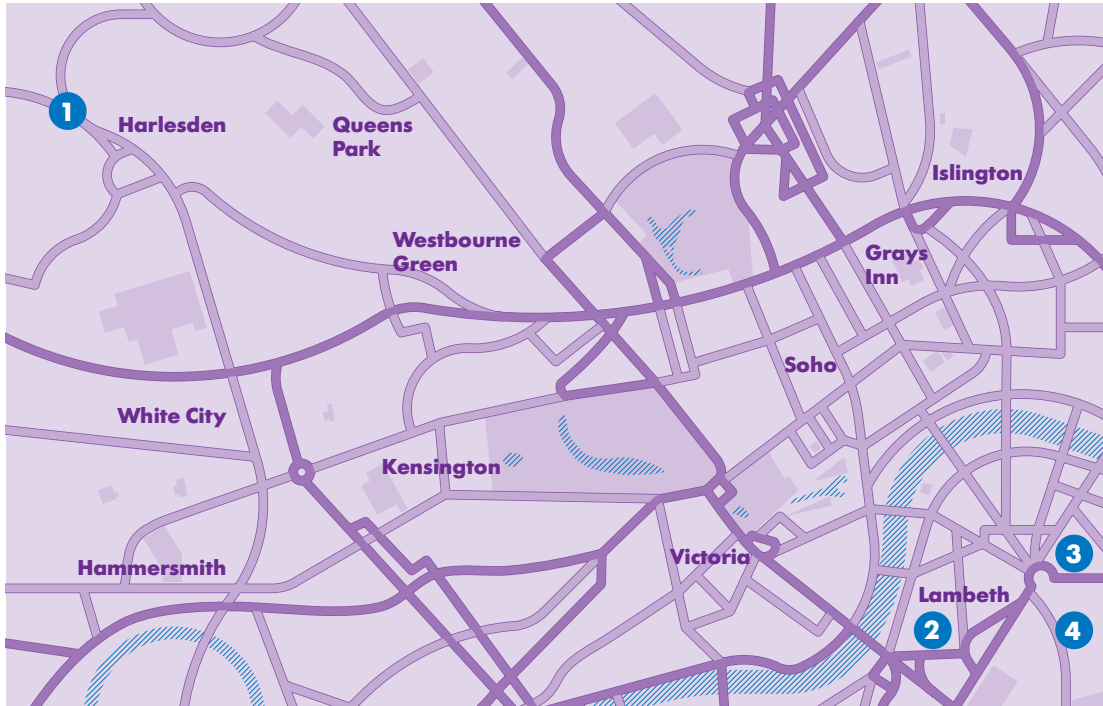
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This section will provide a narrative account of the three geographical areas in London in which the bulk of the Breaking Barriers work took place:

- i Brent and the Stonebridge estate
- ii North Lambeth and Lilian Baylis Old School (LBOS) on the Ethelred estate
- iii North Southwark and the Aylesbury and Rockingham estates

**Breaking Barriers
Locations in London**

- 1** The Pavilion, Stonebridge Brent
- 2** Lilian Baylis Old School, Lambeth
- 3** Aylesbury Estate, Southwark
- 4** Rockingham Estate Southwark

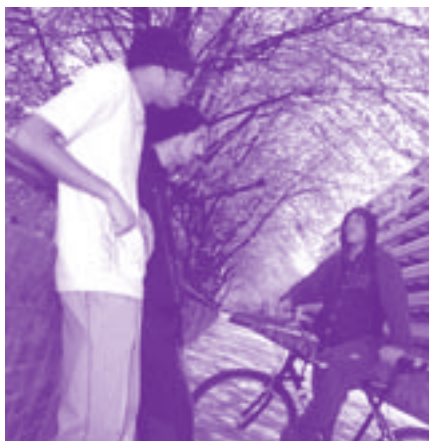


19
A more detailed breakdown of the statistics is available on the research web pages found at www.substance.coop/projects/breakingbarriers

In these we seek to provide both headline demographic statistics ¹⁹ as well as a more descriptive ‘feel’ of the areas.

3.1

Brent and the Stonebridge Estate



‘Troubled.’ ‘Infamous.’ ‘One of the most dangerous parts of the capital.’ The Stonebridge estate in Brent, north west London, has hardly been flattered by its portrait in the press over the years. Named after a stone bridge that was built to carry the Harrow Road over the river Brent in 1745, the area became a byword for crime, drugs, violence and unemployment in the 1980s when its austere, grey, concrete blocks loomed large as ugly, physical symbols of urban deprivation.

It has spent much of the last 10 years attempting to shake off those physical signs of poverty, while the social regeneration work required to alter its reputation has begun to have an impact. As part of the largest electoral ward in Brent (also called Stonebridge), the estate lies just north of Harlesden and south of the North Circular ring road (A406). It is bounded and crossed by underground and over-ground railway lines running in and out of Central, East and West London, while the giant neon arch of the new Wembley Stadium sweeps over the skyline just a mile or two to the north.

Never an affluent district, Stonebridge’s ‘bad reputation’ emerged in the 1960s and 70s when Brent Council demolished some 98 acres of its stock of Post-World War One ‘homes for heroes’ and replaced them with tower blocks. Ill-lit, overcrowded, and undercut by long, cold walkways, the new buildings hardly seemed designed for harmonious living and they soon became notorious for broken lifts, rent strikes, violence and contract killings. In the three years to 2002, 38 people died violently in and around the Stonebridge area, many in what police had dubbed ‘black-on-black’ shootings.

All but a few of the old 70s housing blocks have now been demolished and replaced over the last five years with rows of new terraced houses and smart low-rise apartments, yet the area is still one of the capital's poorest. According to figures from the index of multiple deprivation (IMD) for 2004, just over a third of the lower super output areas²⁰ in Stonebridge ward are among the 10 per cent most deprived in the country, while the average IMD ranking for the ward as a whole puts it among the worst 15 per cent nationally.

On the estate itself, however, things are slowly improving. A government-appointed housing action trust (HAT) took over the estate's management in 1994 with a £165m grant. Now almost all its 4000 residents live in new homes, many of which are managed by the Hillside Housing Trust which succeeded the HAT in 2007. Hillside is prominent in the area, running a number of services alongside the housing provision including the Pavilion sports centre where Hornstars, AFC Wembley and other groups run their activities.

The slow transformation has cost some £225m in total, but the shift from old to new is visible as you walk through the area from Harlesden train station. It is also apparent in the words of residents, such as 15-year-old Ghedi,²¹ who grew up here: 'There used to be a lot of trouble, shootings and killings and drugs and everything,' he said. 'I think it started before we were born, and it still goes on a bit. But it's not as bad as it was 10 years ago.'

20

Super Output Areas (SOAs) are geographical areas developed for the generation of population statistics that would not change (as electoral wards do). IMD data is calculated on Lower Layer SOAs, which have a population of about 1500 people.

21

All young people's names have been changed in this report.

3.2

North Lambeth: Lilian Baylis Old School and the Ethelred Estate



22

There have been a number of high profile incidences in the area including the stabbing to death of 15 year old Alex Kamondo in 2005.
www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/london/6599497.stm 2006

23

www.streetgames.org/drupal-5.0/files/StreetGames_Lilian_Baylis.pdf

24

Lilian Baylis Former School Site, Consultation Report, February 2006, Indigo

In light of some of the issues identified in section one of this report the focus of the project, as well as our research, in Lambeth has been on ACN's work in north Lambeth on the site of Lilian Baylis Old School (LBOS) which is situated in the middle of a residential area, comprised of a variety of small social housing developments from 1950s style brick built low rise flats to bigger 1960s concrete blocks through to 1980s brick houses. Together these housing units make up the Ethelred estate, one of the biggest social housing estates in Lambeth. The area is a rhombus shaped backwater, delineated by the river on one side plus three major roads. Visitors are rare as there is little to attract them into the disorientating mesh of one way streets and dead ends.

The area is ethnically diverse, in keeping with the borough as a whole. Nearly 30% of the resident population of the local area is Black or Black British whilst the religious profile suggests a slightly higher percentage of both Christians and Muslims (63.1% and 6.2% respectively) in the local area than in Lambeth as a whole.

The Ethelred's once poor reputation²² has been significantly improved in recent years partly as a result of the significant investments going into the area, something which is noted by both young people and professionals, including the local Safer Neighbourhood partnership and police who now regard this as one of 'the quietest patches in Lambeth'. This change is attributed in part by local young people to the opening of LBOS to the community. As some of the young people working there as Personal Attainment and Community Training (PACT) interns suggested: 'There used to be a pub that was a focus for drinking, dealing. There used to be kids, mopeds, dogs.' 'Now you can walk down Lambeth Walk without looking over your shoulder... This site has eradicated a lot.'

The original LBOS buildings were saved from dereliction through the concerted efforts of a group of organisations, including ACN, led by the North Southwark and North Lambeth Sport Action Zone (SAZ) and supported by local MPs such as Kate Hoey.²³ With pressure mounting on the local authority Lambeth Council conducted its own local consultation which concluded that there was 'support for the site to be used to provide community and/or leisure facilities for North Lambeth.'²⁴ It first opened for community use in August 2005, when the SAZ and partners were invited to run a summer programme.

Now with listed status LBOS itself comprises of a series of low level buildings which are spread out over a large site of approximately 4 acres. Despite its size it is physically hard to find even when you've been there before. The entrance is on a tiny back street and there is little in the way of signage. The buildings themselves give little away, and it is only by really looking around that the amount that is going on becomes apparent. The design and layout mean that things are hidden away, such as the high quality dance, basketball and boxing arenas inside and the brand new tennis and football pitches on the far side which suddenly come into view.

This apparent anonymity has not prevented the range of partners and activities from continuing to grow and an impact report focused on the SAZ revealed that 'By September 2007, LBOS is attracting hundreds of visits per week, predominantly by local children and young people.'²⁵ Indeed Lilian Baylis has become a locally renowned hub for sports and educational activity, and while it clearly serves those in its immediate locality (Prince's, Oval and Bishop wards), there is evidence that its attraction reaches far more widely across Lambeth and Southwark.

'It is estimated that, in 2008/2009, of the 78,393 estimated attendances [at SAZ monitored activities] in Lambeth, some 70,402 were at sessions and events at LBOS.'²⁶

The SAZ Impact Study²⁷ also estimated that 68% of participants 'live in areas which are amongst the 20% most deprived areas in the country'. Local deprivation can also be seen in benefit statistics²⁸ with a total of 36% of working age residents on the claimant register compared with 27% in Lambeth and 23% in England as a whole.

Further analysis of postcodes revealed that while the majority of participants came from Lambeth and central Southwark wards, there is in fact a wider catchment area which extends in a sweep as far as North Clapham, Brixton, Peckham, Bermondsey and even Loughborough. This is likely to be due to the work that both SAZ and ACN deliver in a number of schools and community venues across the two boroughs and beyond which has helped not only to initiate school visits but also to establish the venue as a resource for individuals to continue attending.

One interviewee said that they have now realised that maybe there is '*something in it*', i.e. the approach that partners have taken at LBOS, and that they are '*hitting all the targets that Lambeth weren't meeting*', which has helped improve the relationship with the Council.

25

Craig, S (2009) *SAZ Impact Study*, London: Leisure Futures

26

Ibid

27

Utilising the Substance database

28

Benefits claimants as percentage of the working age population (incl. key working age benefit, Jobseeker's Allowance and Incapacity Benefit), August 2007 www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination

3.3

Southwark

There are two areas in North Southwark in which Breaking Barriers (and ACN) work took place: the Aylesbury estate and the Rockingham estate.

3.3.1

The Aylesbury Estate



The Aylesbury is a large infamous 1960s housing estate, currently undergoing a staggered long-term regeneration programme. The estate is located within a geographically contained area of approximately 70 acres which is bordered by the Walworth and Old Kent Roads to the East and West, Burgess Park in the south and the Elephant and Castle to the north. The estate is dense, and once away from its main bisecting road, becomes almost maze like and unlikely to be explored by outsiders. It is characterised by long concrete housing blocks that dominate the skyline and which are interconnected by futuristic high level walkways. At ground level there is more evidence of dereliction in the form of abandoned garages and 'dead' spaces.

The area ranks highly in terms of the Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) and has significant and growing numbers of residents from BAME groups. Official statistics suggest that 42% of residents are from non white backgrounds²⁹ whilst more recent evidence indicated that '87% of all Aylesbury pupils attending borough secondary schools were from a BME group',³⁰ and 58% of primary age pupils in the area had English as a second language.

The estate has had a negative reputation since it was first built, and has been described as a 'byword for urban crime and deprivation for 40 years'³¹ though the area has witnessed observable improvements in recent years, through the application of substantial funding and resources. The local New Deal for Communities (NDC) has been at the forefront of this investment, channelling funding and prioritizing both young people and education. Agencies have collaborated effectively to provide a seamless network of services, resulting in notable and increasingly noticed improvements in safety, educational achievement and youth provision.

Many people now comment on how the Aylesbury has changed, and these perceptions are largely backed up by current crime data.³² An interviewee stated that 'the Aylesbury has had a negative view of young people' and that it used to have a lot of young people coming onto it attracted by the general malaise and looking to cause trouble. By contrast, through the course of the research, we have observed groups of young men coming to the estate to play football with local teams in an atmosphere that was perhaps surprisingly lacking in tension with youth workers feeling that instances such as this were clear signs of change.

Equally, despite the ethnic diversity of the area racism is not regarded as a big problem locally. Instead it is the isolation, segregation and separation of particular groups, an associated sense of territorialism, poverty and the lack of opportunities for young people that are seen to be key issues. Some people consider that the very architecture of the estate represents a barrier, which limits young people's personal geographies and outlook on the basis of a 'fear of what is outside of their estate'. This is re-enforced by the current economic situation which further limits opportunities for employment which is reflected in the Faraday ward's rank as highly deprived (level 4 out of 20) in relation to all Indices of Multiple Deprivation, and particularly in relation to Income and Employment deprivation (level 2 and level 4 respectively).³³

²⁹ Office for National Statistics (last updated November 2004)

³⁰ Education Strategy Years 2–5 2008–2012, New Aylesbury Trust (Creation)

³¹ Martin Fletcher, *The Times*, 20th October 2008

³² For example, of all 'Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police' in Southwark SOA 015, incidences of Theft of a Motor Vehicle dropped from 103 to 44 and Common Assault from 122 to 72 in the period 2003–2006. However some offences have conversely shown increases such as 'Other Wounding'. www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination

³³ www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/NeighbourhoodSummary

3.3.2

The Rockingham Estate



The Rockingham estate is a close-knit, tightly packed housing estate in the Chaucer ward of Southwark, south London. Tucked into a triangle of land between the New Kent Road and Newington Causeway, north east of the Elephant and Castle roundabout, it is just half a mile south of Borough High Street and the Tabard estate, and a mile from London Bridge. Taking its name from Rockingham Street, which cuts a right-angled slice through the area from the end of Southwark Bridge Road to Harper Road, it is characterised by old-style, red brick, London council flats, mostly four or five storeys high, interspersed with newer blocks of flats and a few remaining streets of Victorian terraced houses.

Many of the blocks frame misshaped 'squares' and 'zigzag' around patches of tarmac, residents' car parks and playgrounds, filling the spaces between Rockingham Street and the area's other main roads – Bath Terrace, Falmouth Road and Tiverton Street – which once constituted a maze of terraced streets before they were destroyed in the Second World War blitz.

