The role of selected football projects in implementing sports programmes for young people living in deprived areas

by

Caron Walpole

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Abbreviations

ACF	Advocacy Coalition Framework
ASB	Anti-Social Behaviour
ATP	Astro-Turf Pitch
BCA	Braunstone Community Association
BME	Black Minority Ethnic
FAB	Fit and Active Braunstone
FA	Football Association
FitC	Football in the Communiy
LCC	Leicester City Council
MSF	Multiple Streams Framework
MUGA	Multi Use Games Area
NACRO	National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders
NDC	National Deal for Communities programme
NEET	Young people who are Not in Education, Employment or Training
NGB	National Governing Body of Sport
ODPM	Office for the Deputy Prime Minister
PCT	Primary Care Trust
SAZ	Sport Action Zone
SDO	Sports Development Officer
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
SRU	Sport Regeneration Unit
UEFA	The Union of European Football Associations
WSP	Whole Sport Plan
YOT	Youth Offending Team

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Abstract

Social exclusion was a defining issue for the New Labour Government when it came to power in 1997. The collaboration between sport and welfare policymakers created a favourable environment for the development of new sports projects. This thesis provides an analysis of the role of selected football projects in delivering this type of sports-based programme for young people living in deprived areas. The three objectives of this research are firstly, to provide an analysis of the national policy context between 1997 to 2014, secondly, to review the literature on policy-making and policy implementation and to identify suitable frameworks and concepts to facilitate analysis and thirdly, to provide a longitudinal analysis of three selected football projects located in areas of deprivation.

This study uses a mixed method approach comprising semi-structured interviews and documentary evidence. From this, three case studies were developed using a thematic approach and analysed using a combination of multiple streams and implementation theory. The study identifies the many similarities shared by all three projects at their inception, reflecting the political priorities for tackling social exclusion through sport which was reinforced by adopting a top-down approach to project implementation. However, national political priorities changed as the New Labour Government approached the end of its term in office, and two of the three projects struggled to adapt to these changes. Nevertheless, the third project, supported by its host agency, did adapt to the changes in the political stream and maintained its original commitment to using football to address social exclusion. The study concludes that the success of the third project to adapt can be attributed to the nature of the project's host agency with its own continued commitment to social exclusion, its focus on football, its ability to retain the original project staff, its strength in fostering partnerships and in securing project funding. These factors ensured that this third football project was able to deliver sports programmes to its young people living in an area of high deprivation whilst also fulfilling its social objectives.

Keywords: sport, football, young people, NDCs, social exclusion, deprivation**,** policy process, implementation.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This chapter states the aims and objectives of the thesis and outlines the context and the background of the research. The chapter demonstrates the contemporary significance of the research and then describes how the research was conducted.

Background to the research

This research has been supported by StreetGames, a national sports charity set up in 2008 that supports a network of doorstep sport projects which provide sports and volunteering opportunities to young people in disadvantaged communities across the UK. StreetGames has a strong commitment to undertaking research in the field of sport, young people and deprivation and has both undertaken and commissioned a number of research and evaluation studies around this subject.

It was recognised by StreetGames that there had been a lack of academic research around the issue of young people, sport and deprivation in the UK over the last decade. This had resulted in an absence of debate around the impact of national sport policy on local sports projects and their role in delivering sports programmes to young people living in deprived areas. StreetGames, therefore, considered this research as important in supporting its role as an advocate for young people living in deprived areas during the sport policy-making process. It was also seen as an important tool for informing the development process of local sports projects to enable them to consider and plan for periods of policy change. Whilst StreetGames supported the research, the selection of the particular focus for the research was left to the researcher and StreetGames did not expect to approve the aims and objectives or to approve the selection of cases.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of this research is to provide an analysis of three selected football projects in delivering sports-based programmes for young people living in deprived areas and which were designed to achieve positive social benefits for individuals and their communities. The aim of the research was achieved through the fulfilment of the following research objectives:

1. To provide a critical analysis of the national policy context for sport and welfare between 1997 to 2014
2. To provide a longitudinal analysis of three selected football projects located in areas of deprivation which examined particularly their capacity to develop and sustain their community welfare objectives.
3. To analyse the interconnection between project objectives and changes in the national and local policy environment.
4. To review the literature on policy-making and policy implementation and identify suitable analytical frameworks and concepts to facilitate analysis and to provide a critical assessment of their utility.

It is acknowledged that there were limitations imposed by the selection of three projects as case studies for the research and accordingly, inferences for the successful implementation of similar projects will, of necessity, be tentative. The results of the research have the potential, nonetheless, to inform organisations such as StreetGames as well as policy-makers and project developers.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This research was concerned primarily with the impact of policy changes on the capacity of football projects working with young people living in deprived communities. Few research studies have taken a longitudinal approach to the analysis of the role of youth sports projects based in deprived areas, especially with an emphasis on the impact of policy-making on these projects. All three selected football projects were set up in the early 2000s and were still in existence in some form by the end of the research period in 2014.

This study reviewed the period between 2000 and 2014, spanning two different Governments. The beginning of this period was marked by a commitment by the New Labour Government to tackle poverty and its underlying issues, with children and young people identified as a high priority. This enthusiasm for addressing social exclusion spread throughout every government department and cascaded down to statutory providers and the voluntary sector. Areas of high deprivation were viewed during the beginning of this period as the main focus, attracting the most attention and the most resources. The selected football projects were located in three of these areas and were established as a result of the commitment to tackle social exclusion

through sport during this early period. However, the period of financial crisis in the mid 2000s weakened the emphasis on deprivation as the New Labour Government was forced to turn its attention towards dealing with the economic crisis at the same time as a change in political leadership. This research examined the effects of this policy drift on the three selected football projects before a new period of austerity dawned in 2010 with the election of a new Government. In 2010, the new Coalition Government placed its emphasis on austerity, welfare reform and reducing public spending with the result that the Government's perceived need to address deprivation as a policy issue disappeared. The Coalition Government aimed to reduce the reliance on the state by pursuing its 'Big Society' policy which was designed to encourage individuals and communities to take responsibility for their own services and facilities through its approach to 'localism'. This research aimed to illuminate the effect of this last significant policy change on the selected football projects. The choice of case studies which spanned this whole period was, therefore, important to enable the effects of these policy changes to be tracked, analysed and understood.

The potential to chart the changes in the development of football projects against the changes in national policy was also seen as an important means of exploring the expectation that local projects would continue to pursue the shared objectives of government even when national policy changes occurred. The importance of funding streams in supporting the implementation of national policy was also explored as it was surmised that a national policy which offered local funding streams would have had a better chance of successful implementation, especially if funding requirements had been imposed to encourage projects to adhere to their original implementation plans.

The role of local policy, primarily led by local authorities, in supporting or replacing national policy was also an important area to explore, building on the theme of 'localism' which had been prevalent throughout this period. The beginning of this period saw an emphasis on 'community-led' regeneration in areas of deprivation which aimed to develop the principle of local need guiding the allocation of significant funding to achieve the objectives of national policy. This theme continued throughout this period, culminating in the Coalition Government's Big Society policy with its emphasis on localism which aimed to empower individuals in their own communities.

The three football projects all operated at a local level and engaged with local policy actors to different extents at different periods of their development. It was important to analyse the importance of local policy for the development of the three projects and to identify if, how and why they engaged with local policy. It was also important to examine whether local policy development in the three project areas followed the changes in national policy or if they responded to local issues and to assess whether this benefited the projects.

Lastly, this research examined the nature and role of partnerships over the full research period. There was an assumption that it was beneficial for projects to have a wide range of partnerships, especially if the project aims are wider than sport. It was expected that these partnerships were likely to remain in place on a long term basis. It was important to illuminate the role of these partnerships within both the national and local policy context, to identify if and how these partnerships have helped the projects to benefit from favourable national and local policies and if they have provided any protection or support during periods of policy change. The research study also examined the effect of partnerships on project implementation with particular emphasis on the role of the projects' host agencies. This was of interest to the research study as all three football projects had their own host agency at the beginning of their development but the level of involvement and type of host agency in two of the three projects changed over the research study. This research strove to identify the reasons for these changes in host agency support and the impact that this had on project development and implementation in comparison to the third project which retained the same host agency throughout the research period.

HOW THE RESEARCH WAS CONDUCTED

This study was conducted firstly, by carrying out a literature review with the aim of identifying suitable policy analysis frameworks for the research and secondly, by carrying out an assessment of both sport and poverty policy over the research period to develop the policy context. The study then undertook an assessment of research theory and developed the methodology for carrying out the research. The discussion of methodology was followed by the analysis of into the three selected football projects and concluded with a review of the findings.

The focus of the second chapter was the literature review which focused on policy-making and policy implementation. This provided the researcher with the theoretical understanding of policy-making and policy implementation in preparation for the next stages of the research. It was important to explore the different conceptualisations of policy-making and project implementation with a particular emphasis on the links between the two concepts as one aspect of this research study was to explore the impact of policy-making on project implementation over at least a ten-year period. It was anticipated that this research would identify changes in both policy and project implementation and it was consequently an important part of this research to be able to identify if there was an association between these two areas. The literature review also examined potential policy analysis frameworks and assessed their suitability for illuminating the effect of policy-making on the three projects. Moreover, this assessment needed to consider the ability of the frameworks to identify sources of power, especially in the context of projects working with young people in deprived areas. It also needed to take into account the length of the research period so that it was able to provide a chronological analysis of the effects of policy-making on the three projects. The literature review concluded with the identification of a suitable policy analysis framework which was used to examine the effect of policy-making on the three projects. The framework was also used to guide the researcher's data collection in relation to policy content, the identification and role of policy actors and partners.

The third chapter provided an assessment of both sport and poverty policy, based on the recognition that the three selected football projects were operating in a complex sport and deprivation policy context. The policy context of poverty and deprivation was a key factor in the development of all three projects and it was the impact of this context on both sport policy as well as on the development of the three projects which was of interest to the researcher. It explored the definition of poverty and provided the policy context for the development of the three projects. It explained key terminology used in poverty policy such as social exclusion and deprivation as these definitions changed over the research period. It also examined the history of both sport and poverty (hereafter called welfare) policy for the period directly before the development of the projects as well as for the period during the research. This chapter aimed to identify when welfare policy influenced sport policy so that it could

provide the policy context to explain the origin of the projects as well as changes in the projects' aims and objectives over the research period. It also provided the policy context for the role and involvement of both national and local partners in the projects from both sport and cross-cutting areas such as community safety and health.

The fourth chapter focused on the methodology for the research. It provided a theoretical understanding of social research as well as the identification of the research process undertaken for this study. This chapter established the researcher's ontological approach to the study and thereafter the proposed research methodology and design. The research process was developed whilst taking into consideration the nature of the research namely three selected football projects in areas of deprivation. The methodology needed to be suitable for the collection and analysis of data from projects which had been running for a ten-year period. The research process identified the criteria for the selection of the three football projects for the research. It was designed so that it was able to capture data about the policy process over a ten-year period as well as provide the capacity to integrate the selected policy analysis framework to support the analysis stage of the research. The methodology chapter was used to select the methods for data collection which were suitable for projects which had been running for at least a ten-year period. It was anticipated that some, if not all, of the three projects might have experienced changes in project staff or office bases with the result that not all the data could be easily collected. This resulted in the need for a combination of methods for the collection of data for the research. It was acknowledged that the researcher might need to adopt a flexible approach towards collecting data, remaining alert to the potential for identifying new data sources during the data collection phase. Nevertheless, the opportunity to carry out this longitudinal research outweighed any concerns that the researcher might have had about difficulties in collecting research data and was mitigated by the choice of the three football projects during the research design stage.

The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters presented the empirical findings from the three football projects. Each project has its own chapter although there was the potential for cross referencing between the three projects. The chapters were used to both collect and analyse the research data on each project. Each chapter included the

background to the project, a timeline for the project's development, a summary of partner involvement and the research data which had been collected. Each chapter included the sport and welfare policy context which was appropriate for the project over the research period. This supported the examination of both the national and local sport and welfare policy context. These chapters were then used to analyse each football project individually in terms of the impact of policy-making on the project and in particular on project implementation. It was important to take a chronological approach to the data collection and analysis process so that the development of the individual projects could be assessed in the context of changes in areas such as funding, project staff and partnerships over the research period. This approach was also important for the analysis of the impact of policymaking on the development of the three projects in the context of changes in policy at both a national and local level during the research period.

The final chapter brought together the findings of the research. It provided an analysis of the national sport and welfare policy context for the research period and identified the areas where policy-making had affected the three football projects. It integrated these findings with an analysis of local policy-making in recognition of the location of the three projects within a community setting. This analysis also included an assessment of the importance of national and local policymaking on the development of all three projects. This chapter then provided a longitudinal analysis of the three football projects by identifying the similarities and differences between the three football projects located in areas of deprivation. This analysis compared and contrasted the three projects in order to explore the similarities and differences between the development of the projects with an emphasis on the impact of policy making within the context of policy stability, policy drift and policy change. The chapter then explored the usefulness of the theory from the literature review and in particular the suitability of the policy analysis framework. The researcher considered both the advantages and the limitations of the policy analysis framework selected and its contribution to achieving the aims of the research study. Finally, the researcher reflected on which aspects of the research study were successful and which aspects were problematic whilst offering some considerations about areas of the research which the researcher would have chosen to do differently in hindsight.

The researcher then concluded by offering her own personal reflections on the research.

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF LITERATURE RELATING TO POLICY ANALYSIS

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the concepts and theoretical frameworks appropriate to the aim and objectives of the research which are best suited for the collection and analysis of data. The chapter begins by exploring two concepts fundamental to the analysis of public policy namely policy and power. The chapter continues with a critical review of selected macro-level theory which explores the relationship between the state (as the central source of public policy for both sport and welfare) and civil society. The review is particularly concerned with the examination of ways in which the concept of power is operationalised and the implications for the analysis of the specific policies central to this research. The chapter concludes with a critical review of selected meso-level analytical frameworks and explores not only their underpinning macro-level assumptions but also their potential utility in exploring sport and welfare projects.

Policy as aspiration, action and inaction

Public policy is 'concerned with how issues and problems come to be defined and constructed and how they are placed on the political and policy agenda' (Parsons, 1995: XV). The analysis of public policy is about 'what governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes' (Dye, 1976:1).

There is general agreement that the origin of a policy is an issue or a problem (Parsons, 1995). For example, the Active People survey commissioned by Sport England identified that adults aged 16 years and over had low participation rates in physical activity and sport. The issue of low participation rates led to the development of a national sport policy to increase adult participation in sport and physical activity. This policy was then adopted by sports and physical activity providers at both a national and local level. However, the definition of policy itself is not straightforward and there is an inherent level of ambiguity. Indeed, Hogwood and Gunn (1984) cited ten different meanings for policy including theory, authorization, a decision by Government, a proposal, a label for a field of activity and a programme.

Policy is often considered as a plan, a course of action, or a set of political purposes (Wilson: 1887). Heclo (1972) developed this definition and argued that policy could be both an intended action and also an unintended action with unintended consequences. Policy was seen as being bigger than particular decisions but smaller than general social movements and that it had a purpose of some kind, an intended outcome.

John (1999:173) asserted that 'policies are proposals for change'. Dror (1989) takes this definition further and builds on the concept of policy development as a choice between different competing options. Sport and welfare policy in the UK since the early 1990s can be used to illustrate the competition between options whether the competition is between prioritising elite success over community sport, physical activity over sport participation, traditional sport over newer sports or community development over individual responsibility. In the competition between options it will be argued in chapter 3 that investment in and support for deprived communities has always struggled to achieve sustained public policy support.

In seeking to explain the variation in priority given to deprived areas and the use of football projects as a policy tool, an understanding of the nature of power is required. The nature of power and its distribution in the political system not only determines which problems reach the national policy agenda, but also influences the choice of policy response which includes the commitment of resources and the intensity or longevity of political support.

Discussion on power and policy

The focus on power is important for this research since the need to develop sport for young people living in deprived communities has arguably not been accorded consistent, high profile significance in mainstream sports policy which suggests that there is a deficit of power. As Houlihan (2011:2) argued 'Definitions of substantive policy area such as sports development are…. also about how the need for action is identified, who has the power to define need and who determines that sufficient change/ development has taken place'. There is the sense of a lack of power for disadvantaged young people within sport, they often have an acceptance of their position at the 'bottom of the pile' in the sporting landscape, they often have no voice and even those who have climbed to the top of the sporting ladder rarely speak

loudly enough to ensure that their needs are considered within the development and implementation of mainstream sports policy. Indeed, Houlihan (2011) concurred that the power over resources rarely goes down to the people who are the object of development; they stay with the funder or sports provider.

As in the previous discussion about the lack of an agreed definition of policy there is a similar lack of agreement about the definition of power. Three different views of power prevail within the policy field; firstly, the pluralist one-dimensional view of power, secondly, the non-decisionist two-dimensional model of power and thirdly, the three-dimensional model of power:

One-dimensional power. This view was based on the belief that power was distributed between different interest groups and that it was the behaviour of the different interest groups that would determine whether others would adopt their ideas or not. This view was adopted by pluralists such as Dahl (1961) who maintained that public policy was guided by free competition between ideas and interests and that the best ideas would rise to the top and the weakest ideas would fall to the bottom and be discarded. Dahl described the source of power as the person who is observed as making the decisions especially where there is conflict as it is their behaviour that determines their level of power and how they make someone else acquiesce to their will, view and decisions. This pluralist conceptualisation of power would seem to be inappropriate when examining policy for deprived communities which have traditionally lacked the resources to engage in effective lobbying of the policy process (Lindblom and Woodhouse 1993).

Two-dimensional power. This conceptualisation was developed by Bachrach and Baratz (1962) who believed that power is more complicated than the pluralist view of one-dimensional power. They maintained that power has two faces and could be found in both the decision-making and non-decision-making processes. Their view stated that it was not just about the observable behaviour of individuals but that it was also about control of the policy agenda and how certain individuals limited the information available for informed decision-making so that only ‘preferred’ options and choices were offered in order to achieve their own goals and policies. Bachrach and Baratz (1962) asserted that a person or group put barriers in place to prevent a public airing of policy conflicts. This involved a positive decision to stifle debate and

to prevent transparency. This meant that they did not show both sides of the argument or talk about the potential implications that this decision or non-decision might result in. This approach was therefore used by individuals as a tool to persuade others to adopt their views and to give approval to their own desired course of action. This conceptualisation of power has substantial resonance for the research as young people and the deprived communities of which they are part are normally the object of policy rather than an active subject capable of shaping policy. The New Deal for Community Programme was an initiative developed by national policy actors who had the resources necessary to determine the policy agenda.

Three-dimensional power. This conceptualisation was advocated by Lukes (2005). It was based on the view that power and decision-making processes were much more complex and that many more factors come into play over and above individual or group behaviour. This view of power recognised the importance of influencing and manipulating people to accept and agree to decisions and choices. Fischer (2003:88) stated that there were 'large amounts of factual information intermixed with the normative assumptions and value orientations that assign meaning to them'. Indeed, it is a constant theme within sports development literature that the evidence base gets mixed up and watered down with myths, values and storylines as argued by Coalter (2008). In particular, Coalter has drawn attention to the significance of ideology and mythologizing that is deeply embedded in discussions about the 'power of sport' which he contrasts with the paucity of robust evidence.

Foucault (1977) went further and argued that influence and manipulation was built into the socialization process so that it controlled thoughts, desires and information. This meant that people would accept their lot and would not question decisions and policies or consider alternatives. Foucault (1977) also maintained that this form of power was employed to shape behaviour and conduct and therefore preferences. This form of hidden power made it much easier to keep power and make decisions. It was often preferred as it avoided conflict and tensions as no alternative choice was given and the policies and actions which were put forward were seen as part of the natural order and accordingly beneficial. Lukes (2005) asserted that this lack of grievance and conflict within this 'hidden power' did not equal a genuine consensus but actually equalled latent conflict. He also maintained that power was something that an agent might or might not decide to use and just because they decided not to

use it, did not mean that they did not have power. Power was seen as real, sometimes hidden and indirect but most effective when it was least accessible to observation. Furthermore, Lukes (2005) maintained that this power would only be effective if it was held by a group of people, not vested within a single individual, as the effect of the 'group' was to endorse the desired action or policy which would give it validity and legitimacy. Lukes (2005) asserted that if the validation from this wider group was missing then the power would disappear. This wider concept of power can be seen in a number of the frameworks used to analyse policy and in particular in the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, (2007).

In juxtaposition to the concept of power, 'powerlessness' is significant for this research as young people living in deprived communities often have little power or little sense of power. Lukes (2005) maintained that people are often kept powerless by the deliberate actions of others such as through the withholding of information and opportunities as identified previously. Foucault (1977) went further than Lukes and advocated that this acquiescence to decision-making was more subtle than just being a false consciousness created by the media or church. Foucault maintained that power was dispersed throughout society and was therefore more subtle and wrapped up in the fabric of society. Foucault (1977) described this concept as the securing of voluntary compliance through the shaping of beliefs and desires. In a sporting context, many working class young boys and men may aspire to become top flight footballers or boxers but few would aspire to become world class cricketers or yachtsmen as they would not believe that it is achievable or desirable. They would consequently not challenge the sporting system to give them the resources and opportunities that they would need to become world-class athletes in these sports. Another example of this within a sporting context is the earlier belief that women should not play sport. This was seen as being created not just by those holding power in sport but also by those holding power in wider society such as the home, workplace and the social sphere as this belief in the inequality of women pervaded the whole of life.

Power is closely connected to the issue of inequality in sport since power can be used to increase, maintain or reduce inequality. Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993) examined political equality and inequality within the democratic process and

identified a number of questions about what political equality is and how it can be achieved. This raised issues such as whether all citizens should have equal influence or representation or participation. Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993) also maintained that social and economic inequalities were an important factor in the lack of political participation as this could result in a lack of information, lack of 'cognitive' skills, lack of aspiration and expectations and a lack of belief that 'it matters'. This in turn, reinforced the capacity of the power of the wealthy and educated to influence policy. Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993:109) maintained, in a similar way to Foucault that power was wrapped up in the fabric of society, that 'inequalities of information, education and socialization converge'. This position was further reinforced by Dahl (1961) who recognised that the policy formulation process was not distributed equally. Moreover, Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993:105) stated that 'many people do not care greatly about equality or inequality, moreover, and believe that other considerations are more significant'. This research will examine the significance of power in relation to the selected football projects and within the policy formulation and implementation processes. It will assess whether actions addressing inequality in terms of disadvantage and poverty have been supported by the policy process at both a national and local level.

As stated earlier, sport does not operate in a political, economic or social vacuum. The prevailing view of the role of the state has a direct impact on sport especially within the context of the distribution of power and the policy process. The next section examines the major theories of the state and their potential to illuminate the power and role of the state in shaping sport policy for young people from areas of disadvantage.

Discussion on the theories of the state

The discussion so far has established the importance of acknowledging the different conceptualisations of policy and the centrality of the concept of power, particularly Lukes' second and third dimensions. The discussion which follows explores a number of competing meso-level analytical frameworks which seek to operationalise the concepts of power and policy. However, before the meso-level frameworks are analysed in detail and the most suitable framework is identified for providing the greatest insight, it is important to explore the significance of the macro-level theories which provide their underpinning assumptions.

Five macro-level theories will be briefly examined:

- neo-marxism
- neo-pluralism
- governance
- market liberalism and
- elite theory

Neo-marxism

Marxism is described by Dryzek and Dunleavy (2009:79) as using the 'lens of class struggle and a theory of how all human societies develop and change' to interpret history, politics and economics. Marx and Engels (1848) divided the class system into three sections – firstly, the bourgeoisie or capitalists who owned the means of production, secondly, the proletariat or workers employed by them and thirdly, the smaller category of the 'lumpenproletariat' who were seen as an 'underclass of the unemployable'. Although their view of the lumpenproletariat was that they were 'rogues' and the flotsam of society, this sense of an 'underclass' of unemployable people is still strong today and will play a part in this research as one of the barriers which may hinder or prevent the implementation of sport policy which could be used to address the low participation rates amongst young people living in disadvantaged areas.

As part of the evolution of Marxist thinking, three Marxist theories of the state emerged: firstly, Marx and Engels (1848) maintained that the state was an instrument of the ruling class, secondly, they asserted that the state could act as an arbiter between classes, sometimes creating a balance between the classes but which often acted in the interests of business and thirdly, Marx (1867) believed that the state made sure that the capitalist economic system could continue to function. The view of the state as an instrument of the ruling class is especially pertinent to this research as it builds on Marx's view (1843) that 'religion is the opiate of the masses' and helps to maintain social order. Sport can also be viewed as a 'form of religion' (Delaney and Madigan: 2009) and as an instrument of the state. It can be viewed as a way of exercising social control over this underclass of young people, often in practical ways by providing physically intensive football sessions for them on Friday and Saturday evenings tiring them out so that they go home to their Xboxes

rather than ‘hanging around and causing trouble’. The view of the role of the state as a tool of the capitalist economic system is also relevant to this research as sport can also provide new markets for profit. Indeed, the private sector targets its services such as gyms, leisure centres and football facilities at middle to upper income brackets and leaves the lower income population to access services provided by the state and voluntary sector. The use of market segmentation by the public sector as a tool for working with groups of people to increase sports participation also serves to reinforce the position of young people living in disadvantaged areas and highlights their low economic status in society.

Throughout the twentieth century, it became clear that Marx’s theory (1867) of the polarisation of social conditions between classes had not taken place as clearly as expected. Factors such as the decline of the manufacturing sector and the rise of the service sector, the purchase of council houses, the creation of the welfare state providing free health care and education had dissipated the sense of a class struggle. This is exemplified by Marxists such as Piven and Cloward (1979) who maintained that the poor were kept from protesting and rioting by the use of the welfare system in the United States. This was compounded by the collapse of Soviet Communism and the growing realisation that the class struggle was increasingly unlikely to take place. In the 1990s this resulted in a rethink for Marxists about the identification of ‘class’ and the theory about the ‘role’ of the state replaced with the ‘critique’ of the state. Marxism is now more often used as a ‘critique’ identifying the imbalances within the capitalist system rather than offering an explanation of social change. However, John (1998:92) described Marxist theory as the influence behind the idea that ‘the policy process… is driven by powerful socio-economic forces that set the agenda, structure decision-makers’ choices, constrain implementation’. Indeed, Marxism is also useful within the policy analysis process for its thinking around the ‘elite’ and ‘power’, similar to the thinking within elite theory. Miliband (1969) described the powerful relationships between the elites and the positions that they hold – within the economy, civil service, the media, education and the private sector thereby protecting the capitalist system.

This critique and theory of the elite and power will be a useful tool for this research when it examines the position and the ‘lack of power’ held by young people living in deprived areas as it is clear that the structure of sport reflects the class system in

society. However, it will be necessary to look elsewhere for comprehensive explanations of the inequality between sports provision for young people.

Neo-pluralism

Pluralism was described by Dryzek and Dunleavy (2009:35) as 'a belief in many ways of life, many approaches to knowledge and many centres of power in society, committed to moderate, non-rancorous competition' and that this is best achieved under liberal democracy. Neopluralists such as Dahl (1961), Lindblom and Woodhouse (1973) believed in the large groupings of actors which interacted to develop public policy but in contrast to pluralist thinking in the 1950s and 1960s they argued that inequality of influence was inevitable and in particular the inequality created by the large business corporations which they saw as having more influence than other sectors of society. Indeed, pluralists such as Olsen (1965) had already begun to recognise that it was easier to form an association of influence through the formation of a small group of large businesses than to increase and sustain membership of a trade union by millions of workers.

The pluralist theory emphasised the freedom to join political associations which could then influence the political sphere, the rights of the individual and freedom and competitive elections. It was seen that policies were influenced by a large number of policy actors and groups collectively. However, the later thinking of neo pluralists such Dahl (1961) and Lindblom (1982) was based on the premise that inequality of influence was inevitable and in particular between business corporations and everyone else. This was founded on the view that business had more wealth, power and knowledge at its disposal for gaining the most influence. Neopluralists maintained that business had a privileged position as it was seen by governments as running the economy due to its wealth and level of resources since businesses could decide where and if to invest, how much to invest and the type of investment. Lindblom (1982:335) therefore concluded that 'pluralism at most operates only in an unimprisoned zone of policymaking' – that is, outside the sphere of influence of business including the economy. The advocacy coalition framework developed by Sabatier (1988) emerged from the thinking around pluralism in the US as it recognised the range of different groupings that come together with long term interests and conflicts which were united by their core beliefs. The framework was initially used to help to identify the different groupings and policy actors involved in

certain issues such as pollution and environmental issues and could be used to identify the level of business influence involved in these advocacy coalitions and where the sway of power lay in the influencing and subsequently decision-making process. This framework will be explored in greater depth later in this chapter as it has now become an established methodology for the analysis of policy formulation and implementation in sport. However, neo-pluralism is likely to be of only limited value in this analysis as the underpinning assumptions of effective organisational capacity and access to sufficient resources to achieve even limited political influence are difficult to substantiate. Neo-pluralism assumes that even the weakest interests have a sufficient degree of organisational capacity to participate effectively (if their interests do not prevail) in the policy process. Referring to Lukes' second and third dimensions of power would suggest that there is a need for caution before accepting neo-pluralist assumptions.

Governance

Rhodes (1997) asserted that governance was a progression from neo-pluralism and was based on the idea that decision making and implementation takes place outside government. Although governance and government were often used in the same context, Dryzek and Dunleavy (2009) related how these terms had digressed and that governance was being used to describe the 'production of collective outcomes' that was not controlled by government. Governance was seen as being carried out by multiple influential actors that were involved in decision-making and was in contrast to governments which are not seen as being able to determine policy independently or dominate a wide range of issues. Indeed, different spheres were seen as not being able to be controlled by central government and indeed, these spheres were often seen as self-governing, self-regulating and constraining each other. Governance in these terms was therefore about the complexity of the policy process which included international influences that drive social change. This complexity contrasts with the relative simplicity of corporatism where government, business and labour are seen as working together and with the advocacy coalition framework which assumes a degree of concentration of power concentrated in policy sub sectors.

The importance of 'networked' governance was also seen by John (2011) as a result of the nature of networks. Networks tended to be horizontal and not hierarchical,

they involved multiple actors from different interest groups at different levels contributing to consensus and collective outcomes, they did not have a single point of power, they could be problem specific, they might change their membership and finally, they had both a formal and informal existence. Castells (1996) viewed networks as eluding government control and indeed, the informal, sometimes invisible nature of networks meant that it was sometimes hard to find where the power and decision-making was taking place and to therefore determine whether a networked form of governance was democratic. The blurring of the boundaries between the state, economy and civil society was seen as resulting in decision-making taking place outside these structures involving multiple actors. The push for joined up government has manifested itself at a local level through the development of local networks and partnerships and has been seen in sport in a variety of forms such as School Sport Partnerships and Community Sport Networks. However, there is disagreement about whether governance including networks and partnerships is a way for governments to keep control or whether it means that governments lose their own influence over decision-making and implementation and therefore lose power.

The concept of governance has given rise to the debate about the need for active inclusion especially for 'oppressed' groups in society. One position put forward by Dryzek and Dunleavy (2009) was to give oppressed groups a power of veto over any decisions that would affect them. However, pluralists such as Cohen and Rogers (1992) put forward an alternative method for equalizing power by strengthening groups in civil society, including those who were oppressed or at a socio-economic disadvantage. This debate will be useful for this research as one of the discussion areas will be around the level of importance that is assigned to the issue of sport for young people living in deprived areas within sports policy.

Market Liberalism

Dryzek and Dunleavy (2009) described market liberalism as the theory that was built on the belief that the capitalist system would bring prosperity and promote economic and political freedom. It criticised any theory of the state that endorsed a positive role for government planning. It traced its roots back to Adam Smith (1776) and the idea that markets were the best way to organise the economy. Smith (1776) maintained that there was an 'invisible' hand that converted the self-interested decisions of manufacturers and businesses into outcomes that would benefit everyone and

create social welfare. This complemented the beliefs of the merchants within the capitalist economy even though many economists recognised that market failures did take place. This thinking expanded from economic freedom to political and property freedom and governments started to see their primary role as supporting the growth of industry as their own finances would benefit in return. In the late nineteenth century and the early to mid-twentieth century, the influence of market liberalism waned and governments started to take on a more domestic function and started to regulate markets such as through the creation of the welfare system and the public housing programme after the second world war. From the late 1970s onwards market liberalists such as Olson (2000) were influenced by 'rational choice theory' also known as 'public choice theory' based on assumptions about the importance of self-interest and maximizing human behaviour. This led to a widely held suspicion of the state and heralded the Thatcher era of the privatisation of state industries, competitive tendering, deregulation of the economy and competitive arrangements for public services which were intended to give individual consumers more choice over services such as education and health. This was also reflected within sports policy with the introduction of compulsory competitive tendering (CCT) for leisure centres in the early 1990s which was extended in some geographical areas to local authority sports development units.

The thinking around market liberalism developed under the influence of rational choice theory. For Dryzek and Dunleavy (2009), rational choice theory was based on the view of the world that advocated that individuals were 'homo economicus individuals' who were 'rational egoists who calculated what was in his or her best material interests and chose a course of action accordingly'. This theory gave rise to Margaret Thatcher's famous saying that 'there is no such thing as society' (1987) and to the view that individuals should be labelled as consumers or clients rather than citizens who contributed to the public good. This had a direct impact on people living in disadvantaged areas as they were seen either in terms of their (low) value as a consumer or as a client who needed access to a service rather than a class or group of people who had the potential to make a positive contribution to society. The impact of market liberalism on the 'poor' has been further increased by Tiebout's (1956) argument for the decentralisation of public service and government so that 'people can vote with their feet' and can 'cluster in similar areas' to get the services

that they prefer. This makes it very difficult to redistribute incomes and resources from the rich to the poor at a local level and at such a small scale.

'New Public Management' theorists such as Ostrom (1990) whose ideas emerged from the thinking around market liberalism have also had a significant impact on the policy process. New Public Management is based on the view that the role of the state should be minimal, the ability of the state to deliver services itself is low and that there should be a spine of accountability for the delivery of services with targets, indicators and outcomes. This theory has potential significance for this research as it has had an impact on sports policy and in particular on the implementation of sport policy through the allocation of resources and provision in sport.

Elite theory

Dryzek and Dunleavy (2009) described this theory as having been founded in Germany and Italy at the end of the nineteenth century on the belief that power within a political system was concentrated in a small leadership group called the 'elite', in contrast with the 'mass' of citizens who were largely powerless. Elite theorists such as Mosca (1939) maintained that whatever form of government existed, there should and always would be a small 'elite' leadership group in control. They believed that the masses did not have the capability and competence to participate effectively in politics. This theory was used as a critique to define the structure of the capitalist economy as dominated by a small number of oligarchs or large corporations and indeed, the use of 'non-decisions' by the ruling elite to keep many issues off the agenda and out of the public view as asserted by Bachrach and Baratz (1963). Domhoff (1978) described the use of the social system that helped to keep the elite in power through the use of social clubs, networks and access to political power. Elite theorists such as Wright Mills (1999) and Hunter (1953) advocated the redistribution of power and wealth but this could also be seen as a way for the ruling elite to stabilize the state to keep themselves in power. For Elite theorists such as Domhoff (1978) the state was seen as a tool for the ruling elite to use to further their own interests. Sociologists such as Hunter (1953) also went further and used this theory to analyse community power and concluded that this structure of a ruling elite and the masses was mirrored in smaller communities especially cities. All this served to negate the theories of the pluralist that society was served by a multitude of groups with different interests. However, as with the

pluralists, the elite theorists were mainly concerned with the analysis of how power was distributed and not the reasons for it. This theory may be useful for this research because of the issues around power or lack of power for young people living in disadvantaged areas and the views that the 'ruling class' has towards this group in relation to sports policy formulation and implementation.

As has been argued, each of the macro-level theories reviewed offers an insight into the distribution of power in society, the role of the state and the influences on policy-making. However, some are more insightful and persuasive then others. Neo-pluralist theory, despite acknowledging the uneven distribution of influence on policy is less persuasive of its capacity to take account of the marginalisation of some groups and communities. In contrast neo-Marxism, despite being hamstrung by its nineteenth century conceptualisation of class, explicitly acknowledges the role of the state in social control and the constraints on the capacity and the power of those in poorer communities. Neo-Marxism and elitism resonate with many of the assumptions of market liberalism especially the atomised nature of society and the primacy of individualism over forms of community (whether geographical, class, ethnicity etc). While the neo-Marxists and elitists would see social atomisation as a state strategy to weaken class opposition, the market liberals argue that it is the natural order of society.

In conclusion, the review of macro-levels theories is important for alerting the researcher to the assumptions that underpin meso-level theories. Equally important, they offer observations on the structural features of contemporary society which contribute to or in some cases, exacerbate social marginalisation and competing assessments of the significance of the state and its role in the policy process. For the purposes of this research the insights from the two main conflict theories, neo-Marxism and from neo-liberalism will be retained as references points for the discussion of meso-level frameworks and for the collection and analysis of data.

Discussion on policy process and policy analysis

This next section will introduce a range of policy analysis frameworks which will be considered for use during this research study to identify the effect of the policy process on the selected football projects and their engagement with young people in

deprived areas. As discussed previously, policy is developed and implemented often as a response to or influenced by a particular theory of the state and theories of power. This section will examine four models of the policy process which have the potential to be used to analyse the policy process. The suitability of each of these models for their use as an analysis framework for this research will also be examined.

Houlihan (2005) argued that there were four criteria for evaluating the suitability of policy frameworks for the analysis of sport. Houlihan's four criteria consisted of: firstly, the capacity to explain both policy stability and change; secondly, the ability to consider the policy process in a holistic manner recognising the interplay between different actors, stages and aspects; thirdly, the applicability across a range of policy agendas as sport has a cross-cutting function across areas such as health and community safety; and fourthly, the ability to give a historical analysis of policy to ensure that policy changes are captured over the medium to long term. Additionally, the evaluation of the suitability of analysis frameworks needed to include two further criteria around firstly, inequality and deprivation and secondly, sources of power. These are an essential feature of these frameworks so that they can highlight the effect of policy change on sport in areas of deprivation and illuminate the shift in power between policy areas. These six criteria have, consequently, been used as a basis to assess the suitability of the individual policy analysis frameworks for this research.

The four policy analysis frameworks that are discussed in this section are:-

- The stages model
- Advocacy Coalition Framework
- Multiple Streams
- Networks

The stages model

The stages model was one of the first frameworks developed to analyse policy and was the most influential framework up until the mid 1980s, Sabatier (2007). It is clear that the thinking about the analysis of the policy process has become more complex over time. Simon (1947) identified three stages – intelligence, design and choice but

by 1984 this had grown to nine stages (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). These nine stages were as follows: deciding to decide, deciding how to decide, issue definition, forecasting, setting objectives and priorities, options analysis, policy implementation, monitoring and control, evaluation and review, policy maintenance, succession and termination. This was seen by Nakamura (1987) as a 'textbook approach' as it aimed to analyse the different 'stages' of policy making and policy implementation 'step by step' in a sequential order. This model is still used by policy actors since it breaks down the areas of the very often complex policy process into 'manageable' and easy to understand parts. This is especially important for policy actors who have a responsibility for the planning of the implementation process to enable them to identify what has already happened, what is currently happening and what is likely to happen.

However, even though the number of policy analysis stages increased within Hogwood and Gunn's model, it was soon seen as an inadequate framework for the analysis of policy making and implementation in the 'real world' by critics such as Sabatier (2007). His two most significant criticisms were that firstly, each stage is analysed in isolation to other stages and it does not identify common causes across all the stages such as external factors and influences and secondly, that in practice, policies are not formulated and implemented in a chronological or logical order since different parts of the process influence and shape other parts throughout the whole process. Sabatier also maintained that the sequence of stages does not always follow the prescribed order in practice and may therefore be inaccurate – such as the evaluation of a delivery programme influencing the agenda setting and policy formulation stages. It also does not take into account the impact of multiple policies on the policy formulation and implementation stages. Indeed, Houlihan (2005) asserted that earlier policy frameworks such as the 'stages model' were lacking a holistic approach to both policy development and policy implementation as they tended to focus more on policy formulation. This dissatisfaction with the stages model was also shared by Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993) who believed that policy making was not a rational and coherent process with a beginning, middle and end but that it 'resembled a '''primeval soup'' with actions occurring fitfully as problems become matched with policy ideas which were considered to be in the political interests of a working majority'. They maintained that policy implementation often

brings its own unexpected problems which in turn impact on the agenda building process and that this does not occur at a specific stage of the process. They also agreed with the view of hidden and secretive power put forward by Bachrach and Botwinick (1992) which reinforced the importance of the role of policy analysis in showing how issues were kept off the agenda. This aspect of policy analysis was seen as equally as important as how issues set the agenda and it was clear that the stages model did not have the ability to capture this.

Nevertheless, the stages model had an important role to play in the future development of new policy analysis frameworks as a result of its deficiencies by demonstrating to policy analysts the characteristics that were needed to respond to this level of complexity within the policy process and it did lead to the development of a range of new frameworks which were designed to include this wider range of factors.

Table 2.1 below shows the assessment of the stages model for its suitability for this research adapted from Houlihan's (2005) four assessment criteria. The conclusion drawn from this assessment is that although the stages model was unable to analyse key parts of the policy process such as sources of power, inequality, policy stability and change, it might have been useful to consider using the nine stages identified by Hogwood and Gunn (1984) as a checklist for identifying the components of the policy process although it would still have been necessary for it to be supplanted by aspects from other policy analysis frameworks. However, this checklist would only have been considered as a potential policy analysis framework if the remaining frameworks had been unable to meet the requirements of this research study.

Table 2.1. Assessment of the ‘stages model’ for the analysis of sport and welfare policy

Ability to analyse policy stability and change	***Ability to take an holistic approach***	***Ability to analyse the impact of cross cutting themes on football projects***	***Ability for an historical/ long term analysis***	***Ability to analyse the role of inequality and deprivation in the policy process***	***Ability to analyse the sources of power***	***Conclusions on the framework’s efficacy***
Potential to chart policy ‘positions’ within the individual stages but no structure to identify the changes over time and the factors involved. For example, the policy to increase adult participation has changed over time in terms of age ranges, the definition of sport and physical activity, levels of intensity and areas of priority for implementation.	Unable to take into account the changing nature of sports policy, policy actors and external factors and the impact of these changes on projects over a longer research period. Unable to identify the impact of previous changes to the stages in a project on the later stages of the project.	Difficult to take into account and highlight the impact of the different policy sectors and the changing nature of their own policies. Difficult to track the ‘unintended’ and unexpected impact of ‘cross-cutting’ policies such as regeneration policies on sports policy and project implementation.	Only able to focus on a snapshot of the stages at a defined time. Lacks ability for longer term analysis.	No provision for the analysis of inequality, poverty or unfair distribution of resources especially around young people in deprived areas compared to other groups.	It does not easily identify the sources of power and whether these sources of power have changed at the different stages.	The logical, sequential and straightforward approach to the analysis of policy formulation and implementation is attractive. This model could provide a partial picture and analysis of the policy process. However, it is unlikely to give a satisfactory analysis as it will not recognise the complexity and interplay of all the policy actors and factors over time.

Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1988) is now recognised by many academic researchers as one of the more sophisticated and elaborated policy analysis frameworks. Indeed John (1999:171) described it as 'an effective account of public policy making'. Sabatier (2007) believed that policy making was more complex than assumed by the developers of the stages model. Sabatier (2007) identified five factors that demonstrate the complexity of policy making:-

- A large number of policy actors will be involved in the policy process at a range of levels and with a range of interests, values, views and preferences.
- The policy process needs a period of at least ten years before it can be evaluated as it needs a historical analysis.
- The policy framework needs to focus on a policy sub-system rather than a specific programme as there may be a number of programmes operating within the policy process involving many of the same policy actors.
- The technical perspective must be included in the policy analysis as this will often impact on the choice of policy solutions.
- The 'spin' to arguments within the policy process needs to be identified and attributed to the respective policy actors and their interests.

The ACF was designed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1988) to adopt a holistic approach to the analysis of the policy making process involving the analysis of 'wicked' problems such as those involving multiple actors, significant conflicts and disputes at several levels. This framework recognises that policy making is complicated and often involves so many different actors that it is necessary to bring them together as a specialist field of policy making in order to develop, establish and implement the desired policies. Sabatier (2007) viewed analysis, ideas and information as part of the political stream and as a major force for change as these forces interact with each other on a continuous basis and do not happen in isolation to each other.

Sabatier (2007) wanted to bring five main ideas together to improve policy analysis which would address the problems identified within the stages model. These five ideas were:-

- The policy process should be understood in the wider context of policy networks, policy communities and sub-communities.
- Sets of core beliefs and values with causal assumptions about how to realize these values
- The analysis of policy changes needs to take place over the long term to see what change does take place and with what impact.
- Sub-systems include actors from different levels which have a hierarchy.
- Socio-economic factors do have a major influence on policy.

Sabatier (2007) suggested that the policy process should be defined in terms of specific policy sub-systems rather than policy sectors which are seen as too broad and encompassing. This would mean that sport would be seen as policy sector but it would be divided into policy sub-sectors such as elite sport, community sport and school sport. It is clear that the level of activity, interaction, tensions, conflict and sheer number of policy actors would make the analysis of a whole policy sector impossible. This was in contrast to the policy sub-system which could be treated as a more manageable unit of analysis where the level of activity, interaction and policy actors can be more easily identified as they will be specialists united by a common interest such as school sport.

The actors within an advocacy coalition's policy sub-system were seen by Sabatier (2007) as sharing a common core belief system wanting to see their beliefs translated into policy. This is in contrast to rational choice theory, as the ACF's view is that individuals can behave in an altruistic manner. In the policy sub system there is a degree of consensus about the need for major policy change and the coalition provides the opportunity for open decision-making, almost like a groundswell of opinion. The actors who play a part in the generation, dissemination, and evaluation of policy ideas are not just decision-makers but also street level implementers as this provides the opportunity for the 'feedback loop' so that street level implementers can report on the policy outcomes and contribute to learning and re-orientate the policies

within the sub sector. The advocacy coalition is driven by technical information and evidence gathered by academic researchers who help to define the policy problems that the advocacy coalition seeks to resolve. The coalition also seeks a level of public opinion which is reinforced by the media and journalists using the technical evidence that has been gathered and which the advocacy coalition can use to counter other policy decisions and coalitions in order to bring their policy to the forefront. Sabatier maintains that it is the opinion of this policy elite rather than public opinion that influences and shapes policy. Sabatier (1993) maintained that policy learning has a greater capacity to change the agendas and decisions of government than the exercise of power.

The advocacy coalition framework also provides a historical perspective for medium and long term policy making as it assumes that the beliefs of the policy actors will be maintained over a longer time. This medium to long term perspective enables the advocacy coalition framework to identify all the factors involved and capture how they interact with each other and impact on policymaking and implementation.

However, Sabatier (2007) recognised that there will be both internal tensions and conflicts between actors within the policy sub sector as well as external factors which will impact on the success of the advocacy coalition's policy process. Sabatier (2007:199) described the notion of internal and external shocks that take place and their significance as follows: 'these external shocks can shift agendas, focus public attention, and attract the attention of key decision making sovereigns'. An example of this is the major policy change and redistribution of resources as a result of the awarding of the 2012 Olympic Games to London. Although these shocks can bring about change they can also have an impact on members of the advocacy coalition by either confirming their beliefs in the core policies or shedding doubt on them. Policy making is therefore driven not just by internal competition between coalitions but also by factors outside the coalitions such as changes in government or a reprioritisation of government resources. An example of this is the Coalition Government's decision in 2010 to significantly reduce its funding on school sport as a way of addressing the national deficit and to then only distribute this reduced funding through the main school budget rather than through one of the main school sport policy agents, the Youth Sport Trust. However, the strength of a dominant advocacy coalition can be so great that it disadvantages other weaker policy sub

sectors that do not have an effective advocacy coalition. For example, the community sports sub sector is much weaker than the school sport or elite sport sub sector and has not been able to set its own policy agenda. This has resulted in significantly lower levels of investment within this sector and has had the potential to lead to tensions, grievances and even hostility towards the other sport sub sectors.

An assessment of the ACF for the analysis of sport and welfare policy can be seen in Table 2.2 which shows that although there are many advantages to this framework, the framework is not best suited to this research study as it is unable to track policy changes over time, especially for the influence of cross-cutting welfare policies on sport policy and there is too little recognition of inequality and disadvantage.

Table 2.2. Assessment of the advocacy coalition framework for the analysis of sport and welfare policy

Analysis of policy stability and change	***Holistic approach***	***Analysis of impact of sport on the cross cutting themes***	***Historical/ long term analysis***	***Ability to analyse the role of inequality and deprivation in the policy process***	***Ability to analyse the sources of power***	***Overall view of the framework's efficacy***
Analysis of internal and external shocks to the policy process Ability to identify policy stability due to the medium to long term analysis.	Analysis of a defined policy sub sector Analysis of the wide range of actors involved Ability to identify the complexity of interactions, events.	Evidence from implementers and academic research. However, little interaction or cooperation with policy sub sectors outside the main policy sector.	Medium to long term analysis of the policy process.	No explicit discussion of the factors that inhibit coalition formation such as poverty, poor education, ethnic marginality.	Ability to identify sources of power – the elite policy actors. Less effective in explaining unequal distribution of resources essential for an effective coalition.	Many advantages to using this framework Capacity to analyse the complexity of the policy process within a sub sector. However, the main gap is that there is too little acknowledgement of the impact of socio economic factors on the ACF which may be significant as Sabatier maintains that the actors that control the flow of influence and information will have more power. Less able to illuminate the impact of cross-cutting policies on sport policy.

Multiple Streams

The 'Multiple Streams' framework is rooted in the belief that policy making takes place under conditions of ambiguity where there are many ways of thinking about the same issue which are not always reconcilable and may lead to confusion and stress. The framework was based on the 'garbage can' metaphor of choice advocated by Cohen et al. (1992) where they advocated that 'various kinds of problems and solutions are dumped by participants as they are generated'. Kingdon (1984) found this concept an attractive starting point as it recognised that organisations did not always behave rationally and that they often would look for problems that would fit the solutions that they wanted to implement. The multiple streams framework consists of three strands - the problem stream, the policy (solutions) stream and the political stream.

The problem stream consists of issues that have a high profile and where there is an agreement that solutions need to be found. Kingdon (1984) asserted that there were three mechanisms to bring problems to the attention of policy makers – firstly, indicators such as the indices of multiple deprivation which give evidence about the levels of poverty in some areas, secondly, events which focus attention on these problems such as, the riots of Summer 2011 mainly involving young people living in the poorest urban areas and thirdly, feedback and information which shows the performance of programmes such as the Active People Survey results which show that despite Sport England's investment in participation programmes, adults on the lowest incomes still have the lowest participation figures.

The policy solutions stream was seen by Kingdon (1984) in terms of a 'primeval soup' where ideas float around, some get adopted and developed into policy and others fail to get adopted and sink to the bottom. He viewed this as a similar process to Darwin's theory of evolution – survival of the fittest or in this context, the accepted best idea. For example, Sport England needed to find the best solution to the problem of low participation rates in sport by adults. A number of options were available but Sport England chose the solution of using the Whole Sport Plans put together by NGBs as it was believed that NGBs were in the best position to increase adult participation rates within their own sports.

This framework shares similar views to the ACF about the need for actors within a policy-sub sector to play an active role in the solutions stream. The policy sub-sector needs a policy entrepreneur to play a leading role within this stream so that its policies and ideas are seen as potential solutions and then they will have a better chance of being adopted. However, the actors within these sub-sectors are seen as being fluid and without a long term commitment. This can put policy sub-sectors such as sport and disadvantaged young people at a significant disadvantage if the sub-sector is not strong enough to have policy entrepreneurs with sufficient skills, leadership and influence to promote a policy or idea as one of the 'best' solutions to be considered.

The political stream is seen as a stream where there are a different set of interests determining priorities. Kingdon (1984) viewed it as comprising the national mood, organised political forces, government and consensus building. This could be used as a way of explaining why the riots of Summer 2011 did not result in the additional allocation of resources to young people in deprived areas for participating in sport. The national mood and view of the coalition government was not to 'reward' the young people involved in the riots by allocating more resources to them but it was to identify and prosecute the young people who were the perpetrators of the looting and violence.

Kingdon (1984) maintained that although these were three conceptually distinct streams, sometimes they did connect but not always. For example, the riots of Summer 2011 which took place in areas of deprivation with low sports participation figures did not result in additional funding for sport and young people in these areas whereas the inner city riots of the early 1980s did result in new funding and programmes for sport and young people. The framework does acknowledge the fact that there has to be a high element of chance that all three streams, the problem, the solution and the politics, will come together at the same time to launch a new policy.

This framework also recognises the importance of the validity and impact of ideas for the development and implementation of policy and as such contains an element of rationality. However, the framework is also based on the principle that individual decision makers can only process one idea at a time which limits the number of ideas and problems that can be dealt with at any one time. Furthermore, it

recognises that the capacity for rational decision-making is limited as it is impossible to have all the information available at the same time about the problem and the solutions available so that the problem is clearly defined and the best solution found.

Houlihan (2005) argued that although the multiple streams framework has been used successfully in a number of policy areas, it assigned too much importance to the role of ideas and does not recognise the importance of power within the policy formulation and implementation process. Multiple streams might be able to identify the problem, solution and the politics involved within a policy but it does not provide a thorough analysis of the interactions between policy actors and influences, the implementation process and the policy outcomes.

However, as shown in table 2.3. the Multiple Streams Framework does have the potential to be combined with a chronological framework in order to illuminate the changes in the three streams for both sport and welfare policy over a defined period. It does have the potential to be considered a policy analysis tool for this research study but it will need to be combined with another approach to give a fuller analysis of policy change and stability.

Table 2.3. Assessment of the 'multiple streams' model for the analysis of sport and welfare policy

Analysis of policy stability and change	***Holistic approach***	***Analysis of impact of sport on the cross cutting themes***	***Historical/ long term analysis***	***Ability to analyse the role of inequality and deprivation in the policy process***	***Ability to analyse the sources of power***	***Overall view of the framework's efficacy***
Ability to analyse the content of the three streams when they come together to make policy. There is the potential to combine it with a chronological framework which could show the periods of change and stability over a defined period. This framework could also be used to show the combined changes in the three streams for more than one policy area. This might also be able to show the influence of common elements of the different streams in different policy areas.	Recognition of three significant policy streams Recognition of the multiple actors involved in the individual streams. However, it does not analyse the interaction between the actors within the different streams. There is a focus on ambiguity and randomness of the process. It stops at the point at which policy solutions have been agreed politically – the other parts of the process are not	Ability to see where sport is being used as a solution for a problem within a cross cutting theme. Ability to see the political context of the solutions. However, no capacity to analyse the impact of the solutions	More suited to the analysis of short term policy processes – a 'snapshot' approach. However, it has the potential to be combined with a chronological approach to offer a longer term analysis.	Focus on the political context is helpful to identify the approach to inequality. However, little is said in the framework specifically about inequality or deprivation	It does not recognise the sources of power in the process as ideas are seen as more powerful.	Useful to identify the process for how a solution is adopted for sport and welfare policy. It does not recognise power, knowledge or implementation issues which will be an important area for this research. It does not focus specifically on inequality. It has the potential to be combined with a chronological framework to assess

Analysis of policy stability and change	***Holistic approach***	***Analysis of impact of sport on the cross cutting themes***	***Historical/ long term analysis***	***Ability to analyse the role of inequality and deprivation in the policy process***	***Ability to analyse the sources of power***	***Overall view of the framework's efficacy***
Unable to show the role of individual policy actors, interventions etc. May be able to explain some but not all changes in the three streams	addressed.					policy over a longer term.

The mapping of networks

Networks can be used as a tool for analysing both the development of, as well as the implementation of, policy. Networks were seen as an important tool of government in the late 1990s and are still used in a range of policy sub-sectors. The concept of the policy network has its roots in the research carried out around interest groups and agenda setting as well as in the influence of interorganisational theory which asserts that actors are dependent on each other to achieve their own goals. As John (1999:66) asserted, 'Group and network approaches stress the importance of interactions between the participants in the policy process'.

The network model does not have one accepted definition or agreed form of application. Firstly it has been used as a way to describe a specific form of governance, characterised by Kenis and Schneider (1991) as a series of informal, decentralised and horizontal relations. This is based on the belief that actors who are responsible for political decision-making are not the most influential decision-makers in the policy formation and implementation process as the boundaries between the private and public sphere have become blurred and this leads to joint decision-making by a number of actors within the policy sub sector. Rhodes, (1997:xii) took this concept even further with the assertion that 'networks are self-organizing, which means that networks are autonomous and self-governing and that they resist government steering'. For John (2011), networks were regular, horizontal relationships between decision-makers, projects and workers, sustained by mutual trust and knowledge which lasted over time. The characteristics of a strong, thriving 'network' have been identified by a number of researchers including the need for high quality leadership in the network which was identified by McGuire and Silvia (2009). This complements the concept of 'network management' which uses negotiation and consultation to influence the strategies of policy actors, resolve conflicts between them such as the tension between the diversity of goals and interests and shape the structure of the network. However, the nature of the 'network' policy model is not clearly defined. Networks were described by John (2011:140) as 'a fuzzy concept and encompass all kinds of human interaction'. John (2011) also described them as being amorphous and fluid as they form, they can change and they can break-up as actors decide whether they want to join, stay or leave the network. It is acknowledged that it can be hard to see the network from

both the ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ as it is constantly changing. The network might not be transparent, it might be a closed network, for example, as only invited projects are allowed to join. However, one of the potential benefits of a policy network cited by John (2011:140) is that it has the potential to support ‘the Joined-up Governance approach… supposed to embody the spirit of cooperation and to ensure public agencies work together to solve public problems’.

The second use of the network model is to analyse the interaction and characteristics of actors sharing common interests within a social network within a policy sub sector. Adam and Kriese (2007:133) employed a ‘two-dimensional typology’ for this analysis. Firstly, the ‘composition variables’ which are the attributes of the actors and secondly, the structural variables, which are the relationships between the actors. The attributes of the actors and in particular their capabilities within the context of the ‘power structure’ of the network is seen as significant since it seeks to identify whether power is shared or if it is concentrated within one actor or coalition of actors. The structural variables and in particular the ‘degree of co-operation’ between actors and coalitions is identified in three different ways: i) conflict and competition, ii) bargaining and negotiation and iii) cooperation. These two sets of variables are used to identify the link between the distribution of power and types of interaction so that the type of network structure can be evaluated. For example, cooperation between actors within a fragmented level of interaction will lead to horizontal cooperation compared to the concentration of power in a network dominated by one actor or coalition combined with interaction based on conflict and competition will lead to dominance by the actor or coalition.

The third use of the network model is for formal network analysis which analyses the boundaries of the network, which actors belong to the network, their attributes and relationships. This analysis focuses on the relationships between actors and a quantitative analysis of the network identifying the structure of the network. Although this analysis uses a quantitative form of analysis, the results do not show the origins of the network or the changes which take place over time. Indeed, research using the different concepts of the network model has often been contentious as it has not been considered to be sufficiently robust or able to give a satisfactory analysis of the holistic policy process.

The assessment of the network framework for the analysis of sport and welfare policy as shown in table 2.4 below shows that this analysis tool would not be sufficiently robust to illuminate the policy process, inequality and power or to provide a satisfactory analysis over a longer time period.

Table 2.4: Assessment of the ‘network’ model for the analysis of sport and welfare policy

Analysis of policy stability and change	***Holistic approach***	***Analysis of impact of sport on the cross cutting themes***	***Historical/ long term analysis***	***Ability to analyse the role of inequality and deprivation in the policy process***	***Ability to analyse sources of power***	***Overall view of the framework’s efficacy***
Difficult to see the policy processes taking place Unable to identify the periods, and causes of, policy stability and change or the reasons for it.	Limited analysis as it only identifies the boundaries of the network, the capabilities of the actors and their interaction.	It might be able to identify the actors from the cross cutting themes involved in the network but it will be difficult to identify the impact of the policy.	Unable to provide this analysis over a longer term in sufficient detail.	It might be possible to identify policy actors and implementers with a priority for addressing inequality as it is able to see the wide range of policy actors involved. Little is said explicitly about inequality	Unable to identify ‘hidden’ sources of power	Can identify the members of the network especially at the current implementation phase. It can identify how they interact but unsatisfactory for identifying how and which policy issues get onto the agenda, the importance of knowledge, external factors etc. Does not deal explicitly with power or inequality.

One common weakness found in most meso-level frameworks discussed in this chapter is that they tend to concentrate on agenda setting and policy choice and there is a relative neglect of the discussion around policy implementation which is not only a focus of this research but also a neglected aspect of policy-making. There is increasing recognition that decisions around implementation can have and do have a profound impact on the actual policy delivered at the grassroots level (Hill and Hupe 2009).

Discussion on policy implementation

There is overall agreement that implementation must logically follow on from the policy formation and decision-making process. However, although there is general agreement about when implementation starts, there is still a debate about the definition of implementation. There are a number of definitions of the implementation process including 'the carrying out of a basic policy decision', Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983:20-1) and 'the stage in the policy process concerned with turning policy intentions into action', John (1998:204). There is general agreement that the implementation process can be analysed separately from the policy formulation process although it is recognised that both processes often overlap and will influence and shape each other. However, implementation is 'a complicated process. Therefore much can go wrong', Pressman and Wildavsky (1984: xxiv) and this is reinforced by John (1999:28), 'It does not take many hurdles for the probability of successful implementation to drop below 50 per cent'. Although attempts are often made by policy makers to control the implementation process, traditionally through the specification of inputs, outputs and outcomes, as Houlihan (2011:2) identified 'even when policy makers establish a clear set of goals for a policy, they are often diluted, adapted and subverted as they move through the process of implementation'. There is therefore a wide range of factors which implementation analysis needs to consider including the levels of legitimacy and ensuing power of the 'formulator', the decision-maker' and the 'implementer', the method of the implementation process, structural issues and the culture of an organisation. The analysis of the implementation process will mean making a judgement about what was achieved and what was expected when the policy was formulated. However, this assessment of successful implementation in itself can also prove to be contentious as is demonstrated later in this section. If implementation does not

achieve what is expected then it is often defined in terms of implementation ‘failure’ or ‘gap’.