Neither as grim in appearance or reputation as the nearby Aylesbury or Heygate estates, the Rockingham has nevertheless faced its own social problems and issues with community cohesion over the years. The estate has long been the focus of youth intervention programmes, notably Kickstart, started by the now CEO of ACN, Gary Stannett. Also, Oli Rahman, now a youth and community worker with ACN and project coordinator for Breaking Barriers grew up in the area. His parents were the first Asian family to live on the estate and he well remembers growing up as the sole Bangladeshi 'lad' in a largely white community. That situation changed through the 1970s and 80s, but Oli recalls how in his teenage years racial tensions often turned into conflict on the streets and the strategies he and his friends employed to escape trouble.

Now, the Rockingham estate houses a substantial Bangladeshi community (14% according to the 2001 census) in an area where ethnic minority residents make up more than 50% of the total population of nearly 1500 people, and nearly a quarter regard themselves as Muslim.³⁴ The estate also houses the South East London Mosque which has a large Bangladeshi and Somali congregation.

The area also experiences considerable social disadvantage with more than 6% of people unemployed, more than 30% of adults in the area have no qualifications and 18% claim benefits.³⁵ Perhaps more significantly for the research, the area has witnessed violent and gang related incidents, and in the past young members of the Mosque have been targeted for gang membership. In May 2008 a 15-year-old was stabbed to death on Harper Road whilst hate crimes against the local Muslim population rose following the 2005 London bombings and members of the Bengali community appealed to the Safer Southwark Partnership and the Southwark Social Inclusion Unit for support.

However, the area also appears to have a strong history of community and tenant organisation. The Rockingham Estate Play Association (REPA) was formed at Dickens Square just off Harper Road in the early 1980s, thanks to a community campaign aimed at Southwark Council and the former Greater London Council (GLC). REPA, which is still a strong partner for ACN, is for all tenants and residents of the Rockingham Estate, representing their views to Borough and Bankside Community Council and, through them, to Southwark Council, as well as running community projects and social events (www.rockinghamestate.org.uk).

There is also an annual Rockingham Youth Festival, organised by the Bengali Community Development Project, and in their own youth Oli, co-worker Jabi and others benefited from activities organised by the Rockingham Asian Youth Group which, along with Kickstart, helped to found Rockingham FC, which later became the Southwark Tigers. Oli, as someone who comes from the estate himself, sees the project as 'a huge opportunity' to make a difference here.

34
Based on figures for the Southwark 009C Super Output Area of which the Rockingham forms a large part.

35
Office for National Statistics Census 2001: Stonebridge Key Statistics, www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/LeadKeyFigures.do?a=3&b=6113683&c=stonebridge&d=14&e=15&g=328134&i=1001x1003z1003x1004&m=0&r=1&s=1265115655923&enc=1, accessed on 2nd February 2010.

4.0

Climbing the Table: Journeys of Change

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In this section we provide detailed, narrative descriptions of the principal organisations involved in the delivery of Breaking Barriers in each location; identify the role of ACN; and provide 'snapshot' data from the projects' use of our SPRS monitoring and evaluation tool, including key statistical data on project participants. For each location we then provide illustrative material of the project's work and how it has approached the development of community cohesion with a view to identifying good practice guidance.

4.1 Opening the Door: Hornstars and Organisational Development



The Breaking Barriers project in Brent has been focused around the work and development of Hornstars, a football-based sports and welfare project that emerged in the 1990s to engage young men from the Somali community living in and around the Stonebridge estate in north west London.

Hornstars was founded in 1995 by Ahmed Farah, a former Somalian football federation coach, who came to Britain as a refugee in 1994. He was asked by local people if he would set up a team for young Somali men who were being drawn into crime, drugs and gangs in an area which had become known as one of the most 'troubled' in the capital.

At first, Ahmed coached and ran a senior team that played in local leagues and Somali only competitions, but Hornstars gradually evolved into a voluntary organisation giving welfare advice to families, running education courses, and providing services to the broader Somali community in Brent, as well as continuing to organise football coaching sessions. After experiencing three or four 'rollercoaster' years with their senior teams, Hornstars realised they could have more impact by concentrating on junior football, and began running school holiday coaching courses staffed by former players and volunteer coaches. Abdi Farah and Mo Jama were prominent among them. Abdi says that they are 'second generation Somalis' who grew up in the area, went to local schools, studied sports science, and '*wanted to give something back to [their] community*'.

Abdi, who works for the London Borough of Brent's sports development team, has been one of the main driving forces behind Hornstars' transformation from a single-community youth football project to an organisation that delivers 'mainstream' football coaching, sport inclusion, and personal development opportunities to young people of diverse backgrounds from all over the borough. For him, the Breaking Barriers project represented the latest in a series of steps which characterised the organisation's gradual emergence from its 'ethnic enclave' which began in 2003 when he and Mo started running youth teams for the local semi-professional football club, Wembley Park. It was the first Somali sports team they were aware of that had 'broken out' in this way. As Abdi says '*In many ways we started breaking barriers then, back in 2003.*'

Their work has also involved breaking cultural barriers within the Somali community. For most of the Somalis they were in contact with, 'youth football' was taken to mean for anyone under-21, not the younger under-9 and 10 age groups that Mo and Abdi were focused on. Furthermore the weekend morning fixtures that characterise mainstream youth football were at odds with Abdi's recognition of a Somali preference for doing 'everything late'.

When the youth coaches from Wembley Park split to form a new club, AFC Wembley, in January 2007, Hornstars became an important part of the new set up, with Abdi and Mo running two of the younger sides and organising coaching, and spotting players on Hornstars' holiday coaching schemes. So when Breaking Barriers got underway in 2007 there were two distinct strands to their work: open access school holiday coaching courses for local youngsters (still mostly boys from Somali backgrounds); and organising 'elite' competitive teams for AFC Wembley.

4.1.1

Locating the Role of Breaking Barriers



Whilst maintaining these two core strands of work as the key delivery agency for Breaking Barriers in Brent Hornstars developed in a number of new directions, partly as a result of their partnership work with ACN, Changebox, Brent Council and others.

A series of initiatives were developed to help Hornstars grow their work outwards in terms of its ethnic and geographical reach and the breadth and scope of its provision. As such the new activities were necessarily focused on internal capacity building and skills development as well as external activity provision and included:

- Youth work training for young coaches
- Opportunities for young people to take introductory courses such as community sports leaders awards, Level 1 coaching certificates, refereeing courses etc which were taken up by more than 100 young people
- Peer mentoring
- Conflict resolution and challenging behaviour workshops for young players and coaches
- Audio-visual projects on community cohesion and website development
- Training for volunteers in the use of monitoring and evaluation tools and approaches
- Community work training for young adults

Meanwhile, Hornstars also took on a greater role in delivering the London Borough of Brent's sport programmes. They took responsibility for organising the borough's football teams at the London Youth Games and Street Games and helped to deliver some of the Brent Positive Futures programme.

By the end of the project, Hornstars appeared to have successfully re-oriented themselves to the extent that they not only regarded themselves in a different way, but believed they were seen differently by the communities around them too. Indeed there is a sense of the organisation having transcended its roots as a sports programme, providing sports activities for Somali young people from their own community during school holidays, to a more outward-looking community group for Brent using sport as the basis of a wider range of development opportunities for young people from all communities. Abdi says:

'We were doing mainly summer programmes and Easter programmes, and that was it. But now we've engaged more non-Somalis and a lot of them have done the courses, worked as volunteers, and some of them will be our sessional coaches in the summer. And some of them come from outside Stonebridge, from the Colindale area, or Wembley, so we've broadened out geographically too... We have opened our doors and our arms to a lot of other communities whereas in the past, indirectly, we had our backs turned to them, almost sub-consciously. People thought we were exclusively Somali; we never were, but that's how people perceived us.'

Indeed this was a perception that was shared amongst those who were previously engaged with Hornstars and which has begun to change with the organisation. As Ahmed points out: *'In the past they thought we were there for them. But now they see that we have non-Somali coaches – the majority are non-Somali, in fact – so they have learned that it's not just for them.'*

4.1.2

Brent Snapshot Statistics

Presented below are the headline statistics relating to recorded attendance, project delivery and outcomes across the Breaking Barriers reporting period (to January 2010) which were collated through the project's use of the Substance Project Reporting System.

Output	No.
Attendance	
Number of young people in contact during reporting period	796
Aggregate attendance at sessions	8,712
Aggregate contact hours at sessions	17,089
Average contact hours (per young person)	21
Delivery	
Number of schemes delivered	43
Number of group work sessions delivered in reporting period	549
Number of session hours delivered in reporting period	1,117
Gender	
Male	732
Female	64
Outcomes	
Other	52
Enrolled as volunteer	6
No longer attending	3
Left the area	3
Gained employment	2
Referred to Sunday league football team	31
Took part in outdoor adventure trip	19
Trail for professional football club	1
Signed for professional football club	1
Qualifications	
Conflict resolution	13
Community sports leaders award	11
Junior football organiser award	6

Table 2
Brent Breaking Barriers
SPRS Data

A key element of community cohesion work in general, and Breaking Barriers in particular, has been the engagement of participants from a range of different ethnic groups. The collation of ethnicity statistics is notoriously problematic, in terms of people's self-identification of their ethnicity in relation to official statistical categories (which rarely match). Also attempts at comparing responses from different projects are difficult given the varying size and location of geographical areas that projects operate in and the ethnic make-up of those areas.

Nevertheless, part of the 'story' of Hornstars has been its development from a Somali-only project in its early days to one that engages people from a wide range of ethnic groups in more recent years. This is reflected in the breadth of ethnic groups that have been engaged, as displayed in the tables in Appendix 2.

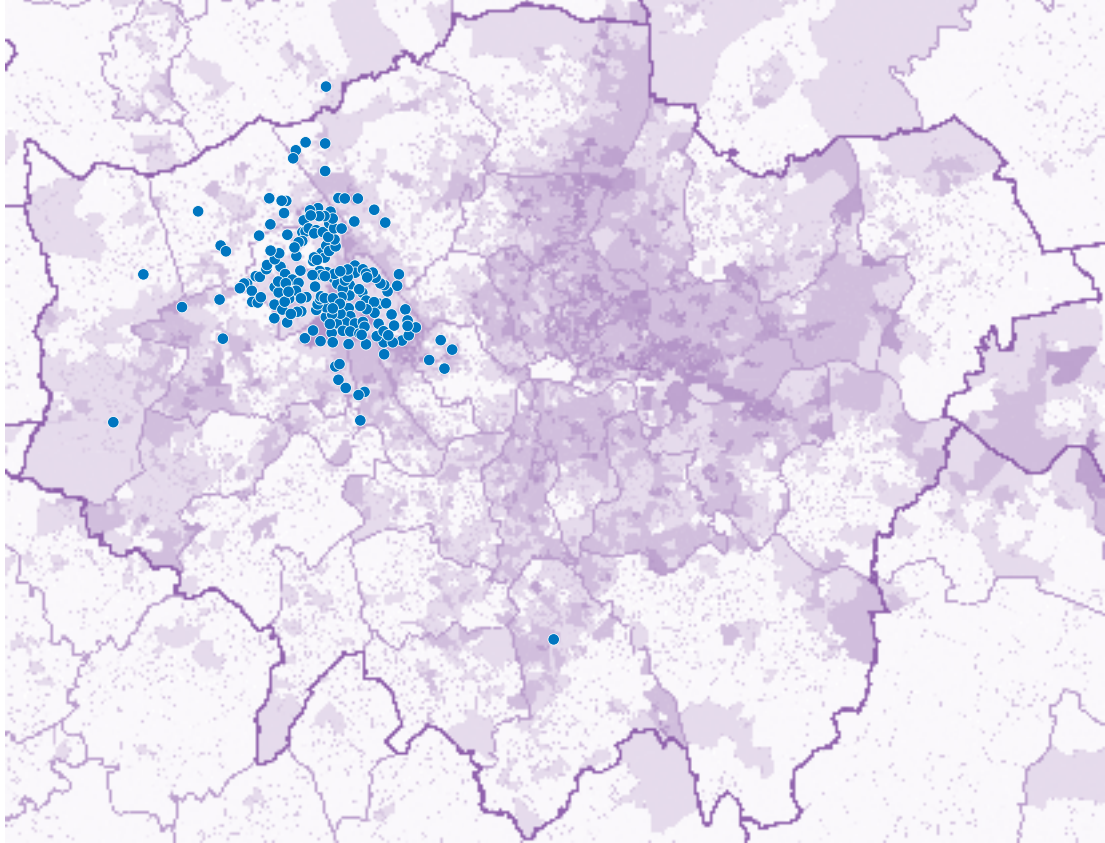
Although we can see here that those of Somali origin are still the single most significant grouping, and that the percentage of Somalis actually increased slightly from 32% in 2007/08 to 37% 2008/09, we can also see that Hornstars is far from being a 'Somali-only' project, with an increase in the total numbers of participants from other backgrounds and an increase in the range of ethnicities engaged from one year to the next.

It is well established within the community cohesion literature that poverty and deprivation can exacerbate a lack of cohesion and that prioritising developmental work with marginalised groups is important in overcoming conflict. Through the project's use of the SPRS we have been able to record the location of participants for whom we have postcode data and to map these against Indices of Multiple Deprivation (2007).

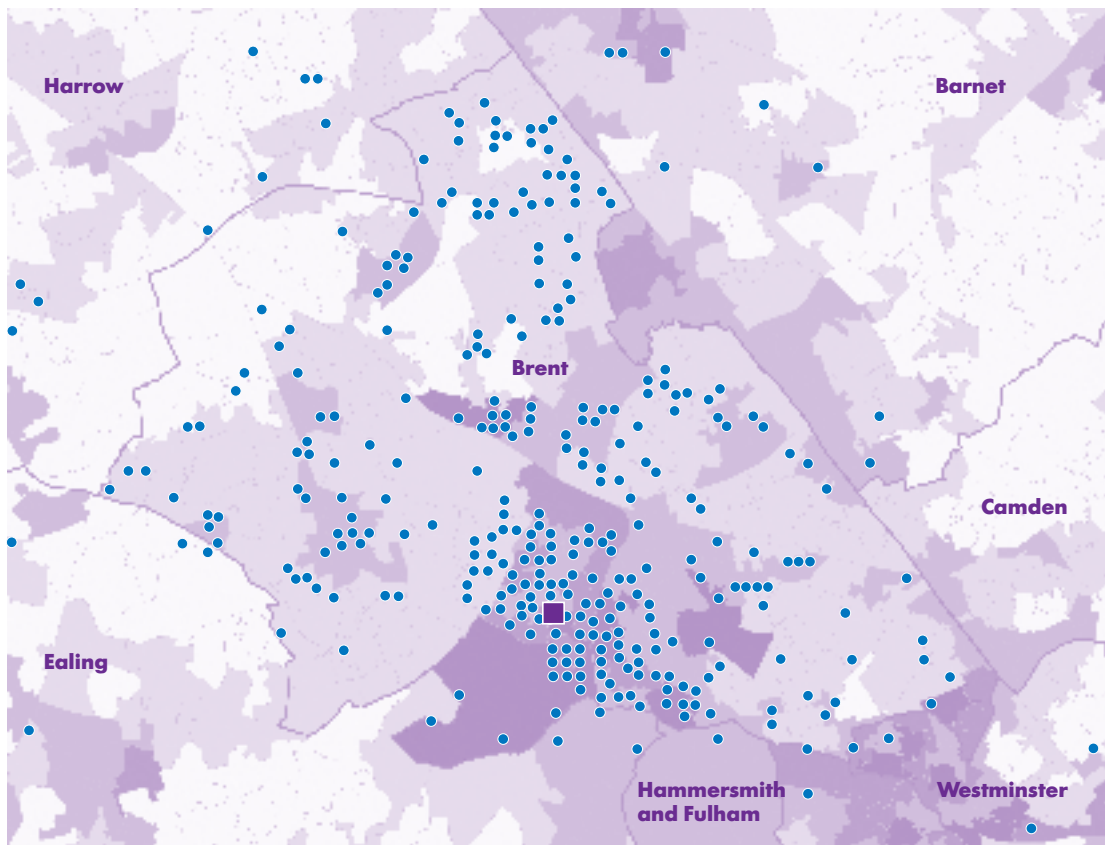
Lower Super Output Area IMD Rating	Participants %	Participants No.
0% – 10%	34.86%	236
10% – 20%	22.75%	154
20% – 30%	17.73%	120
30% – 40%	13.00%	88
40% – 50%	7.39%	50
50% – 60%	2.81%	19
60% – 70%	0.44%	3
70% – 80%	0.74%	5
80% – 90%	0.30%	2
90% – 100%	0.00%	0
Total	100.00%	677

Table 3
Participants in Brent Breaking
Barriers Related to IMD 2007

In Brent, we can see that work is focused with people from marginalised communities. Over one third of participants come from Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs) which are in the top 10% most deprived in the country, with 58% from the SOAs in the top 20%. This is also represented graphically in the map below.