Matland (1995) identified that the analysis of policy implementation was typically split into two main schools – top-down and bottom-up: Top-down theorists view policy formulators as the central actors and focus on the factors that can be controlled from the top and bottom-up theorists place their emphasis on service deliverers and targets groups based on the belief that policy is made at a local level.

Top down approach

The classic implementation theory, the top down or managerial approach, is defined as an attempt to control the policy implementation process so that it achieves the desired policy aim and objectives. Bardach (1977) saw implementation as a political process where policy needed to be protected and therefore successful implementation should be top-down and a full follow through was needed. Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983:20) defined implementation as ‘the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions...’ Their development of a top-down model with general sets of factors and independent variables affecting implementation was designed to be used to determine whether implementation would be successful or not.

This model complemented the ten factors that had been identified by Hogwood and Gunn (1984:199-206) as essential to be in place for implementation to be successful:-

I. Circumstances external to the implementing agency do not impose crippling constraints;
II. Adequate time and resources are made available to the programme;
III. At each stage of the implementation process, the required combination of resources is actually available;
IV. The policy to be implemented is based on a valid theory of cause and effect;
V. The relationship between cause and effect is direct and there are few if any intervening links;

VI. There is a single implementing agency that need not depend on other agencies for success or if other agencies must be involved, that the dependency relationships are minimal in number and importance;

VII. There is a complete understanding of, and agreement upon the objectives to be achieved and that these conditions persist through the implementation process;

VIII. It is possible to specify in complete detail and perfect sequence the tasks to be performed by each participant;

IX. There is perfect communication among and co-ordination of the various elements involved in the programme;

X. Those in authority can demand and obtain perfect obedience.

John (2005) also argued that the 'top down' or 'managerial' approach would only be a successful policy implementation tool if there is full co-operation between organisations at all levels and that there will be a higher success rate if it is a shorter route from the top down with the involvement of fewer organisations. John (2005) maintained that the effectiveness of the actors responsible for implementation was dependant on their level of understanding, their level of acceptance and the intensity of that response. It was clear that if full cooperation was deficient at a local level then this had the potential to cause a significant number of small deficits which in turn would create a large shortfall ultimately resulting in an implementation deficit. It was recognised that 'implementation will be most successful where only marginal change is required and goal consensus is high', John (2005:57). However, in the majority of cases the likelihood of all these factors being in place at the same time is relatively low and so this is seen as 'perfect implementation' by Hood (1976) and more useful as a benchmark for the analysis of the implementation process.

However, critics of the top-down implementation theory such as Nakamura and Smallwood (1980) maintained that this approach did not take into account the policy-making process before the policy became a 'statute' or 'executive decision' and that this was where many of the implementation barriers were created and where broader policy issues often needed to be considered. Other critics such as Berman (1978) maintained that this approach sees implementation as a purely administrative process and ignores or eliminates the political aspects. It was also argued that the

emphasis on statute or policy framers ignores the expertise and knowledge of local actors and indeed, sees local actors as merely obstacles to successful implementation who need to be controlled.

Bottom-up approach

The 'bottom-up' approach is concerned with the relationship between the 'street level bureaucrat' and policy. Berman (1978) identified that policy implementation occurs at two levels – firstly, the macro implementation level where central actors devise national programmes and secondly, at a micro implementation level where local organisations react to these programmes, develop their own delivery plans and implement them. For Berman (1978), it was clear that central actors could only have an indirect influence over the local implementation phase and Palumbo et al (1984) went even further to assert that if local implementers were not able to be flexible and creative with their plans to suit local conditions then implementation was more likely to fail. Indeed, Hjern's work (1982) which was to study a policy problem by interrogating the actors at a local level about their goals, activities, problems and contacts, enabled him to map a network to identify the most relevant implementation structure for the development of policy at all levels. This network map helped him to form the conclusion that central initiatives are poorly adapted to local conditions and the success of policy implementation depended on the skills of individuals to adapt the programme to suit local conditions.

Indeed, Lipsky (1980:xii) defined front line staff in policy delivery agencies as 'street level bureaucrats' who establish routines, invent devices to cope with uncertainties and work pressures and 'who become the public policy processes that they carry out'. They believe that they are cogs within a bigger system with little control over their work and yet they have more freedom and flexibility than they realise. For Lipsky (1980) they are seen as being committed to the ethos of public service, adapting their working practices in the face of the pressures that they face so that they can fulfil the needs of their clients in the best way possible. However, policymakers using the top down approach often regard 'street level bureaucrats' as being a barrier to policy implementation as it is hard to control them and as Lipsky (1980) asserted, pressure from the top intensifies the pressures that they face and makes the situation worse. Indeed, John (2005) agreed that it exacerbates the pressures felt by street level bureaucrats and can lead to policy agents having no

control over the outcomes from the top. Barrett (2004:260) articulated this conflict as a 'need to balance the requirement for public accountability with consumer responsiveness, respect for differences and local autonomies.'

Discussion about the analysis of implementation

As shown in the previous section, the discussion about the best approach to implementation is often divided into two conflicting views and this is subsequently reflected in the discussion about what 'successful' implementation would look like. Matland, (1995:154) identified that the supporters of the 'top-down' approach would view successful implementation as the 'specific outcomes tied directly to the statutes that are the source of the programme'. However, he identified that the supporters of the 'bottom-up' approach would have a broader view of evaluation and would include a wide range of 'positive effects'. Although Matland offered a critique of both approaches he sided with the 'top-down' approach when clear, specific goals have been set by an executive level management system within a democratic context. However, the alternative approach put forward by Lipsky (1980) focused on the proposal that the accountability of implementation should be based on the expectations of local people. Lipsky's proposal might be attractive for this area of research but it may prove to be problematic for utilisation in disadvantaged communities since the expectations that young people have for public service provision in their local communities may already be low as a result of actual or perceived policy failure in other areas such as housing, community safety, education, employment.

The use of implementation theory could be considered as a supplementary tool for the policy analysis as a top-down' approach is often taken by sport policy makers to their work as they typically award funding on the condition that sports delivery agents must meet specific targets and outcomes and are sometimes required to follow specific programmes. However, many sports delivery agents working at a local level with young people living in disadvantaged areas use the 'bottom-up' approach and would be viewed as 'street-level bureaucrats'. Indeed, although they would be required to evaluate the success of their delivery programmes in terms of meeting targets and goals such as KPIs, the greatest area of success for them would be the wider 'cross cutting' positive effects of their programmes on both the individual and on their local communities.

Implementation tools

Much implementation analysis focuses on 'what' is to be implemented such as goods and services and far less on 'how' implementation should be achieved. Yet the selection of policy instruments and delivery tools is a crucial but often neglected part of the implementation process. Policy makers do have a wide range of implementation tools to choose from such as law and regulation, public spending and taxation, pubic management, information, persuasion and deliberation, nudging, networks and governance (John: 2011). However, since the mid 1990s, the emphasis has been focused on collaboration, co-operation and joint-working as one of the main tools for the implementation of public policy and was seen as a key tool for modernising government. According to Balloch and Taylor (2002:1) 'it plays a pivotal role in the modernisation agenda, supported by financial incentives to bring potential partners together'. This approach has been adopted in sport and justified by the increased number and range of agencies involved in sports delivery, including those agencies from 'cross cutting' areas such as education and community safety where sport makes a contribution to their outcomes in return for a share of the resources. This section will therefore examine partnerships and networks in their significance as sports policy implementation tools in order to identify their role in the case studies assessed in this research.

Partnerships

Balloch and Taylor (2002:6) described partnerships as 'interagency, interprofessional, collaborative or joined-up working, joined-up thinking or a whole systems or holistic approach' but the main common feature of partnerships is that 'partners maintain their individual authority but co-operate on some issues (usually at the margins of their business)'. Mackintosh (1993) identified three different types of partnership which are based on the motivations for the partners coming together such as financial benefit, added value and collaboration. Balloch and Taylor (2002) identified a range of factors involved in partnerships such as the principles that partnerships are based upon such as market, hierarchical or network, the culture such as competitive or collaborative, the 'life cycle' of the partnership and the expectations that partners bring with them. They recognised that partnerships have the potential to improve the delivery of services, to bring added value to the work of the partners involved and to bring new insights, solutions and synergy but that at the

same time the value and effectiveness of partnerships may be overrated and might not bring service improvement and may indeed, 'dissipate energies through the proliferation of new structures' (Balloch and Taylor: 2002:2).

This emphasis on partnership working has been adopted in sport and indeed was promoted by Sport England (2004:18) which advocated 'the creation of effective partnerships at every level to deliver for and through sport'. Lindsey (2011: 517) identified that 'partnership working has become ubiquitous as a modus operandi across all sports development sectors'. Lindsey asserted that reforms in the sports development system and public sector had led to fragmented services and a lack of resolution to persistent social problems. Partnerships were in turn seen as a solution to developing a more joined up approach between sporting and non-sporting agencies and individuals with the view that this could also support both the sport and cross cutting agenda of other agencies such as community safety, health, education. This pressure to work in partnership was reinforced by many funders especially, nationally based funders.

The reality of partnership working was often mixed as McDonald (2005:594) recognised that it was not easy when relationships 'operate within a prescribed framework with clear objectives set by dominant powers'. Indeed, Lindsey maintained that the power that members bring can imbalance a partnership and make a negative contribution. Lindsey (2011:524) identified specific skills for partnership working; negotiation, facilitation, manipulation, communication (both formal and informal) and trust. The need for trust was seen as essential for effective partnership working but it was clear that there was often a multi layered nature of trust where an individual from an organisation had a high level of trust in the partnership but that level of trust in the partnership was not mirrored by the organisation itself since they were either a reluctant partner or had cause to experience tensions as a member of the partnership, Babiak and Thilbaut (2008). Similarly, the importance of individual trust was recognised as it had the potential to cause a deficit if an individual left their organisation and the partnership.

Lindsey (2011) asserted that the research on the effectiveness of partnerships especially in sport is still limited and that there are other key issues to be considered such as the implications for agencies not belonging to the partnership. This last point

is of particular concern as there are often few policy actors to represent the views of young people or even projects in deprived areas within a sporting partnership. Indeed, this research will need to consider the level of partnership involvement by agencies and projects responsible for the development of sport for young people in disadvantaged areas since their access to external funding and their ability to pool resources has been significantly reduced in the last five years and it is possible that they might therefore be seen as 'less attractive' to 'mainstream sports partnerships' unless the reciprocity or shared outcomes are sufficiently significant.

Networks

Research around different forms of policy implementation has found it difficult to evaluate the impact of 'networks' on policy outcomes. Networks are not only involved in policy formulation but also in policy implementation. Many of the network characteristics are relevant to implementation such as supporting co-ordination and collaboration, sharing information in order to avoid duplication and to foster joint working and collaboration. However, organisations belonging to a network will have their own rules, operating procedures and cultures and that may prevent or slow down the level of cooperation necessary within the network. Frequent 'ties' and contacts have been identified as important for transferring information between members – supporting co-ordination and collaboration. John (2011) maintained that the strength of contacts within a network needs to be good and he identified that this could be developed by the frequency of contact, a sense of bonding and trust and the expectation of reciprocity between network members. Trust was seen emanating from 'liking' the person or the organisation involved in the network – either as a member or helping to support the running of the network. Small acts of cooperation between network members were seen as important for building up expectations that people will cooperate with each other in the future. Networks were also shown to often have a central point through which information flows (John, 2011) as this supported their function of sharing information and avoiding duplication. Although networks can be 'vertical' and or 'horizontal', they did not operate with a 'central command' hierarchy because of the voluntary nature of the relationship between members of the network. This may be a particular advantage over partnerships as an implementation tool where power is often vested in one or two key partners and this influences the decision-making process, Lindsey (2011).

The research on the effectiveness of networks for the implementation of public policy has been limited and the explanation for this lack of robust research has its roots in the very nature of networks themselves. John (2011) explained that it is often hard to see what is happening within the network and what the impact the network is having on both its members and on the implementation of the policy. Forms of network analysis have been developed which identify the members of the network and attempt to identify the frequency and type of contact between members. However, this has provided little evidence so far and does not measure the added value of network membership to policy implementation. This is a common theme within both partnerships and networks and may prove to be a challenge for this area of research.

Policy evaluation

The final section of this chapter aims to identify and assess the key methods for the evaluation of public policy so that they can be given consideration for their suitability for use in the analysis of the case studies for this research. The growth in policy evaluation studies started in the 1970s as a result of the greater emphasis placed by governments on the use of public policy to solve a wider range of social problems. However, it soon became clear that some of these public policies were ineffective at addressing this wide range of social problems.

Within the public policy field there was general agreement about the definition of evaluation as a concept but this was followed by a debate about the breadth of the definition and whether it should include an identification of the implementation process as well as the measurement of the success of the policy. Parsons (1995:461) made a useful contribution to this debate with his definition of evaluation as an examination of 'how public policy and the people who deliver it may be appraised, audited, valued and controlled' and the definition of the study of implementation as 'how policy is put into action and practice'. The aim of evaluation is therefore to assess whether the policy has been developed and implemented so that it addresses the problem that it was designed to solve. Evaluation is an established part of the policy process and is often used after a policy has been implemented for a set time period so that the findings can be used to inform decisions about 'policy maintenance, succession or termination' (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984:4).

Weiss (1972) distinguished evaluation research from other areas of policy analysis in six ways:

- It is intended for decision-making
- It is judgemental and aims to evaluate in terms of the programme goals
- The research is embedded in a policy setting, not in an academic setting
- There may be conflict between researchers and practitioners
- It is not usually published
- Researchers may have problems with allegiances to funding agencies and improving social change

There are two main kinds of evaluation; 'formative' and 'summative' otherwise known as impact evaluation. Formative evaluation takes place during the implementation phase and analyses the 'extent to which a program is being implemented and the conditions that promote successful implementation' (Palumbo, 1987:40). This evaluation process is then used to inform the implementation phase so that it can be improved and meet the aims of the policy programme. Rossi and Freeman (1993:163) identified three questions that are the basis of formative evaluation:

- The extent to which a programme is reaching the target audience
- Whether or not its delivery of service is consistent with the program design specifications
- What resources are being or have been expended in the conduct of the program.

This method of evaluation often includes the use of tools such as central 'management information systems' to routinely collect information and control the delivery process. This form of performance measurement is often used to identify the ratio of inputs to outputs such as the cost per user at a sports facility. Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) are now commonplace in sport but they often fail to take into account consideration of factors such as quality, retention, fairness and equity. This approach often fails to give a full picture of what is happening during the implementation phase and will need to be supplemented by qualitative information

about issues such as the level of awareness and involvement in the programme by the target audience.

Summative evaluation seeks to measure how the policy has impacted on the problems that it was designed to address. It seeks to estimate the 'sum' or total effect of the intervention in ways such as the impact on one group and another compared to a control group. It tries to compare the answers to questions such as 'has this intervention had an impact on its intended beneficiaries' with 'what would have happened if this intervention had not been put into place'. However, impact evaluation is often more complicated than just the analysis of the effects of the intervention as it is seen as being determined by values, beliefs and politics in practice. Indeed, De Leon (1987) argued that the termination of a policy is a political decision rather than a rational, informed decision based on the outcome of the evaluation of the impact of a policy.

In the sporting world, evaluation tends to be commissioned by larger, national sporting organisations such as Sport England or UK Sport or sub regional organisations such as County Sport Partnerships. It is used to measure the success of their funded programmes in terms of value for money, outcomes and impact and also to gather learning which will be used to inform future and existing programmes and practice. Evaluation has not been established as standard practice at a more local level in sport and often only takes place at this level as a requirement of an external funding agency and is therefore unlikely to be used to inform future policy development or implementation. This research therefore aimed to identify whether the selected case studies have already carried out or intend to carry out any evaluation studies of their delivery programmes. This was used to assess whether project evaluation had encouraged the selected football projects to adhere to the sport and welfare policy in place at the time of project inception or whether projects had adapted their delivery as sport and welfare policy changed.

Conclusion

Theory and theorising are central to this thesis, both as a guide to the research design and data collection and as a framework for the analysis and interpretation of findings. However, the field of policy analysis illustrates the frustration that researchers can experience resulting from the plethora of competing theories and

the overlap between different types of theory. This chapter has fulfilled the function of identifying a body of theory which was able to act as the guide for the research and which could constructively challenge the emerging research findings and help to make sense of the particular social phenomena under scrutiny. As with all elements of the research process, the criteria for identifying appropriate theory varies according to one's ontological and epistemological assumptions. Unlike those working in a positivist paradigm where an appropriate theory is generally one that: allows for categorisation; enables explanation of relationships between variables; facilitates prediction; and generates testable, ideally falsifiable hypotheses, and those working within an interpretivist paradigm, who are more likely to perceive theory as an inductive process, those who have adopted a critical realist position, as is the case in this research, tread a careful line designed to balance an acknowledgement of social structures and the scope for agency. While critical realists accept the possibility of causal explanations (e.g. between social deprivation and patterns of sport involvement) they also accept that it is not possible to see the world as it really is and thus need to employ theory 'as a sensitising device to reveal the structured reality beneath the surface' (Hay, 2002:122).

Abend (2008) distinguished between different types of theory, three of which have been reviewed in this chapter. The first type of theory is 'a Weltschauung…an overall perspective from which one sees and interprets the world' (Abend, 2008:179). This chapter has reviewed neo-Marxism, neo-pluralism, governance, market liberalism and elite theory, all of which exemplify this type of theory. As explained earlier, each of these theories provides not only a conceptual language for undertaking research, but also a set of observations about the nature of power and its distribution and the role of the state and, by implication, the objectives of public policy. In undertaking policy analysis, it is common for researchers to choose to operate within a particular macro-level theory such as neo-pluralism (Lindblom (1977) or neo-Marxism (Hill 2009) or to a commitment to a particular perspective and to use multiple 'Weltanschaungens' to ensure that the underpinning assumptions of the various macro-level theories do not go unchallenged in the process of research design and data interpretation. An awareness of the nature of macro-level theory is especially important for this research as it focuses centrally on the development of state policy at both the national and local levels. While all macro-level theories offered insight

regarding the role of the state and the distribution of power, there were two that were reviewed that were considered to offer particularly valuable insights due to their acknowledgement of social atomisation either as a state strategy (as in the case of neo-Marxism and possibly elitism) or as a natural order of society (as in the case of market liberalism). The assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the two selected theories is summarised in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5 The assessment of selected macro-level theories and sport policy (Adapted from Houlihan and Lindsey, 2012)

Dimension	Neo-Marxism	Market liberalism
Unit of analysis	Social classes	Markets and individuals
Role of the state	Under Marxism the state is an instrument of the ruling capitalist class: under neo-Marxism the position and role of the state is less clear with some arguing that the state's role is to manage capitalism which might involve short term actions which go against the interests of capital accumulation e.g. provide welfare services through taxation to enhance legitimation.	Argued that markets maximise social welfare and that individuals are rational utility maximisers. The role of the state is to enable markets to operate effectively (with as little regulation as possible). Market liberals, especially rational (public) choice theorists, have a deep suspicion of state action and argue that politicians and state officials will act rationally and consequently seek to maximise their budgets (through taxation) to secure organisational growth and therefore larger personal rewards. The role of the state should be limited to activities such as protecting property rights, defence, providing basic infrastructure and services (in cases of market failure) and regulating monopolies
Dynamic for policy-making	Class conflict and/or the inherent instability of capitalism (e.g. the 2008 global banking crisis)	Market competition and the pursuit, by individuals, of personal interest.
Associated meso-level frameworks and approaches	None clearly, but elements of network theory in which business dominated or business oriented networks would manage policy sub-systems;	Multiple streams
Primary focus for the study of sport policy	Sport as a form of social control (i.e. diverting attention from the ills of capitalism) or sport as a source of profit (e.g. through broadcasting and commodification)	The regulatory role of the state. The relationship between the state, the market and the not-for-profit sector.
Orientation/key questions	How is the tension between sport as a 'new industry' and as an element of welfare provision managed?	Is the state competing with the commercial sector by providing sports facilities? Is the expansion of state involvement in sport evidence in support of the public choice critique of public officials (seeking personal benefits – increased salaries – rather social welfare)?

This chapter then considered how best to select from the plethora of available meso-level analytical frameworks. This discussion of selected meso-level theories corresponds to Abend's second type of theory which she defines as 'an explanation of a particular social phenomenon' (2008:178). Although Abend limited this definition to specific issues such as explaining the decision by a variety of countries to prioritise elite sporting success over the promotion of sport for all, the definition can also be modified to refer to the analysis of a specific category of social phenomena such as the community sport process. From the acknowledgment that all meso-level frameworks incorporate assumptions from macro-level theorising, four frameworks were identified for review: stages model; advocacy coalition framework; multiple streams framework and network theory. Tables 2.1 to 2.4 provided a summary analysis of the utility of the four frameworks and gave a clear indication of the perceived applicability to the research. Table 2.6. below identifies the strengths and weaknesses of the four frameworks and justifies the selection of multiple streams as the framework to be used in this research.

Table 2.6. An assessment of the utility of four meso-level analytical frameworks

Framework	**Main characteristics**	**Strengths in relation to topic of research**	**Weaknesses in relation to topic of research**	**Assessment of utility for the research**
Stages model	Sub- divides the policy process into discrete stages; conceptualises policy-making as a cyclical process; a managerialist approach as it is both descriptive and prescriptive; covers whole policy process from issue identification/ definition to	Simple; easy to understand and to use as an organising framework for data collection and analysis; links with implementation theory especially top-down theory; as a prescription it is useful as an organising framework	Descriptive rather than analytical; over-simplifies the complexity of the policy process; limited engagement with questions about power and the policy process (i.e. it seems to take the politics out of policy-making)	Despite its value as a descriptive tool it does not have the analytical capacity required for the research and will consequently not be used.

Framework	Main characteristics	Strengths in relation to topic of research	Weaknesses in relation to topic of research	Assessment of utility for the research
	implementation and monitoring/ evaluation			
Advocacy coalition framework	Requires a long term perspective on policy change; emphasises the importance of ideas and beliefs; sees policy-making as the outcome of competition between coalitions; focuses on agency in the form of the policy broker; emphasises the role of focusing events; underpinned by neo-pluralist assumptions	Accommodates multiple actors and levels of government; acknowledges the concept of sub-systems as arenas for policy-making; achieves a balance between structure and agency in the analysis of policy-making; accepts the roles of ideas (e.g. political ideology and public opinion) in influencing policy choice; accepts that change can result from internal and external factors	The neo-pluralist assumptions are difficult to accommodate in relation to socially marginal groups such as youth in deprived areas; difficult to identify a 'deprived community' coalition of any influence generated from within the community; advocates on behalf of deprived communities tend to be dominated by professionals who define 'needs' rather than reflecting the 'wants' of the community; weak in theorising the inter-play between sub-systems such as between sport and welfare	It could be adopted for this research as the ACF has demonstrated considerable flexibility. However, the emphasis on interest activism (i.e. the capacity of interest groups to mobilise into coalitions) is a weakness for this research.
Multiple streams	Priority given to the 'power of	Challenges the often assumed	Concern that the framework works	The interplay between the three

Framework	Main characteristics	Strengths in relation to topic of research	Weaknesses in relation to topic of research	Assessment of utility for the research
	ideas'; conceptualisation of three streams; linked by policy windows and the activities of policy entrepreneurs; problems 'compete' for attention; draws on Cohen's garbage can model of policy making in organisations; key characteristic of problems is their ambiguity	rationality of the political system; effective organising framework; draws attention to the importance of public opinion/mood; has proven adaptable to non-US political systems; recognises agency as well as the importance of structure	better in fragmented/ more open political systems than the UK.	streams, especially problems and policies is attractive; able to explore the spillover between welfare and sport policies; enables an effective differentiation between national and local level political systems
Network theory	Can be self-organising; draws attention to the importance of leadership in networks;	Resonates with the 'messy' reality of much policy-making; a flexible concept that can be adapted to a variety of policy areas; examples of the concept being applied at the local level to partnerships; give scope for the analysis of the interaction between structures and agency; acknowledges the	The analysis of the dynamics of power is too vague; the basis of network formation and longevity is unclear; an organising and analytical framework but weaker as an explanatory framework; MSF, and ACF have all incorporated aspects of network theory	Has value as a mapping tool; too many variants which undermines coherence; however the description of policy being made in networks is potentially illuminating; overall not as persuasive as MSF

Framework	Main characteristics	Strengths in relation to topic of research	Weaknesses in relation to topic of research	Assessment of utility for the research
		importance of power in determining network membership		

Although all four meso-level frameworks offer potential insights, it is the multiple streams framework which offers the greatest utility for the research. Its recognition of the significance of both structure and agency, its acknowledgement of the importance of public perception of both problems and policies, its concept of policy windows and its challenge for the overly rational view of policy-making make it particularly attractive for this study. A common weakness of many meso-level theories is the preoccupation with agenda setting, the policy environment and policy choice and their relative neglect of policy implementation. Policy implementation theory is an example of the third type of theory utilised in this study and is also an essential complement to the multiple streams framework. Abend's (2008) third type of theory concerned the analysis of specific problems or aspects of the policy process such as implementation, but could also include the relationship between structure and agency or policy learning and transfer.

As previously suggested and as the data will show, top-down managerialist approaches to policy implementation in relation to tackling the problems of deprived communities not only tended to weaken over time, but often left delivery issues to be determined locally. As a consequence, an understanding of bottom-up implementation theory had the potential to provide perspective in order to generate an accurate picture of how policy was shaped by local issues as well as by national objectives.

The analytical framework for this research can be summarised as follows. The insights gained from neo-Marxism and market liberalism provided the macro-level context with their concern to explain, albeit in contrasting ways, the motives of government in relations to social policy sensitise the researcher to the significance of

the role of the state and the distribution of power in relation to sport and welfare policy-making. However, whilst these societal level analyses alerted the researcher to the competing views of the role of the state and the relationship between the state and society they needed to be complemented by meso-level analytical frameworks that were better suited to the analysis of specific policies. From the review of the four frameworks it was concluded that although none was ideal, the multiple stream's framework supplemented by implementation theory would provide the most valuable starting point for analysis.

CHAPTER 3
SPORT AND POVERTY POLICY

Poverty and deprivation: Context and definitions

The title of this research, 'The role of selected football projects in implementing sports programmes for young people living in deprived areas' requires further clarification around the understanding of the term 'living in deprived areas'. Deprivation as a consequence of poverty was the basis for the terminology used in this research study. However, the conceptualisation and definition of poverty and deprivation was not straightforward. The first section of this chapter examines the different conceptualisations of poverty and deprivation as well as related concepts such as social exclusion, social inclusion and the active citizen which were embedded within the New Labour Government's policies during the period when the research case studies were developed.

Definition of poverty

The debate concerning the definition of poverty has concentrated on whether it should be defined in terms of income, living standards or capabilities. Seebohm and Rowntree's (1901) definition of poverty was based upon the study of families living in poverty in York in the late 1890s when they considered 'primary causes' of poverty such as the level of income. Rowntree (1937) maintained that poverty should be defined solely in terms of survival and subsistence rather than the ultimate causes of poverty such as structural issues in society, adopting an economic approach to poverty. In accordance with Rowntree's view of poverty, Hagenaars (1991) argued that poverty was defined by sets of survival criteria such as the level of income needed for minimum food consumption or the minimum amount needed to live a basic life in developing countries. This was reflected in both the World Bank's and the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) definition of the poverty line as being at an income level of one dollar a day (World Bank 1999). In contrast, Fuchs (1965) postulated that as living standards changed in society, so poverty lines should be constantly redefined to reflect these changes, setting the scene for the concept of the relative' definition of poverty. Townsend (1979:31) asserted that 'poverty can be defined objectively and applied consistently only in terms of the concept of relative

deprivation'. This economic definition of poverty was broadened by Townsend to a definition that focused on poverty as the inability to gain access to resources, not just for survival but for active participation in society.

> 'Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary or are at least widely encouraged or approved in the societies to which they belong. Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns and activities' (1979:31)

Moreover, Wagle (2002:158) argued that it was far too simple to define poverty in terms of 'income, consumption and welfare' as there was considerable disagreement about the elements needed for survival.

> 'one might need, for example, economic, social, psychological and political means for survival and many of these are not quantifiable, let alone in pecuniary terms.' (Wagle: 2002:156)

The concept of 'relative' poverty which extended beyond survival and access to material resources informed Townsend's (1979) concept of inequality which he viewed as the explanation for the unequal share of resources across society, leading to some people living in poverty and others not living in poverty. Townsend (1979) acknowledged the complexity of poverty which affected different groups such as the elderly and disabled people leading to a multi-layered experience of poverty. Lister (2004:23) built further on Townsend's definition by maintaining that the 'final comparative element of relative poverty places poverty in the context of inequality *within* societies'. Lister (2004:51) acknowledged that 'individuals and groups who experience poverty do so as active agents who will react in different ways and forge their own lives within the structural constraints facing them' and that the ability to meet this challenge also depended on what Lister (2004:130) called the four different 'forms of agency exercised by people in poverty – 'getting by', 'getting (back) at', 'getting out' and 'getting organized'. Lister also recognised that there were additional divisions which intensified the effects of poverty such as race, gender, disability and age and that addressing poverty was made even more complex with issues such as

poor health, poor housing and disillusionment with statutory agencies. Indeed, in its observations about the wider context of child poverty, the UNICEF Report Card 9 (2010:7) stated, 'Child poverty is about more than poverty of income. It is also about poverty of opportunity and expectation, of cultural and educational resources, of housing and neighbourhoods, of parental care and time, of local services and community resources'. The repeated nature of poverty was highlighted by Collins who recognised the significance of the experience of poverty.

> 'Many who escape do not move far from poverty, and among those who are poor, there is a group who experience repeated and persistent poverty. In other words, poverty experiences are widespread and not random' (Collins: 2004:728)

The link between poverty and social class deserves closer examination. Townsend identified this link as more significant than any other contributing factor.

> 'It is recognised to be a more complex, stratifying factor than, say age or sex, and emphasis is variously given in its definition to economic position, power, social status or prestige and culture'. (Townsend: 1979:369)

In particular, Townsend (1979:409) viewed the image and position of the 'occupational class', defined in this context as people employed in non-manual occupations, as playing 'an important part in legitimating the unequal distribution of resources' which contributed to the creation of poverty experienced by parts of the working class. Nevertheless, the complexity of defining social class was highlighted by Argyle (1994) who asserted that the definition of social class and the categorisation of people were often disputed and lacked clarity.

> 'Some define class as status or prestige, others as power, or income, or wealth and property, or say that class is what people think their class is.' (Argyle:1994:3)

Argyle (1994:19) observed that in the 1990s in England, the dominant view of the 'underclass' was 'mainly white and lives on council estates where there is a lot of unemployment and many single parents'. This description of the perception of the bottom strata of the social class system was in some ways reminiscent of the 'underclass' and 'lumpenproletariat' described by Marx and Engels (1848) and often

linked to the concept of 'welfare dependency' with its more recent roots in the U.S. Commentators such as Novak (1987:88) identified that 'the new consensus on welfare recast the problem of poverty as a moral problem of behavioural dependency among the underclass'. This theme emerges later in this section during the examination of New Labour's efforts to create the 'good and active citizen' rather than the redistribution of material resources.

Definitions of deprivation

The clarification of the definition of deprivation is beneficial for this research as the terms 'deprivation' and 'deprived' are, in some circumstances, utilised as an alternative to 'poverty'. Townsend's concept of 'deprivation' differed from the concept of 'relative poverty' to the extent that 'deprivation' was assessed on the basis of social perceptions of poverty rather than on the lack of material resources or lack of access to services. Townsend (1979:46) asserted that it was necessary to differentiate between 'actual and socially perceived poverty' as society's view of poverty could shift regardless of whether changes to income levels or living standards took place'. This concept of 'deprivation' classified individuals, groups or neighbourhoods as 'deprived' if they fell below socially accepted living standards.

> 'People can be said to be deprived if they lack the type of diet, clothing, housing, environment, educational, working and social conditions, activities and facilities which are customary, or at least, widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong'. (Townsend: 1979:413)

This study adopted the definition of 'deprivation' as the description of geographical areas where the resources and services which were seen as standard in a particular society were not accessible to everyone. Townsend (1979:543) argued that geographical areas, often known as pockets of deprivation where groups of people lived in poverty were often stigmatised and labelled as 'poor areas' with problems. Townsend held the view that area-based regeneration programmes did not recognise the complexity of these geographical areas. He argued that these programmes ran the risk of spending area-based regeneration funding on well-off people living in these areas and that this would deprive people living in poverty in more wealthy areas. Nevertheless, Townsend recognised that 'area deprivation' was still viewed as a strong political priority.

> ‘Children are believed to have no chance of escaping the limitations of the families, environment and culture into which they are born and live. For such reasons, poverty, criminality and disadvantage are believed to be heavily concentrated and deeply rooted in particular communities.’ (Townsend: 1979: 543)

This resonated with Forrest and Kearns’ view (1999) that the nature of ‘place’ and ‘space’ within a deprived neighbourhood’s social and physical aspects, including services and facilities, contributed to the shaping of the experience of poverty. They highlighted the challenge of providing sport successfully to deprived communities as they argued that many deprived communities had limited or no access to good quality public sports facilities and relied on parks, open spaces and small community facilities. The issue of ‘place’ emerged as a priority for the New Labour Government with the development of its New Deal for Communities programme, an area-based regeneration scheme, targeting ‘pockets of deprivation’ through addressing ‘the poverty of places’ as well as the well-being of people living in poverty (Lupton and Turok: 2004:188). New Labour’s Social Exclusion Unit (1998) presented the argument for place-based regeneration programmes in its third report ‘Bringing Britain together: a national strategy for neighbourhood renewal’.

> ‘These neighbourhoods are places where unemployment is endemic; crime and drugs are rife; and public and private sector services are second-rate or completely absent. The goal must be to reduce the gap between the poorest neighbourhoods and the rest of the country and bring them for the first time in decades up to a presentable standard’. (SEU:1998:5)

Social exclusion

New Labour used the concept of social exclusion rather than poverty for its main policy focus to reflect the complexity of issues experienced by individuals and families living in relative poverty. Wagle (2002:160) observed that social exclusion had originated from the 1970s when it ‘was applied to refer to the process which compelled many people to be excluded from benefiting from the market, as caused by chronic unemployment’. New Labour’s definition of social exclusion resulted from the broadening out of the concept of social exclusion in the 1990s which concentrated on the process whereby individuals were unable to access four basic

social systems: welfare, democracy, the labour market and family and community (Commins 1993). Lupton and Turok (2004:4) maintained that New Labour used the concept of social exclusion rather than the concept of poverty in recognition of the wider processes and factors that caused exclusion rather than societal structural issues. Walker (1997:2) saw the benefit of making a distinction between poverty which 'encourages the practice of blaming the poor' and social exclusion which 'emphasises society's role in *excluding* certain people from full participation'. This distinction between poverty and social exclusion was summarised below by Walker et al:

> 'Poverty as a lack of the material resources, especially income, necessary to participate in British society and *social exclusion* as a more comprehensive formulation which refers to the dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society'. (Walker et al 1997: 8)

Collins (2004:727) agreed that social exclusion was 'a wider and more dynamic process than poverty'. The interpretation of social exclusion as consisting of the three dimensions of structural, mediating and personal factors meant that individuals could experience one or all of these factors. Collins (2004:728) held the view that exclusion from sport also formed part of the social exclusion process as he argued that 'the fact that much sport is an act of consumption means that the costs do not impact equally on individuals with a wide range of wealth'. In Collins' view, sport's potential to act as contributing factor to social exclusion underpinned the need for a robust joined-up approach to policy and practice.

> 'If in the modern world, access to sport, physical activity and culture is part of the citizen's package of expectations, or even, by some people's values, of rights, then this is a social policy issue for the state both centrally and locally.' (Collins: 2004:728)

This view was shared by Bramley (1995:25) who found that 'demand-led leisure facilities, including sport had a pro-rich 'bias' which exacerbated the situation for people in deprived households as this was a public service that they were unable to access.

The social citizen with rights and responsibilities

Lupton and Turok (2004:2) maintained that the shift away from the definition of poverty as an 'absolute concept' towards 'relative poverty (inequality)' had enabled the Thatcher government to argue that few people experienced real hardship 'since most of the poor people possessed the basic necessities'. Lupton and Turok (2004:2) maintained that the Thatcher government had used this redefinition so that 'the welfare state was now portrayed as part of the problem rather than solution to unemployment and poverty'. The Thatcher government's emphasis on the self-interested individual and the absence of community were set aside by New Labour in its adoption of the 'Third Way' (Giddens 1998). New Labour's view of the Third Way was an attempt to find the middle path between previous Labour policies and Thatcher's government.

> ''between the perceived failures of previous Labour governments' policies of state control, state provision and anti-individualism and the Thatcherite neoliberal, free market policies and extreme individualism'. (Coalter 2007:15)

Houlihan and Lindsey (2013) observed that The Third Way approach brought to prominence the two policy objectives of social inclusion and modernisation which characterised this period of government. New Labour policy provided the state with an active role to address social inclusion. Employment was viewed not only as the means of access to the welfare system but also to the creation of social inclusion which would in turn, address social exclusion. Accordingly, New Labour adopted the concept of the citizen's contract with the state based on a set of rights and responsibilities which was matched by the state's responsibility to create a pathway into employment.

> 'The 'passive' notion of a welfare safety net was also replaced by the more active concept of a 'springboard' or ladder out of poverty and welfare reliance'. (Lupton and Turok: 2004:4)

Lister (2013) observed that the concept of the social citizen which was framed as the relationship between individuals and between the individual and the state during the new Labour period formed the foundation of the 'social contract' between the individual and the state. Houlihan and Lindsey's (2013) observation that New

Labour had established the role of the citizen as central to the development of society illustrated the changing role of the state.

> ‘New Labour was not attempting to create the ‘good society’ through direct intervention but through ‘producing ‘the good citizens who can do so for themselves.’ (2013:53)

Lister (2013:121) maintained that this concept fitted the role of the ‘enabling’ state within the managerial ethos, the status of the citizen as a consumer and a focus on partnerships with the voluntary and private sectors’. Lister argued that this theme had continued to be developed under the new Coalition government but with a greater emphasis on the individual.

> ‘The weight placed on responsibilities and obligations is even greater than under New labour and the emphasis on social rights even weaker’ (Lister: 2013:142)

Lister (2013) observed that this shift towards the obligations of individuals to the state resulted in the emphasis on the investment in human capital, known as social investment during this period, which was seen as a requirement for future prosperity. Lister maintained that social investment had been seen as a tool for the development of social citizenship which would result in firstly employment with a reduced dependency on welfare benefits and secondly, desirable behaviour by individuals. The concept of social investment was, therefore, expanded to include activities such as seeking work, being available to work, gaining skills for work and attending job interviews which formed the basis of conditionality for receiving welfare support.

The role of sport was valued by New Labour for its potential to support individuals to make the shift from ‘passive welfare to active citizenship’ with the result that individuals would become more economically productive. Finlayson (2003:154) stated that New Labour did not see itself as ‘creating the conditions for social inclusion but to create the sorts of citizens who will themselves create the conditions of their own inclusion’. Houlihan and Lindsey (2013:57) argued that ‘the valorisation of ‘active citizenship’ became emblematic of New Labour’s social inclusion agenda’ and that sport’s role in supporting active citizenship was an important tool for supporting the creation of not just the ‘good’ citizen but also the ‘active citizen’.

> ‘For new Labour, sport policy was identified as playing an increasingly important role in the promotion of active citizenship, interweaved as it was with policy reform in the education and health sectors.’ (Houlihan and Lindsey (2013:57)

Indeed, Green (2012:51) argued that the wider view of the active citizen could be seen in sport itself in the concept of ‘active in the sense of ‘becoming active’ or genuinely taking part in sport and physical activity, and active in taking responsible steps for their own health and well-being.’ The reward for becoming an ‘active citizen’ and finding work would result in higher income, better housing, better health and a reduced welfare budget. This encouraged the sport policy sub sector to adopt a similar targeted approach for working in areas of deprivation.

> ‘People who are financially dependent on the state become the focus of policies and rhetoric designed to foster and encourage self-reliance and engagement in economically useful activity.’ (Houlihan and Lindsey 2013:52)

Social inclusion and inequality

Lister (2013) observed that social inclusion became an overriding feature of the New Labour government with its focus on equality of lifelong opportunity and in particular ‘equality of opportunity’ rather than the ‘equality of outcome’. New Labour’s commitment to address inequality had been expressed before it came to power in 1997:

> ‘I believe in greater equality. If the next labour government has not raised the living standards of the poorest by the end of its time in office it will have failed.’ (Rt hon. Tony Blair, Independent on Sunday, 1996)

Similar to the interpretation and explanation of poverty, the terms of social inclusion, social inequity and social inequality have all inhabited similarly contested areas. Income, expenditure and geography as Oppenheimer’s three dimensions of inequality (1997) resonated with previous interpretations of poverty and deprivation. Poverty had become more concentrated especially in poor areas as a result of the Thatcher government and wealth had not been distributed as promised. Oppenheim (1997:22) argued that ‘the evidence suggests that not everyone has benefited from the ‘trickle down’ effect’ and that inequality had grown since the 1970s. Indeed,

Townsend (1979) had held the view that poverty and inequality were closely related and that the explanation for the unequal share of resources needed to be set in the context of social inequality. As Collins (2004:730) commented, 'social inequity is a structurally resistant and persistent feature; changing it requires major effort, resources, know-how and matching persistence.' Social inequality was also seen to have many dimensions including ethnicity as indicated by Ginsburg (1992) in his analysis of unemployment rates. This research demonstrated that black workers were more likely to be unemployed and even if they were employed, they were more likely to be in low paid and low status jobs. Wilkinson and Pickett (2010:186) shared this view and argued that 'the prejudice which often attaches to ethnic divisions may increase inequality and its effects'. Wilkinson and Pickett (2010) took the view that inequality was the key to the presence of problems in the working class. They argued that it was the levels of inequality within society rather than within particular neighbourhoods that needed to be addressed, not average income levels as their research showed that people with the same income levels fared worse in more unequal societies than in more equal societies.

> 'What marks out the neighbourhood with poor health – where life expectancy may be as much as ten years shorter than in the healthiest neighbourhoods – is not of course the inequality within them. It is instead that they are unequal – or deprived – in relation to the rest of society.' (Wilkinson and Pickett 2010: 28)

Consideration of societal structural issues did not rise to prominence on New Labour's agenda in contrast to social inclusion which was increasingly considered as the solution to social exclusion and social inequality. The emphasis on social inclusion resulted in the gradual disappearance of social exclusion as a priority as social inclusion gained more universal acceptance outside areas of high deprivation including within the sport policy sub sector.

> An agenda for social inclusion subsumes 'Sport for All?' and institutional equality work, at the same time as acting as a catalyst'. (Hylton and Totten 2001:38)

Social capital

Coalter et al (2000) recognised that social capital had taken on an increasingly important role as a means to achieve social inclusion. New Labour's approach to the regeneration of deprived areas had placed a significant emphasis on supporting the development of the citizen and society.

> 'a broad shift from viewing *urban regeneration* largely in economic terms – capital investment, incentives and environmental improvements (especially housing) to attract new industries and create jobs – to one which places more emphasis on people and the development of social capital. (Coalter et al (2000:7)

Coalter (2007) observed that there was the view that communities with high social capital had better health, lower crime rates and that sport could contribute to the development of social capital. Collins argued that there were two forms of social capital. The first form was 'personal' social capital for individuals taking part in sport:

> '..requires some confidence, some skills, some knowledge, an ability to manage time and relationships, and having a group of supportive friends and companions, including some who share the same desire to take part.' (Collins: 2004:729)

The second form was shared social capital based around the shared values identified by Putnam (2000) such as trust, friendships, support from family and neighbours which acted as a social glue and resulted in active participation in political, cultural and social networks. Houlihan and Lindsey (2013) asserted that New Labour's adoption of Putnam's vision of social capital enabled key policy actors in the sport policy subsector to adopt a significant role in the development of the 'active citizen'. This view was shared by Taylor et al (1999:24) who commented that 'the advent of New labour with its Third Way concerns with civic renewal, social inclusion, active citizenship, and social capital, placed sport….on a broader policy agenda.'

Coalter et al (2000) observed that in the late 1990s it was accepted that the wider role of the sport and the arts was to counter social exclusion both at an individual and at the community level.

> ‘The implicit notion that participation in sport can contribute to the development of ‘active citizenship’ (Coalter et al. 2000:6)

As Polley argued, the use of sport as a solution to social problems had been evident in the public school system for their pupils in the nineteenth century. The public school system’s view of sport was that it was ‘underpinned by an ideology, with orthodox values relating to class, gender, religion, national and racial identity’ and that sport was seen as a ‘panacea for any and every problem facing the individual and the community’ (Polley 2011:10). This historical view of sport as a tool for social policy was shared by Houlihan (1997:49) who observed that there was a ‘perception of sport as a means of social control and ‘a set of values essential to a vigorous and successful society, including self-control, fairness, determination and solidarity’ (Houlihan 1997:49). There is no common terminology for this area of work either amongst academics or policymakers and practitioners. Indeed, common phrases include ‘sport for the good’, ‘sport for development’, ‘sport plus’, ‘plus sport’ and ‘development through sport’ and it is often seen in contrast to ‘sport for sport’s sake’.

As Coalter (2007:1) observed, ‘sport has achieved an increasingly high profile as part of New Labour’s social inclusion agenda, based on assumptions about its potential contribution to areas such as social and economic regeneration, crime reduction, health improvement and educational achievement’. However, he also described this area of sport as having ‘mythopoeic’ status - anecdotes and personal stories that have created the myth that ‘sport for development’ can provide solutions to social policy issues whereas in reality there is little evidence. Coalter’s main reasons for this belief were conceptual weakness, methodological weakness, lack of systematic and robust evaluations, little consideration of sufficient conditions and the limitations of the literature and evidence used. Nevertheless, sport was still used as a social policy tool to address social exclusion as discussed later on in this chapter.

This next section of the chapter will examine both general sport and poverty (hereafter termed ‘welfare’) policy for the periods before and during the development of the three selected football projects. This will be supplemented by an additional examination of sport and deprivation policy which will capture the influence of welfare policy on sport policy over the research period.

The need for periodisation within policy analysis

This study analysed three selected football projects over a research period which has witnessed significant change in both sport and welfare policy. It was therefore, necessary to identify the sport and welfare policies which had affected these projects over this research period. The analysis of sports policy within set time periods is arguably problematic since there is little agreement about the methodology for policy periodization. Indeed, there is no common agreement about how long the policy process lasts or indeed, even when it begins or finishes. Sabatier (2007:3) argued that it 'usually involves time spans of a decade or more, as that is the minimum duration of most policy cycles'. However, even this approach could be problematic as Houlihan (2012: 12) identified, 'attempts at periodisation invariably bear the imprint of their time of origin' and the identification of specified periods were often based upon the 'historical characteristics or variables that are considered significant' at that time. This meant that common agreement about specified periods could change over time or according to the viewpoint of the researcher.

Nevertheless, the length of this research study required an examination of policy both before and during the research period and in spite of the limitations already identified, this was best suited to the periodisation of policy. This section, therefore, uses four specified policy periods for the historical background of sports policy based on the works of Houlihan (2012); firstly, the 1960s up until 1979, secondly 1979 up until 1990, thirdly 1990 up until 2010 and lastly for the purposes of this research, 2010 up until the end 2014 when this research had finished. Houlihan had based this periodization on the timing of significant elections such as the period of 1990 to 2012 which was a 'time span in which there were two prime ministers, John Major and Tony Blair, with a strong interest in sport policy' Houlihan (2012:8:13). Each specified period covers the following three areas: firstly, general policy around poverty and deprivation, secondly, general sports policy and thirdly, sport and deprivation. However, these specified policy periods were not 'clear-cut' as there were in some cases overlaps and continuations of policies between some of these policy periods and it was therefore important not to assume that a particular policy has been concluded at the end of the policy period. Indeed, as Hills (2004:92) argued 'It is tempting to try to divide periods of social policy and the evolution of their

outcomes by neat political divisions. …However, events and policies do not necessarily change with such abrupt boundaries'.

The 1960s up until 1979

General welfare policy

This was a period when anti-poverty measures were introduced by successive governments influenced by Rowntree's vision for eradicating poverty and Beveridge's model to lift the poor out of poverty. The Wilson Government of 1964 came to power in a period of low unemployment and relative economic prosperity and began to increase social welfare benefits such as raising the level of the basic pension and other welfare benefits. This was followed by the Heath Government's introduction of family income support as a response to the issue of child poverty which had once again come back onto the agenda as it was commonly agreed that although poverty levels had fallen during the 40s and 50s, it had since started to rise again. The next Labour Government then significantly raised the levels of pensions by 30 per cent in money terms (Glennerster et al: 2004) and the levels of other benefits. This was also the period when that the needs of disabled people came onto the radar due to effective campaigning and advocacy (Glennerster et al:2004) and other areas of inequality such as gender inequality started to gather momentum.

As a result of this increase in social welfare benefits, the levels of poverty were seen to reduce slightly in the late 1970s. Indeed, as Lansley (1980:148) identified, 'the proportion of individuals in poverty fell from approximately 5.5 per cent in 1971 to 3.4 per cent in 1976' and this was seen as being the result of a rise in average income and a narrowing in the distribution of net income as well as increase in the levels of benefits aimed at unemployed, disabled and older people, a move towards increasing numbers of 'working wives' and pay equality for women.

There was always a degree of tension for all governments in this period around achieving a balance between improving the lives of the poorest, adopting acceptable taxation rates and wanting to avoid a state of dependency on the welfare state. It must nevertheless be acknowledged that this was a period when poverty was on the agenda and governments viewed themselves as having a role in tackling it to some degree regardless of their political allegiance. This political position was to have an

influence on the development of sport during this period and culminated in the publication of Wolfenden's report, Sport in the Community (1960).

General sport policy

The roots for current sports development can be traced back to the early 1960s when the main national organisation representing the interests of sport at that time, the Central Council of Physical Recreation (CCPR), established a committee led by Sir John Wolfenden to investigate how sport could be used to its full potential to promote the general welfare of the community. This led to the publication of Wolfenden's Sport in the Community report (1960) with a focus on the concept of inequality in participation in sport and physical recreation, often referred to as 'The Gap' (Wolfenden 1960: 25). The 'Gap' referred to specific groups that were 'deprived of the opportunities that others….more fully enjoy' (Wolfenden 1960:29). This was reinforced by the debate instigated by the Council for Europe around the right of the individual to participate in sport (Allison 1998). The government accordingly became more interested in mass participation in sport and created the UK Advisory Sports Council in 1965 'for a more planned and strategic approach to sport and recreation in the UK' (Philpotts 2011:132). The government also became more concerned with the 'potentially negative effects of rapid economic, social and cultural change' (Coalter 2007:9) during this period and saw an extension of welfare services as a necessary progression. This approach was consequently adopted in the Sport Council's policy campaign of 'Sport for All' in 1972. This campaign aimed to use sport to transform individuals and to encourage all members of the community to participate in sport (Houlihan and White 2002) and was supported by a major construction programme of public sport and leisure facilities. This campaign also included a focus on positive discrimination towards groups with low participation rates and aimed to use the newly built public sports facilities to increase participation especially amongst young people (Collins, 2010). As Houlihan (1997:93) observed, the publication of the White Paper*, Sport and Recreation* in 1975 'confirmed the place of sport and recreation services as a legitimate element of the welfare state' and justified the use of sport within the context of 'social order, international prestige and individual well-being'. However, during the late 1970s, tensions began to emerge through the major strands of sports policy, Sport for All, with its focus on mass participation, target

groups and elite sport. The Sports Council changed its focus away from 'Sport for All' towards the target group of young people, 'concentrating resources instead on the symptoms, as opposed to causes, of social unrest in the inner cities and to promoting the elite sector' (Hargreaves 1985:223).

Although sport was recognised as having the potential to make a contribution towards social welfare policy, its overall importance and status within government was still unclear. 'Governments have generally been reluctant to acknowledge sport as an appropriate responsibility of the state and when acknowledged, there has been uncertainty about status and location within the machinery of government' (Houlihan 1997: 46). Indeed, sport has been located within a number of different government departments over the last forty years. From 1974 to 1991, the responsibility for sport was located within the Department of the Environment. This was seen as an appropriate location since this department did have responsibility for local government which was a main provider of sport and recreation facilities and this department also had responsibility for land-use policy, planning, water and countryside issues. However, responsibility for sport was spread across several departments and it suffered from a 'lack of expertise within the civil service' (Houlihan 1997:95).

Policy around sport and deprivation

This was a period when sport and deprivation became a higher priority. The Wolfenden report had created the right conditions for bringing the issue of low participation rates onto the agenda. Collins (2010: 14) observed that 'the Sports Council had been concerned about the nexus of social deprivation in inner cities' in the mid 1970s and had formed a standing Advisory Group of Academics and practitioners that produced the report 'Sport and Recreation in the Inner Cities' (Collins, 1977). This report identified some of the potential tensions and issues that were later seen as some of the causes of the Brixton riots in 1981. This led to a strengthening of the Sports Council's commitment towards this area of work and a policy paper was developed calling for 'small area initiatives' with a focus on young people. This was to become the 'Action Sport' Programme. Action Sport aimed to get 'young, credible sports leaders on the streets, to use existing purpose-built and borrowed facilities to engage youth' (Collins 2010:15) and in London it was also used

to engage girls and the over 55s in new sports activities. The Labour Minister for Sport, Denis Howell, kick-started this programme with underspend funding from the Ministry for Water Supply and Collins (2010:15) observed that 'it was an unqualified success'. This programme soon spread across the country with over 300 new Sports Development Officer (SDOs) funded as a result of new partnerships between local authorities and the Manpower Services Commission during the next period of the 1980s. However, although Collins (2010) observed that the speed of this implementation meant that little was documented, it still played an important role in influencing the way forward for sports development.

1979 up until 1990

General welfare policy

This next period is characterised by massive economic change away from industrialisation and a wide manufacturing base to the service industry and white collar jobs. There had been a trend from full-time jobs to part-time jobs, often low paid and insecure and this had contributed to high rates of long term unemployment (Macnicol: 2010). The post war growth of public spending on welfare was continued both by the labour government in 1976 and also by the next conservative government which came to power in 1979 although the latter did try to curb spending. Indeed as Hills (2004: 93) concluded, 'one of the defining features of the Thatcher government was its aim of reducing public spending, particularly that on the welfare state'.

In 1981, the Thatcher government decided to change its policy towards increasing benefits by using the price index rather than the earnings index which resulted in 'leaving those dependents on benefits further and further behind general living standards and deeper in poverty' (Hills:2004:93). Indeed as Hills (2004:94) continued to point out, 'Poverty, inequality and policies to reduce them were not high on the Thatcher government's agenda'. The next decade, the 1980s, was characterised by a deep recession, high unemployment, lone parent families often on benefit and an ageing population putting pressure on the state pension pot. The Thatcher government attempted to rein in public spending but it still demonstrated a continuing commitment to provide a social welfare safety net for the poorest even though it was a diminishing safety net. This approach contributed to a trend towards wider social

inequality in the 1980s as highlighted by Toynbee (2003:226) 'It (social progress) ground to a halt at the end of the 1970s when all the measures of equality started to move in the wrong direction and the children of the left-behind now no longer have the same ladders of escape'.

General sports policy

The 1970s and 1980s have been seen as a period lacking in strategic leadership for sports policy. Green (2006) asserted that there was fragmentation and a lack of clear leadership between the main national agencies involved in delivering sport. This was reinforced by Roche (1993:78) who described sport as 'one of the most divided, confused and conflictive policy communities in British politics'.

In the late 1980s, the Thatcher government's emphasis on the market and on 'CCT' with its emphasis on client and contractor units drew attention and effort away from sports development towards the management and use of public sports facilities and the cost per user, user numbers, value for money and contract specifications and monitoring. As Houlihan (1997:94) observed 'While there is some evidence that privatisation is forcing sports and leisure managers to be more innovative, there is also evidence that the policy has resulted in a reduction in sports development activity'. Although many local authorities appointed strategic SDOs during the early 1990s to develop sport and recreation strategies with an aim to support wide social policies, it is suggested that it was too difficult to measure these wider social aims for these to be judged as a success (Lentell 1993).

Indeed, although local authorities were responsible for driving forward sports development in the 1980s and 1990s they were often unclear as to how their roles fitted into the work of NGBs, clubs and schools (Green 2006). Indeed, the role of PE and sport at school entered a period of uncertainty during the 1980s as the introduction of a broader range of sports onto the school curriculum meant that traditional sports such as football, cricket and rugby had to compete for the more talented young people (Talbot 1995). This was highlighted by the poor performance of national sports teams at the time and instigated a national debate which led to the creation of a National Curriculum for Physical Education in 1989 thereby raising the profile of school sport. However, as identified by Penney and Chandler (2000), this was mainly a response to the lobbying and needs of elite sport for the maintenance

of development pathways for talented young people into their own sports and as such was not concerned with increasing sports participation amongst young people at that time. Nevertheless it did renew interest in youth sport per se.

Policy around sport and deprivation

It could be argued that this period of economic change away from the manufacturing base in the 1970s and 1980s had a significant knock-on effect on participation in sport by the working class. Large manufacturing companies such as British Shoe and Rolls Royce in Leicestershire had previously provided their own company sports clubs for their workers and families, often attached to the workplace, ensuring that their workers had opportunities for lifelong participation. This paternalistic approach by these companies recognised that sport was a well-earned part of their workers' leisure time, and that it helped to retain the loyalty and commitment to the company by the workers and their families. As many of these manufacturing factories closed down in the 1970s and 1980s, the sports grounds often remained unused and were sold as building land, contributing to a lack of opportunities and a lack of facilities available for working class people near their own communities. It could be argued that this was a major contributing factor to lower participation rates by working class people and that this was also compounded by the fact that many of these workers found themselves out of work, often for the first time and found themselves on benefit or taking low paid, unskilled work.

The potential to address the issue of high unemployment through sport during this period was recognised by the Action Sport programme which ran during the first part of the 1980s. This heralded a new approach for sport with its priority to train young unemployed people living in disadvantaged areas as qualified sports leaders and coaches whilst giving them practical experience of running sessions within deprived communities for target groups such as young people, women, disabled people and older people. This provided sports development with its first generation of 'home grown' sports leaders using a community development approach. This philosophy built on the Sports Council's first strategy, 'Sport in the Community: The Next Ten Years' (1982) which saw an 'increasingly polarised society' with one market that was affluent and healthy with disposable income and the second market that was 'generally poor, has poor health, often lives in inner cities or rural areas' (Collins

2010:17). This was the catalyst for the National Demonstration Projects which were set up to extend the Action Sport methods to others with the additional elements of using existing facilities and working with new partners and networks. This was complemented by a 'Community Development' approach originating outside sport that was seen by some local authorities as a more appropriate way of working (Collins 2010: 20). Indeed, its approach in sport has been described as:

> 'Sports Development polices gaps in provision and participation. It distributes social justice in the face of market trends. It circumvents barriers to participation. It spreads the benefits of sport.' (Hylton and Totten, 2008:650)

1990 up until 2010

General welfare policy

Conservative government policy became less harsh under the Major Government which was probably best known for the abolition of the Poll Tax and the introduction of the Council tax with a 100 per cent rebate for the poorest households. This period of the Major Government has been remembered for few other significant policy developments, especially around welfare and poverty with the exception of the National Lottery with its policy of funding 'good causes', providing sport with major sources of funding.

After the Major Government came New Labour with an election landslide. Although Labour governments had traditionally been associated with addressing inequality and poverty in the past, opinion is divided about the effectiveness of anti-poverty strategy under the New Labour Government. There is common agreement that the electorate would not have tolerated strong electoral policies addressing poverty when they came to power in 1997 and that they needed to introduce anti-poverty policies by stealth (The Guardian 2002). Macnicol (2010:3) agreed that they did start to follow this commitment, 'On winning the May 1997 general election, New Labour introduced a new and distinctive anti-poverty strategy'. New Labour introduced a new set of 'New Deals' to get unemployed people into work and started to put in place a redistribution of wealth using a variety of means: national minimum wage, a guaranteed minimum income for people aged 60 years and over on low income, the child tax credit and the working tax credit. As Macnicol (2010) points out, New

Labour replaced the word poverty with the term 'social exclusion'. This concept was at the heart of the framework developed by the Social Exclusion Unit (1998) for taking action in the most deprived areas through a joined-up approach to problems such as poor housing, low income, poor health, poor skills and a high crime environment. It was argued that the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) which reported directly to the Prime Minister, was a ground breaking approach for government policy as it aimed to focus on 'problems of compounded disadvantage, particularly those that cut across Whitehall departments' (Hills 2004: 97). This resulted in a series of themed reports from Policy Action Teams (PATs) with the identification of key issues and solutions which needed to be addressed by government policy. In addition to this, as Macnicol (2010:2) highlighted, 'The proportion of children in relative poverty had risen from 1 in 10 in 1979 to 1 in 3 in 1997' and consequently, the issue of child poverty became a key issue with Tony Blair who announced the first ever target for reducing child poverty in the UK. New Labour's most ambitious target was set by the Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal published in 2001 that stated that 'within 10-20 years, no one should be seriously disadvantaged by where they live' (SEU:2001:8). As a result of this strategy and its commitment to tackle child poverty, New Labour introduced a set of area-based, neighbourhood initiatives such as the New Deal for Communities and Pathfinder programmes in addition to initiatives aimed at mainstream services such as health and education with Action Zones, SureStart and Excellence in Cities for education. This approach targeted significant amounts of funding at some of the poorest areas in the UK and advocated a resident-led, cross-cutting, joined-up approach to lifting the baseline and 'floor targets' in these areas. This commitment to tackling poverty, now termed as 'social exclusion' along with the increased responsibility of the individual permeated into every part of the public and voluntary sector including sport as will be shown in the following section.