Map 1
Participants on Brent
Breaking Barriers
Mapped Against IMD
(Greater London)



Map 2
Participants on Brent
Breaking Barriers
Mapped Against IMD

■ Stonebridge Pavilion

4.1.3

Secrets of Success



Mirroring developments in north Lambeth, a significant factor in the project's success has been its access to a community sports facility in Stonebridge, called The Pavilion. This £2.7 million development was built on the site of an old, run-down Astroturf pitch which was once a scene for tensions and conflict between local gangs. It now includes a full size 3G Astroturf football pitch, a 5-a-side pitch, and a tarmac MUGA for tennis, basketball, and small-sided games. There are also changing rooms, a multi-use indoor sports hall and meeting/work rooms.

Of course it needs to be noted that the success of the facility is built on Hornstars' history and roots in the community; the quality of its coaches; the pathways and exits it provides participants; its relationships to other groups; and the range of provision.

Part-funded by the Football Foundation, the Pavilion is managed by Hillside Housing Trust, which was elected by residents to run the facility ahead of the local authority's sports development department. Hillside Housing Trust had led much of the extensive regeneration work on the Stonebridge estate and its sports development team has a strong, close working relationship with Hornstars. Steve Blackwood, Hillside's sports development coordinator, described them as 'an exceptionally good community group' who do 'very good work'. He revealed that 'we use them as a showcase for what we are trying to do,' whilst validating the shift in the organisation's core constituency by confirming that whilst they have 'very good links with the Somali community', they are more and more about 'attracting kids from other communities'.

The relationship between Hornstars and AFC Wembley means there is now a good 'exit strategy' for those youngsters who show sporting potential, while they've also developed mentoring programmes, coach education, and other opportunities to ensure that sporting ability is not a pre-requisite for the development of pathways on from the group.

From Hillside's point of view, the relationship with Hornstars and other similar groups is vital because *'we're very dependent on getting local communities participating. That's what we're about. We could have gone to QPR's football in the community team but they wouldn't have had the same roots among local people, or credibility.'*

The credibility that has been achieved is reflected in Steve Blackwood's belief that about 45–50% of the Pavilion's users are Hillside residents, with some 30–40% from Somali backgrounds (also reflected in project participants statistics), with around 60% coming from the Stonebridge area. *'We are very happy with that,'* he said, *'although we're sure we can involve more and more.'*

4.1.4

Changing Lives



For Ghedi and Johnnie coming across Hornstars' summer sports school in Stonebridge was one of those chance encounters that hasn't so much changed their lives as changed their sense of themselves. Ghedi and Johnnie have lived in Stonebridge all their lives and know first-hand the dangers and distractions of an estate they describe as 'bad, rough'. *'There used to be a lot of trouble, shootings and killings and drugs and everything. I think it started before we were born, and it still goes on a bit,'* says Ghedi.

'It was all gangs and fighting between estates putting down their rep, their ends and stuff,' Johnnie, who once witnessed a drive-by shooting outside his house, added. *'It wasn't safe to go out.'* For them and their 'mates', staying out of trouble was half the battle of growing up. That, and finding somewhere to play football. In July 2008, Abdi Farah spotted the two 15-year-olds hanging round the Pavilion, a smart new local sports facility, and suggested they sign up for Hornstars' summer programme.

As Ghedi recalls *'The way they invited us in was great. We just went down to the Pavilion to play and it was booked out. But they said it was free and everything was organised with coaches... I thought, 'OK, let's go for one session and see what it's like.'* It went on for a few weeks and there was a tournament at the end. *We had some friendlies and went on a trip. I just liked the scheme, it was a good scheme.'*

Abdi remembers it too. *'They were always kicking about the Pavilion,'* he says. *'They just hung around together, so we introduced them to the scheme and when we had the tournament we got Wilbert to have a look at them.'* Wilbert coaches the under-16s side for AFC Wembley, so Ghedi and Johnnie grabbed the chance to play regular football and get proper coaching right on their doorstep.

Despite its location, the lads were immediately exposed to and, through the aegis of sport, forced to deal with a wider range of groups and cultures than they were used to. *'The first time we went we didn't know anyone because people were from all over – Stonebridge, Harlesden, Wembley,'* says Ghedi. *'It was difficult because we didn't know each other. But when we started training we began to bond. Then it just seemed like we were all from the same area.'*

Abdi spotted something else in the pair too – a certain attitude, enthusiasm and keenness. When Hornstars suggested they take some coaching courses they jumped at the chance and gained Junior Football Leaders' awards in autumn 2008 and later on took part in challenging behaviour and conflict resolution workshops. Slowly, they realised it wasn't just football they were learning and reflected on the personal development their involvement facilitated. Ghedi, in particular, admits he had a temper on the pitch. *'I used to just really shout at the ref and everything,'* he says. *'I think the workshops actually helped because they got us to think about why we do things. I think I changed a bit because of that.'*

'It's changed me a bit outside of football too,' says Johnnie. *'My attitude's different. I wasn't a loud mouth on the streets, but if someone tried to argue I would stand my ground. It's helped me to make sure I don't start trouble.'* Having some coaching, playing organised football, doing a few courses – it may not seem like life-changing stuff, but just a year after stumbling across Hornstars, Ghedi and Johnnie already felt more mature and confident.

'It's made us more sociable,' says Ghedi. *'We've been able to meet new people, adults and kids, and we've learned from older coaches. We used to stick with our own people, our friends and groups. We wouldn't really play with anyone else... It's broadened my horizons a bit. I wouldn't mind talking with anyone now. I've got nothing against anyone.'*

They both took FA level 1 coaching badges, and were picked up by another football club for this season. What's more, having sat GCSEs last summer, they both started A levels in September and, perhaps more significantly, have transcended the burden of notoriety associated with their estate.

'It's not as bad as it was 10 years ago,' says Ghedi. 'Some people are going on with trouble, being in groups and gangs, some are staying around with bad people, but I choose not to go that way. I choose to develop as a person.'

Sixteen-year-olds Ilir and Peter are Hornstars coaches with a difference. They're 'not from around here'. Both are from Edgware, on the northern edge of the capital, and neither have Somali backgrounds nor any connection with the Somali community in north London. In fact, Ilir's family came to London from Kosovo when he was one, and Peter's family is Black - Caribbean.

However, both feel very much at home in charge of a group of Stonebridge youngsters, 75% of who are from the local Somali community. 'I love football,' says Ilir. 'It is my passion and I feel I can coach that into the kids. It feels natural to me... All that matters is who you are, your personality. If the children like who you are and respect you, it doesn't matter where you are from.'

Peter agrees. 'Because we don't know them they'll be a bit mouthy and rude at first,' he says. 'But that soon goes when they get to know you. If you are not from around here you've got to make your own personal impression. Now I've been here for a while I know some of them as well as Abdi does. It doesn't matter they are mostly Somali. There are probably some differences initially, but after they get to know you I don't think it matters.'

Yet even this process of integration cannot be viewed as entirely organic and is often itself reliant on some form of pre-existing personal connection. Ilir and Peter both learned about the opportunity to take Community Sports Leader Awards through a friend whose brother was a Hornstars coach. For some this is still not enough with one of a group of disgruntled looking 12-year-olds sat at the side of a coaching session expressing his dissatisfaction with the 'outsiders'.

'I don't like it as much as I used to,' he says. 'They brought all these new coaches in; these young guys are only 15 or 16. We just want our old coaches. We don't want these new guys because they don't know us.'

The logic of this profound localism is to some extent borne out by the aspiration set loose in Ilir and Peter through their involvement, which they recognize as not being limited to the opportunity to help the young people they are working with. Ilir hopes to run projects 'like this one' in Kosovo someday - 'I feel if I had the chance I would like to give it to them,' he says. While for Peter, the experience is rationalized more in relation to his self-constitution:

'At first I just thought it would be good to get an extra qualification,' he says. 'I didn't think I would enjoy working with little kids so much but now I've done it I think it's all right. I think I've learned how to judge characters better, not by first looks. You have to judge people not by looking but what you see them do and how they behave. Sometimes you see a kid and you just think they are going to be really rude, but they're not at all and you have to be a bit easier with them.'

Lessons

The experiences of those that Hornstars have engaged tell us a number of things about successful community cohesion work:

- The benefits and importance of broadening the 'participant base' from a concentration on one group (Somali) to a range of different groups
- The importance of making venues 'open' and creating access to them
- The key role of project workers in being able to identify and engage local individuals who might otherwise have remained outside of mainstream sports provision
- The provision of learning and development routes and the role that education and training within a sports context can have in the rest of individuals' lives.

4.2 Neutral Venues: Lilian Baylis Old School, North Lambeth



The concept of a 'journey of change' seems particularly apt for Lilian Baylis Old School (LBOS) in north Lambeth. It can be applied to changes in the physical appearance of the local area and the site, through to changes in the organisational practices on the site and, crucially in relation to community cohesion, the lives of people who go there.

Once a failing school in a difficult area, it has been transformed into an increasingly prominent community resource. Furthermore, its journey continues, having emerged out of a local campaign to save the site which then led to use of the venue to deliver sports based activities to young people. During the four years it has operated as a hub of sports based community activity and its range of provision has continued to grow through the attraction of more funding and projects. This growth has by necessity run alongside a programme of physical refurbishment which has transformed much of the previously semi derelict site with support from corporate partners including Barclays Bank, Nike and Shell.

The journey and the outcomes it has contributed to have not always been planned in a coordinated way. The unique grouping of organisations that have an association with the site means that relationships or networks of mutual exchange grow, sometimes resulting in unforeseen projects and outcomes. One event that we observed in 2009, the visit of Dr Tommie Smith,³⁶ was a good example of many of these partners coming together. It involved attendance from four schools, a mentoring project and a pupil referral unit and the programme of sessions that day included sports sessions, workshops, a film and a 'Q&A session' with Dr. Tommie Smith.

Now LBOS appears to have reached a point of relative stability, a plateau from where it can see how far it has come, and feels able to better plan its future.

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Tommie Smith is a former athlete famous for making the 'Black Power salute' at the 1968 Olympic Games. www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tommie_Smith

Having built up its range of facilities and provision which now includes 5 main areas of delivery:

- Extensive Sports Programmes
 - Street Athletics, Boxing, Football, Street Basketball, Tennis and Cricket
- Physical Activity Programmes
 - Street Dance, North Lambeth Healthy Living Network and MEND
- Changebox Training and Workforce Development
 - Chartstage, Sprint, Volunteering, PACT
- Education
 - Homework Clubs, Saturday schools, programmes aimed at those not in mainstream provision
- Intergenerational Community Provision

There are now increasingly ambitious ideas emerging around the development of an onsite community cafe, garden, and nursery, and for further efforts to extend provision cross-generationally to the whole community. What is most significant about the transformation, and of particular interest to the Breaking Barriers project, is that interest in the site has begun to transcend the local neighbourhood and become known as a neutral space which is able to attract young people from across the surrounding boroughs and beyond.

4.2.1 Locating the Role of Breaking Barriers



Whilst the SAZ was the lead in developing the LBOS site and delivery from it in 2005, ACN came on board in 2006 and are now one of the main delivery partners. In doing so they work on site alongside:

- Creative Sparkworks
- Fotosynthesis
- Insight
- Active Communities Network
- London Youth
- North Lambeth Healthy Living
- Reach and Teach
- SAZ
- Spirit Arts
- Street Games
- Touch One Mentoring
- Transforming a Generation
- Waterloo Football Club
- Young Futures
- Your Story

ACN also work in partnership with a range of public, private and third sector agencies at the venue including the Football Foundation, Positive Futures, NIKE, the Lawn Tennis Association, Barclays Spaces for Sport, Sport England, Midnight Madness, Lambeth Council, Shell, United Bank of Switzerland, Pfizer, Fitzroy Lodge Boxing Club, North Lambeth Neighbourhood Renewal Team, UK Athletics and Positive Futures. Indeed the scale of ACN's work at the site is such that they have recently opened offices there where a number of their staff are now based. Their work includes three main activities including:

- i The PACT programme – a cross borough programme addressing the issues of youth crime which targets young people aged 13–21 through a focused programme of education, learning and personal development and a workforce development programme for sports coaches.
- ii Delivery of boxing sessions and maintenance of a boxing gym
- iii Organisation of community events (e.g. Fit for Girls Roundtable Event).

Non-mainstream education is a core part of delivery, with a range of courses on offer for young people that tie into other programmes in a collaborative fashion. This means that young people link into the various opportunities on offer and are referred between projects and events in a seamless way with support from many of the organisations involved with the site.

The delivery at LBOS has nevertheless adapted and grown during the course of the research. For example boxing sessions have increased in response to demand allowing participants who first engaged through more targeted work to access boxing during other session times, increasing participation. Young women have been a particular focus for the boxing coaching, and this has more recently been extended to include adults and parents in response to their interest. Work with schools is also key with the boxing coaches having a full programme of delivery in schools across Lambeth and Southwark, with the gym at LBOS then being identified as a resource for following on work with keen individuals and groups.

Although in contrast to the Pavilion in Brent LBOS has a more 'run down' appearance, this is not an obstacle to its centrality in ACN's community cohesion work. As a venue, one interviewee said that if you were '*starting from scratch it wouldn't be anything like this*', however the flip side is that '*this is a space that we can transform into whatever we want*'. He said that '*even though it's a no-man's land it is also a strength*' as there seems to be no allegiance to the site in terms of gang activity. '*They come from Brent, Brixton, Lambeth, Lewisham...*' and in his view people will '*travel far and wide because of the motivation of sports*'. Vitally he thinks that having a sustainable hub supports all the work they do including the outreach and sessions across surrounding boroughs.

The range of facilities and spaces at LBOS make it ideal for all kinds of delivery which is enhanced by its flexible opening hours and the range of skills available within the ACN staff team who are characterised by their diversity. Adam, Mark and Rebecca are all white, and have a sports / boxing background. Steve and Rubel are Black Afro Caribbean and Asian and have youth work backgrounds. Alice along with Louise, Simon, Alan and more recently Debbie are all young people who are at various stages along a trajectory from being participants to becoming delivery staff themselves. Louise is white British, Simon and Alan are Black Afro Caribbean and Debbie's family are Greek. All of them have a keen interest in various kinds of sports as well as youth work, and importantly have a desire to develop their skills and to further themselves.

Whilst they have different backgrounds and different styles of working with young people, they have two things in common. The first is the ability to relate to and build relationships with young people from all kinds of backgrounds. The second is that all have a 'relate rather than berate' approach. While they might need to be directive in leading a session or coaching they do this in a manner that is calm, engaging, and non-confrontational. In their own ways they are all exemplars of the local realisable role model identified in previous research.³⁷

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Crabbe, T (2006) *In the Boot Room: Organisational contexts and partnerships*, Sheffield: SHU

4.2.2

Lambeth Snapshot Statistics

Presented below are the headline statistics relating to recorded attendance, project delivery and outcomes across the Breaking Barriers reporting period (to January 2010) which were collated through the project's use of the Substance Project Reporting System.

Output	No.
Attendance	
Number of young people in contact during reporting period	2,797
Aggregate attendance at sessions	16,359
Aggregate contact hours at sessions	38,410
Average contact hours (per young person)	14
Delivery	
Number of schemes delivered	135
Number of group work sessions delivered in reporting period	1,553
Number of session hours delivered in reporting period (scheme and 121)	3,856
Gender	
Male	1,860
Female	937
Outcomes	
Enrolled as volunteer	2
Gained employment	1
Qualifications	
Boxing tutor award	24
FA Level	20
FA County referee level seven badge	19
Left the area	3
Working with high risk young people	18
Equalities and diversity	17
Intro to youth work	8

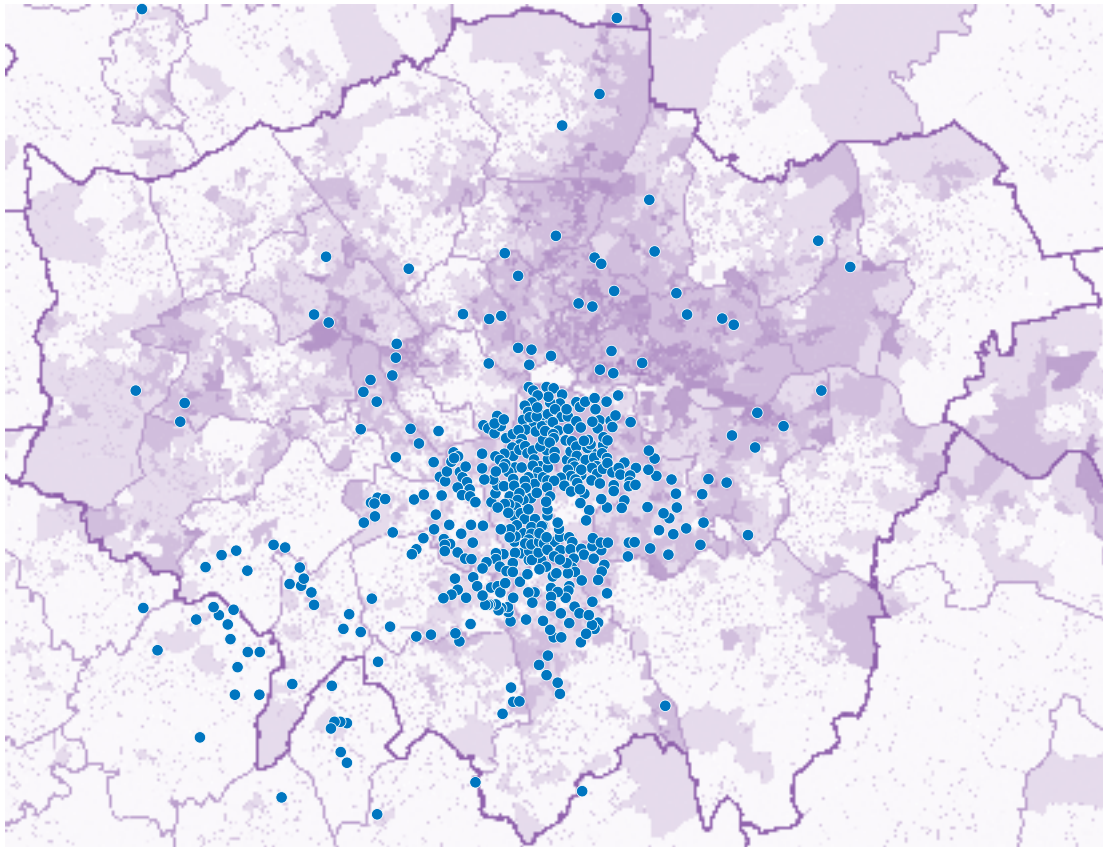
Table 4
Lilian Baylis Breaking
Barriers SPRS Data

In terms of ethnicity, there is actually a larger range of ethnicity categories recorded for Lambeth than at the other two projects which are again displayed in the table in Appendix 2. This emphasises the project's success at attracting people from different backgrounds as participants.

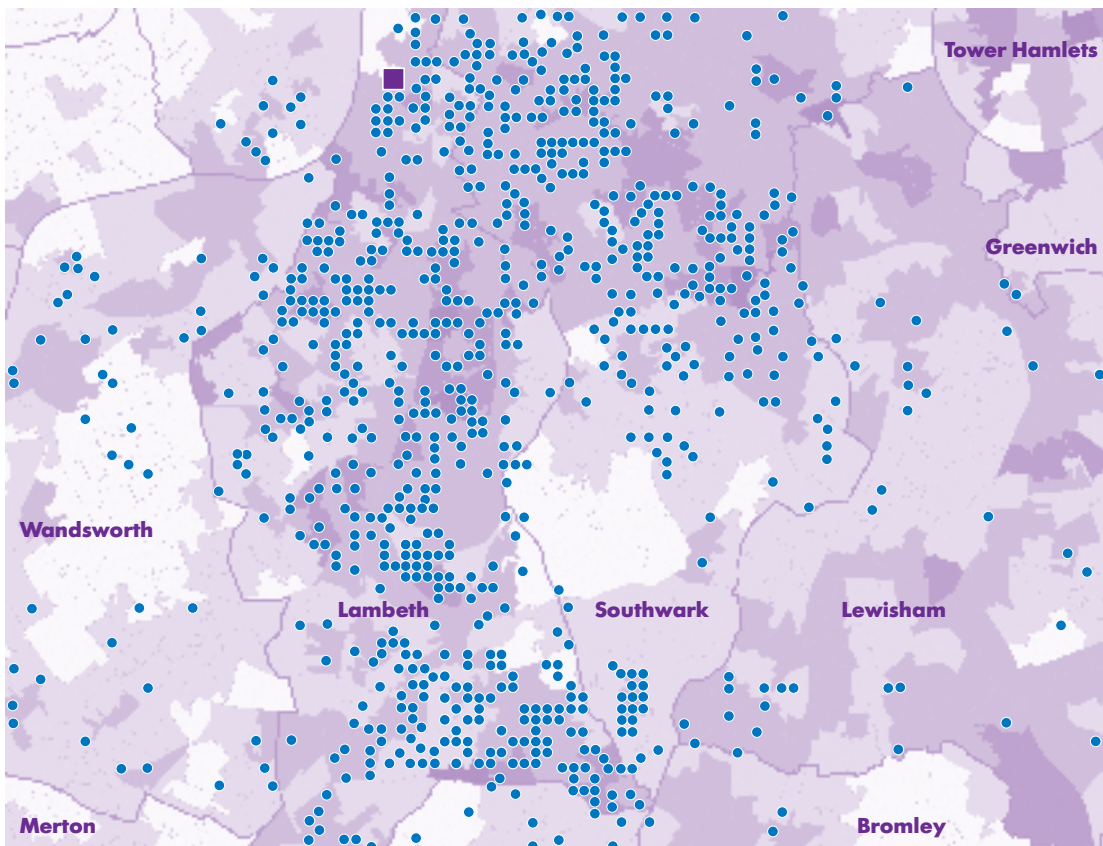
Lower Super Output Area IMD Rating	Participants %	Participants No.
0% – 10%	16.54%	295
10% – 20%	45.57%	813
20% – 30%	17.49%	312
30% – 40%	8.00%	152
40% – 50%	4.65%	83
50% – 60%	3.42%	61
60% – 70%	1.12%	20
70% – 80%	0.90%	16
80% – 90%	0.84%	15
90% – 100%	0.95%	17
Total	100.00%	1,784

Table 5
Participants in Lambeth
Breaking Barriers Related
to IMD 2007

Table 4 shows the distribution of participants for whom we have postcode data in relation to the Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2007. Whilst there is a lower percentage (16.5%) of participants from the top 10% most deprived LSOAs in Lambeth than in Brent, there is a higher percentage (62%) from the top 20%.



Map 3
Participants on Lambeth
Breaking Barriers
Mapped Against IMD
2007 (Greater London)



Map 4
Participants on
Lambeth Breaking
Barriers Mapped
Against IMD 2007

■ Lilian Baylis
Old School

4.2.3

Secrets of Success



In 2005, there was a violent ‘turf war’ going on involving gangs including the ‘Kennington Town Boys’ and the Council offered the LBOS partnership £40k to ‘keep it quiet’ over the summer of 2005. Instead, the partnership persuaded the Council to work on a longer term basis over 18 months and across all ages and with families, and with known gang members as well as non-gang members. Lambeth SAZ director Brian Dickens stressed how much their intervention changed what was going on locally. *‘It broke things down, changed the dynamics’*, he says, and offered other possibilities to young people growing up locally.

For example, one mother described how her fears about her younger son following the path of her eldest, who was involved in gangs, was changed by the intervention of the work and participation in sports at LBOS. The opportunity created had *‘offered the family something’* when there appeared no *‘other ways out’*.

At one ACN boxing session, one of the coaches emphasised the importance of LBOS as *‘a neutral space’* and that people are fine about coming despite it being *‘hard to find’* at first. Local young people also value its presence. A young interviewee stated *‘It’s a good place to have here. It’s good to see things differently, how things can be changed, how things can be done differently’*. Another commented that:

‘The kids around here all come here, it’s a hub and they feel safe here. Kennington doesn’t have the rep that Peckham and Brixton have, bad profiles. It’s calmer locally, there are less kids hanging around and in groups. Why would you not come here? There’s lots of things happening and it’s free. Because it’s so big this place... it doesn’t feel that it belongs to anyone... it is structured though’.

Another said *‘here is not the streets’*, and the fact that people come from all over is something to do with LBOS as a venue – *‘there’s a positive vibe’*.

So despite, and perhaps because of LBOS’s location, its large site, and numerous buildings, it seems to have successfully become a hub that serves both the immediate local community and a wider catchment area that includes large parts of both Lambeth and Southwark. Its success in doing this to date is clearly reliant on the *‘multi-embiotic’*³⁸ collaborative partnerships that have evolved through the development of the site. As a ACN staff member said, *‘We’re part of a bigger picture here, we’re cogs in the wheel, and it’s about how it all works together which is the SAZ model’*. While there may be nothing new to ACN or others working in the sector about a collaborative approach what is distinct is the access that LBOS provides to a base which has the capacity and scope to accommodate numerous projects and groups of participants.

The consistency of ACN’s staff and their ability to reach out beyond the LBOS site also seems key to their building relationships with young people visiting the site whether they are local or from further afield. The team are all involved in wider work that brings young people into LBOS whilst on site there is cross fertilization between the projects delivered by ACN. It is also apparent that ACN involves young people directly in their LBOS delivery. With both PACT and the boxing, older young people are encouraged to become volunteers, to have input, and to work with other young people. These kinds of personal investment reveal how such interventions require time with impact being generational in nature. Indeed reference was made by interviewees to the generation *‘before’* LBOS re-opened as a community hub, as distinct from those who came *‘after’*. *‘This site has eradicated a lot. The older ones who were a part of what used to go on, have moved on and the younger ones are coming here’*.

In this sense, organisationally, LBOS can be considered as a leading national example of a *‘community sports hub’* with its deeply-embedded partnership way of working, its ethos of working *with* rather than *for* the community which is delivering real impact for those who engage.

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Research interview with
Steve Francis 18/03/09

4.2.4

Changing Lives



A number of participants encountered at LBOS via the boxing and PACT activities illustrate both the progression of participants from users to trainees/volunteers/staff as well as the impact the work at LBOS has had on their personal lives, as their stories reflect.

Simon, Alan and Louise are all local young people who came to LBOS with interests in sports and or youth work, and through training and personal development have subsequently become interns. It is apparent that their involvement in PACT has opened up many opportunities for them, which has led to their networks widening and them encountering all kinds of people that they would not otherwise have met. It has also raised their awareness of issues of territorialism and racism, alongside wider youth related issues.

Simon came into contact with LBOS through the Probation Service at his own instigation. He had 'hassled' his Probation Officer to find him something that he was happy with and which would develop him in the directions he wanted to go. He said that before he had felt 'outside' and 'lost' with 'nothing happening' in his life. He knew that he was particularly interested in youth work and also had an interest in sport. He liked the idea of the links between them and using them for a common purpose. He said he thought PACT was a really good way to keep young people supported but ultimately recognized the importance of people when asked what had kept him coming, responding that 'Steve³⁹ kept talking to me...'

Louise has always liked sports and was clearer in her personal ambition to be a sports coach, but found it hard to find a job. She started getting some paid work and did a few courses and some coaching in schools but stopped because she didn't feel 'very happy with the experience'. As she also lives 'around the corner' she knew the LBOS site and kept coming along because she 'could see there was good things going to be happening'. She did her CSLA (Community Sports Leaders Award) and liked the staff who were 'giving me a chance to do different things, different experiences, courses and knowledge'. After getting involved with PACT she has dramatically widened her personal networks, outlook and approach to how things can be changed and has now been an intern with the project for more than 2 years, becoming a part of the team and the ACN organisation.

Changing Directions – Alan's Story

Alan started doing the PACT course when he was 17, having been in custody from the age of 15. On release he was on probation and trying to sort out his life. He says he was 'trying to rehabilitate myself'. He had lost contact with friends and family so his networks were limited and he was also 'followed around all the time' as he was under supervision. He was also finding the options presented by the Probation Service frustrating since he felt he had developed goals and plans while in prison and wanted to 'change my life around'.

He says that he kept on talking to his officer about these issues but it was not until the first day he came to LBOS and met Steve that things started to change. Alan had grown up locally and attended Lilian Baylis when it was still a school. Steve was the first professional person he had met who he felt had encouraged and supported him, who 'saw the leader in me', the potential. Soon after he started a Community Sports Leaders Award (CSLA) which provided 'a platform to my whole redevelopment'.

He had come out of prison 'right into the middle' of the outside world and Steve became 'the person I would talk to...'. He moved on and started to get involved in other activities going on at LBOS such as the street athletics and gym sessions. He thrived on these opportunities and found himself competing in the Street Games and winning the 100 metres. He couldn't believe he was now running on a track but never lost sight of the wider significance of his engagement, recognizing that, for him, sport provided transferable skills, like focus, drive, discipline and passion.

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Steve Francis, PACT Manager

Critically it also broadened his horizons and social interaction, moving from a position where he suggested his 'social network was nil' to meeting people from all walks of life including MPs, sports stars, Kelly Simmons, Linford Christie and even Princess Anne. Yet Alan was always keen for more and to move beyond just engaging in sport. He didn't just say it though, he went to college and did a Health and Social Care course before being offered the chance to do some peer mentoring. This was difficult in that he was working with young people around his own age but he felt he was 'learning so many things' as he realized his 'passion is working with young people' and facilitating their development. He feels that because of who he is, he can relate to them and them to him 'We are in a prime position to work with other young people. We're at an age where we can relate to young people, find creative ways to work with young people...'