General sports policy

The key development for sports policy in the Major Government was the White Paper on sport, 'Sport: Raising the Game' (DNH, 1995) which reinforced the importance of school sport. The publication of this sports policy document instigated a shift from the policy of mass participation to a priority towards youth sport and sporting excellence (Green 2006). Houlihan (2000:174) identified that it focused on the development of opportunities for young people to take part in sport and to

achieve their full potential and indeed viewed schools and teachers as the 'key agents for realising successful policy implementation'. This policy document laid the foundations for a new commitment to youth sport. This policy resulted in the development of funding streams for the new Active Schools programme administered by Sport England, the creation of the National Junior Sports Programme which was then developed into the TOPS programme and eventually managed by the Youth Sport Trust and finally, the Specialist Sports College programme launched in 1994. Indeed, John Major's policy around school sport and lottery funding for sport has been seen as a contributing factor to the success of the London 2012 Olympics, 'Even more important was his insistence that sport should be earmarked as a beneficiary from his newly created national lottery, which ensured that new funds began to flow into sport' (Guardian, 9th August, 2012)

The publication of *Game Plan* (DCMS 2002) followed and emphasised this commitment to school sport but it also demonstrated the government's wider commitment to increasing sport and physical activity levels ,enhancing international success and adopting a 'sport for sport's sake' approach to hosting mega sporting events. Indeed, the report stated that one of its three main aims was 'to encourage a mass participation culture (with as much emphasis on physical activity as competitive sport). Keech (2011:219) argued that *Game Plan* had a 'dramatic impact on the structure of sport in the UK' and resulted in the transformation of Sport England into a 'strategic lead agency, responsible for co-ordinating government policy through other organisations' with responsibility 'only for community sport, with elite sport being the sole concern of UK Sport'.

When the Labour Government came to power in 1997, it developed a strong policy strand around addressing social exclusion through sport whilst still retaining and increasing its commitment to school and elite sport. This latter sport policy commitment allowed the continued development of programmes for school sport and elite sport which were then able to develop their own 'policy/ advocacy networks' (Collins 2010: 31) with strong connections to central government. Indeed, in 1999 the Labour Government announced the creation of six hundred School Sport Coordinator posts linking schools and sports clubs and in 2000, the development of School Sport Partnerships led by Partnership Development Managers to enable schools to become the central hubs for youth sport policy. This was created as a

result of the Physical Education, School Sport and Club Links (PESSCL) Strategy, a joint DfES and DCMS Public Service Agreement, which aimed to increase the amount of time spent on PE each week in schools as well as expanding school sport within and beyond the curriculum. A plethora of programmes were launched to support this strategy including Gifted and Talented, Multi-Skill Academies, Step into Sport and Competition Managers, helping to embed school sport firmly into the sporting infrastructure. As Toynbee and Walker (2005:93) identified, 'Labour's plan was to 'partnership' between specialist sports colleges and other schools, plus a reserved fund to pay for professional sports coaches and trained PE teachers to go into schools with missionary zeal'.

Sport England's next policy document *Framework for Sport in England* (2004) set targets for partners such as County Sports Partnerships, NGBs, Local authorities and Local Education Authorities to support this increase in participation for young people. Jeffrey (2003) argued that local authorities had an increasingly diminished role in sport as a result of the new school sport, county sport and regeneration partnerships in place. Although the Sport England Report *Shaping Places through Sport* (2008b) highlighted how local authorities should use sport to build healthier, stronger and more prosperous communities, it could be argued that the ability and commitment of local authorities to adopt this role ranged from a positive and significant response to a minimal response.

Both areas of school and elite sport received significant amounts of funding and political support and yet it could be argued that community sport shared little of this support especially when it was announced that London would be the host city for the 2012 Olympic Games. The emphasis placed on 'winning medals' was accompanied by strong rhetoric for the legacy for the Games throughout the UK but few resources were allocated to support it. The political commitment was yet again reduced for community sport near the end of this period. Collins (2010:33) observed that 'DCMS rhetoric (2008) continued to speak of a 'world class sports development system', and a switch to promoting 'sport for sport's sake' mainly through the NGBs;'.

Policy around sport and deprivation

It could be argued that the beginning of this period was a time when young people living in poverty were not high on the sporting agenda and resources had been

drawn away from them towards schools and clubs. However, the balance started to change in the late 1990s when the use of sport as a tool for social policy, especially for young people, experienced a resurgence when the New Labour Government came to power. As part of their commitment to solving social and welfare issues, the Social Exclusion Unit was set up along with a number of Policy Action Teams (PATs) focused on finding solutions to a range of social policy issues within poor neighbourhoods. The DCMS PAT 10 Report (1999), 'National Strategy for neighbourhood renewal: Policy Action Team Audit: The contribution of Sport and the Arts', made the case for sport's role in regenerating poor neighbourhoods and gave credibility to the use of sport as one of the tools to combat social exclusion. As Collins (2010:26) stated, 'New Labour was determined to have joined-up strategies to combat concentrations of social exclusion, in which sport was to play a part'. It could be argued that this early period of the 2000s could be seen as one of the 'heydays' for sport as a social policy tool with political pressure resulting in the availability of significant new funding streams for sport in deprived neighbourhoods. These new national funding programmes originated from a wide range of sporting and non-sporting agencies and included the Single Regeneration Budget, the New Deal for Communities Programme, Sport England's 'Sport Action Zones', the Sport England Lottery Fund's 'Active Communities Development Fund', Positive Futures, the UEFA Hat Trick programme and the Kickz programme. These national funding programmes were used to initiate and support the development of a wide range of projects which were designed to address social exclusion through sport, some covering larger geographical areas such as a whole county, a city or a town or smaller geographical areas such as small communities.

The New Labour commitment to combatting social exclusion was focused primarily on geographical areas of deprivation which were viewed as suffering from the effects of poverty. As Collins (2005:25) identified, this had become a high priority for the government when it first came to power, 'poverty having climbed from 7 per cent of the population to 24 per cent between 1979 and 1994 under the Tories) which was exacerbated by other social factors'. However, as Lister (2004) indicated, social exclusion was an inadequate concept for tackling the causes and symptoms of poverty. The concepts of poverty and social class were noticeable by their almost total absence in sport and were often only publically discussed within the terms of

setting and meeting child poverty targets. The terminology used within sport changed over this period from ‘social exclusion’ which did have an emphasis on deprivation to ‘social inclusion’ which was typically seen as a much broader area and including all low participation groups regardless of income levels.

In contrast to New Labour’s commitment to addressing social exclusion through sport in the early 2000s through PAT 10, the DCMS strategy, Game Plan (2002), did not place significance on the barriers and needs of young people and adults living in deprived areas. As Collins (2003:32-33) stated, ‘it [Game Plan] ignores the fact that the main driver underlying these inequalities is the poverty suffered by a quarter of adults and a third of children, and the majority of single parents and disabled people which means they do not have the disposable incomes to spend on sport and (Physical Activity) for themselves’. It could be argued that the role of sport in addressing poverty and social exclusion continued to be absent from the subsequent policies adopted by Sport England after the early 2000s as they concentrated more on social inclusion whilst leaving local regeneration schemes such as the New Deal for Communities programme with the responsibility to address poverty issues through sport.

Sport policy commitment for supporting sports programmes for young people living in deprived communities started to wane during the late 2000s, bringing many of the significant funding streams to an end. However, beneath ‘the radar’, activity was still taking place at a national level in the ‘Sport for development’ sector with the continued development of Positive Futures, the Kickz programme, the StreetGames network, SportEd, SkillsActive, StreetLeague and some NGBs through their WSPs. However, it can be argued that the national picture of the ‘sport for development’ policy area was so fragmented and lacking in a unified policy and advocacy network, that this contributed to the continued absence of addressing the issue of social exclusion through sport from the formulation of mainstream sport policy.

2010 up to 2014

General welfare policy

In May 2010 the Coalition Government came to power with a commitment to implement an austerity programme aimed at reducing the UK’s economic deficit. The

Government immediately introduced a spending review with a significant commitment to reduce spending in the public sector with an emphasis on reductions to the welfare system. As the Institute for Fiscal Studies (October 2010: 10) identified, ''Government has refocused benefit spending away from families with children and towards pensioners'. Extensive changes to the welfare system were implemented after 2010 with a view towards saving money on the benefit system. This had already started to impact on income levels and in the UNICEF Report Card 10 (2012:7) it was highlighted that it was expected that in the UK, 'levels of 'relative' and 'absolute' child poverty are expected to reach 24% and 23% by 2020/21 – compared to the target figures of 10% and 5%. This would mean a return to the relative child poverty levels of two decades ago'. As the UNICEF Report Card 10 (2012:4) highlighted, 'poverty in childhood is closely and consistently associated with measurable disadvantage both for individuals and the societies in which they live.' The austerity programme also contributed towards an entrenchment of negative attitudes towards people on low incomes. Kelly of the Resolution Foundation (2012) stated that 'the simplistic divide between the undeserving poor and the deserving poor is hardly new but it has been recently delineated with renewed zeal. In truth, the poor – whether in or out of work – are seeing their position deteriorate.'

The changes in welfare policy during this period took place alongside a commitment to cut public spending and to shrink the role of the state but with a priority to increase the responsibility of the individual. The cuts in public spending resulted in fewer local funding streams during this period as well as the diminished role of state sector providers such as local authorities which traditionally had responsibility for working in areas of deprivation The Coalition Government's 'Big Society' (2010) policy was seen as a way of transferring responsibility from the state and statutory providers such as local authorities to individuals and local communities so that they could take responsibility for their own services and facilities within the context of localism.

General sports policy

This period has been dominated by firstly, the funding cuts in school sport in 2010 leading to the subsequent decline of School Sport Partnerships, secondly, the staging of the London 2012 Olympic Games and thirdly by the dominance of NGBs in their role to increase participation. This has taken place against a policy

background of the Coalition Government's new youth sport policy, 'Creating a sporting habit for life' published by the DCMS (2012). It was significant that this policy was published by the DCMS rather than the DfEE and as Houlihan (2012: ch7:53) noted, 'the resultant danger for youth sport is that it incrementally returns to the margins of education policy at a time when central government seeks to initiate substantial change within the school system.'

The previous policy period had been characterised by an unprecedented increase in funding and commitment for school sport leading to a national coverage of School Sport Partnerships across England. However, one of Michael Gove's (the then Secretary of State for Education) first decisions was to remove the targets, monitoring system and then funding from school sport policy citing the poor achievements of the programme. Owen Gibson, journalist at the Guardian, (2010) reported, 'When he announced he was scrapping the sport budget in October, Mr Gove said the SSP network was "neither affordable nor likely to be the best way to help schools achieve their potential in improving competitive sport". Later in the same article Own Gibson stated that 'Mr Gove said that despite £2.4bn of investment over seven years, just one child in five played competitive sport against another school'. This led to a period of intense debate about evidence and impact but in spite of grassroots and cross party lobbying only a minimal funding pot was reinstated with the condition that the ring fencing for school sport would disappear, reinforcing the Government's commitment to decision-making by individual schools. The debate moved on from general school sport policy to the importance of competitive sport in schools. In 2011 this was reflected in the announcement of the School Games programme made by Jeremy Hunt (the then Secretary of State for Culture, Olympics, Media and Sport) and supported by other government departments. Andrew Lansley (the then Secretary of State for Health) made the following comments in 2011 in support of the School Games, "sport is a vital part of a healthy childhood. It helps in the drive against child obesity and competitive school sport offers a wide range of benefits like better self-esteem, confidence and social skills. That is why we have got behind the School Games by providing up to £20 million of funding over the next two years. It will help foster strong links between schools and encourage greater uptake.'(DCMS: 2012)

The staging of the London Olympics 2012, considered by the Coalition Government to have been a resounding success, resulted in the strengthening of political and public support for elite sport. David Kelso, sports journalist from The Daily Telegraph reported on 15th August 2012, ‘Elite sport is a roaring success. The British Olympic team, lavishly funded with £511 million in the past four years, delivered a record haul of 65 medals, and last weekend the Government made the welcome move of guaranteeing similar levels of support to 2016’. The calls for sustained levels of funding for elite sport were also justified by the alleged increase in the growth in sports participation that this would bring and that the inspiration of winning medals would trickle down to the grassroots despite the lack of evidence that this would be the case. Lord Coe was reported in the Guardian on 13th August 2012 as saying, "You can never spend too much on elite sport. It will always be the greatest driver of sporting participation and we should be unashamed about that. Those British moments, those international moments that we've seen in those venues will do more than anything else to inspire people to take up sport". However, the success of the London 2012 Olympics continued to stir up the fierce debate surrounding school sport and the decrease in sporting legacy opportunities to young people as a result of the demise of SSPs. There was no such similar debate for community sport.

The Coalition Government’s five year youth and community sport plan, ‘Creating a sporting habit for life’ (DCMS, 2012) continued to reinforce the role of NGBs as one of the main tools for addressing low participation rates. Sport England used the development of Whole Sport Plans (WSPs) to set adult participation targets for NGBs, only reducing the adult participation age limit to fourteen year olds at a later stage. The use of NGBs’ Whole Sport Plans was seen as adequately supporting community sport and increasing participation as David Kelso reported in the Daily Telegraph on 15th August 2012, ‘The plan for community sport is also sensible and should reap dividends. After a decade of changing priorities Sport England, the body responsible for funding the grassroots, is focused on funding sports to develop links between community clubs and schools.’

‘Creating a sporting habit for life’ (DCMS, 2012) firmly removed the main responsibility for community sport from local authorities to NGBs but with minimal national priority for addressing low participation rates for young people living in deprived areas. This issue remained a voluntary responsibility for individual NGBs to

address, often dependent on their own view of whether working with young people in deprived areas would help them to achieve their WSP participation targets. It could be argued that at the end of this period, the debate around community sport seemed to have finished but the debate around school sport policy was set to continue.

Policy around sport and deprivation

It could be claimed that the only evidence of a significant commitment to increasing sport in disadvantaged areas by the Coalition Government was its allocation of funding to StreetGames to develop 1,000 new Doorstep Sports Clubs in deprived areas. There had been very little debate about sport in deprived communities which, it could be argued, could have been a reflection of an increased hostility towards the 'undeserving poor', a result of current welfare policy and media coverage. It could also have bene a consequence of the closure of many urban and rural regeneration schemes which had adopted a joined-up approach to their communities and included sport as a social tool in many of its programmes. The decline of the School Sport Partnerships had also had an effect on young people living in deprived communities. Chris Dunne, head teacher in Tower Hamlets reported in the Guardian on 16th November 2010, ''It will especially hit children in deprived areas like this, where there aren't middle-class parents taking their kids around after school at weekends to tennis lessons and the like. In this borough, some of our staff drive pupils to cricket, hockey and golf clubs in other parts of London as part of their work, because there aren't any locally. They take the place of parents a lot of the time."

The economic climate and the cuts to the welfare programme in the period up until 2012 indicated that families living in deprived areas were likely to experience higher rates of relative poverty for some considerable time. It was probable that this would impact significantly on their children's ability to take part in sport with the result that the potential role of sports programmes for young people living in deprived areas would retain their importance as the impact of poverty continued to take effect.

POLICY CONTEXT FOR FOOTBALL

This final section is concerned with the changing policy context for football as it is the main sport for all three case studies. In particular, it will consider the response of football organisations to the New Labour policy of addressing social exclusion and it

will examine in particular the football programmes and funding that emerged during this period that are most relevant to this study.

Football's position within working class communities had been subjugated to the effects of bourgeoisification, internationalization and professionalization in football after the second world war (Taylor 1971) resulting in an overriding concern by the Football Association (FA) for its clubs, leagues and for the performance of its national team. This role was brought into question in the 1990s by the government's concern with the commercialisation of football and amongst other issues, the high incidence of hooliganism. As Parnell et al (2013) argued, 'Football in the Community' programmes based in the major clubs since the mid1980s and outside the domain of the FA, had become football's main vehicle for working in the community. This had been joined by the 'Playing for Success' programme, launched by the Department for Education and Skills and the Premier League, at the same time as the election of New Labour in 1997. However, it still remained an example of a social inclusion project based in the major clubs and outside the auspices of the FA. Taylor (2004:63) observed that it had been 'developed on the basis that football clubs could contribute greatly to the education of disaffected young people'. The growing importance of football for New Labour's policies was crystallised by Wagg's assertion (2004:17) that, 'football provides the terrain upon which the government's two principal objectives are most likely to be met', and was attractive to New Labour in its position as 'the people's' game (Walvin 1975).

The FA came under increasing pressure from a range of national agencies and government departments to widen its role in accordance with the prevailing New Labour policy. Its publication 'Charter for Quality' (1997) proved to be one of the first manifestations of its response to external social policy influences with its concern with junior development. The FA's remit was further thrown into the spotlight by the report of the Football Task Force (FtF) to the minister for sport in 1999. Its recommendations positioned football as a tool for addressing social exclusion, a clear response to New Labour's agenda on social welfare.

> 'Supporting the grassroots should include projects that maximise football's potential to raise educational standards, tackle youth crime and promote social inclusion.' (Football Task Force 1999:4)

The need for the FA to adopt and maintain this role was strengthened by the DCMS strategy 'A Sporting Future for All' (DCMS 2000) which turned its attention to 'lifelong participation' and 'grassroots sport', identifying a role for National Governing bodies of Sport (NGBs) such as the FA in addressing social inclusion.

> 'We will work together with local authorities, governing bodies and funding organisations to make sure that social inclusion is at the heart of everything they do.' (DCMS 2000:13)

Furthermore, the strategy placed an expectation on funding bodies, including NGBs, to support sport in deprived communities.

> 'As part of commitment to neighbourhood renewal we have asked all funding bodies in sport to ensure that the promotion of social inclusion is a key part of all their work.' (DCMS 2000:39)

The establishment of the FA's national development team in the early 2000s to take responsibility for new social inclusion programmes reflected the pressure to respond to the prominence of football as a social inclusion policy tool. At this stage, the FA's national development team took the lead in supporting the implementation of national programmes whilst its network of affiliated county football associations focused on the development of local football partnerships (LFPs). These LFPs were used by the Football Foundation and to a lesser degree by the FA itself to prioritise the allocation of capital funds to areas of deprivation. The role of the county football association changed as Sport England moved towards increasing participation and the use of Whole Sport Plans (WSP) in 2004 with NGBs. The FA started to develop a closer developmental role with its county associations as it provided funding from its WSP in return for a contribution to the FA's national participation targets. As New Labour's policy on social exclusion weakened, the FA retained a focus on equity and reduced and virtually disappeared.

The creation of the Football Foundation in 2000, announced in the DCMS strategy, A Sporting Future for All, (2000) with its role to 'provide substantial investment in grassroots football over the period of the next television contract' (DCMS 2000:12) provided a mechanism for social investment in football, an approach promoted by

New Labour as a tool for tackling social exclusion. The source of this social investment emanated not only from broadcasting rights but also from Sport England itself. The Football Foundation described this approach as 'an unprecedented display by Government of the conviction it has in the benefits sport can have for society and communities' (Football Foundation 2001:2). The Football Foundation's Community Programme Strategy Fund was designed to align to the New Labour Government's policy of addressing social exclusion through the use of sport in response to the Policy Action Team 10's 'Report to the Social Exclusion Unit on the Arts and Sport' and the DCMS strategy, 'Game Plan' (2002). The Football Foundation and the FA maintained a close relationship but by 2006 the Football Foundation's Community and Education Team had still retained its support for projects that addressed social issues through sport, prioritising projects in areas of deprivation even though the FA had started to move towards social equity issues such as girls and young women and diversity in the workforce.

> 'The Community and Education Team has been enlarged and refocused along four themes: Health and Well Being; Social Inclusion, Education and Equalities. This will provide the Foundation with a deep expertise in these four key areas to influence government policy and assist in delivering benefit to areas in most need, especially those hard to reach groups that delivery organisations such as the Foundation and the Government have found difficult to engage with in the past.' (Football Foundation 2006: 9)

In 2004, the UEFA Hat Trick project, a partnership between UEFA, the Government and the FA had been launched as a three-year programme to work in deprived communities in England. The FA's press release in 2005 confirmed that the aim of the programme was to use football to work with young people on social welfare issues.

> 'Football will be used to tackle a wide range of social problems in some of England's most deprived communities.' (Football Association 2005)

The FA's national development team managed the programme during this period, providing direct support to UEFA Hat Trick funded projects which were viewed as contributing to elements of the FA's National Game Strategy such as growth and retention, raising standards, improving behaviour and better players. The UEFA Hat-

trick project was targeted at a limited number of projects in the areas of highest deprivation, including New Deal for Communities programmes, yet again responding to New Labour's call for investment in neighbourhood renewal. The UEFA Hat Trick programme continued after this period, turning its attention away from neighbourhood renewal to equity issues such as girls' football and child protection. Nevertheless, its wider impact on the FA's remit was recognised by Greg Dyke, chairman of the FA from 2013-2016, who observed that 'Hat Trick has genuinely helped the FA to implement these extremely valuable social projects' (UEFA 2014:19).

As New Labour's policy towards addressing social exclusion continued to weaken in the mid 2000s, the FA's Strategic vision, the National Game Plan, (2008) started to reduce its emphasis on social inclusion. References to social inclusion still appeared in two of its aims; firstly, growth and retention and secondly, equality and diversity with references to its work with BME groups, girls, disability and 5- 11 year olds. However, the FA's former dual approach of supporting social welfare issues through football and football development returned towards football development as its main focus. Driven by Sport England's response to the DCMS strategy, 'Playing to win: a new era for sport, (2008), NGBs including the FA were encouraged to adopt a new approach to their development work with a focus on increasing adult participation in football.

> 'Most importantly, Sport England will strike a new partnership with each of the National Governing Bodies. In return for greater control and freedom over public funds, governing bodies will be challenged to expand participation and proved more quality coaching for more people.' (DCMS 2008:1)

As Houlihan and Lindsey (2013:184) commented, Sport England adopted NGBS as 'their primary delivery agents' with 'the assumption that NGBs and their clubs would be more biddable partners' than local authorities who had traditionally been their key partners but who had failed to deliver adult participation targets'. Sport England used its funding of its NGB Whole Sport Plans (WSPs) as a tool for achieving its participation targets. These participation targets were included in the FA's Strategic vision for 2011-2015 with its emphasis on increasing participation within the second of its three main aims: 'football for everyone'. This resulted in the development of a

range of participation programmes such as the MARS 'Just Play' programme which was launched in 2011 to increase adult participation including 'older' teenagers aged 16-25 years. The FA once again responded to subsequent changes in the DCMS strategy, 'Creating a sporting habit for life: A new youth sport strategy', (2012) adjusting the age remit of this adult participation programme downwards in age to 14-25 year olds,

> 'In particular, we want to raise the proportion of 14-25 year olds who play sport and to establish a lasting network of links between schools and sports clubs in local communities so that we keep young people playing sport up to and beyond the age of 25', (DCMS 2012:3)

The FA continued to respond to the emphasis on increasing participation throughout the latter stages of the research and although the FA retained social inclusion in its strategic vision, the support for the use of football as a social policy tool in deprived areas had disappeared.

Football in the Community Schemes

As observed earlier in this section, community programmes based in professional football clubs had initially been set up to address the negative effects of hooliganism in the 1970s but had continued to expand their community remit.

> 'Originally suggested as an interventionist measure in order to combat the effects of football hooliganism as far back as 1975, their recent growth has been extraordinary.' (Watson 2000:114)

As Parnell etc al (2013) observed, the Football in the Community (FitC) programmes came to be viewed not only as a means to improve the image of professional clubs but also as a way to fulfil their corporate social responsibility (CSR). This change to the role of the FitC programmes took place alongside a change in the governance structure for these programmes, with the majority set up as independent community trusts but nevertheless still closely aligned to their own professional football clubs. Parnell at al (2013) observed that FitC programmes had played an increasingly significant role in using sport to address social problems.

> ‘FitC schemes have been (politically and corporately) re-positioned in order to address broader and more complex social agendas (including social inclusion, crime and health).’ (Parnell et al 2013: 3)

This had provided FitC programmes with ‘unprecedented funding and support for sport based social change projects (i.e., crime, social inclusion and health).’ (Parnell et al 2013: 1) and had brought about an expansion of the community trusts running these programmes. Football-based social inclusion programmes such as Positive Futures and Kickz were often adopted by FitC programmes to provide resources to help them achieve their wider social aims. Positive Futures, launched in 2000, was developed ‘with the aim of using sport to reduce anti-social behaviour, crime and drug use among 10-16-year-olds within local neighbourhoods (Nichols 2007:116). Football was the main activity for the Positive Futures programme as confirmed by the Home Office’s 2006 evaluation report, ‘Positive Futures Impact report: End of Season review’.

> ‘Football remains by far the most commonly organised and popular activity (Home office 2006: 20)

Indeed, this report described football activity as including both coaching and playing opportunities as well as the opportunity for participants to gain football coaching qualifications. The use of football as a key activity within a social inclusion context complemented the remit of many FitC programmes which had already started to develop this focus and matched the typical criteria for the Positive Futures programme:

> ‘an existing organisation or partnership had already been doing work that met the Positive Futures objectives and was awarded additional funding through Positive Futures’ (Nichols 2007: 117)

Positive Futures was delivered locally by a range of projects that were allowed the freedom to take a flexible approach. This enabled them to meet the needs of their young people, reflecting the national approach to similar regeneration programmes that were delivered locally.

> ‘Many of these programmes, even those such as Positive Futures that were funded nationally, were located in and adopted approaches orientated towards particular localities’. (Houlihan and Lindsey 2013: 2013: 180)

Houlihan and Lindsay (2013:171) observed that the local delivery of this national Programme had resulted in ‘significant diversity’ of projects which was a result of the more flexible, localised approach to delivery.

> ‘Positive Futures encompassed a greater level of local determination in terms of delivery structures and approaches.’ (Houlihan and Lindsey 2013: 171)

Houilhan and Lindsey (2103) suggested that this localised approach and the extent of this diversity had provided local Positive Futures projects with a level of autonomy which would enable them to continue the delivery of their local programmes even if the national approach or priorities changed.

> ‘The plurality to such projects meant that they were less amenable to central governance than the mainstream school-based initiatives.’ (Houlihan and Lindsey 2013: 171)

By 2013, the national Positive Futures programme was still in place, managed by Catch 22, a national charity, and with over 90 projects based in deprived communities in England and Wales. The original crime reduction aims of the programme had been retained but its remit had been expanded throughout this period to include the responsibility to develop ‘active citizens’, a legacy from the New Labour Government which had been continued by the Coalition Government’s Big Society policy.

> ‘Positive Futures is a prevention and diversionary programme. Funded by the Home Office, the programme targets and supports 10-19 year olds to stop them from becoming drawn into crime, substance misuse and helps them in moving forward with their lives to achieve their full potential. Positive Futures gives young people the chance to develop the skills needed to get on a positive career path and take on roles as active and responsible citizens.’ (Home Office 2012:2)

The evaluation report produced for the Home Office in 2006 (Crabbe et al), Knowing the Score; Positive Futures Case study Research: Final Report for the Home Office, acknowledged that sport was being used as an engagement hook for working with young people in areas around a range of non-sporting issues.

> 'Working in neighbourhoods identified as the amongst the 20% most deprived in the country, it seeks to use sport and other activities as a basis for establishing relationships with young people who have otherwise become alienated and distanced from mainstream social policy agencies and 'authority' figures.' (Crabbe et al 2006: 6)

The use of football as a key engagement tool was also a key feature of the national Kickz programme which became an established element of many FitC programmes.

> 'The Kickz programme retained its focus on football in accordance with its stated vision 'to use the 'power' of football and, more precisely, the appeal of professional football clubs to engage young people who may otherwise be difficult to reach' (Football Foundation 2008: 23).

The Kickz programme, was developed as a pilot project in 2006 as the result of a partnership between the Premier League and the Metropolitan Police. Its initial success led to the national expansion of the programme with the Football Foundation adopting a central programme management role. The programme's partnerships reflected the New Labour's emphasis on joined-up working as it expanded to include the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), the Association of Police Officers (APO), **v** (the national youth volunteering charity), the Respect Task Force, the DCMS and the Department of Health. As the Football Foundation's first Kickz report, 'First Season Progress report – Monitoring and Evaluation 2008', stated, the aim of the programme was to use football as a way of working with 'hard to reach' young people on a number of cross-cutting objectives:

- 'To break down barriers between the police and young people.
- To reduce crime and anti-social behaviour in the targeted neighbourhoods.
- To create routes into education, training and employment.

- To encourage volunteering within projects and throughout the target neighbourhoods.'

(Football Foundation 2008:5)

The programme's emphasis on using football as a way to reduce crime and anti-social behaviour as well as to support volunteer development work and prepare young people for education and employment responded to New Labour's priority for developing young people as 'active citizens'. New Labour's approach to joined-up partnership working at a national level was similarly reflected at a local level. This provided additional specialist support for Kickz projects to work with young people on non-sporting issues such as substance misuse.

> 'Sessions delivered by Kickz projects are strengthened by this multiagency approach, and are better able to address major issues of concern for young people. Examples include Kickz projects linking up with Primary Care Trusts (PCTs) and Drug and Alcohol Action Teams (DAATs), to deliver specialist health-related messages.' (Football Foundation 2008:7)

The local delivery mechanism for the Kickz programme was similar to the Positive Futures programme with its focus on working in mainly deprived communities with high ASB rates as 'an area-based intervention, targeted at areas (and by association young people) most in need of assistance' (Football Foundation 2008: 18). It adopted a similar approach to 'local determination' (Houlihan and Lindsey 2013: 171) and integration into an established local project sharing similar aims and objectives.

> 'Whilst delivering the fundamental objectives of Kickz, local partnerships allow individual projects the flexibility to address relevant issues within the communities in which they are based.' (Football Foundation 2008:7)

Football's community remit had expanded and adapted throughout the New Labour period of office. The FA had responded to external government pressures and in the early 2000s adopted its role to support the use of football as a tool for addressing social exclusion. The FA's role changed its emphasis in the mid 2000s in line with New Labour's policies and concentrated on increasing adult participation whilst still

retaining an interest in equity. National programmes and organisations such as Positive Futures and Kickz and the Football Foundation which had been developed specifically to use sport and football in particular as a social policy tool were able to maintain their focus on social inclusion for a much longer period. This benefited local organisations such as FitC programmes that were still able to use these resources to continue this work even though national policies had moved away from these priorities.

CONCLUSION

This final section will summarise the changes in policy over the research period to identify the patterns that have emerged and that have informed this research, especially in relation to the role of football projects in delivering sports programmes for young people living in deprived communities.

Trends within general welfare policy. It could be argued that the need to address poverty and provide a welfare safety net has been a characteristic of government policy since before the 1960s. There had been varying levels of commitment by Conservative and Labour Governments but the underlying belief in the role of the state to address poverty had been a common theme. The levels of poverty changed significantly over this period resulting in high levels of inequality and social exclusion during the 1980s and 1990s which were the main focus for New Labour when they came to power in 1997. New Labour's adopted Third Way was driven by the commitment to address social exclusion through the renegotiation of the role of the state and the rights and responsibilities of individuals. The role of the state was redefined as providing individuals with the support to become 'active' and 'good' citizens who would create the 'active and good society' which would result in an improvement in their economic and social conditions. This policy commitment resulted in the creation of significant funding streams for programmes such as New Deal for Communities and other regeneration agencies as well as for other policy sub sectors such as sport. New Labour's emphasis shifted away from social exclusion towards social inclusion during the mid 2000s. However, as the financial crisis arose and an era of austerity began, the policy commitment towards social inclusion and regeneration with its significant funding streams started to weaken. This retreat from tackling poverty and social exclusion was compounded by the

election of the Coalition Government in 2010 which reversed its commitment to maintaining these levels of public spending when it came to power even though organisations such as UNICEF had forecast significant growth in child poverty and inequality in the next eight years.

Trends within general sports policy. This period had been characterised by a number of shifts in general sports policy. The first shift could be seen as the overall decline in commitment to participation and community sport which has taken place since the publication of the Wolfenden report and the Sports Council's 'Sport for All' campaign in the 1970s. Governments had discussed the importance of this area but the major pots of funding allocated to other policy areas had rarely been replicated for community sport. There had been a general shift away from 'welfare rights' to state facilitation and individual responsibility which had resulted in the main providers of sport adopting different positions around the implementation of sports policy. This had been exacerbated by the difficulties experienced by many sports organisations, specifically NGBs, to achieve adult sports participation targets and might have increased the unwillingness to get involved in this area of sports policy. Indeed, this had been compounded by a lack of common understanding about the definition of community sport and whether it was adult participation, working with low participation groups, young people taking part outside school or everyone who was not at school or an elite athlete.

The policy towards elite sport had grown in prominence over the years and had adopted an increasingly important place within sport policy as well as in the wider reaches of government. The success of the 2012 London Olympics had secured its place in sport policy for the foreseeable future. It was seen by the government as one of the few areas where the UK could have a high profile abroad in the context of a shrinking influence in a globalised world as well as providing pride and success in a gloomy economic climate.

The policy towards school sport had shifted over this period. It had started with a low profile in the 1970s and 1980s and had grown as a result of John Major's commitment to securing the position of competitive sport in schools. This area of sports policy had had a meteoric rise as it had become embedded in the education system and secured an investment in the school sport infrastructure of over £2bn

from the DFEE. This expansion had continued until the Coalition Government came to power in 2010 and severed this investment from education, resulting in a loss of the majority of the school sport infrastructure and leaving only a small competitive sport element within the school system. The pendulum had swung back towards the 1980s and it was unclear as to whether the intense lobbying and need for legacy from the Olympics would start to reverse the swing of the pendulum once more.

Trends within sport and deprivation

This area of sports policy had been in existence since the Wolfenden report in the 1960s but its priority and place within general sports policy had changed over time. It had acquired varying levels of importance often depending on the levels of poverty, the severity of social problems and degrees of political sympathy. This area of sport policy had gained most prominence at the time of social unrest in the 1980s resulting in the ActionSport programme and then in the late 1990s when the issues of social inequality and poverty had a high profile within the New Labour Government. This area of sports policy did not have a high profile at the end of this research study in 2014 and it could be said that it has been rendered almost invisible by the debates around elite and school sport. However, although this area might not have had a current high priority within sports policy and significant funding steams are often absent, there were still a significant number of often small scale projects operating at a local level within deprived communities such as this study's selected football projects that were committed to ensuring that their young people continued to take part in sport and often addressed other non-sporting objectives such as reducing anti-social behaviour or improving health.

Trends within football policy

The emergence of 'Football in the Community Programmes' based at the professional clubs in the 1980s had been football's main involvement in 'community sport' up until the late 1990s. The recommendations of the Football Task Force in 1999 stimulated the development of a range of community-based football programmes and funding streams which responded to New Labour's policy to address social exclusion in areas of deprivation through the use of sport. The FA adopted a national development role and managed initiatives such as the UEFA Hat Trick programme and supported its county associations to establish Local Football

Partnerships as the mechanism for diverting capital funding streams to areas of deprivation. Football with its history as 'the people's game', was seen as a key engagement tool by New Labour and investment in agencies such as the Football Foundation as a key grant distributing body characterised this period. As new Labour's interest in social exclusion waned, it was replaced by the concern to increase adult participation rates. The FA responded to this agenda and shifted its attention to funding adult participation programmes whilst still retaining an interest in social inclusion and equality. The football programmes that had been established outside the FA during the New Labour period such as the Football Foundation, Positive Futures and the Kickz programme continued to receive funding. This ensured the continuation of football programmes aimed at young people, often still located in areas of high deprivation, that were used by autonomous and diverse local projects as a tool to address social problems.

CHAPTER 4
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter explores the different concepts around methodology within the social research process. In particular it identifies the methodology which has been used for this research and offers a reflective assessment of the research methods that were utilised to provide the data for the three case studies.

Research theory

As Bryman (2008:4) argued, social research is influenced by the different theories of how society should be studied, 'Methods are not simply neutral tools'. According to Bryman (2008:6), the most common definition of theory was 'an explanation of observed regularities'. He postulated that theory was important as it provided a framework for the interpretation of research findings. Theories could be divided into two main categories; firstly, grand theories operating at a general and abstract level such as pluralism, feminism and Marxism and secondly, middle-range theories such as those related to the policy process that tended to focus on specific issues such as adult sports participation. Middle range theory 'attempts to understand and explain a limited aspect of social life' (Bryman 2008:7) and might or might not be based on an empirical approach. This research study utilised middle range theory to understand the effect of the policy process on the football projects selected for this research study. This was supported by the use of both multiple streams and implementation theory as the main policy analysis frameworks for the research.

Perspectives on social research

Grix (2002) suggested a model for the social research process that was employed in this research although with a slight modification. Grix's model comprised five interrelated elements: ontology, epistemology, methodology, methods and source but this research added an additional stage of 'research design' following on from the methodology stage. Grix's model below shows the interrelatedness of these five elements with the additional element of research design and the importance of the sequencing of the thought processes for this area of the research study.

Table 4.1.The interrelationship between the building blocks of research (adapted to include 'research design' Grix: 2002:180)

Ontology →	**Epistemology** →	**Methodology** →	**Research design** →	**Methods** →	**Sources**
What's out there to know?	What and how can we know about it?	How can we go about acquiring that knowledge?	The overall approach to the use of methods	Which precise procedures can we use to acquire it?	Which data can we collect?

Grix (2002: 177) argued that 'Ontology is the starting point of all research, after which one's epistemological and methodological positions logically follow.' Indeed, this guided the process of matching the research methodology and methods to the nature of the object or phenomenum that was being investigated. Ontology is the 'claims and assumptions that are made about the nature of social reality, claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other. In short, ontological assumptions are concerned with what we believe constitutes social reality' (Blaikie, 2000:8). (Hay 2002: 63) argued that an individual's ontological position is their 'answer to the question: what is the nature of the social and political reality to be investigated?' Ontology is usually considered to have two different positions firstly, objectivism, sometimes known as realism, and secondly, constructivism.

Objectivism or realism implies that 'social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors' (Grix 2010:60) and that they are 'external facts that are beyond our reach or influence' (Bryman 2008:18). Bryman (2008:18) stated that organisations and cultures could be seen as tangible objects with their own missions, hierarchy, social order and values and that 'the social entity in question comes across as something external to the actor and as having an almost tangible reality of its own'. This suggested that whoever was to conduct the research about these social phenomena and regardless of the context, the results would have been the same. This position would be most suited to researching phenomena such as tangible objects and would be most compatible to the use of quantitative methods. Constructivism implies that social phenomena are produced and constantly change as a result of social interaction, and that they are a product of consciousness. In particular, this position acknowledged that the context of the phenomena was important to the researcher and it also recognised that the results that emerged could differ according to the position of the researcher as the objects of the research might respond differently to different researchers. This ontological position was well-suited to qualitative methods as it aimed to collect data such as feelings and opinions but it did not exclude the use of quantitative methods as an additional research tool.

The researcher had to firstly, decide which ontological position would be adopted as this would influence the complete research process. For this research into the role of selected football projects, a constructivist position was adopted (in combination with a critical realist approach as can be seen later in this section) as it is concerned with researching social phenomena within identifiable structures such as football and other sports organisations as well as social class that is constructed and reconstructed in everyday interactions.

Ontology leads to the second concept of epistemology which is concerned with the theory of knowledge and 'the possible ways of gaining knowledge of social reality, whatever it is understood to be. In short, claims about how what is assumed to exist can be known' (Blaikie 2000: 8). Blaikie (2007:18) explained that it provided a philosophical basis 'for what kinds of knowledge are possible –what can be known – and criteria for deciding how knowledge can be judged as adequate and legitimate'. He argued that the roots of epistemology could be found in the approaches to using

reason and experience to gain knowledge. Reason was viewed as being concerned with establishing what is true and what is false and experience is concerned with using the senses to establish what the world is like and how it works. As Blaikie (2007) asserted there were three basic approaches to viewing 'things' based on the definition of 'things' as either real with an independent existence or as ideal consisting of ideas. The first approach was 'objectivism' which viewed 'things' as having an intrinsic meaning regardless of who observes them, they cannot be interpreted in any other way than what they are in reality. The second approach was 'subjectivism' where the researcher imposes their own meaning on 'things' with the result that researchers will give different meanings to the same things. The third approach was 'constructionism' which rejected both of these approaches as the observer plays an active role in the creation of the meaning of 'things' and adds this meaning to the understandings that already exist.

The concept of epistemology accepts that theories of knowledge are continually evolving and that the assumptions upon which they are based need to be considered often reflecting the period in time and cultural context in which it was produced. Five main epistemological approaches were considered by Bryman (2008), May (2006) and Lakatos (1999), namely empiricism, rationalism, falsificationism, constructionism and conventionalism/ instrumentalism.

The first epistemological position of empiricism is based on the belief that the acquisition of knowledge comes from observation using the senses and measurement, such as the measurement of the effect of physical activity on blood pressure. As May (2006:11) identified, the 'empiricist school of thought believes that the facts speak for themselves and require no explanation via theoretical engagement'. This position was well-suited to scientific experiments that could be observed and measured in a controlled environment and could be repeated by other researchers who would collect the same data. The second position of rationalism was based on introspection, examination of thoughts and following the rules of logic such as pure maths. The third position of falsificationism, developed by Popper, was based on the premise that theories could not be scientific if they could not be observed and that it was therefore necessary to produce predictions leading to a hypothesis that you could test and only by showing that the hypothesis was wrong, could the truth be reached. The fourth position of constructionism was based on the

view that knowledge could only be produced by examining the social phenomena and their meaning and as Bryman (2008:20) suggested, 'the social world and its categories are not external to us, but are built up and constituted in and through interaction'. The fifth position of conventionalism or instrumentalism was based on the premise that theories are only tools and that they are not necessarily proven or justified but that it is assumed that these theories work because others have already used them.

Research paradigms are important to recognise as they bring together the ontological and epistemological approaches to shape 'our understanding of what one can know about something and how one can gather knowledge about it' (Grix 2010: 79). There are three key research paradigms which move through a spectrum starting at a position of positivism attempting to 'explain' social reality through to critical realism which is a merging of realism and constructionism at a mid point of this spectrum and finally ending in a position of interpretivism that aims to 'understand' the social reality.

Positivism 'advocates the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality and beyond' (Bryman 2008:13) and is closely connected to empiricism and realism as it views the world 'as existing independently of our knowledge of it' (Grix 2010:81) with an emphasis on facts rather than values. Interpretivism at the other end of the spectrum 'respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences' (Bryman 2008:16). As Grix (2010: 83) explained, 'The interpretivists' concern with 'subjectivity', with 'understandings', with 'agency' and the way people construct their social world, introduces complexities that involve elements of uncertainty'. The paradigm of critical realism is positioned between positivism and interpretivism as an attempt to combine these two approaches of explaining and understanding the social world. Critical realists 'conceive of social change and conflict in society as not always apparent or observable….we need to look beyond the surface' (Grix 2010:86). The critical realist position, therefore, demands a 'layered' approach for the identification of causal links so that a fuller explanation and understanding of the social phenomenum can be made and indeed, Bhaskar (1989) identified three layers for this approach comprising the real, the empirical and the actual. The empirical layer consists of events that can be observed, the actual layer consists of events whether or not they

are observed and the real layer consists of structures and mechanisms that produce these events. The importance of structures was emphasised by Bhaskar (1989:2) as, 'we will only be able to understand…and so change… the social world if we identify the structures at work that generate those events and discourses'. This needs to be seen together with the role of actors as critical realists suggest that both actors and structures are important for understanding the social world as actors initiate action and structures facilitate or constrain this action (Grix (2010). This approach enables an explanation of social phenomena in terms of both structure and agency linked to emergent properties. Emergent properties within the critical realist research paradigm are explained by Cruickshank (2003:3) as, 'structures … are created by the actions of individuals in the past, and now have causal properties in their own right'. As Cruickshank (2003:3) commented, critical realists could use this epistemological approach 'to explore how existing social, political and economic relations create inequality'. This research adopted a critical realist approach that enabled the researcher to study all three layers of the real, the empirical and the actual so that the impact of policies around sport and poverty could be identified in the role of the three selected football projects in implementing sports programmes for young people living in deprived areas.

The critical realist approach is also often associated with falsificationism so that hypotheses can be formulated and tested and regularities or irregularities identified so that the causal factors can be verified or proved wrong. The issue of whether research should be conducted using a deductive or inductive theory was pertinent to this research. 'Deductive' theory is the formulation of a hypothesis, often with broad assumptions, which is then subjected to empirical testing at a more detailed level to reach a conclusion. It is therefore, essential that researchers are able to translate their hypothesis into operational terms so that data can be collected to test the hypothesis. 'Inductive' theory however, starts at the other end of the spectrum and takes the detailed findings from the research which has already been conducted and identifies generalisations, often based on observations and not always on empirically defined 'facts'. This research attempted to synthesise the use of both deductive and inductive theory by taking a top-down approach which recognised the significant influence of the policy process on the role of the selected football projects, with an emphasis on national policy and then a bottom-up approach which would illuminate

how the football projects responded to both national and local policy throughout the period of the research. The underlying hypothesis held by the researcher was that the selected football projects would have adopted a significant role in delivering sports programmes to young people living in deprived areas in response to national sport and welfare policy at the time that they were initiated but that not all the selected projects would have been able to sustain that role during the research period. The research explored this hypothesis and provided possible explanations for how and why the three selected football projects responded in different ways to the changes in sport and welfare policy.

Research methodology

The third element of the proposed research model was the methodology which was concerned with the processes and identification of the techniques for collecting and analysing the data. This element was important for identifying 'the logic, potentialities and limitations of research methods' (Grix 2002:179) and as Grix (2002) pointed out, it is not the same as the individual methods that are chosen to collect the data such as surveys and questionnaires.

The methodology for collecting the research data focused on the use of case studies. As Yin (2003:1) identified, 'In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context'. Yin (2003:2) highlighted the ability of the case study to retain characteristics of real life events which may be important for the context of the research area such as 'individual life cycles, organizational and managerial processes, neighbourhood change, international relations, and the maturation of industries'. The case study was also used to conduct research on systems such as individual actors as well as phenomena and as highlighted by Lee et al (2009:683,) they could be used for 'examining multiple variables using multiple sources of evidence which may include incorporating both quantitative and qualitative data' so that the case study stands up to scrutiny. Yin (1994) identified that case studies could be used to conduct research in three different ways: exploratory, descriptive and explanatory and therefore one of the advantages of using the case study

approach was its flexibility as one or more of these approaches could be used within the same case study.

The research design

This section elaborates on the use of the case study as the structure for the design of this research. Yin (2003:19) defined research design as 'the logic that links the data to be collected (and the conclusions to be drawn) to the initial questions of the study'.

Lee et al (2009:683) described the characteristics of the case study as including, '1) an empirical approach, 2) an intensive investigation of a single system or phenomenon that is embedded in a real-life context, and 3) a close association with theories'. Case studies were therefore appropriate for research where the context is important. Yin (2003:14) identified the case study as a research strategy 'covering the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis'.

The main disadvantage with the use of the case study for research design was that it might not be seen as sufficiently robust by others. Yin (2003) explained that the origin of this view developed as it was often seen as only being used for the exploratory stage of the research process with little reference to the data collected and it was often used as a vehicle for collecting data on participant observations.

Yin (2003:40) suggested that four conditions should therefore be satisfied to ensure the quality of the case study design: '(a) construct validity: identifying correct operational measures for the concepts being studied (b) internal validity (for explanatory or causal studies only..): seeking to establish a causal relationship, whereby certain conditions are believed to lead to other conditions, as distinguished from spurious relationships, (c) external validity: defining the domain to which a study's findings can be generalised and (d) reliability': demonstrating that the operations of a study – such as the data collection procedures – can be repeated with the same results'. Yin indicated that these four conditions needed to be applied throughout the research process including during the research design stage and during data collection and data analysis.

Yin argued that a research design was a logical plan for getting from 'here' (the questions) to 'there' (the conclusions) and involved a number of steps in order to collect and analyse the relevant data. It was necessary to identify the questions to be asked, the data that was relevant, the data to be collected and how the data would be analysed to give the results and ultimately the conclusions. Yin (2003:21) recommended five elements for research design:

1. A study's questions
2. Its propositions, if any
3. its unit of analysis
4. the logic linking the data to the propositions; and
5. the criteria for interpreting the findings

The study's questions focused on the 'how and 'why' for the research area. It was suggested by Yin (2003) that the examination of existing research literature could be used to begin the process of question formulation with particular emphasis on finding loose ends or new questions within the conclusions. However, as demonstrated in the sport and poverty policy review, the literature around sport, young people and deprivation was limited and so it was necessary to draft the questions without this benefit. The two key 'how' questions for this area of research were as follows:

- How did sport and welfare policy change over the research period? *Examples such as any changes at the national level emanating from a change in Government.*
- How did the projects respond to any changes in sport and welfare policy during this period? *Examples such as how project funding changed as a result of national policy changes.*

The two key 'why' questions were as follows:-

- Why were these three football projects set up with an emphasis on delivering sports programmes for young people living in deprived areas?
- Why did these three football projects respond so differently to changes in sport and welfare policy during the research period?

The proposition of this research was the aim of the study: to provide an analysis of three selected football projects in delivering sports-based programmes for young people living in deprived areas and which were designed to achieve positive social benefits for individuals and their communities.

The unit of analysis was determined by the initial study questions. For this research, the unit of analysis was the football project as it was the role of the three 'selected football projects' in implementing sports programmes with young people in deprived communities that was being examined. The detailed focus for the analysis was sport and welfare policy at both a national and local level as well as project partners.

This research used a multiple case study design rather than a single case study design. As Yin (2009:52) argued, 'evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust'. However, it was also recognised that this approach entailed the need for more resources and could be more time intensive. The main approach was to replicate the design of the case study method for each case being studied.

The number of cases selected was determined by the need for achieving a balance between the workload and resources needed by the researcher and the likelihood of differences within the data. As Miles and Huberman (1994:27) stated, 'qualitative researchers usually work with *small* samples of people, nested in their context and studied in-depth'. It was considered that a minimum of three case studies would be adequate. The reason for this was that it was anticipated that each case study would draw different conclusions about their response to changes in sport and welfare policy but that the case studies would have sufficient similarities to each other such as aims and objectives and funding sources. Miles and Huberman (1994) observed that random sampling was inappropriate for qualitative sampling as it could lead to unintelligible results and the potential for bias. They maintained that qualitative sampling needed to firstly, identify the boundaries of the case study so that it would relate to the research question and secondly, create a frame to facilitate the analysis process. Kuzel (1992) and Patton (1990) identified a range of sampling strategies in qualitative inquiry ranging from 'maximum variation' to 'snowball' to 'criterion' and 'convenience'. The choice of projects was based on a combination of sampling strategies which included 'criterion', 'confirming and disconfirming cases' and

‘stratified purposeful’. A key factor in the selection of the case studies was the presence of similarities at the beginning of the projects’ development and the differences between the projects at the later stages of development so that this would provide the potential to confirm and disconfirm elements within the three projects. The second key factor for selection was the evidence of layers within the project as well as the potential for the projects to be compared.

The third key factor was the use of criteria for selecting the three cases. These criteria were as follows:-

- ***A football-based project***
- ***Delivering a sports programme to young people*** aged from 10 to 18 years
- ***Equity*** to be based in an area of deprivation, and ideally, to include BME groups as well as girls and young women
- ***Range of partners*** preferably with NDC involvement, has both sport and non-sporting partners
- ***Project age of at least 8 to 10 years*** project to have been set up in the early or mid-2000s and which was still running a sports programme

All three case studies used the same structure as a means of ordering the data when it had been collected. The linking of data from the case studies to the research proposition was done in a number of ways including pattern matching for similarities and differences, explanation building, analysis tables, time series analysis and cross case synthesis. It had been anticipated that this research was best suited to cross case synthesis as it supported the analysis of multiple cases and helped to identify the commonalities and irregularities between the cases. This approach gave the opportunity for illuminating the role of the three selected football projects in delivering sports programmes to young people living in areas of deprivation. The need for plausible and fair arguments to ensure the robustness of this approach supported the formulation of explanation and understanding which led to the conclusions of the research.

The need to set criteria for interpreting findings was also seen by Yin (2009) as a key part of the research design process so that the researcher could ensure that these aspects were built into the detail of the research methods. The key criteria were

based around identifying potential rival explanations for the findings of the research so that it could improve the validity of the explanations for the findings. Yin (2009:135) separated these criteria called 'rivals' into the following two areas of 'craft rivals' and 'real-life rivals'. These were developed in table 4.2 with proposals on how they would be addressed within the research design process.

Table 4.2. Addressing rival explanations within the research

Type of 'rival' explanation	***Specific explanation***	***Description or examples***	***How it was addressed in the research design process***
'Craft rivals'	1. The Null hypothesis	The observations are the result of chance circumstances	• A minimum of three cases were studied using the same research designs and chosen using a set of criteria
	2. Threats to validity	History, maturation, testing etc.	• The same research methods were used in all three cases • A set of criteria were used to select the cases • Data about the context of the cases was collected including history and stage of maturation
	3. Investigator bias	Experimenter effect	• The same researcher was used to collect the data. • Data analysis was discussed with other researchers • Data was collected in different ways • Prior awareness of the potential effect of researcher bias on the data
Real-life rivals	4. Direct rival (practice or policy)	An alternative intervention accounts for the results	• The research aimed to identify the most important interventions within the cases such as changes in policy, project management and funding sources.
	5. Commingled rival	Other interventions	• The research aimed to

Type of 'rival' explanation	*Specific explanation*	*Description or examples*	*How it was addressed in the research design process*
		and the target interventions contributed to the results	identify the contribution of all interventions to the results
	6. Implementation rival	The implementation process, not the intervention accounts for the results	• The research aimed to identify both the implementation process and the different interventions
	7. Rival theory	A theory better than the original theory describes it better	• This research aimed to test a theory over at least a ten-year period.
	8. Super rival	A force larger than but including the intervention	• This research aimed to identify a 'super rival' but its main unit of analysis was the role of the football project
	9. Societal rival	Social trends rather than intervention	• Although the influence of societal trends were apparent, the unit of analysis was the football project.

This research utilised multiple streams theory as the policy analysis framework complemented by implementation theory. Multiple streams theory was useful for identifying the elements of 'the problem' stream, 'the policy' stream, and 'the political' stream during the research period and for showing how these streams had changed over time and the effect that this has had on the three case studies. This started to provide an explanatory basis for some of changes to the projects, including changes in their role. Implementation theory was useful for showing how and if the three projects had changed their approach to implementation during the research period and provided insight into the circumstances which facilitated these changes.

The research design was also informed by the sport and poverty policy section. The key policy periods which were relevant for this research study spanned the period of 1997 to 2014 and this period was, accordingly, adopted for this research. The multiple streams policy analysis framework therefore, incorporated a chronological

element which was used to delineate the changes in sport and welfare policy alongside the key changes in the individual football projects.

Values and ethics

It is often considered as desirable that research within science should be conducted free from values, solely based on facts. As May (2006:2) commented, it is often assumed that 'researchers, despite living and participating in the societies that they study, are somehow distinct from the social world which is the object of their investigations'. May (2006:47) argued there is an 'absence of a clear separation between beliefs within society and ideas in science'. Indeed, May (2006) continued by suggesting that the three factors of culture, history and power influenced the research process as they varied over time and according to the geographical place. It is now more commonly accepted that it is not possible to separate research from the researcher's own values. Indeed as Bryman (2008:24) argued there are a number of areas where these values might 'intrude' on the research methodology:-

- Choice of research area
- Formulation of research questions
- Choice of method
- Formulation of research design and data collection techniques
- Implementation of data collection
- Analysis of data
- Interpretation of data
- Conclusions

Bryman (2008:25) advocated the use of self-reflection or 'reflexitivity' in order to avoid the 'untrammelled incursion of values on the research process' and to acknowledge the influence that the researcher's values might have within the process. This consideration was important within this research study as it was based on a qualitative research study involving face to face interviews with a range of interviewees ranging from project staff to project partners. Indeed, it was acknowledged that there was a risk that the researcher's values might have resulted in communicating an underlying sense of injustice whilst interviewing partners if they had not adopted a policy for delivering sport to young people living in deprived areas.

It was clear that this needed to be neutralised so that an open and engaging process could take place with partners otherwise an important element of the research would be absent.

The issue raised by May (2006:52) around the importance of social power within the research process was also pertinent to this research as 'social power is not evenly distributed between groups'. Indeed, it could be argued that in this research, the majority of power was sited with the policy makers and other external organisations and that young people living in deprived organisations had little or no power over the policy-making process for sport within their own communities as already identified in the literature review. However, as May (2006:53) highlighted, 'a frequent criticism of social research was its concentration on less powerful groups'. Indeed, it could be argued that many research studies such as evaluation studies around sport and deprivation have focused on the participants and volunteers but little around the role and the decision-making of the 'elite' within the sport policy-making process.

Research methods

As identified earlier in this chapter it was argued that this research would benefit from qualitative rather than quantitative methods. This section will therefore focus on the analysis of a number of qualitative methods and their suitability for this study. The methods needed to be selected on the basis of the research questions to be asked and arguably on the sources of data which were available.

It is acknowledged that the use of interviews as a method can be very powerful. Indeed, May (2006:120) described them as being able to 'yield rich insights into people's biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings'. However, the right type of interview method needed to be chosen in order to achieve this and the interviews needed to be conducted in the right way by the researcher. There are four different types of interview: the structured interview, the semi-structured interview, the unstructured interview and the group interview. It was important to recognise that these four different types of interview were situated on different parts of the 'quantitative – qualitative dimension' and have different strengths and weaknesses for social research.

The structured interview

The structured interview uses a questionnaire to collect the data. Interviewees are asked the same questions which are usually specific and often offer a fixed range of answers (closed questions) with no or little opportunity for making comments or giving personal views. The advantage of this type of interview is that each interviewee is asked the same question in the same standard way so that any differences will be 'real' rather than as a result of the interview situation (May 2006). It is also easier to ensure neutrality as well as consistency if a number of interviewers are being used to conduct the interviews. It is also easier to check the validity of the results by asking the interviewees for the same information but using different wording at a different point of the interview. This type of interview also means that the interviewer does not prompt, provide a personal view, interpret the questions or improvises (Fontana 1994). This method permits comparability between the responses and can be seen as statistically representative if the number and profile of people within the sample are representative. However, this type of interview has its limitations: the wording of the questions may be misunderstood or too imprecise, the profile of the interviewer needs to be similar to the profile of the interviewees in order to be accepted, the questionnaires need to be piloted, the interviews need to be well-trained and the potential to collect indepth data may be limited. It was considered that this type of interview would have been unsuitable for this research as it would not have provided the opportunity for 'open' questioning which needed to be tailored to individual agencies and nor did it give the opportunity to explore the responses in more depth.

The unstructured interview.

This is a much more open method where the interviewer gives the interviewee a particular subject area for the interview without any present questions. The advantage of this method is that it allows the interviewee to talk about the subject area on their own terms from their own perspective and this in turn has the potential to challenge some of the researcher's preconceptions (May 2006). This is also useful for collecting reflections about social change that is taking place and also the impact of feelings, personal meanings and how relationships change within the subject area. It was considered that this method was too unstructured for this research as there

needed to be some level of consistency in the areas explored with the football projects in particular so that there was the opportunity to compare and contrast their roles in delivering sport to young people in disadvantaged areas and the potential for identifying the factors that had determined their individual approaches.

***Group and focus interviews*.**

A typical group interview constitutes eight to twelve people discussing a broad topic whilst being guided by a group interviewer, giving comments and discussing the topic. A focus group is run on a similar basis but the group members are encouraged specifically to talk to each other about a specific topic. The main observation about this method is that there is a significant amount of social interaction taking place which may change the initial views of the group members. As Bryman (2008:475) highlighted, 'individuals will often argue with each other and challenge each other's views… ending up with more realistic accounts of what people think, because they are forced to think about and possibly revise their views'. It is moreover likely that the views of individuals as group members may not match up with their views during an individual interview as a result of this social interaction but as May (2006:126) argues, 'it does not follow that one result should be regarded as simply 'true' and another 'false'. It was considered that this approach would have been unlikely to provide sufficient useful information about the individual roles and approaches of football projects within this area of research.

The semi-structured interview

The questions for this type of interview are specified and sometimes include standard questions such as the demographic profile of the interviewee but there is the flexibility for the interviewer to probe and ask for further information, often to clarify and elucidate. As May (2006) identified, this allows people to answer questions on their own terms but it still gives the researcher the ability to provide a structure for comparability of responses. As May (2006:123) also stated, this type of interview is often useful, 'If a researcher has a specific focus for their interviews within a range of other methods employed in their study'. It is acknowledged that the context of the research is paramount to the success of this method and that the researcher may be the best person to conduct the interview so that the relevant areas are probed. It was considered that this type of interview was the preferred

method for this research as it provided a level of consistency about the areas to be explored within the interview whilst still offering flexibility and the opportunity to explore other areas which might emerge at the same time. Bryman (2008) recommended that interviews should be recorded and transcribed for a number of reasons including a more thorough examination of the interviewee's answers, correcting the limitations of our memory and the gloss that might be put on the answers, available for scrutiny by others, helping to counter accusations of bias and allowing the data to be used in other ways.