Asad and Andy are both 17 years old and of Somali origin who, although they live in the Streatham/Totting Bec area of south Lambeth, have been able to broaden their networks and freedom to move around London through an engagement with LBOS. At the time that Breaking Barriers got underway they met Rubel Ahmed from Changebox/ACN at a well run and attended football session that he was involved with. At the time Asad in particular wasn't interested in anything beyond the football, but said that through talking to Rubel over time he began to trust him and then 'He got us into courses at Lilian Baylis', and they have since completed an FA Level 1 coaching course and the FA Referee's Level 7 Badge. This has led onto work both coaching and refereeing with a Saturday League and volunteering at a number of big events and tournaments across London.

Football has been instrumental in their development, both personally and educationally. Asad explained, 'I was confident before but not with people I didn't know, [but through football] you get used to working alongside new people, be open to them... You have to show people the good side of you...'. Andy talked about his experiences of refereeing saying 'I was worried about what people would think of me... I've learnt not to care and to do the best that I can'.

Peer Role Models

Asad and Andy's story emphasises the role projects such as Breaking Barriers can play in generating locally based peer role models. The skills and networks gained, including paid refereeing, has given them interesting insights into both their own trajectories and some of the impacts that programmes like Breaking Barriers can effect. They both recognise what they have gained and said that many of their peers who didn't get involved initially now want to, having seen the benefits it has meant for them. Asad said 'When friends find out we get paid for refereeing they ask us how?', and added 'I took my chance' in terms of the opportunity that was offered. Andy commented 'we're off the streets now. We were those youth who needed help.' This perspective is underlain by the experience of young Somali men who are frequently subject to stop and search activities by the police and feel that negative assumptions are often made about them. However they can both be seen as role models for other young people like themselves and, as referees, they are clearly challenging unconstructive stereotypes.

Whilst their final life pathways may remain uncertain Asad is clear that he wants 'to be a role model' and Andy that he wants 'to do things that have something to do with football' and youth work. He spoke of 'introducing young people to things, offering young people opportunities to get off the streets.' He commented 'one day me and Asad will be doing what Rubel's doing.' These examples illustrate how a Breaking Barriers' ethos through sports delivery can have very real impacts.

The work of ACN, and the role of football within that, has also helped them transcend territorial barriers in that they now visit areas such as Burgess Park in Southwark and White City in West London. Andy said *'if I just showed up there it could have caused conflict, but because I was a referee and part of the game people don't ask where I'm from'*. Equally he related an incident where he was walking with some friends in Battersea, and there was a big group of young people, one of whom pushed him. Then suddenly they recognised him and said *'it's the referee!'* and the tension in the situation was released. The development continues and they are now continuing to work with Rubel as a sports internship as part of the ACN Football in the Communities programme at Crystal Palace.

Lessons

Our research into Breaking Barriers work at LBOS has highlighted:

- That it is the character, openness and programming at venues, rather than whether it is new or old, that determines its effectiveness as a site for 'breaking barriers'
- As with the Pavilion in Brent, the neutrality of LBOS has been key to its accessibility to people from sometimes rival estates and areas
- The importance of providing a wide range of activities that people can engage with and try out and the development of partnerships are key success factors
- The importance of creating developmental pathways for participants so that it is not participation in sport that is the 'end product' but the skills, confidence and life changing experiences - indeed, the absence of an 'end product' and focus on open ended development is evident here
- The importance of identifying individuals who can become peer role models in localities, thus helping them to overcome local barriers and encourage others to take more positive pathways.

4.3 Altogether Now: Joint working on the Aylesbury



In Southwark, relationships between ACN and other delivery agencies were well established before Breaking Barriers got underway and pre-existing, close collaboration meant that ACN was able to easily and quickly promote the Breaking Barriers approach across their joint work. The Aylesbury estate is in a state of radical redevelopment and regeneration, the diverse changes associated with which sit in contrast with the continuity of the sports based work with young people on the estate which has been enduring and consistent. Starting with Kickstart and developing with the support of the New Deal for Communities and ACN, the work has seen a succession of young residents engage and then develop to take on delivery roles themselves, making use of their unique knowledge of the area and its residents.

Breaking Barriers on the Aylesbury has been less about engagement with specific groups and more about getting groups of young people to interact with those from other areas, whether neighbouring estates or other countries. It has chosen to focus primarily on the delivery of football sessions and tournaments, both locally and via pan-London events. As an interviewee observed *'football is the meaning of life round here'*. Another indicating that most of his friends and contacts have been made through football and that when you join a team you have at least '16 new friends'.

Through this approach a group of young men have been identified for a targeted programme which has involved both personal development and sports training elements. As part of this work they have been brought together with a group of young Asian men from the adjacent Rockingham estate, and have met regularly in the temporary 'blue huts' in the centre of the estate. It is essentially a face to face approach, involving the establishment of personal relationships, and raising and dealing with any issues on an individual basis with contact being maintained to enable the relationships to be maintained and 'serviced'.

This group are collectively regarded as having the potential to be peer leaders, and through their own informal learning pathways, being able to become role models for others like them. Central to their development has been the exploration of issues around identity, territory, culture, and ethnicity. As the work with them has progressed they have been offered further opportunities including an exchange with young people from Dublin.

4.3.1 Locating the Role of Breaking Barriers



ACN's work on the Aylesbury estate has benefited from a longstanding involvement in the area which originated through the activities of the Kickstart Project and enabled the Breaking Barriers programme to build on the established profile and networks of the ACN staff team. Many of them have grown up locally and /or worked in the area over significant periods of time. Their knowledge of the area is therefore considerable, in depth and historical and includes a familiarity with large numbers of young residents as well as representatives of all the key agencies and organisations working in the area. Integral to their knowledge is an understanding of what the main issues are locally, particularly for young people. This has been foundational for the project's delivery in the area and given it a 'head start' which is apparent when comparisons are made with delivery in south Lambeth which began from a 'blank page'.

The ACN Programme Development Manager (Oli Rahman) has been key in facilitating the Youth Practitioners Group (YPG), bringing together the various organisations involved in youth provision locally. A Youth Service Manager attributed this to partners having 'got over the 'ownership thing' and recognised 'that no one organisation can do everything'. Indeed sometimes the range of partnerships can be bewildering with, at any one time, ACN working with:

- Aylesbury NDC
- Aylesbury Young Carers
- Burgess Park Tennis Club
- Faraday Safer Neighbourhood Team
- Friends of Burgess Park
- Globe Academy
- Inspire /2inspire
- Kickstart
- Latin Multi Cultural Group
- Pembroke House Youth Project
- SAZ
- Southwark After School Clubs
- Southwark Community Games
- Southwark DAAT
- Southwark Detached Team
- Southwark Youth Offending Team
- Southwark Youth Service
- Southwark Wardens
- Walworth Academy
- XLP Bus

They have learnt to work together with enviable success. For example each summer they jointly organise a summer programme, so that young people can easily access everything that is being offered. For young people on the Aylesbury the partnership has meant seamless and accessible delivery where the 'brands' associated with individual organisations become irrelevant. Indeed the strength of the Aylesbury Youth Providers Group and its successes to date is such that any brand presence is more likely to be associated with the sponsors of football tournaments and holiday programmes which provide a solid and attractive basis for potential funders.

As interviewees from partner organisations have attested, ACN has been instrumental in promoting a Breaking Barriers ethos across the range of youth focused delivery, which seems to have been taken on by those partners. As an NDC representative commented 'we are all trying to do this, to break down territories...'. Central to this has been the ACN's partnership with NDC staff, the Youth Service, SAZ and 2Inspire. An interviewee mentioned that 'partnership working has developed over years, friendship and loyalty and long standing knowledge and consistency'. This consistency, particularly in terms of staff has also been crucial to the work with young people as one interviewee stated 'they don't want strangers'.

4.3.2

Southwark Snapshot Statistics

Presented below are the headline statistics relating to recorded attendance and project delivery the Breaking Barriers reporting period (to 31st March 2010) which were collated through the project's use of the Substance Project Reporting System. It should be noted that these statistics cover all the work in Southwark, not only those relating to the Aylesbury estate.

Output	No.
Attendance	
Number of young people in contact during reporting period	1,931
Aggregate attendance at sessions	14,418
Aggregate contact hours at sessions	40,378
Average contact hours (per young person)	21
Delivery	
Number of schemes delivered	115
Number of group work sessions delivered in reporting period	807
Number of session hours delivered in reporting period (scheme and 121)	2,113
Gender	
Male	1,194
Female	737
Qualifications	
Peer mentor training	99
Conflict intervention /resolution	81
Swimming in the community	64
Sexual health level 1	52
FA level 1	51
FA county referee level 7 badge	48
Basketball level 1	44
Dealing with aggressive behaviour	40
Introduction to youth work	34
Essentials of working with young people level 2	29
Working with high risk young people	28
Working with challenging behaviour	28
Tennis in the community	26
Induction to youth work	26
Induction to cricket coaching	25
Being a role model for equalities and diversity	24
Equalities and diversity	15
Partnership and multi agency working	15

Table 6
Southwark Breaking
Barriers SPRS Data

Output continued	No.
CSLA level 2	27
Empowerment workshop/body image	14
Counselling hard to reach young people	13
Developing and managing volunteers	13
Gym instructors level 2	12
Trainer the trainer	12
Introduction to key working	12
Games from around the world	10
VRQ level 1	9
Essentials of working with young people (level 1)	7
Introduction to digital photography	6

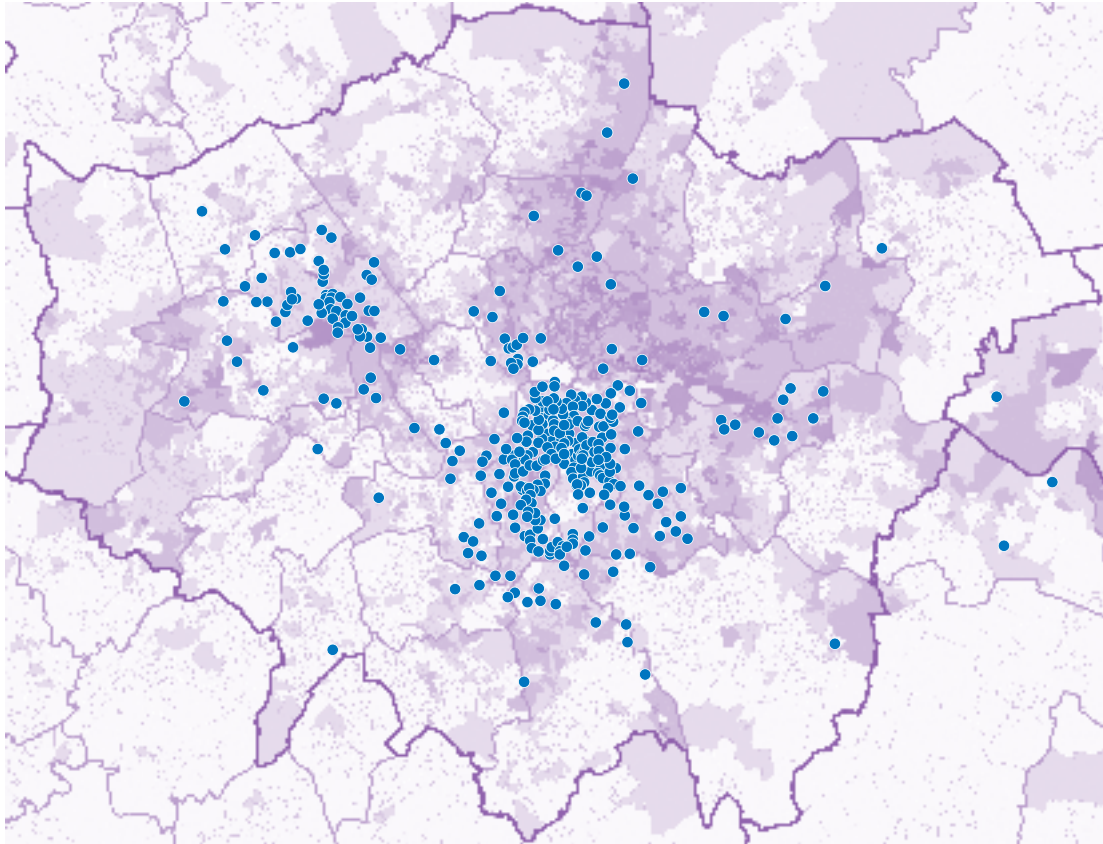
Southwark is notable for recording a total of 864 Qualifications and within this there is a very high degree of training for participants and volunteers. In terms of the ethnicity breakdown (see Appendix 2 for the full table), we can see a change from the first to the second years of the project, with Black or Black British being over 50% of participants in the first year but only around one third in the second year where there is a more even spread of different ethnicities. This reflects the experience in Brent showing that project has developed to attract participants from a range of ethnic backgrounds.

Table 7
Participants in Southwark Breaking
Barriers Related to IMD 2007

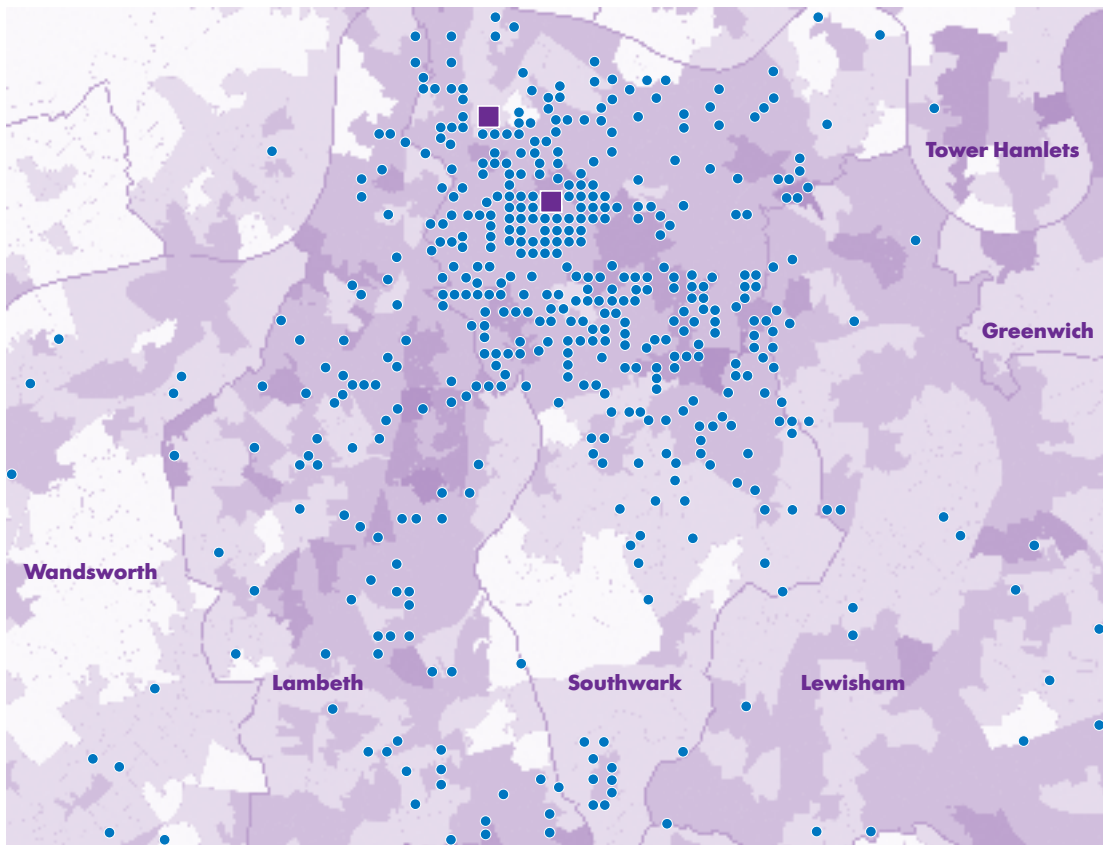
Lower Super Output Area IMD Rating	Participants %	Participants No.
0% – 10%	16.30%	222
10% – 20%	60.28%	821
20% – 30%	14.10%	192
30% – 40%	4.48%	61
40% – 50%	2.57%	35
50% – 60%	1.03%	14
60% – 70%	0.51%	7
70% – 80%	0.15%	2
80% – 90%	0.22%	3
90% – 100%	0.37%	5
Total	100.00%	1,362

Table 6 above shows the distribution of those participants for whom we had postcode data on the Southwark Breaking Barriers projects in relation to the Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2007.

As with the other project areas, there is an overwhelming concentration (76.5%) on work with people who live in LSOAs that are in the top 20% most deprived in the country. This is represented graphically in the map below.



Map 5
Participants on
Southwark Breaking
Barriers Mapped
Against IMD 2007
(Greater London)



Map 6
Participants on
Southwark Breaking
Barriers Mapped
Against IMD 2007

■ Aylesbury and
Rockingham estates

4.3.3

Secrets of Success



Football has been the key to working with young people on the estate. Firstly in getting young people to come together and then in getting them to interact with those from 'outside', whether they are from the Rockingham across the road or from Brent or even Ireland. The regular provision of football on the estate, interspersed with tournaments, has become something it is 'known' for, and something that now attracts young people from beyond onto the estate where previously they might have feared to tread.

An interviewee stated that *'the Aylesbury has had a negative view of young people'* and that it used to have a lot of young people coming onto it attracted by the general malaise and looking to cause trouble. Now groups of young men come onto the estate to play football with local teams in an atmosphere that is generally without tension. Harry said that *'through football you meet a lot of friends. You meet people that you wouldn't know otherwise. Yes you stick to your teams but you notice people, for example people who are good players. You notice them and know you will probably see them again.'* He said that at the last tournament there were a lot of players that he has played against before. When asked what he thought the Aylesbury would be like without the football going on he said that *'without any youth clubs or football it would be a really bad place...'*

It was in this context that ACN showed its capacity for broader based community development in response to the threat posed to the MUGA's (Multi Use Games Areas) dotted around the estate, which are well utilised for delivery and outreach work. Many are situated close to homes and in attracting young people became a focal point for tension, particularly over the problems of balls hitting residents' windows. Oli listened to residents' concerns, which ultimately led to the areas being enclosed in netting, thereby protecting overlooking windows. This has helped ease tensions and promoted cohesion on an inter-generational basis. One interviewee noted that *'One of the clever things Oli has done is worked with tenants and Residents Associations and won their confidence. He's got them viewing young people in a different light and viewing some with sympathy even...'* In other words it is also the non-sporting, non-delivery actions of projects that are important in creating community cohesion.

4.3.4

Changing Lives



David is 16, of Black African heritage and grew up around the Aylesbury estate. He first met Oli Rahman (ACN) when he was about 10 and identified by the Junior YIP⁴⁰ as he was hanging round with 'disruptive kids'. While he wasn't directly getting in to trouble he was 'at risk' because of those he associated with.

Oli said that aged 14–15, David was 'getting into mischief'. Then last year he noticed a sudden change when David decided that he wanted to get a job and succeed in life. Through secondary school David started mixing more with other people, though he was still quiet. Oli felt that he could have easily got involved with gang culture at this stage, but instead through the opportunities made available by the project he took up volunteering and helped out with football tournaments.

David is one of a group of young men that have been the focus of a targeted piece of Breaking Barriers delivery. He has clear views about growing up in the area, about what he wants to do, and importantly has begun to put this into action. He's at a point of transition from school onto further education or work and is perhaps an ideal candidate for the ACN model of supporting and developing young people who can then become role models and involved in the further development of youth led projects.

40
Youth Inclusion Programme

When documenting his life trajectory, the relationship between David and Oli seems critical. Oli first knew him when he was in primary school and has not simply watched him growing up, but actively maintained contact and ensured that he is linked into provision. Oli also knows his family and said that his Dad has been very supportive. He said that the relationship is now two-way and that David and his friends will ask him about all kinds of things as they know he will always try to help.

Not Just An Issue of Race, Ethnicity and Diversity

David said 'I don't think racism is a big issue round here', but that people get stuck in their area and that the Aylesbury can be 'isolated'. He added 'some people won't go to certain places and it's difficult to find somewhere everyone will go' as there can be 'rivalry'. However he described the biggest issue for young people locally as 'the people I hang around with, most have no job, no opportunities...'

This re-emphasises some of the emerging literature and guidance around community cohesion: that a lack of cohesion is exacerbated by deprivation; and that it may have little to do with 'race, ethnicity and diversity.'

Both Oli and football have been key to David's recognition of these barriers and the actions required to overcome them in terms of personal and educational development. David is about to travel with Oli and his 'workshop group' to Ireland to meet young people there. He is hopeful about his own life now, seeing himself as someone who is finding a way to break through barriers that peers are struggling with.

Lessons

The Aylesbury estate experience emphasises:

- The key role that football can play, especially with young men, often the focus of community cohesion work, given its ability to transcend a range of barriers
- That addressing issues that may seem tangential to core delivery and concerning local residents not directly involved in the project, can have huge benefits, for example in terms of inter-generational cohesion

4.4 Away Games: Inter-Estate Work and the Rockingham Crew



Through the auspices of the Breaking Barriers project Oli Rahman's aim to bring together a group of young people from the Rockingham estate with a group from the Aylesbury estate was realised through a series of workshops in Easter 2009 and an exchange with young people from Dublin in the summer of 2009.

These outcomes were delivered following years of sport engagement and personal development work on the open access 3G football cage on the Tabard estate which had been used by Oli and Jabi to coach the (mostly Muslim Asian) Rockingham crew on Saturday mornings. The quality of the facility had allowed the group to develop its sense of identity, but some racial abuse from older residents and parental barriers had prevented more young people from the area participating. Nevertheless a number of those who did attend expressed their appreciation for the coaching sessions provided by Jabi and Badgie, describing them as the best alternative to 'trouble on the streets'. Moz, for example, said: 'I think it's good 'cos it can stop the violence in the streets.' And Amad commented: 'Football is good 'cos it keeps us off the street and away from bad stuff. It keeps you entertained so you don't really have to do the bad stuff and go onto the roads, or get caught by the police and that.'

4.4.1

Locating the Role of Breaking Barriers



ACN has long been involved in the organisation of inter estate football tournaments and this continued through the Breaking Barriers programme with an Easter football event at Burgess Park⁴¹ attracting teams from 5 London boroughs: Camden, Brent, Bromley, Southwark, Lambeth. The teams from each borough came from specific estates and projects, all of which had connections with ACN and around 160 young people attended (comprising 24 teams) with each participant being given a t-shirt, bag and water bottle all with Breaking Barriers logos. These teams were all quite ethnically mixed with the exception of the predominantly Somali teams from Brent and the events are seen as being attractive because of their smooth organisation, good facilities and lack of trouble. One young footballer who was asked what he thought of the atmosphere said that he thought it was cool and that 'you get to see people you wouldn't otherwise'.

Such tournaments provide an important opportunity for young people (mostly boys) to play regularly and then come together and take part in something that is professionally organised, with high quality facilities, plus freebies, trophies, etc. These may not mean much in themselves, but create for the participants the feeling of being involved in something special, where they are treated well both as an individual player and as part of a team. The tournament can be seen as a celebration or culmination of a process of development. First the individual develops skills, gives commitment, learns about teamwork, etc. and in doing so they form relationships with their workers/coaches. They are then encouraged to take this further, and experiences this kind of 'big event' where they also find themselves around lots of other young people who have the same interests yet have come from diverse backgrounds from across London. For those that travel they come into an area they probably don't know and have never been to before, and for those that are local there is pride in hosting a well attended event and having others come into your area.

However the work on the Rockingham estate was more focused in its intention to take a group of teenage boys who live in or near the estate out of their comfort zone. Like Oli, most of them are from Bangladeshi backgrounds and almost all from Muslim families, many having met and got to know each other through attendance at the Mosque as much as school, the streets or the estate playgrounds.

Oli saw the need to work with this group after his nephews had spotted them hanging around with nothing to do. This was at a time, explains Oli, 'when there was all this stuff about young Muslim men around. It was all the media stuff after 9/11 which made them feel threatened,' he says. 'It wasn't true but it kept them suppressed in their own areas, feeling like they were surrounded by white groups.' Oli noticed some differences between their generation and his own. He had grown up with what he calls 'real hardcore racism', and wrestled with questions of identity – whether to think of himself as Asian, Muslim, British or Bangladeshi; what order to put them in; and how his perceptions changed from week to week, and in different situations. He says:

'Back then it was all about culture. That's what people talked about. Now it's all about religion, about being Muslim. I had some real hardcore racism, but for this lot it's more subtle... We need to understand how these kids see it, what they're into, what affects them, because they don't have to deal with things in the same way. They don't know who they are either.'

One thing they were all into was football. So, using kit supplied by Oli, Jabi and Sayd organised football coaching on Saturday mornings as a way of engaging with the teenagers, hopefully, as the first step on a journey of change. At first these sessions were held at a nearby park, known to locals as 'Gaol Park', a poor quality grass surface where the youngsters hung out. But later on sessions moved to Tabard Gardens, a new, open access, 3G astro-turf facility near to the Tabard estate.

⁴¹

The facility at Burgess Park received £925,000 from the Football Foundation

This was a significant move. Although just a few minutes walk from their homes, the Rockingham kids wouldn't normally go to play there by themselves. The Tabard estate is mostly white, or at least more ethnically mixed than the Rockingham and Oli hoped to use this as an opportunity to encourage some local kids to mix with the Rockingham group. This didn't prove easy. Within weeks the local tenants' association had been in touch with him to complain about the group and their 'organised' sessions. As Oli recalls, *'At first they were all, 'Who said you could use this?' I suppose they saw it as their facility and then suddenly they saw a lot of Bangladeshi kids playing on it.'* In Oli's eyes their objections were about racism as much as access.

Relations with the local community continued to be difficult, but the young people from the Rockingham developed a strong group identity – as Asians, Muslims and mates. Although it was frustratingly slow, gradually Jabi and Oli built relationships of trust with them and began to raise their horizons, taking them to boxing sessions at the Lilian Baylis Old School in Lambeth, for example, entering the team for cross-borough football tournaments, and encouraging a 'core group' of six to attend youth work training and other personal development opportunities alongside similar young men from the nearby Aylesbury estate.

The Aylesbury and Rockingham groups had never been brought together before in this way, although the teams had played against each other, so they knew each other by sight but outside of the sporting context there was clearly some distance between the groups. However there was a respectful, calm, attentive atmosphere and no real tension or sense of conflict. Oli and Rubel were clearly excited about the work with these young people with plans for exchange visits and to run another football tournament in which teams from different estates are broken up and mixed together.

This represents a completely new stage of development and a more structured effort to open up interactions between different groups which has been realised to some extent through joint participation in an exchange programme in the summer of 2009 with a group of young people from Dublin. Oli now sees these young men as potential community workers and youth leaders of the future. He has plans to introduce them to sports coaching courses, to involve them in peer mentoring and in a coaching exchange between Southwark and the Brent Breaking Barriers scheme run by Hornstars.

4.4.2

Secrets of Success



In many ways the work on the Rockingham estate exemplifies the previously acknowledged importance of locally recognizable role models acting as cultural intermediaries between young people and the alien environments that surround them. Javed Rahman is one such figure who had taken every opportunity to 'get involved' in activities as a teenager himself. *'There was always something to do then, rather than just hanging around on the street. I think it helped me to think about my life in a different way, and it did keep me out of trouble.'* So when he and his brother Sayd returned to the estate during Ramadan a couple of years ago and saw a group of teenagers from the Mosque hanging around with nothing to do, they decided to do something about it.

'We realised we didn't really know any of these kids,' he says. *'And they didn't seem to be getting involved in much. There wasn't anything.'* He saw them as looking 'alienated' and 'isolated' compared to his own teenage years. This was less than 12 months after the London bombings of July 2005 and the media was full of stories about Muslim youth and the dangers of Islamic terrorism in Britain.

'We didn't know who they were or why they seemed so alienated,' says Sayd 'So we thought, 'Why don't we do something for them in return for what we got?' I feel like we are trying to start from the bottom; to build it up again, because a lot of those old projects just fizzled out.' Jabi teamed up with an old Rockingham friend, nicknamed 'Badgie', and together they laid on free football coaching sessions on Saturday mornings. *'It's what most kids like,' explains Jabi. 'We wanted to give them something to do and bring them together, and hopefully push them forward. Football was what they do anyway.'*

Jabi plays for the Southwark Tigers adult team and, thanks to his youth workers, has Community Sports Leader and FA level 1 coaching awards to his name. Oli, Jabi's uncle, helped out too, providing balls, bibs and cones from the Breaking Barriers budget and finding the group a decent pitch to play on – a free 3G astro surface on the Tabard estate.

For months, Jabi and Badgie turned up every Saturday to guide them through a morning session, while together with Oli they slowly began to build trusting relationships and coax some of them towards opportunities for personal growth and development – chances to play in other teams, take coaching accreditations, do boxing sessions in another borough.

But it wasn't easy. *'I think they just didn't like to take part in something where they feel a bit uncomfortable,' he says. 'They didn't like being pushed outside of their comfort zone, where they're with their mates, where they can do what they want.'*

In time, though, a handful took the opportunity to learn about youth work, coaching and conflict resolution and Jabi is finally seeing his efforts begin to make a difference. *'From the beginning it was about how we can get these lot together – how can we get these kids from different estates to break that barrier between the two groups?' he says. 'It was kind of trial and error to find the best way, because there are no perfect ways and I wasn't sure how to do it... The best thing was the sport because that is such a huge engagement tool. I think it was very important. We wouldn't have got there without it.'*

4.4.3 Changing Lives



Although referred to as the 'Rockingham crew' by Oli and the Breaking Barriers team, in homage to the estate where the majority of the participants live, this group also includes young men from Peckham as well as a few who live more locally on neighbouring estates. Aged 14–16 when the Breaking Barriers programme started, they bonded as much through a sense of shared ethnic and religious identity as location. Almost all are Muslim, and most are second generation Bangladeshis, with one or two from Turkish backgrounds.