Questionnaires

As May (2006) identified, surveys are one of the most popular forms of social research for a number of reasons: can be carried out quickly, relatively cheap, can collect large amounts of data, can collect characteristics or opinions of a population. Akroyd and Hughes (1983) identified four characteristics for surveys: factual, attitudinal, social psychological and explanatory. Surveys according to May (2006) were often seen as positivist in origin as they all begin with a theoretical assumption or even a 'hunch' that is to be tested by the survey and which will result in a hypothesis. Surveys are often used to show causal relationships but as May (2006:91) argued they can 'only show the strength of statistical association between variables' and this can only happen if the answers can be categorised and quantified. Survey research is carried out rigorously with the aim to remove bias using approaches such as standardisation leading to a structured format, replicability, reliability, validity and representativeness. There are three main different forms of questionnaires that could be considered.

Firstly, the self-completion questionnaire which can be completed either online, a paper copy sent by post or a paper or electronic copy in person at a particular location or event. This form can provide anonymity of responses and rule out bias from the interviewer but relies on potential respondents having either an interest in the subject area or an incentive in order to achieve adequate response rates. However, it could be argued that this methodology might not achieve a representative response as it may omit responses from people who are not interested and the researcher has no control over how the questions are interpreted and there are no opportunities for probing beyond the answer.

Secondly, the telephone survey which has often been considered to be relatively cheap and easy to carry out with the added advantage of easy monitoring of telephone interviewers if they work from a central base (May 2006). It was not considered that a standard telephone survey would have been appropriate for this research. However, it might have been necessary to carry out semi-structured interviews over the phone with project managers or partners involved in the football projects if it had not been possible to arrange face to face interviews with the appropriate people.

Thirdly, face to face interviews have the advantage, according to May (2006), that interviewers can record the context of the interview and the non-verbal gestures and this has the potential to influence the quality of the data collected. This method has a high response rate in comparison with other survey methods, has a higher control of the interview situation and may result in more detailed, quality information but it can be high cost as a result of the length of the interview and the ratio of one interviewer to one interview response.

The researcher used face to face semi-structured interviews for this study including interviews with coaches and volunteers at sport programmes. The researcher was casually dressed and arrived at the session to meet the coaches and volunteers beforehand in order to interview them before the session started. The researcher also collected background information on the session in order to provide a context for the data analysis for the research. This included background information such as the location and setting, general profile of young people at the session and how the session was run.

Documentary research

As Bryman (2008) suggested, documents as a source of data can be used as a good form of qualitative research as they have not been produced specifically for the purpose of research and can therefore be classed as non-reactive. Forms of documents can include; personal documents, photos, public and private documents, internet resources, mass media. As Scott (1990) emphasised, it is vital to have a set of criteria to evaluate this documentary data and recommends the following four criteria:-

- *Authenticity.* Is the evidence genuine and of unquestionable origin?
- *Credibility*. Is the evidence free from error and distortion?
- *Representativeness*. Is the evidence typical of its kind and, if not, is the extent of its typicality known?
- *Meaning*. Is the evidence clear and comprehensible?

The most relevant form of documentary data for this research were official documents deriving from the football projects themselves, monitoring and evaluation reports and policy documents from NDCs, Sport England, and NGBs. These forms of documentation had the potential to provide good evidence about the aims of their policies and the targets that were driving the programmes on the ground. They could also have proved to be an effective way of tracking the influence of government agencies on the work of the selected football projects. However, these documents were only likely to be the official final document – they were unlikely to show the verbal and written negotiations which had taken place during the whole policy process. Indeed, as Bryman (2008:527) suggested, 'Disagreements may be suppressed and actions to be taken may reflect a desire to demonstrate that important issues are to be addressed rather because of a genuine desire for acting on them.' It was therefore important to ensure that the evidence from these documents was supplemented by evidence gathered about the whole policy process from the interviews.

Selection of interviewees for the data collection

The selection of interviewees was seen by Miles and Hubermann (1994) as dependant on the nature of the research question. They maintained that 'choices of informants, episodes and interactions are being driven by a conceptual question, not by a concern for 'representativeness'(Miles and Hubermann 1994: 29). They also reflected on the need to build in the capacity for a 'rolling' process as interviewees and documentary evidence would unearth new potential interviewees that would provide depth to the research study. Interviewees were seen as the primary data sources for this research and were selected for this research using the following three sets of criteria:-

1. Involvement in the delivery of the three selected football projects in areas of disadvantage**.** Previous and current project staff, coaches and volunteers with direct involvement in the projects, preferably on a medium to longer term basis.

2. Involvement in the projects as the host agency**.** Representatives of the host agencies with previous or current responsibility for these projects.

3. Involvement in the projects as partners**.** Past or current partners employed at a senior level.

It was accepted that the selection of interviewees had resulted in a limited sample size which reflected the qualitative nature of this research. This 'ideographic' approach helped to maintain the individuality of these interviewees in the case study analysis and was pivotal for the identification of the role of 'agency' in project implementation in the case studies. Sparkes and Smith (2014:16) confirmed that this approach was 'used to better understand how events, actions and meanings are shaped by the unique circumstances in which they occur'.

The research methods deployed within each case study are set out in table 4.3.

Table 4.3. Research methods for the case studies

INTERVIEWEE ROLES	***TYPE OF METHOD TO BE USED***
Project staff including the project manager, coaches and volunteers	• Project documentation to be examined • Semi-structured interviews (all in person)
Representative of the host agencies	• Semi-structured interviews (in person or phone) • Host agency documents to be examined • Project documents to be examined
Representatives of project partners	• Semi structured, face to face interviews • Documents to be examined

Analysis of the research data

As Yin (2009:127) stated, 'The analysis of case study research is one of the least developed and most difficult aspects of doing case studies'. Yin suggested a number

of tools to assist the data analysis such as computer assisted tools which help with the coding of data and the occurrence of specific words or combinations of codes. These tools could be helpful if the data collection consisted of verbatim transcripts and large amounts of data which make it difficult to analyse on paper. However, the use of these tools would have meant that all the data would need to be transferred into word documents so that they could be coded but even in this case, these tools would not carry out the actual analysis.

The data, therefore, remained in its original form and a combination of pattern identification alongside the development of full explanations and descriptions of the case study was used to start to shed light on what had been happening in the case studies. Yin (2009:129) proposed that a number of analytical manipulations should be used to start to put the data into an order ready for further analysis. It was considered that this approach did fit the methodology for this research and the specific manipulations which were used are as follows:-

- Putting information into different arrays
- Making a matrix of categories and placing the evidence within such categories
- Creating data displays for examining the data
- Tabulating the frequency of events
- Putting information into chronological order

Yin (2009) proposed that case study analysis should have a strategy to ensure that the complexity of the data analysis does not impede the clarity essential for drawing conclusions. The four general strategies put forward for consideration were firstly, ‘relying on theoretical propositions’ which focus on the aims and objectives of the case study, secondly, ‘developing a case description’ which is often useful if the research has been carried out without a clear proposition or which could be used to identify causal links, thirdly, ‘using both qualitative and qualitative data’ which can provide a robust strategy but may involve mastering statistical techniques which might not add value to the findings and lastly, ‘examining rival explanations’, complementing the previous three strategies and providing confidence in the findings.

A combination of three of the four above strategies was used for the data analysis of this research as shown in table 4.4 below:

Table 4.4. Analysis strategy for the research data

Analysis strategy for the case study	***Justification***	***Significance for the data collection***
1. Theoretical proposition	Ensures that the original aims and objectives of the case study are considered.	Ensures that data for the 'why' and 'how' questions are collected.
2. Developing a case description	Useful tool for organising the data analysis. Useful for exploring causal links	Places a requirement for gaining as full a picture about the case as possible. Need to ensure that this does not lead to the collection of 'unnecessary' data or so much data that it becomes unmanageable.
3. Rival explanations	Consideration of a range of explanations for the phenomena. Builds confidence in the findings.	Already identified in Table 4.2

The individual case studies based on the three strategies identified above used explanation building and simple time series analysis as the two main analysis techniques. The technique of explanation building benefited from pattern matching which was favoured for the analysis of these case studies as it also gave the opportunity for re-examining the proposition for the research and examining the findings again in the light of any revisions. The use of simple time series analysis enabled changes over time to be traced for the whole policy process within individual case studies.

The main analytical technique that was used for the research analysis was an adapted version of Cross-Case synthesis (Yin: 2009). This technique was selected specifically because of its ability to analyse the three proposed case studies in this research and to compare and contrast the findings in order to draw conclusions about the differing roles of the selected football projects within this research. It was

used to develop tables based on categories such as significant words, patterns and themes, processes and outcomes from the individual case studies in order to carry out a 'compare, contrast and match' exercise between them. It also made use of a time series analysis approach to specifically identify key points in the projects' development and key policy changes in order to be able to compare and contrast what happened at these key points within all three case studies.

Validity and reliability

Hammersley (1990: 57) defined validity as 'the truth interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers' and reliability (Hammersley: 1992:67) as 'the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions'. Silverman (2000:176) observed that these two areas were of concern to qualitative researchers but argued that this was an area of concern for all types of research as even 'quantitative researchers have no 'golden key' to validity'. The main challenge for qualitative researchers wasto avoid a reliance on 'anecdotal' evidence as this may be especially tempting when researching social phenomena.

May (2006) emphasised the need for reliability and validity within the research techniques and described reliability as the ability to get the same results from the same measurement on separate occasions and validity as the measurement of what the techniques intended to measure. Bryman (2008) built on these concepts and separated them into external and internal reliability and internal and external validity. Bryman (2008:376) acknowledged that it was difficult to achieve *external reliability* within qualitative research as 'it is impossible to 'freeze' a social setting and the circumstances of an initial study to make it replicable'. This was seen as a key issue for this research. Many factors external to the control of researcher could have been responsible for changing the implementation of a sports programme such as a change in the project staff running the programme and a change in the levels or sources of funding. These all had the potential to affect the levels of success of a sports programme and to result in operational changes to the sessions such as ending the programme, adapting it or extending it. Bryman suggested that subsequent researchers should adopt similar research strategies so that at least the research can be comparable. *Internal reliability* is seen as the agreement between

observers and the research team. This research was carried out using only one researcher and so it was important to follow the approach of the rival theory table 3.2 addressing the potential threats to validity and investigator bias. Bryman (2008:376) described *internal validity* as a 'good match between researchers' observations and the theoretical observations they develop'. This was addressed by the use of a combined approach to research strategies for the analysis of the case studies as proposed earlier in this chapter. Bryman did acknowledge that *external validity* can still be problematic for qualitative research as a result of the small number of case studies or sampling. This research used a set of criteria and strategies for selecting case studies, selecting which data to collect and how to analyse in order to attempt to mitigate these concerns.

Interview Schedule

The topics for the interviews for this research were based upon the key areas of the policy process identified during both the literature review and the sport and poverty policy review chapters. These topics also formed the basis of the sub themes for the presentation of the results within the case studies. The topics are identified below in table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Interview topics for the research study

TOPIC AREA	***JUSTIFICATION***	***TYPE OF INTERVIEWEES***
1. Rationale for the football projects	• To identify the aims and objectives for delivering sports programmes to young people in disadvantaged areas • To demonstrate if and how the project aims and objectives have changed over the research period • To show the links between the project and sport and regeneration policy	• Project manager, coaches and volunteers • Representatives of the host agencies • Project partners
2. Partnerships	• To identify the role of past and present project partners • To identify past and current links between the selected projects and national or local policy • To identify past and present project funding sources	• Project manager, coaches and volunteers • Representatives of the host agencies • Project partners
3. The recruitment of	• To identify the rationale and role of the project	• Project manager,

TOPIC AREA	JUSTIFICATION	TYPE OF INTERVIEWEES
young people for the sports programmes	• To identify the means of project implementation	coaches and volunteers • Project partners
4. The planning for programme evaluation	• To identify whether the project has met its aims and objectives • To provide information on the delivery of the project during the research period, especially funding sources and partnerships	• Project manager, coaches and volunteers • Representatives of the host agencies • Project partners
5. The planning for the future of the programme	• To establish if the rationale for the project is important for the future. • To identify partners and funding sources for the future	• Project manager, coaches and volunteers • Representatives of the host agencies • Project partners

The first interviews were carried out with project staff to gain an overview of the projects and to identify the importance and availability of further interviewees including project partners and representatives of the host agencies. The interviews then continued with the need to adopt a flexible approach to the interview questions as a result of the responses from previous interviews and as more documentary evidence information became available. An example of the interview questions and an extract from an interview transcript can be found in the Appendix.

Reflections on the research process

Aston Football Project

The identification of potential interviewees for the Aston Football project was straightforward as the researcher had visited the project in the preceding years as part of a different research study focusing on the development of young volunteers. The three project co-ordinators who had been involved in this project during the research period, were already known to the researcher, proving to be beneficial for the research process. The researcher also used the interview process as an opportunity to ask the interviewees whether there were other organisations or

individuals with knowledge of the project who could also be interviewed as part of the research.

Kendall, the first project coordinator, was unable to be part of the research process as he was seriously ill. However, the researcher was able to use an interview which had been carried out with him twelve months earlier as part of a different research project which had described the setting up of the project. Kendall's sense of passion and commitment to working with young people in deprived communities was a key characteristic of this case study's project co-ordinators. This was reflected in the Matt Kendall Foundation which was set up when Kendall passed away in May 2015 with the aim of supporting young people living in deprived communities in Birmingham.

Juned was the most informative interviewee for this case study as he had been involved in the capacity as both a paid project coordinator and a volunteer throughout the research period. Juned's interview took place at the Birmingham FA's office and was relaxed, feeling more like a conversation than an interview. Juned was clearly passionate about the project and enjoyed talking about its history and his role. He provided the research with rich data and enabled the researcher to put together the timeline for the development of the project. Juned's interview covered two different roles within the project. The first part of the interview covered his role as the project co-ordinator at the project and the latter part of the interview covered his role as the Birmingham FA's county development officer. Juned's loyalty to the project was very apparent, especially as his experience at the project had developed the skills and knowledge required for his role at the Birmingham FA and it had also given him credibility with partners in his new FA role. Juned had an extensive network of contacts in Birmingham but had been unable to provide contact details for any other potential interviewees and partners outside the project as so many staff had left their original organisations after Aston NDC had been wound down in 2009/10. The research process would have benefited in particular from interviews with former employees of Aston NDC. Juned reported that initially some of these employees had been retained by Birmingham City Council but that there had been so many reorganisations and redundancies since then that he was not able to identify any former NDC employees. The researcher had also used the internet to search for Aston NDC documents which could be used to identify the names of NDC

staff who had been involved in the case study but this had not brought forward any new potential interviewees.

The interview with Zikel, the third project coordinator, took place at one of the Saturday morning sessions as he was studying and working during the week. The researcher had visited the session a number of times before as part of a different research project and was already familiar with the setting on Aston Park. The interview with Zikel had to be paused on a number of occasions so that he could help the coaches to set up the session. However, the researcher had experience of conducting interviews in this kind of setting and viewed this as part of the need to be flexible and adapt to different situations. Zikel was able to talk about his role and view of the project, providing the case study with rich data, in particular about the planning for the future of the project. It did, however, make the researcher feel uncomfortable at different points of the interview as he clearly had different views and priorities for the project in contrast with Juned. The researcher did not raise this with Zikel or with Juned as she was concerned that this might have a negative impact on Zikel's and Juned's relationship in the future. The researcher carried out the interviews with the project's volunteer coaches at the same session, gaining different levels of insight from the coaches, often determined by how long they had been involved in the project. This was also uncomfortable and frustrating at times for the researcher as there was a clear mismatch between Zikel's view of the priorities for the project and the view of the volunteer coaches. The researcher benefited from having visited the project in previous years when the session had been very successful with large numbers of participants and from visiting the session again as part of the research process when the session was struggling to attract more than a handful of participants. This created extra impetus for the researcher to use this process to explain the changes that had taken place during the research period, whilst also needing to refrain from showing her disappointment at the apparent crisis that was facing the project.

The researcher was aware of the need for self-reflection during the research process. Finlay and Gough (2003:ix) summarised the need for reflexivity to be a 'critical self-reflection of the ways in which researchers' social background, assumptions, positioning and behaviour impact on the research process'. The researcher was aware of her own profile as white, middle-class and female

conducting the research in a deprived and mainly predominantly Asian community and at a mainly male football session. Finlay and Gough (2003:21) argued that researchers needed to be aware of being 'positioned in different power relations that are connected to broader social structures' and that 'research participants are variously located within relationships of power *outside* of the immediate interviewing context.' The researcher was conscious of these issues around power relationships during the interviewing process and was able to draw upon her own experience of working for five years in a deprived area and from her experience in conducting research interviews in deprived communities over an additional six year period. In addition to this, the researcher had benefited from having already established a working relationship with Zikel from previous research interviews and asked Zikel to introduce her to the volunteer coaches so that they would feel more at ease with her. The project coaches were comfortable whilst being interviewed and spoke openly about both their passion for the session as well as their frustrations at the low numbers and the impact on their experience as a coach and volunteer. This demonstrated that the researcher's approach to the interview process had not been affected by the potential power imbalance between the external researcher and the project staff.

The last interview that was carried out for this case study was with Stuart Felce who had been Matt Kendall's line manager when the project was hosted by Birmingham City Council. This involvement had emerged by chance at a national StreetGames conference even though the researcher had known Felce in a professional capacity for over eight years. Neither Kendall's nor Juned's interview notes referred to Felce's involvement and it had not been previously clear that Birmingham City Council had been the project's host agency and employer for the first three years. The absence of this reference was significant for demonstrating the project staff's view of Birmimgham City Council as solely an employer and budget holder with no involvement in project development or delivery.

The researcher attempted to find documentary evidence but this was very challenging and resulted in a limited number of documents available for the case study. The researcher was able to use local and national media websites to provide important contextual data for the case study around gang crime and its effect on the Aston community. The researcher asked both Juned and Zikel as project

coordinators if they still had any previous funding bids, evaluation reports, NDC documents but neither were able to supply any documents. Juned suggested that Kendall might have retained some of the project's original bid documents but the researcher felt that it was not the right time to contact Kendall about the project. The website for Aston NDC had been closed down and there were very few Aston NDC documents available on the internet despite extensive internet searches which was disappointing for the researcher.

The researcher felt that that the research process had gone well, taking into consideration that it was trying to capture data from the early 2000s. The closing down of Aston NDC and restructuring of Birmingham City Council had meant that there was less documentary evidence and fewer partners to interview. However, the interviews that had been carried out proved to be illuminating and provided good quality data for the case study.

Braunstone Football project

The identification of potential interviewees for the Braunstone Football project had been straightforward as the researcher had been working in Braunstone when the project had been first set up. Unfortunately, the first four project coordinators had left the project, were no longer employed by NACRO, had left the local area and so it had not been able to contact them. However, the researcher was able to conduct interviews with the most recent project managers and the partners who had remained in the area. The researcher did use the interview process as an opportunity to ask the interviewees whether there were other organisations or individuals with knowledge of the project who could also be interviewed as part of the research but this did not provide any new interviewees for similar reasons to the Aston football project. These reasons included the withdrawal of partners from the local area, reorganisations in both NACRO and local agencies as well as individuals moving out of the area to progress their own careers.

The interview with Melling, the project manager from Community Plus, the community enterprise organisation that had taken over the project in 2012/13, was the most informative interview for this case study. Melling had been associated with this project throughout the research period in his role as a project mentor with the Fit and Active Braunstone project. Both projects had worked on joint funding bids for

projects such as junior Calorie Killers and had been based in the same office until the Braunstone Football Project had relocated to Leicester City centre. The interview with the Community Plus project manager took place outside the Braunstone Grove Youth House beside the MUGA during one of the project's session. The interview went well and was very relaxed, providing the researcher with insight into the project's history as well as the current and future plans for the project. At the same time, the researcher had interviewed both the project head coach and assistant coach. The interview with the head coach had been very productive as the researcher had also known him since the project had been set up and had worked with him on an additional project locally. This had created a level of trust between the interviewee and the researcher which had enabled the head coach to talk openly about the issues faced by the project in the middle stages when NACRO was starting to lose interest in the project and the delivery of the sessions had become sporadic. The head coach's involvement in the project since the beginning of its development meant that he had been able to relate the content of the delivery of the sessions to the rationale of the project. This long term involvement had also meant that he had been able to observe the impact of the project on the participants even though this was not the aim of this research. He did, however, confirm that the prevention of ASB was still a local issue and a valid project aim, illustrated by the theft of sports equipment from his own van by one of the participants.

The researcher had considered her own profile as a white middle class woman in Braunstone, a mainly white working class area, whilst conducting interviews at a project session which was overwhelmingly male. The researcher's previous experience in talking to male teenagers at football projects in deprived areas and her familiarity with Braunstone had meant that she felt 'at home' and very comfortable and relaxed. The interviews with the project staff at the session meant that the researcher was accepted at the session by the male teenagers taking part in the session and also by those hanging around who were curious and had asked if they could be interviewed. The researcher would have liked to interview the young people formally as part of the project about their experience of living in the community and taking part in the project but had to recognise that this would have been more appropriate for a different study with a focus on impact and evaluation rather than

the analysis of policy. However, the informal conversations did serve to confirm the project staff's view that the project's rationale of dealing with ASB was still relevant.

The researcher's interviews with the project partners all took place, face to face, in their own office settings to ensure that they felt comfortable and to minimise the inconvenience to their own working schedules. The interview with Davis from B-Activ was conducted in Braunstone and helped to fill the gaps in the project's history. This was especially helpful for illuminating the changes in partnership working with the project after NACRO brought in two external project coordinators. The researcher could perceive Davis' disappointment and frustration about the changes that had taken place during this period of the project as this had heralded the end of partnership working with this project. This had highlighted the disconnection between NACRO as the host agency and this local project with no access for partners to be able to voice their concerns. However, the researcher had not expected Davis to hold the view that ASB was no longer an issue for Braunstone and that this particular problem had been solved. Moreover, this position had been brought into question by the later interviews with the project's project manager and coaches and the analysis of documentary evidence. However, the researcher did wonder whether this position might have been adopted by Davis in response to changes in national funding streams so that she could continue to make funding applications to support B-Activ's work in Braunstone and the city. The researcher's interview with Longdon, the FA's development manager did provide the case study with useful data for the later stages of the project which was able to explain the reason for the FA's support of the project at this stage of the project development. However, Leicestershire FA had also experienced a turnover in staff over the lifetime of the project including Longdon who had only recently come into post. Longdon was unfortunately unable to provide any explanation for the FA's previous minimal support for the project especially at the beginning of the project development.

The researcher had attempted to find documentary evidence but this had again been very challenging and had resulted in a limited number of documents available for the case study especially relating to the early and middle stages of the project. The project managers of Community Plus had provided the researcher with the funding bids and monitoring reports for the later stage of the project which had helped to confirm its rationale at that point. The researcher had been able to use local

websites to provide limited data for the case study around funding bids and some partnership working with other projects. However, as the website for the Braunstone Community Association had been closed down, there were very few NDC documents available on the internet despite extensive internet searches which was disappointing for the researcher. The researcher had also searched on NACRO's website for references to this project but had been unable to find any traces of the project, confirmation that NACRO had, indeed, moved on from this area of work.

The researcher felt that that the research process had gone well, taking into consideration that it was trying to capture data from the early 2000s. The closing down of Braunstone Community Association and NACRO's shift away from this area of work had meant that there was less documentary evidence and fewer partners to interview. However, the interviews that had been carried out proved to be illuminating and provided good quality data for the case study.

The Derby Hat Trick project

The identification of potential interviewees for the Derby Hat Trick project had been straightforward as the original project staff had still been employed by the Derby County Community Trust. The researcher's interviews with Astle and Carnall, provided the case study with rich historical data which explained how the project was able to adapt to changes in the national policy stream as well as continuing to link to the local policy stream. The interviews also illuminated the level of agency in this project, providing further explanation for the project's ability to both survive and thrive in this politically changing environment. Both these interviews were conducted in the interviewees' own offices and not in the community as the project's sessions had been integrated into the Trust's own community session and had not retained the project's identity as the Hat Trick project. The interview with Harper, Derbyshire FA's county development officer, was also conducted at her own office, adding the extra dimension of highlighting the geographical relationship between the County FA and the Derby County Community Trust. This geographical proximity had helped to sustain a strong working relationship with the project at all levels of the County FA. This interview had demonstrated both the shared vision and passion for the project by Harper as well as a level of respect and trust from this partnership which had not been found in the other two case studies.

The researcher had attempted to find documentary evidence but this had again been very challenging even though there had been continuity of project staff throughout all the stages of the project. The researcher had asked the project staff to send any previous project reports or documents and had sent a further email request. However, no documents had been sent to the researcher. The researcher had been grateful for the time given by the project staff for the face to face interview and felt that it would have been inappropriate to continue asking the project staff to send project documents. The researcher had undertaken extensive internet searches and had been able to find some references to the project on local media websites which had been used to supplement the data in the case study. However, there had been no evidence of any project reports on either local or national websites.

The researcher felt that the research process had gone well, taking into consideration that it was trying to capture data from the early 2000s. The interviews that had been carried out had proved to be illuminating and had provided good quality data for the case study. The continuity of project staff had meant that it had been able to provide this case study with more detail and more explanations for the project's adaptability to the changing environment over a ten year period.

Summary of reflections

The process of data collection was always going to be challenging for the development of case studies for projects which had been set up over ten years ago. The lack of accountability to senior management and a reliance on staff employed on precarious contracts in two out of the three projects contributed to the lack of access to project reports and funding bids, that is if they did even exist. There had, fortunately, been some level of continuity in project staff or partners involved in all three projects. This had enabled the researcher to build a picture of each project's historical development and to identify key points in the projects' development such as changes in project staff or funding levels. The researcher acknowledged that each case study had gaps in its data but would argue that this did not prevent the robust analysis of each case study. This lack of documentary data was counteracted by the strength of the interview data which served to illuminate the strengths and weaknesses around all areas of the projects' development. The researcher had been struck by the level of passion and commitment to all three projects. This had been a

contributing factor to the success of the research process as project staff and partners had been forthcoming about both the successes and challenges of the projects. The use of the semi-structured interview had been a key tool for the research process, benefiting from the depth of response. Sparkes and Smith (2014:84), described the benefits of this technique as giving the research participant the opportunity to 'reveal much more about the meanings they attach to their experiences, thereby providing the interviewer with deeper knowledge about them that could be gleaned from a structured interview'.

The researcher's decision to hold interviews with project staff during sessions at two out of the three projects had been beneficial as it had provided the researcher with additional information important for the case study analysis such as the geographical context and a 'feel' for the project. This decision had also enabled interviews to be conducted with project staff who were volunteers or sessional coaches. The researcher recognised that it would have been difficult to arrange interviews with these project staff outside the session due to their other personal and professional commitments. The location of these interviews also meant that project staff were able to consider their responses in the context of the sessions taking place. This was particularly important for sports coaches and volunteers who might have been new to the project or who were only involved in the project for one or two hours a week such as those involved in the Aston football project.

The researcher had been aware of her own profile as a white, middle class female researcher but this had not proved to be a disadvantage as it had been mitigated by her previous experience of interviewing project staff, partners and young people in similar projects. This meant that the interviews had been conducted in a confident, relaxed and comfortable manner. The researcher's previous contact with staff in all three projects had opened 'gates' into the projects and facilitated the access to other interviewees at different levels of the projects. As Holloway (1997) argued, 'gatekeepers' are individuals or groups who control information and can enable formal or informal entry and access to the setting and to the participants.

The researcher was aware of the issue of bias especially as she had previously worked in Braunstone, one of the project areas and had spent over fourteen years working in a range of deprived areas, often with a focus on football. Sparkes and

Smith (2014:181) argued that researchers needed to be able to identify their own bias but that it was important to accept that 'good bias' was unavoidable to some extent but that it should not subvert the researcher's interpretation of the data. The researcher, therefore, spent time discussing the interviews with colleagues in their role as 'critical friends' as well as examining her own feelings and reactions as they changed during the analysis process. The use of the policy analysis tables in the individual case studies had helped the researcher to avoid bias as they had provided explanations for the views and actions of some of the project staff which had initially seemed to be in conflict with the needs of the project. An example of this change is the researcher's view of Zikel's role as project coordinator for the Aston football project. The initial view was that he had been neglecting the existing football session because he had wanted to change his focus on setting up a new session in a different area. However, the analysis of the data for the case study showed that the project had been 'abandoned' by its original host agency and local partners at a time when the national and local funding streams had changed. Zikel had had to spend his own free time trying to find small pots of funding from any source with no external support whilst finishing his University course and starting a new job. This had left him with very little time as a volunteer to focus on the session itself as his priority had been to find funding for the hire of the facility so that it could still run on a weekly basis. It had also been clear that it was easier for Zikel to find funding for the development of new sessions rather than existing sessions. This had helped the researcher to understand the complexity facing the project staff and to value the analysis process which had offered alternative explanations to the challenges around project implementation and 'agency'.

However, the researcher had been disappointed with the lack of project information on both local and national websites. It had been assumed that the websites of the local NDCs would still remain in some form so that historical reports could still be accessed. However, any historical reports that had been found had come from either a local authority or a University website that had carried out national evaluation work on the national NDC programme. It had also emerged that none of the Braunstone football project reports had been saved when the NDC had closed down and the project staff had left. This process indicated that research studies that attempt to take a similar historical approach to the development of local case studies will most

likely need to rely on good quality interviews with project staff and partners rather than on web-based documentary evidence.

The use of the case study worked well for this research and ‘allowed for indepth-exploration of a variety of situations and issues’ (Stake: 1995: 483). The capacity for the case study to ‘include unexpected occurrences, unique and innovative interventions, unusual circumstances or typical experiences that illustrate important principles of consultation’ (Stake: 1995:483) had benefited the analysis process as the complexities involved in the case studies could be identified and causality assigned to changes in the national or local policy stream as well as to levels of agency within individual projects. The format of the case study also allowed the research data to have ‘dependability’ (Guba and Lincoln:1989) as a result of the audit trail from the interview transcripts into the different sections of the case study, the inputting of the research data that has been conducted on a logical basis and the traceability and documentation of the data. The use of the multiple case study research design (Yin 2009) was an essential element of the research process. It facilitated the identification of similarities and differences between the three football projects which successfully provided rich insight into the way that they were individually able to respond to changes in policy at both a national and local level.

CHAPTER FIVE
CASE STUDY NO. 1: ASTON FOOTBALL DEVELOPMENT CENTRE PROJECT

This chapter is the first of three case studies which explored the role of football organisations in delivering sports programmes to young people living in deprived areas. These case studies were organised around the six areas identified below:

1. The rationale for running the sports programme
2. Partnerships and funding
3. The recruitment of young people for the sports programme
4. The planning for programme evaluation
5. The planning for the future of the programme
6. Conclusion

These three case studies have been underpinned by the following two cross-cutting themes: firstly, the role and significance of local and national football organisations and secondly, the focus on disadvantaged young people. The data collected within the case studies has been analysed by the use of the following two policy analysis frameworks; multiple streams framework (MSF); policy implementation theory. This analysis has been integrated into the case studies through the use of tables.