Early in the project their religion provided a point of connection and helped to establish a sense of themselves as a 'group'. They all said they knew each other well and a couple described the group as 'tight' as a result of family connections, school and residence but more collectively through their shared faith. As 14 year-old Dodhi put it: *'My friends came here first so I thought I'd try it out. And I kind of liked it so I started coming. It's good training and it's fun playing with your friends. You don't feel left out. It makes me feel part of the group.'*

Apart from the football skills and coaching from Jabi, they also had a sense that they were developing other skills such as teamwork, respect, self-confidence, etc and other social benefits such as staying out of trouble. *'You also learn stuff about your attitude towards people, and about respect', said Amad. 'And about your listening skills, and that. You just become calmer and you're more confident with your football.'*

Similarly Hanan (15) said: *'From the football part I enjoy playing as a team, working together. And also I've learned about attitude improvement; staying off the bad stuff. Stick to the football and don't get involved in any other stuff.'* Hanan wasn't the only one who was aware of the apparent 'dangers' in the streets and saw this group as some sort of protection reflecting that *'I haven't been involved in any bad stuff but you see it on the news and it's getting rapidly more dangerous... So it's good to stay out with friends and not get involved in other things. Sometimes I do worry about it. On the news you see how many teenagers are dying.'*

However, this awareness did not seem to translate, in the early stages, to any awareness that the football was 'breaking barriers' between themselves and other groups or individuals from other estates or backgrounds. Moz expressed the ambiguity which is reflected in a corresponding degree of insularity. *'I like to be friends with people from other backgrounds and get along with other people,'* he said. *'But as Asians we tend to feel more comfortable together. Sometimes we speak our [parents] own language and have ways of getting along.'*

Moz thought playing against other sides with more mixed teams, or from other estates, could help to alter their relationships outside of football, but a number of others didn't. Dodhi, for example, said: *'It wouldn't make a difference to how I behaved towards them outside, if I saw them around.'*

As the project developed these attitudes began to change. This was largely due to Oli's efforts to bring them together with young people from the Aylesbury estate providing them with leadership and youth work training with the aim of moulding them into young community leaders and to demolish cultural barriers between the two groups. The goal was for the youngsters from the different estates to get to know and feel more comfortable with each other while gaining new skills to help them access further training, accreditation and qualification opportunities. It was acknowledged that the development of bonds and a common identity between the two groups would be a big step because when Oli started this work two and a half years previously they were at very different stages. Nevertheless, Imtiyaz a local Muslim from the Aylesbury estate, was particularly explicit in his recognition of the shifting attitudes:

'The workshops were very helpful to me... It's been good to come together as a community and get to know other people. You've got to look at life from other points of view. Youth work training has made me open my eyes a bit more and see things from a wider viewpoint. The workshops helped us to know more about ourselves... Of course we feel a bit closer to each other. We are all Muslim brothers so we show more respect and love for each other. But it doesn't matter if we have a Christian friend, or a Jewish friend, or a friend who did not believe, we would still be very close – I would show them the same love. It doesn't matter what race you come from, it just matters who you actually are. Your colour doesn't change who you are. The Breaking Barriers stuff has helped remind us that we are all together – even though we are from different colours and backgrounds, we are all like the same people, we are all human.'

Breaking Barriers Away From Home – The Dublin Trip

In summer 2009, this vision was crystallized as the two groups took part in an exchange programme with young people from Dublin. Despite a number of setbacks in late July and early August a group from Dublin visited London for a week and, two weeks later, ACN workers accompanied the young men from Southwark on a trip to Ireland. It was a challenging and rewarding experience for both the youth workers and the young people.

Upon arriving at the Lilian Baylis Old School, the differences between the two sets of young people were immediately obvious. The group from Dublin included girls as well as boys. They were also slightly younger on average. And they were all white. More subtly there were differences in their style of dress; in their

demeanour with the Southwark group more stoic and wary, while the Dubliners were boisterous; and in their experiences and range of cultural reference points.

These differences all contributed to a distance between the groups and a lack of willingness to engage which, fascinatingly, began to break down when they played a small football tournament about three days into the first week of the exchange. With the team from Dublin losing badly, some of the Southwark group decided to join their team and from then on everyone noticed a change in attitudes between the two groups with friendships finally being established.

Most significantly for Oli, however, the trip to Ireland a fortnight later showed his two Southwark groups beginning to bond with one another as they encountered a strange environment together. In particular, he noticed how their wariness towards each other softened as they spent more time in each other's company and found themselves having to deal with the same situations and pressures. Since part of the trip involved three days in a country house some two hours outside Dublin which in many ways was as much of a culture shock for Oli as it was for the young people. 'This was the middle of nowhere,' he kept repeating, shaking his head. 'There was just this house in the middle of nowhere, and I mean nowhere.'

The young people were split up so that the two London groups were in mixed dorms with the Irish youngsters. 'That first night, they were all a bit wary which was interesting to watch but there were a few comedians in there and that began to break things down,' he said. 'The house is, you know, all big windows, massive ceilings, and all the flies were coming in, so they were all more scared of the flies than anything else.'

The activities were also unfamiliar to those who had grown up in an urban environment, consisting of lots of rural team building exercises such as forest work and water sports, and visits to a farm to learn about milking and bread-making. Activities which were as alien to the group from Dublin as those from London.

Oli clearly felt proud of how the youngsters behaved and the way they developed and noticed some particular differences between the groups with the Londoners being 'more disciplined' and well mannered. 'It was good to see how they worked outside their own environment,' he said. 'We've always seen them within their comfort zones, even though they're from different estates. Now, I noticed that they kind of looked after each other. There were little things – like one of them saying: 'Do you want to borrow my toothbrush?' I couldn't imagine them saying something like that before, and if they hadn't been through our workshops already. There was more time during the day for that kind of interaction, rather than the three hours on the courses. I think they learned about each other more in this week. It was the best exercise that could have been done with the group.'

That sentiment was reinforced by one of the Rockingham group who acknowledged that 'the residential definitely helped to make the bonds stronger', revealing that after the blue hut workshops his group never spoke to the others but that now they freely exchange numbers and music. This change was clear to see at a feedback session held at the blue hut a month after the trip. During the spring workshop sessions they had often been wary of each other, sat in separate groups and rarely made eye contact or responded directly. Now, they bounced comments off each other, and in general seemed more responsive and comfortable in each other's company. They were even prepared to share thoughts on the fears they'd had before going. 'I expected it to be dodgy,' said one of the Aylesbury group. 'I thought people would be watching us and looking at us, but they were all really welcoming. I thought it might all be skinheads.' 'I never thought I would enjoy it as much as I did,' agreed a youngster from Rockingham. 'I didn't know how well we'd be taken care of.'

For Oli, this mutual recognition of common experience is a sign of success, not just for the exchange trip, but for his long-term work with both groups. He now believes they are ready to work together – as coaches, volunteers, and peer mentors – on future activities. By Easter 2010, he hopes they will be helping to devise and run two days of the holiday programmes after gaining experience of outreach and detached work. By next summer he wants all 12 of them to devise a whole programme to deliver together on the three estates where they grew up. 'The idea will be to mix them up as well,' he said. 'Because I'm confident now they can work together in mixed groups.'

Lessons

The work with young people on the Rockingham estate stresses:

- The key role of special events and especially tournaments in sports-based community cohesion work, although successful employment of tournaments requires them to be situated within longer term processes of engagement and developmental strategies
- In particular, tournaments and special events can be used to create interaction between groups from different estates and urban areas, overcoming territorialism
- Events are only most effective when they sit within a much longer period of working in an area over time, which allows young people to change gradually and not to be pushed too hard
- Key individuals, with a deep local knowledge of local estates and relationships of trust with residents and young people on them, can be vital in engaging otherwise marginalised people
- Identifying core individuals who can become role models and 'leaders' for their peers is important
- Residential away trips, that take young people out of their 'comfort zone' to strange and new environments can help bond people from different estates or backgrounds.

5.0

Conclusions and Recommendations: Modelling Effective Practice

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5.1

Understanding Community Cohesion



There is a need to understand the difficult and at times complex nature of 'community cohesion' as a set of aims and outcomes and how it is distinguished from, but overlaps with, broader social inclusion issues. Whilst a lack of community cohesion is exacerbated in a context of more widespread social deprivation, there are some more specific outcomes that community cohesion projects should be seeking to achieve.

A lack of interaction between different ethnic groups and associated problems with racism is one important focus, and one which many 'cohesion' projects seek to address. One of the successes of Breaking Barriers has been the ability of projects to create spaces where groups from different ethnic backgrounds can interact with each other and then build on these 'events' to develop more meaningful and ongoing relationships.

Linked to this is a need for community cohesion work to move away from the tendency in 'diversity' projects to fund, target and work with one particular ethnic group or another. The experience of Hornstars in this regard, changing from a Somali-focused organisation into one that works with a wide range of people, is particularly noteworthy as an example of the distance organisations can travel.

However, there is also a need to think beyond the issues of ethnicity and racism in community cohesion. The comment from David on the Aylesbury estate that he didn't think racism 'was a big problem here', but isolation, territorial rivalry and particularly 'no job, no opportunities' were, is instructive. Developmental approaches that provide some answers for individuals and groups to these problems are therefore as much part of community cohesion as anti-racism work.

Added to these issues we might also add age, gender and even competing interests within an area as additional potential fissures. As such a focus on particular areas, rather than social groups may be most effective and a more holistic way of achieving cohesion. Knowledge of, and connections with particular geographic areas brings credibility and trust as well as effective engagement and delivery.

As such, whilst a focus on 'breaking barriers' between different ethnic groups will always be a major priority for community cohesion projects, they should also seek to:

- Provide access to venues that provide relief from the physical deprivation of urban centres (*Pavilion*);
- Embed work within a broader developmental approach for participants (*workshops*);
- Develop opportunities for shared experiences for people from different areas (*the Dublin exchange*);
- Help to overcome potential sources of conflict (*the MUGAs on the Aylesbury*);
- Work with other organisations that are addressing wider deprivation (*the NDC*).

Given the variety of issues associated with the community cohesion agenda, and recognising that some projects will develop as they progress, it is important that projects arrive at a clear understanding of the outcomes they are seeking to achieve and how they intend to do so. At the end of this section we will provide a tabulated framework for thinking about the different issues and associated outcomes.

5.2 Places of Cohesion – The Use of Facilities



Whilst projects need to engage people in a variety of settings, the effective use of facilities within community cohesion work can contribute significantly to project outcomes. It has been recognised that poor urban architecture and decaying physical environments can exacerbate community conflict and create a lack of cohesion. Access to venues can provide an ‘escape’ from this environment and provide a neutral space for new interactions and bring people together from different areas, ethnicities and backgrounds.

Whilst new, high quality venues placed within estates – such as the Pavilion – can open up new opportunities and attract participants, we have also seen how older places such as LBOS can be effective in different ways, attracting people from a wider geographical area.

In some ways what is more important is that, regardless of the type of venue, they are also:

- Accessible – meaning affordable (including free provision), available at relevant times and ‘open’ in the broadest sense of the word
- Comfortable – a place in which people can feel at ease
- Neutral – in terms of not being perceived as being either provided for, nor owned by a particular constituency
- Within reach – either locally situated or via good transport links to encourage use from different areas
- Positive in their contribution – where negative impacts of use are minimised to local residents and businesses
- Connected – working with local agencies and organisations that are locally engaged to help bring people to venues
- Professional – ensuring that delivery at the venue is of high quality as poor experiences will lessen ongoing engagement.

5.3 Staff



In terms of staff, it has been evident that it is not so much background as their ability to relate to people from a variety of different backgrounds and work comfortably in a variety of settings that counts most in community cohesion work.

Having, or working alongside, locally identifiable staff employed over a long period of time in particular neighbourhoods and estates helps to create local intermediaries between different groups of people. These familiar faces can then ‘negotiate’ the relationships whether that be at a football tournament, between residents and users of sports facilities or on residential away trips.

There is also a need for organisations to embed the experience and learning from staff within the organisation so that successful approaches are not lost when staff move on.

5.4

The Role of Sport



Previous research has argued that whilst sport should not be seen as an end in itself, its ability to engage people, provide a 'liminal space' that is 'separate from the familiar and the habitual' is of key importance in social development. This is particularly so in relation to community cohesion objectives in that it provides participants with opportunities to:

- Enter unfamiliar locations and meet new people
- Create neutral times and places in which activity happens
- Reflect on experiences with other participants as a way of developing relationships and interaction
- Be encouraged to take responsibility
- Act as a gateway for ongoing participation and development

Due to football's popularity, it is particularly well placed to bring people of a range of ages together from a wider variety of territories, postcodes and ethnicities. This is not to diminish the role that other sports can play, however, and in Breaking Barriers we have seen boxing, in particular, used effectively. Football has perhaps been less of an engagement tool for young women, but the evidence from LBOS has been that the delivery of a range of activities can also help to broaden relationships, allowing participants to interact with people in less familiar activities.

Prior to effective delivery, however, for complex community cohesion outcomes it is necessary that key partners are engaged and the experience of staff and organisations is employed. The sustained work and partnership building at LBOS for instance created an environment in which effective sport delivery could happen.

However, it is also important to use the opportunities presented by sport effectively if the 'instance' of interaction created in a sports event or session is to be made more meaningful. In particular:

- The development of teams can help embed relationships
- Providing routes to sports qualifications and certificates has been effectively used in
- Breaking Barriers to help give participants a sense of achievement and progression, but also responsibility
- Providing opportunities for volunteering and coaching can help:
 - Embed participants' involvement in a project
 - Develop responsible roles
 - Introduce individuals to work with other groups in a structured and neutral way
 - Provide easily recognised progression routes, and in some cases income

5.5

Events



Events, and particularly sports events and tournaments, can be important nodes for interaction. We have seen this particularly in relation to football tournaments that have brought large numbers of people together in different roles.

To be effective events need to:

- Be run smoothly and professionally, in appropriate facilities
- Have adequate capacity especially for large events such as football tournaments
- Convey a sense of being a special occasion
- Create opportunities for people and different teams to mix and exchange
- Help to broaden horizons

However, whilst events provide important moments where people can come together, they also need to be staged within a broader context of project work. This is important in two respects:

- To be most effective they need to build on existing work by projects at estate level to 'bring' people with them
- They should be part of a longer term developmental programme of work

Residential trips and visits can also be important events for community cohesion projects. The experience of the visit to Dublin in Breaking Barriers is useful in illustrating how experiencing strange and new environments can help to bond people from different estates or backgrounds.

5.6

Peer Role Models



One of the most effective ways in which the work of community cohesion projects can extend their impact and influence a wider group of people in a particular area is through the development of peer role models. We have seen in a number of cases the importance of key individuals who are trusted and familiar within the locality in engaging particular groups of marginalised young people. This is particularly effective however, where participants on projects are given access to the skills and training that enable them to help deliver project activities themselves and even gain employment in other areas.

5.7

Delivery Agencies and Partnerships



All organisations have limits in terms of capacity, scope and experience and it is therefore important that community cohesion commissioners work with locally engaged and experienced organisations, as demonstrated by the experience of Hornstars and Hillside Housing; and ACN and the NDC on the Aylesbury estate. This helps to enable new approaches and bring new participants but also to embed new approaches within existing structures. One of the successes of Breaking Barriers has been the delivery of community cohesion approaches within existing projects.

Whilst this might be seen to preclude organisations without a pre-existing record of working in an area, it should be possible to build partnerships which augment the work of those organisations that are more established and trusted locally. Of course whilst this provides no guarantees of immediate success, it is more likely to pay long term dividends.

Generally, commissioners and projects seeking to deliver sports-based developmental work should look for delivery agencies that are:

- Independent and innovative
- Cooperative and not duplicating
- Providing value for money
- Capable of growth
- Receiving funding from a variety of sources

In addition, those seeking community cohesion outcomes should:

- Be able to engage, work and develop partnerships with a spectrum of community organisations
- Understand the complex issues of community cohesion and be willing to learn and develop
- Have staff that are appropriately skilled, able to relate to people from a wide variety of backgrounds
- Be focused on community cohesion outcomes, not their own project profile

In community cohesion work it is important that commissioners are not overly concerned with the branding of the project, but allow the approaches outlined in this report to develop within existing organisational structures. This project did not have successes because the work was labelled as 'Breaking Barriers', or even 'community cohesion' but by a subtle application of approaches and use of locally recognised individuals and organisations who were its 'brand'.

The formation of partnerships are vital in community cohesion work and can themselves help to 'break barriers'. However, to be most effective they need to:

- Employ the 3 Ps: pragmatism, patience and long term presence
- Focus on outcomes not 'possession' of projects or being precious about branding
- Share resources and avoid duplication
- Embrace new organisations that may be unfamiliar to help build networks on an ongoing basis

The best and most dynamic third sector organisations have proven particularly adept in this regard and can effectively partner with local authorities to develop cohesion in local neighbourhoods. However, to remain relevant they also need to embrace organisational development, sharing of good practice, learning and training.

5.8 Developmental Approaches



The work by organisations involved in Breaking Barriers has demonstrated the benefits of a developmental approach with a number of compelling individual stories. These emphasise the potential for community cohesion work to enable participants to grow from an involvement in conflictual and criminal activity to internships, volunteering and employment.

Creating pathways from participant to volunteer/deliverer and even employment provides a powerful visible route for others to follow and helps create the next generation of intermediaries. Non-mainstream education provision has provided ways for groups and individuals focused on a particular activity to interact with others (LBOS).

In doing this it is important to:

- Identify the potential of participants whilst recognising some very different starting positions
- Provide the means for development, whether through formal training and coaching or through informal and non mainstream education
- Use sport as a route to other positive outcomes, including training, youth work and personal development
- Raise awareness and provide training to tackle barriers, help develop conflict resolution and widen horizons and networks
- Recognise that development is rarely linear and work to agreed outcomes not delivery targets
- Take a long term approach that involves sustained work with individuals but also particular neighbourhoods - spreading work too thinly is unlikely to produce lasting cohesion
- Generate, process and present appropriate evidence of impact

5.9 Commissioning



The Breaking Barriers approach has illustrated both some of the teething problems but also the effectiveness of funding arrangements to projects that sit alongside other investments. Whilst at times this can 'blur the lines' by focusing on community cohesion outcomes, it can also be most effective.

This approach allows staff to find creative ways of continuing the community cohesion approach within organisations and beyond the life of specific projects.

In supporting projects, commissioners should also seek to develop:

- Expert practitioner groups
- Capacity building infrastructure and funding
- Training and workforce development
- Access to monitoring and evaluation tools
- Networks of key partners through which delivery partnerships can be built

5.10 Outcomes Framework



It is important for wider learning from the Breaking Barriers programme that a framework is developed for assessing the achievement of outcomes relating to the community cohesion agenda. For commissioners it is also necessary to have a set of indicators that inform them of the type of organisation best placed to deliver community cohesion outcomes.

The National Indicators (NIs) for community cohesion that relate most closely to PSA 21 outcomes are:

- NI 1% of people who believe people from different backgrounds get on well together in their local area
- NI 2% of people who feel that they belong to their neighbourhood
- NI 3 Civic participation in the local area
- NI 4% of people who feel they can influence decisions in their locality
- NI 8 Adult participation in sport and active recreation
- NI 110 Young people's participation in positive activities

To this might be added other indicators such as: NI108: Key stage 4 attainment for black and ethnic minority groups; and NI 13: Migrants English language skills and knowledge.

Increasingly 'smart' commissioning emphasises the need to be able to fund projects that are more likely to deliver desired outcomes so community cohesion projects should be able to demonstrate how they are helping to meet these indicators within their local area. More specifically in terms of community cohesion outcomes we would suggest that delivery organisations need to demonstrate:

- An understanding of the specificities and context of community cohesion in their literature and applications
- An ability to embed community cohesion approaches within the wider work of the organisation and its partnerships
- How they employ sport and culture as engagement and developmental tools rather than as ends in themselves

- How they create pathways for individuals to develop skills and access training, in particular with a view to becoming locally identifiable peer role models
- An ability to use one-off events within broader strategies of engagement, accessing unfamiliar environments and creating opportunities for meaningful interaction
- An ability to access facilities that are 'open', flexible and above all neutral spaces for people to interact
- Their position within broader, ongoing delivery, funding and development partnerships
- The deployment of 'front line' staff that are embedded in local networks and able to relate to people of all backgrounds

As they progress we would suggest that the following set of indicators may be useful in assessing community cohesion projects capacity to achieve these outcomes.

Organisational Development	Indicator 1	Indicator 2	Indicator 3	Indicator 4
Funding	History of securing funding	Satisfaction of funders requirements	Inclusion in partnership funding bids	Securing funding from community cohesion commissioners
Partnerships	Membership of partner network	Shared resources or referrals	Testimony from partners of contribution to cohesion agenda	Sustained partnership working with cohesion specialists
Delivery	Clear work plans and identified delivery locations	Engagement of diverse participants	Evidence of review and adaptation of practice/ activity provision	Long term interaction and relations between different groups
Staff skills	Range of social biographies and life skills	Evidence of qualifications and formal skills	Staff with experience of work with diverse groups	Rapport with range of young people and others
Participant pathways	Length of involvement of participants with range of biographies	Participant engagement in 'neutral', unfamiliar or distant spaces	Participant involvement with different groups as a volunteer or worker	Take up of opportunities to be 'someone else' or movement to new areas, social networks, life worlds

Appendix 1 Research Activity

Meetings with project team – 12

Interviews – 80

Site visits and observations – 64

Appendix 2 Ethnicity Breakdown of Participants

Summary

Here we provide the ethnicity breakdown of participants on the projects as understood in widely accepted categorisations. Below this we provide the detailed breakdowns, as expressed and 'self-defined' by participants, where data has been returned, which is naturally more varied.

Ethnic Category	2007–08	2008–09
Brent		
Asian or Asian British	1	19
Black or Black British	70	226
Mixed	2	13
White	8	13
Chinese or Other	0	5
Not Specified / Did not answer	34	51
Total	115	327
Lambeth		
Asian or Asian British	19	40
Black or Black British	228	451
Mixed	41	97
White	110	223
Chinese or Other	63	97
Not Specified / Did not answer	131	384
Total	592	1,292
Southwark		
Asian or Asian British	60	71
Black or Black British	508	337
Mixed	45	62
White	128	102
Chinese or Other	79	56
Not Specified / Did not answer	154	222
Total	974	850

Detailed 'Self-Defined' Breakdown

Brent

Ethnic Category 2007/08	No.	%
Somalian	37	32.17%
Not Specified	34	29.57%
African	13	11.30%
Black British	8	6.96%
Black African	5	4.35%
White Irish (WI)	4	3.48%
Caribbean	3	2.61%
Black Caribbean	3	2.61%
White UK	2	1.74%
Pakistani	1	0.87%
White/Black Caribbean	1	0.87%
Black & White Mixed	1	0.87%
Other White Background (OWB)	1	0.87%
Black British	1	0.87%
White British	1	0.87%

Ethnic Category 2008/09

Ethnic Category 2008/09	No.	%
Somalian	37	32.17%
Not Specified	51	15.60%
Black British	28	8.56%
Black African	23	7.03%
Caribbean	20	6.12%
African	19	5.81%
Black Caribbean	9	2.75%
Asian	6	1.83%
White/Black Caribbean	6	1.83%
Black British	4	1.22%
Indian	4	1.22%
Mixed other Background	4	1.22%
White Irish (WI)	4	1.22%
Asian Pakistani	3	0.92%
White British	2	0.61%
Other Asian (OA)	2	0.61%
White UK	2	0.61%
White	2	0.61%
Other Asian British (OAB)	2	0.61%
Pakistani	2	0.61%
Arab	2	0.61%
Other White Background (OWB)	2	0.61%
Mixed White & Black African	2	0.61%
Mixed White & Asian	1	0.31%
White UK	1	0.31%
Irish	1	0.31%
Philippines	1	0.31%
Kosovan	1	0.31%

Detailed 'Self-Defined' Breakdown

Lambeth		
Ethnic Category 2007/08	No.	%
Not Specified	131	22.13%
Black African	91	15.37%
White British	82	13.85%
Black Caribbean	68	11.49%
Black British	40	6.76%
British	28	4.73%
White Other	18	3.04%
Mixed Other	16	2.70%
White /Black Caribbean	15	2.53%
Black Other	13	2.20%
Portuguese	9	1.52%
Chinese	6	1.01%
Other	6	1.01%
Afghanistani	6	1.01%
White /Black African	6	1.01%
White	5	0.84%
Black	5	0.84%
Bangladeshi	5	0.84%
Asian	5	0.84%
Turkish	5	0.84%
Latin American	4	0.68%
Somali	4	0.68%
Caribbean	4	0.68%
White Irish	3	0.51%
Pakistani	2	0.34%
African	1	0.17%
Peruvian	1	0.17%
Irish/Jamaican	1	0.17%
White European	1	0.17%
African-Chad	1	0.17%
English	1	0.17%
Black Somali	1	0.17%
English /Italian	1	0.17%
Moroccan	1	0.17%
Vietnamese	1	0.17%
Black British Turkish	1	0.17%
White Spanish	1	0.17%
Chinese / Vietnamese	1	0.17%
Cypriot	1	0.17%
Moroccan /Irish	1	0.17%
Ethnic Category 2008/09	No.	%
Not Specified	384	29.72%
White British	165	12.77%
Black British	142	10.99%
Black Caribbean	70	5.42%
Black African	61	4.72%
Caribbean	51	3.95%
Black	42	3.25%
African	40	3.10%
White /Black Caribbean	35	2.71%
White	29	2.24%
Mixed Other	27	2.09%
British	22	1.70%

Detailed 'Self-Defined' Breakdown

Lambeth continued

Ethnic Category 2008/09	No.	%
White /Black African	17	1.32%
White Other	15	1.16%
Asian	13	1.01%
Latin American	13	1.01%
English	12	0.93%
Black Caribbean /British	12	0.93%
Irish	8	0.62%
Somali	7	0.54%
Black Other	7	0.54%
Bangladeshi	7	0.54%
Chinese	7	0.54%
South American	6	0.46%
Other	6	0.46%
Afghanistan	6	0.46%
Turkish	5	0.39%
Pakistani	5	0.39%
Black Afro-Caribbean	4	0.31%
White European	4	0.31%
White English	4	0.31%
Black British /African	4	0.31%
Moroccan	2	0.15%
Nigerian	2	0.15%
Afghanistani	2	0.15%
Zambian	2	0.15%
White British /Caribbean	2	0.15%
Indian	2	0.15%
White African	2	0.15%
Jamaican	2	0.15%
Portuguese	2	0.15%
White and Asian	2	0.15%
Mixed	2	0.15%
White Irish	2	0.15%
Hispanic	2	0.15%
Vietnamese	2	0.15%
Irish /Jamaican	1	0.08%
White Polish	1	0.08%
Yemeni	1	0.08%
Mongolian	1	0.08%
Black British /Caribbean /African	1	0.08%
British Asian /Bangladeshi	1	0.08%
French /Jamaican	1	0.08%
British Asian	1	0.08%
Italian	1	0.08%
Mauritian /Jamaican /English /Austrian	1	0.08%
Iraqi	1	0.08%
Cypriot	1	0.08%
African Caribbean	1	0.08%
Caribbean African	1	0.08%
White Lithuanian	1	0.08%
Dubai	1	0.08%
Mixed British	1	0.08%
White Albanian	1	0.08%
English /Jamaican	1	0.08%
Cape Coloured	1	0.08%
Moroccan /Irish	1	0.08%
Moroccan	1	0.08%

Detailed 'Self-Defined' Breakdown

Lambeth continued

Ethnic Category 2008/09	No.	%
English /Italian	1	0.08%
Black British Turkish	1	0.08%
Spanish	1	0.08%
Dubai	1	0.08%
Jamaican/Nigerian	1	0.08%
White Caribbean	1	0.08%
Mixed European	1	0.08%
Mutti	1	0.08%
Ghanaian	1	0.08%
Latino	1	0.08%
Turkish /Cypriot	1	0.08%
African /English	1	0.08%

Southwark

Ethnic Category 2007/08	No.	%
Black African	268	27.52%
Not specified	146	14.98%
White British	118	12.11%
Black Caribbean	110	11.29%
Somali	48	4.93%
Bangladeshi	39	4.00%
Mixed Other	27	2.77%
Black British	26	2.67%
Black Other	24	2.46%
Asian	18	1.85%
African	15	1.54%
White Other	13	1.33%
White /Black Caribbean	12	1.23%
Turkish	11	1.13%
Chinese	10	1.03%
Latin American	10	1.03%
Caribbean	9	0.92%
Other	9	0.92%
Not Known	8	0.82%
White Caribbean	6	0.62%
White /Black African	5	0.51%
White	4	0.41%
Black	3	0.31%
Portuguese	3	0.31%
Irish	3	0.31%
Bolivian	2	0.21%
Latin	2	0.21%
South American	2	0.21%
Columbian	2	0.21%
Black African/Caribbean	2	0.21%
Pakistani	2	0.21%
African /Moroccan	2	0.21%
British	2	0.21%
White & Asian	1	0.10%
African-Chad	1	0.10%
Moroccan	1	0.10%
Mauritian	1	0.10%
Algerian	1	0.10%

Detailed 'Self-Defined' Breakdown

Southwark continued

Ethnic Category 2007/08	No.	%
Ghanaian	1	0.10%
Brazilian	1	0.10%
Sierra Leonean	1	0.10%
Polish	1	0.10%
Indian	1	0.10%
Kosovan	1	0.10%
White Irish	1	0.10%
White African	1	0.10%

Ethnic Category 2008/09	No.	%
Not specified	218	25.64%
Black African	77	9.06%
White British	70	8.24%
Black British	69	8.12%
African	52	6.12%
Bangladeshi	47	5.53%
Black Caribbean	41	4.82%
Caribbean	30	3.53%
White	24	2.82%
White/Black Caribbean	23	2.71%
Mixed Other	20	2.35%
Black	19	2.24%
Somali	19	2.24%
Asian	12	1.41%
Latin American	11	1.29%
Black British /Caribbean	11	1.29%
Other	10	1.18%
Chinese	9	1.06%
Black Other	8	0.94%
Mixed	7	0.82%
Turkish	6	0.71%
White Other	6	0.71%
White/Black African	5	0.59%
Pakistani	5	0.59%
Not Known	4	0.47%
Indian	3	0.35%
European	3	0.35%
Moroccan	3	0.35%
Nigerian	2	0.24%
Sri Lankan /Jamaican	2	0.24%
Jamaican	2	0.24%
Philippines	2	0.24%
British African	2	0.24%
Asian /British	2	0.24%
Portuguese	2	0.24%
Irish	2	0.24%
Black French	1	0.12%
Afro-Caribbean	1	0.12%
Bolivian	1	0.12%
White Czech	1	0.12%
Estonian	1	0.12%
Black/Asia	1	0.12%
Filipino	1	0.12%
Black Spanish	1	0.12%

Detailed 'Self-Defined' Breakdown

Southwark continued

Ethnic Category 2008/09	No.	%
Polish	1	0.12%
Black African/Caribbean	1	0.12%
Arab	1	0.12%
French	1	0.12%
Mixed White/Asian	1	0.12%
Albanian	1	0.12%
White Caribbean	1	0.12%
Afghan	1	0.12%
Middle Eastern	1	0.12%
Greek/Irish	1	0.12%
Polish, Ghanaian, St. Lucian	1	0.12%
English/Moroccan	1	0.12%
White European	1	0.12%
Black British/African	1	0.12%

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Research Team

Project Coordinators:
Professor Tim Crabbe
and Dr Adam Brown

Project Researchers:
Matthew Brown
and Imogen Slater

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank everybody who has contributed to this research project. It would not have been possible without their time, support, thoughts, energy and suggestions.

In particular we would like to thank the Active Communities Network and the Football Foundation for commissioning and supporting the research and for staff of all partners for their contributions to it. Further and special thanks must go to the staff and participants in the locations where we conducted our work. The venues and organisations we engaged with all provided excellent access and support and in many cases inspired our vision of how sport-based community cohesion work should be organised and delivered. All young people's names have been changed in the report although staff and project workers have not.



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South Bank University Technopark
90 London Road, London SE1 6LN

Email
info@activecommunities.org.uk

Phone
+44 (0)207 717 1691

Web
www.activecommunities.org.uk