Policy analysis of the Aston Football Development Centre Project

The chronological lifespan for this case study has covered a period which has witnessed significant political change. The multiple streams framework (MSF) developed by Kingdon (1984) was selected as one of the means of policy analysis so that the impact of political change on sports programmes for young people living in deprived areas could be illuminated. The tables in this case study have therefore, been divided into Kingdon's three streams; the problem stream, the policy stream and the political stream at both the national and local level. The chronological lifespan of the project has been divided into four main time periods; the start of the project, the middle years of the project, the later years of the project and the project at the time of the research in late 2013. The start of the project covers the first 12-18 months including the confirmation of the funding streams, appointment of project staff and the commencement of project activities. The middle years of the project

cover a period of stability until the NDC started to wind up and interest in the project started to wane. The later years of the project cover a period of change and instability and the project at the time of the research shows the most recent changes to the project. These tables have been used to show how the changes in these three streams have affected the project over its lifetime in terms of its rationale, partnerships and funding sources.

This case study has also utilised policy implementation theory (Hogwood and Gunn: 1984; Lipsky: 1980) as the second means of policy analysis to show how project implementation was affected by the changes in Kingdon's three streams. The summary table for the project's approach to top-down and bottom-up implementation, located in the conclusion of the chapter, has therefore been divided into two time periods; the start and middle years of the project and the later years of the project and at the time of the research.

Background to Aston

This case study was located in Aston in the north of Birmingham. In 2001, Aston as a ward had a population of 27,917 living in 9,939 households. The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) for 2001 confirmed that Aston was the 27th most deprived ward in England with a score of 75.96. This was highlighted by the results of the 2001 population census (ONS 2011) that showed that this level of deprivation was evident in all aspects of the population's demographics as follows:

- 44% of households with dependent children had no employed adult compared to a national average of 16.4%, demonstrating the low income and child poverty experienced by these households.
- 22% of households met the criteria for 'household deprivation circumstances' compared to the 9.8% national average.
- 57% of households had no car compared to a national average of 26.8%.
- 37% of households were owner occupiers compared to a national average of 68.7% demonstrating the reliance on renting their properties from the local authority, housing associations or private landlords.
- 29% of the working population was on benefit/ unemployed compared to a national average of 11.1.% with serious implications for levels of income and poverty rates.

- 21% of the working population was working in ‘elementary occupations’ compared to the national average of 11.1% demonstrating the low skill base.
- 20.9% of the population had a limiting long term illness.
- 41% of the working population had no qualifications compared to the national average, demonstrating the challenges for this sector of the population to find well-paid skilled employment.

However, the Aston NDC area constituted a much smaller area within Aston as a ward and covered a population of 17,300 living in 5,900 households. The statistics produced by Aston Pride in its bid for New Deal for Communities funding showed that this area covered the most deprived parts of Aston and contributed to high levels of social exclusion. 47% of its residents were economically inactive which was twice the national average. Aston Pride commissioned its own household survey which identified that crime was a significant local issue with 190 crimes per 1000 population, eighteen times higher than the national average. Educational attainment was also lower than the national average. The Key Stage 2 results at primary school level showed that only 56% of children attained the required level compared to the 75% national average. Poor health was also a significant factor with mortality rates 39% higher than the national average and infant mortality at 9.4 per 1000 compared to a national average of just over 5 per 1000 population. The area also had a higher ethnic minority population than both Aston as a whole and Birmingham. Aston had an ethnic majority population of 70% with the largest proportion comprising the Asian-British population with a proportion of 55.1%..The ethnic profile of Aston continued to change and by 2011, the population census had confirmed that Aston as a ward had a population of 32,286 and that 90% of its residents reported that they were from an ethnic group other than white British.

Aerial view of Aston, showing the streets of terraced housing with Aston Villa Football Club's stadium in the middle of the picture. The astro turf pitch on Aston Park seen at the bottom part of this picture was the home of the project.

Figure 5.1 Project location (Birmingham Post, n.d)

The project's typical Saturday morning session at the later stage of its development

Figure 5.2 Project session (Aston Sports Club, n.d.)

From the 1970s onwards, Aston had been affected by the deindustrialisation process taking place in Birmingham which had resulted in multiple problems such as high unemployment, poor health, low educational attainment, poor housing, high crime rates and the creation of a gang culture. Aston was a fairly small geographical area which meant that the population density was considered to be comparatively high in 2001, reflected in its housing stock. Aston was characterised by Edwardian houses, mainly terraced housing with an industrial belt of warehouses and small industrial units. Aston had had a significant historical past with Aston Hall and Aston Park at its heart but was often associated more readily with Aston Villa Football Club with its home ground within the ward of Aston dominating the nearby park and local streets (see figure 5.1).

In 2001, Aston, one of the most deprived wards in England, won its bid to be designated as a New Deal for Communities (NDC) pathfinder, the new Labour Government's policy response to tackling social exclusion for people living within deprived communities. The aim of the NDC programme was described in the Aston NDC Programme Review 2001-11 as below:

> 'The New Deal for Communities (NDC) Programme was one of the most important, and well resourced, area-based initiative (ABIs) ever launched in England. Its primary purpose was to reduce the gaps between the poorest neighbourhoods and the rest of the country. The 'NDC model' was based on some key underlying principles: the holistic regeneration of areas over a 10 year period, dedicated neighbourhood based partnerships, community engagement, a partnership approach, and learning and innovation.' (Kattri et al: 2011:6).

The NDC in Aston, known locally as Aston Pride, was set up to lead the programme at a local level and to put in place a coordinated local policy response to local problems. Birmingham City Council acted as the host agency for Aston Pride as this programme complemented its policy on the devolution of its frontline services into ten local constituencies. Aston Pride developed its own NDC Delivery Plan that focused its work on addressing key local issues through a number of themed areas: community safety, health, employment and business, education and lifelong learning

and housing and the environment. As identified in the Aston NDC Programme Review 2001-2011:

> ‘the local economy, housing, infrastructure and the historic pattern of land use were tending to concentrate and reinforce economic and social deprivation in Aston and there was very little evidence to suggest that the actions of the market and mainstream public services on their own were likely to bring about significant improvement within an acceptable timescale’ (Kattri et al: 2011:14).

Over its ten-year lifetime, Aston Pride developed a number of projects within its Delivery Plan to take forward the regeneration of Aston and address local problems. The Aston Football Development Centre Project, also known as the Aston football project, was one of these projects (see figure 5.2).

Background to the Aston football development centre project

The Aston Football Development Centre Project (known hereafter as the Aston Football project) started in 2005 and was still running in 2013 when the case study interviews took place. The project originated from a session set up by a local young volunteer, Mohammed Juned, in 2005 in central Birmingham but which moved to Aston Park in 2006 when it outgrew its original facility. This session aimed to address the problem of challenging behaviour by young people through the use of football as Juned explained:

> ‘Initially, I started out as a volunteer and I decided I wanted to run a football project alongside Aston Christian centre. We ran a football project at Holt school which is in central Birmingham for young people who had issues around behaviour management and those who were at risk of being involved in anti-social behaviour so one of the projects we delivered was football for local young people because it was one of the strongest engagement tools in the local area, football.’ (Interview: 19.06.2013)

In 2006, Aston Pride received funding from the UEFA Hat Trick programme to develop a football project to support its work with the local community. Birmingham City Council had been keen to act as the host agency for the project as it

complemented their commitment to the local devolution of services. Stuart Felce clarified his role with project:

> 'I was the area manager for the constituency for Birmingham City Council. My remit was managing the staff budget for the service for the leisure centres as well as all the development staff, which in Aston.... meant the Hat Trick staff.' (Interview: 24.06.2015)

At the start of the project, Felce played a significant role in helping to set up the project and appoint the staff. However, he then adopted a 'hands off' approach, leaving the staff to run the project themselves with little evidence of a pro-active host agency role being undertaken by Birmingham City Council, the first sign of creating the conditions for a bottom-up approach to project implementation (Lipsky:1980).

The first member of staff appointed to run the Hat Trick project was Matt Kendall whose role focused initially on the development of a strategy for local community use of the planned sports facilities on Aston Park alongside the development of Aston Sports Club, an umbrella organisation for all the local sports groups. The lack of a local football facility had meant that the project had to wait until the new floodlit Astro- Turf Pitch had been built on Aston Park before significant programme activity could begin. Juned was appointed as the Hat Trick club development officer in January 2007, bringing his football session to the new floodlit Astro Turf pitch on Aston Park. Juned, who effectively became the local policy advocate for the project, worked alongside local partners and young volunteers to run a comprehensive programme of football sessions for some of the most challenging young people in Aston for the next two years. However, as the Hat Trick funding came to an end and with no significant project funding in place for the future, Kendall left the project in 2008 and Juned left the project in March 2009. This meant that the project was left without a policy co-ordinator and advocate at the period when the Coalition Government came to power in 2010 and the elements of the national problem and political streams changed resulting in a period of austerity and cutbacks. Zikel Notice, the new project coordinator, took over the running of the project in 2011 on a voluntary basis, taking on operational responsibility for the project as well as the responsibility for applying for small pots of money to keep the project going. The

Aston football project was still running at Aston Park, albeit on a smaller scale in 2013 when the case study interviews were conducted.

As Table 5.1 shows, the project has developed, grown and scaled down over its lifetime. These changes have been identified throughout the case study in order to explore the impact of national and local policies on the project.

Table 5.1: The timeline for the development of the Aston Football Project

DATE	STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT
2005	• Football session set up by Juned at the Aston Christian centre and funded by Street Soccer, with the aim of promoting positive behaviour by young people.
2006	• Matt Kendall was employed as Hat Trick project manager to develop football on Aston Park • Football session outgrew its venue at Holt school and moved to Aston Park so that it could accommodate larger numbers. • The session was integrated into the Hat Trick project.
2007	• The floodlit MUGA was built on Aston Park with funding from Barclays Spaces for Sport programme. • Juned was employed as a club development officer to support the wider development of the football project • The project expanded and ran regular sessions throughout the week, working with the most challenging young people • The project's football sessions were used by a wide range of Aston Pride's partners such as the youth service and the PCT
2008	• Matt Kendall left the Hat Trick project • The Project's sessions attracted significant numbers including challenging young people. • Project focus on the development of young volunteers
2009	• Hat Trick project funding finished • Juned left the project as a paid member of staff and joined the Birmingham County FA • Juned remained as the volunteer project coordinator • Juned mentored Zikel and Liam to run the project as volunteers in

DATE	STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT
	the future • Aston Sports Club was set up as an independent 'umbrella' club with Matt Kendall as the chairperson • Aston Pride was 'winding down' its work as an NDC
2010	• Aston Pride was dissolved and not replaced. Many of the projects and partners disappeared from the area
2011	• Zikel took over from Juned as voluntary project coordinator • There was a break in the Aston football Project due to a lack of funding until it was restarted after several months when funding became available
2012	• Fewer participants and volunteers involved in the project from 2012 as a result of the interruption to funding • Potential change in direction discussed for the project – still local young people but also from outside area to boost numbers • Zikel still in place as voluntary project coordinator. Liam, one of the original participants took over from Juned as voluntary head coach
2013	• Zikel still voluntary project coordinator but Liam, the head coach left the project and was replaced by Kai, a new voluntary head coach from the local community

The rationale for the Aston football project

Regeneration (Housing and Environment theme)

This project had been initiated by Aston Pride so that it could contribute to the regeneration of Aston within two separate themed areas of the Aston Pride delivery programme. The first themed area was 'housing and the environment' with its priority for developing Aston Hall and Aston Park and the second themed area was 'community safety' with its aim of reducing the fear of crime, drugs, gun crime and anti-social behaviour in Aston. The 'housing and environment' strand of the Aston Pride delivery programme made a significant investment in sports facilities in Aston Park as described in the 2011 Review of Aston Pride:

> ‘The Programme has considerably improved the area’s local parks and open spaces, for example investment of £3.8m in Aston Hall and Park has resulted in the provision of a new sports pavilion, an all-weather sports pitch, a multiuse games area, improvements to existing pitches, general environmental and security works as well as refurbished rooms for community use’ (Kattri et al:2011:21).

Aston Pride allocated revenue funding to match the successful application to the UEFA Hat Trick programme so that this all-weather sports pitch would be used by local residents. Juned confirmed this approach:

> ‘So they [Aston Pride] had funding to deliver a project to tie into the redevelopment of Aston Hall and Park, it was a £12.5 m development of the whole site. One of the aspects of this, was the Hat Trick project that would invest a lot of time developing local sports provision and thus regenerating the local community, basically creating active citizens through sport.’ (Interview: 19.06.2013)

However, one of the difficulties that the Hat Trick project faced was the delay in the completion of the sports facilities on Aston Park which, in turn, delayed the delivery of the football activity programme. As Felce, the area Manager for Birmingham City Council’s sports services team, highlighted:

> ‘The challenge we had was the time lag between posts coming into place and the actual physical construction of the new facilities, probably a two year lag……. we had to slow down the expectation.’ (Interview: 24.06.2015)

Nevertheless, Aston Pride did fund an additional part-time club development officer, Juned, whose post supported the community use of the new sports facilities on Aston Park. The synergy between both the ‘housing and environment’ theme and the ‘community safety’ theme meant that when the new all-weather outdoor facility on Aston Park had been completed, its priority was to provide football sessions for local young people with challenging behaviour. The initial decision to base this project around Juned’s existing football session meant that this project started to deliver its sessions with young people very quickly helping it to meet its funding targets from

both the Hat Trick programme and Aston Pride and demonstrating a top-down approach to project implementation at this point in the project's life.

However, when its New Deal for Communities funding ended in 2011, Aston Pride was dissolved and there was no evidence of any legacy organisation or revenue funding programmes remaining in the area to support the project in its use of the sports facilities on Aston Park. Felce confirmed this lack of a legacy in Aston:

> 'You have no entity under which to operate a [national NDC] programme of that size. A programme of that magnitude created entities like Aston Pride and the one in Derby from nothing, to prioritise and distribute this funding…….this was evidenced in the sustainability at the end of the funding, more evident was the capital funding, spending and construction.' (Interview: 24.06.2015)

As the elements of the national problem, political and policy streams moved away from social exclusion and regeneration, there was no evidence of these issues remaining within the local streams even though local young volunteers confirmed that they were still seen as local issues by local residents. A summary of this change in the view of the political stream at both a national and local level can be found in Table 4.2 below. The table highlights the decreasing national political importance of addressing social exclusion and supporting people living in areas of deprivation. The table shows that this political issue was a high priority during the early and middle years of the project and that it was driven by the New Labour Government's commitment to improve people's lives and to address inequalities, especially those caused by poverty and social exclusion. However, as the New Labour Government's term of office drew to an end and the Coalition Government took over, the character of this political stream changed and was replaced by an emphasis on individual responsibility and less state intervention. In the middle and later years of the project, as this political commitment to social exclusion and regeneration disappeared, so the resources and the support structure for this project also disappeared. Table 5b shows that after the middle years of the project there were no local political advocates in place to keep this problem stream 'alive' in Aston, resulting in a lack of political commitment to retaining this project in Aston with its original objectives. This helped to create an environment where the project volunteers needed to adopt a

‘bottom-up’ approach to project development and implementation in order to attract funding to the project and ensure its survival.

Table 5.2. Analysis of the political stream for the Aston football project, 2005-2013, using the Multiple Streams Framework.

	2005 **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2006-2008** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2008 – 2012** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2012 - 2013** **THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD**
PROJECT RATIONALE	• **Community Safety (incl. Gang crime)** • **Football development**	• **Community Safety** • **Football development** • **Volunteer development** • **Community Cohesion**	• **Football development** • **Community safety (reducing in importance)** • **Volunteer development (increasing in importance)** • **Community cohesion**	• **Volunteer development** • **Football development** • **Community safety (minor importance, informal diversionary activity)**
PROJECT FUNDING	• **Aston Pride** • **Hat Trick**	• **Aston Pride** • **Hat Trick**	**100% RUN BY VOLUNTEERS** • **Aston Pride (ending 2010?)** • **StreetGames for volunteer work** • **Small pots of funding**	**100% RUN BY VOLUNTEERS** • **StreetGames for volunteer work** • **Small pots of funding?**
THE POLITICAL STREAM				
POLITICAL STREAM	• National and local commitment to tackle social exclusion • National and local commitment to tackle youth crime in	• National and local commitment to addressing social exclusion coming to an end by mid/ late 2000s.	• No commitment to address social exclusion • Commitment to punishment of offenders • Emphasis on individual responsibility and choice • Migration seen as a national	• Vilification of people living in areas of deprivation and on benefit • Emphasis on the market and individual choice • Emphasis on austerity, cutting the deficit and

	2005 START OF THE PROJECT	2006-2008 MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT	2008 – 2012 LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT	2012 - 2013 THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD
	positive ways		problem	shrinking the state
NATIONAL POLITICAL SUPPORTERS	• Home Office • ODPM and SEU	• Home Office (Until mid 2000s) • ODPM and SEU (until mid 2000s)	• None	• None
LOCAL POLITICAL SUPPORTERS	• Aston Pride • The Police • Birmingham City Council	• Aston Pride • The Police	• None identified	• None identified

The community safety theme

This project had a formal role in addressing community safety and in particular, anti-social behaviour and gang crime for the first four years of its life when it was part-funded by Aston Pride. The Aston NDC Programme Review 2001-2011 had highlighted that crime and community safety was an issue for the community as shown below:

> 'An early crime survey indicated that there were 190 crimes per 1000 population - 18 times higher than the national average at the time and 2.5% higher than the Birmingham average. There were also 5.3 per 1000 juvenile crimes compared with only 3 per 1000 for Birmingham as a whole.' (Kattri et al:2011:13).

This local issue had been given prominence in January 2003 when two teenage girls were shot dead in Aston as a result of gang warfare which had subsequently resulted in tense community relations and had given Aston a national reputation for crime and violence. In 2006, Basharat Najib, the project coordinator for 'Voice of Aston' commented:

> "The area is seen as a place for gang culture, crime, drugs and antisocial behaviour. Everything negative has been tied into Aston. Yes, there has been a couple of high profile incidents associated with Aston which has put the area on the map," (BBC news website: January 2006)

Juned confirmed that the Aston Football Project had been seen by Aston Pride as a key tool for addressing community safety issues with young people through football for the period that Aston Pride was in place and contributed to Aston Pride's national targets for this themed area during this period. The project had adapted its implementation to provide sports sessions for young people at key times when the risk of anti-social behaviour was at its highest as explained by Juned:

> 'If I'm brutally honest we engaged a lot of the young people who were in danger of being involved in gangs. When we first started there was the G17 gang which was the young Pakistani lads and then the Mansfield boys who were the Bangladeshi lads ……. and in summer, one issue that the police had was the fact that the Pakistani and the Bangladeshi lads would meet up

> and fight in the Park, Aston Park. A major issue, so during that period when the schools were closed and during the holidays we had to deliver a lot of activity to engage local young people.' (Interview: 19.06.2013)

The project staff recognised that they were working with some of the most challenging young people in Aston and as Juned confirmed, they adapted their approach:

> 'In terms of the youth sessions, the targeted ones, in terms of the local young people involved in gangs, we had the most qualified people working with them.' (Interview: 19.06.2013)

It was a symbiotic relationship as the project staff recognised that although they had the football specialism, they also needed to rely on other partners to support them. Juned explained their approach:

> 'So we had to engage a whole set of partners. We were limited in terms of our specialism. We would get the young people there and engage with them in terms of the education element but we would have to bring in a third party.' (Interview: 19.06.2013)

Juned described how the combination of football and youth work expertise worked on a practical level:

> 'For example, I ran most of the sessions with a chap... who was a youth worker basically, he's not a football coach. So I would lead the session in terms of football, he would lead in youth work, behaviour management, things like that.……' (Interview: 19.06.2013)

The project's successful approach to addressing anti-social behaviour helped Aston Villa Football in the Community Programme to draw down funding from Positive Futures and the FA's national Kickz programme to continue these football sessions after the Aston Pride funding had finished. These Positive Futures and Kickz sessions were then seen as the specialist project which was used to tackle anti-social behaviour and crime in Aston. This meant that the role in addressing community safety through sport in Aston was transferred to Aston Villa Football Trust, leaving the project to concentrate on other areas of project delivery.

By 2013, the project was no longer seen by its volunteers as a session where direct intervention took place around social issues. This change in emphasis mirrored the change in national policy stream away from welfare interventions through social tools such as sport. Nevertheless, the project volunteers still wanted their sessions to have a 'diversionary' role in keeping the young people off the streets, out of trouble, and stopping them being bored. The new volunteer head coach Kai, who lived locally confirmed this view:

> 'There is still a lot of gangs about and violence and I can say that first hand cos I've seen it for myself… Aston ain't the best place to be around. At some times, you get the wrong crowd, you get the wrong people but how I see it is that when the kids come here they've got something to do, they're not on the streets and they're not causing havoc, and they're not causing problems and they're not in with the wrong people.'(Interview: 22.06.2013)

A summary of this change in the view of the problem stream at both a national and local level can be found in table 5.3 below. The table shows that the issue of community safety and ASB was a high priority during the beginning and middle years of the project and that it was driven by the ODPM's Social Exclusion Unit and the Home Office. However, as the New Labour Government's term of office drew to an end and the Coalition Government took over, the approach to addressing this national problem changed towards punishment and deterrence and individual responsibility. The national emphasis on social welfare and using sport as a way to address anti-social behaviour was minimal. This issue did not continue to form a major part of the local problem stream and consequently, in the later years of the project, the emphasis turned towards away from this issue towards football and volunteer development.

Table 5.3 Analysis of the Problem stream for the Aston football project, 2005-2013, using the Multiple Streams Framework.

	2005 **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2006-2008** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2008 – 2012** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2012 - 2013** **THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD**
PROJECT RATIONALE	• **Community safety (incl. Gang crime)** • **Football development** • **Volunteering**	• **Community safety** • **Football development** • **Volunteer development** • **Community cohesion**	• **Football development** • **Community safety (reduced in importance)** • **Volunteer development** • **Community cohesion**	• **Volunteer development** • **Diversionary activity** • **Football development**
PROJECT FUNDING	• **Aston Pride** • **Hat Trick**	• **Aston Pride** • **Hat Trick**	**100% RUN BY VOLUNTEERS** • **Aston Pride (ending 2010?)** • **StreetGames for volunteer work** • **Small pots of funding**	**100% RUN BY VOLUNTEERS** • **StreetGames for volunteer work** • **Small pots of funding?**
THE PROBLEM STREAM				
PROBLEM	• Social exclusion and areas of high deprivation, nationally and locally • High youth crime and ASB, nationally and locally • Gang crime, locally • Low participation in football, lack of	• Political prioritisation starting to decline after mid 2000s. Policy fatigue • Emphasis on deprivation and high youth crime and ASB decreasing nationally • Gang crime and community cohesion important locally • Low participation in football,	• No national priority for social exclusion or deprivation issues after Labour left government in 2010. • National move towards the Big Society with the need to increase social capital and volunteering. • National move towards localism within the context of austerity and the recession	• No discussion about social deprivation or regeneration. High priority on individual responsibility, the Big Society and the issue of welfare dependency. • Poverty and the equality gap are the only reference points but not reflected in national

	2005 START OF THE PROJECT	2006-2008 MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT	2008 – 2012 LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT	2012 - 2013 THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD
	competitive opps, locally	lack of competitive opportunities, locally	• Migration as a national issue • Remaining local concern about gang crime • Low participation in football, lack of competitive opportunities, locally	policy. • Migration as a national issue • Youth crime and ASB, locally • Low participation in football, locally
NATIONAL PROBLEM SPONSOR	• ODPM and its Social Exclusion Unit • Home Office • Sport England	• ODPM and its Social Exclusion Unit (ODPM dissolved in 2006 and taken over by DCLG.) • Home Office • Sport England	• Home Office (specialist unit only but supported Aston Villa's programmes) • Sport England and the FA	• Home Office (specialist unit only but supported Aston Villa's programmes only) • Sport England and the FA
LOCAL PROBLEM SPONSOR	• Aston Christian Centre • Aston Pride	• Aston Pride	• Aston sports project (Kendall/ Juned)	• Aston sports project

The community cohesion theme

Community cohesion was seen as an element of the local problem stream, linked to local issues around gang crime that needed to be addressed by Aston Pride's Delivery Plan. This rationale, albeit informal, has been evident in varying degrees throughout the life of this project in response to Aston's increasingly diverse demographic profile and local tensions as identified earlier in the case study. The demographic profile of Aston showed that by 2009 it had a very diverse community with a higher than average BME population of 76.5% made up of a mainly Pakistani, Indian and Black Carribean population (Birmingham Public Health: May 2009).

In 2006, Kendall had mapped local existing sporting activity as one of his first tasks and had identified that the lack of community cohesion was also manifested in the local sporting infrastructure. Felce confirmed that this issue had been unknowingly exacerbated by Aston Pride's approach to supporting local sports programmes:

> 'Because Aston Pride had a grant pot, a bit like Awards for All, organisations could afford not to play sport together, it was a reflection of community separation and intolerance…' (Interview: 24.06.2015)

The concept of Aston Sports Club arose from the need to find a local way to support integration in the sporting infrastructure with the Aston Football project playing a role to support this objective as confirmed by Juned:

> 'Cohesion is massive – we get young people from Handsworth, Aston, Perry Barr' (Interview: March 2010).

Community cohesion was not a formal role for the project but the project staff had adopted a 'street-level' approach to policy development and supported the 'informal' aim of supporting community cohesion in the area even though there was no evidence of any change in the project delivery or additional funding to support this work, demonstrating the project's staff's high ideals (Lipsky: 2008). Community cohesion was seen as a natural by-product of the project's sessions as confirmed by Kai:

> 'I think the kids when they come to the session and meet new people.… they have to engage with each other and interact so they get to know each other. I

have seen them talk to each other outside the session.' (Interview: 22.06.2013)

The recruitment of local young people and adults as project staff and volunteers had helped to ensure that the project continued to reflect the diversity of the local community and support the project's informal community cohesion role. Community cohesion remained an informal part of the project's rationale throughout its lifetime based on its own local community's diversity issues even though this element within the national problem stream has shifted away from community cohesion towards migration in emphasis.

The health and well-being theme

Health and well-being was not a formal part of the project's rationale. However, in line with the cross-cutting approach taken by NDCs, the project did support agencies involved with Aston Pride to carry out their own work around health improvement initiatives by linking them into the project's work with young people. This often entailed the project staff working with local health workers to run short workshops at the project's football sessions giving advice and guidance on areas such as substance misuse and sexual health.

However, any links to this wider public health remit disappeared when Aston Pride closed down. In 2013, as stated earlier in the case study, the project staff concentrated their efforts on football skill development and playing which could be seen as contributing to an increase in participation in sport and therefore, improved physical or mental health. However, the project staff did not relate this project activity to improvements in either participation rates or health which might have helped them to apply for new national or local funding sources available as a result of the changes in the policy stream. This reflected the 'intolerable pressure' (Lipsky: 1980), lack of time and resources for project volunteers to act as 'street level bureaucrats' in relation to policy implementation and to bring this informal health and well-being theme within the project to create financial stability.

The volunteer development theme

Volunteering had been integrated into both the Community Leadership and Employability themes in Aston Pride's Delivery Plan and as the case study shows,

volunteering had been at the heart of this project since 2006 when it contributed to Aston Pride's national NDC targets. The importance of volunteer development was recognised by Juned at an early stage as he attributed his own personal success at gaining paid employment at firstly, the Hat Trick project and afterwards, at the Birmingham County FA to his volunteering work. Juned had established a volunteer development programme as part of the Aston Football Development project in order to support their work with local young people as he described below:

> 'We created a referral system so each organisation in the local community that we'd already built partnerships with through the Hat Trick project, acted as referral units so they would refer young people to us and we would support them in terms of their volunteering and their development and skills and they would eventually become the future leaders of the project.' (Interview: 19.06.2013)

This emphasis on volunteering continued even after Aston Pride had disappeared, becoming an integral part of the project so that local young people would become volunteers at the project as well as using it to support their entry into paid employment in both part-time and full-time jobs outside the project. Juned gave an example of how it worked:

> 'One of the guys who runs our football, Liam Nottingham, was one of our first attendees at the StreetSoccer at Holt school, July 8th 2005. He was one of the first people who attended the session and now he's working full-time at a school in Solihull….They start off as volunteer, then they end up being a volunteer but they've got paid work as well.' (Interview: 19.06.2013)

Juned's involvement in the project reduced after 2012 but Zikel, one of the project's volunteer coaches took over as the project coordinator on a voluntary basis. Juned explained how he had ensured that volunteering would continue at the project:

> 'he's [Zikel] been through the process and so he understands what needs to be done and he understand the strategic component of the volunteer development programme.' (Interview: 19.06.2013)

The delivery of the project's activities from 2012 onwards showed that the emphasis on volunteer development increased even further, reflecting the changes in the

national political stream due to the development of the Coalition Government's national Big Society policy and new local funding streams to develop social capital as highlighted in table 5.4. The project changed its emphasis towards recruiting and supporting local young volunteers and away from recruiting young people as participants. However, this 'street-level' approach to project implementation, in effect policy-making, was driven by the availability of small pots of funding for volunteering and had a negative impact on implementation of the original policy objectives. In June 2013 there were six volunteer coaches at the session but only eight young people as participants, leading to a sense of frustration amongst the volunteers. This had affected their volunteering experience as they did not have the opportunity to lead the sessions they had planned, they had to spend their time encouraging young people to attend the sessions and some volunteers did not have a clear role at the session. This increasing emphasis on volunteer development had created a sense of instability with the risk that a number of these volunteers might decide not to continue volunteering in the future if the number of young people did not increase, putting the future of the project at risk.

The football development theme

The lack of local football opportunities for young people remained an element of the project's rationale throughout its lifespan. Juned explained the need for this rationale at the start of the project:

> 'We needed to develop provision so that there is a clear pathway from 'you come and you have a kick about' and 'you have a clear pathway to competitive provision, play mainstream affiliated football'.'(Interview: 19.06.2013)

Juned elaborated on the 'football development' objective for the project:

> 'We decided that we were going to bring together five local adult football teams under the umbrella of Aston football club and that's how Aston football club was born.' (Interview: 19.06.2013)

Aston Football Club supported the Aston Football development project as well as other football intervention programmes based at the all-weather pitch which included holiday schemes, casual Friday evening football sessions for adults and a 7-a-side

Premier Community League for 16+, aiming to provide a co-ordinated approach to football in Aston.

In the later years of the project, this priority became increasingly important as project sessions solely focused on skill development and informal games with no evidence of any work by the project to address any other issues such as anti-social behaviour. There was no evidence of any other forms of intervention in the project and it was clear that the project staff had adopted a coaching style rather than the previous youth work style that had prevailed at the project in the middle years. However, the lead coaches still maintained that the main purpose was keeping the kids off the street and indeed, one coach had suggested that the development of football skills was not the main priority for the project. Nevertheless, the development of football skills dominated the sessions as the coaches described the structure of a typical session that was focused around football skill improvement such as passing, dribbling and scoring as well as other football related skills such as communication skills so that they could work together better as a team. Rezel, one of the project's volunteer coaches, explained his approach to the young people at the session:

> 'I talk to them, communicate, tell them how important the football skills that they learn at this session, how they will impact them in the future…..Football skills help them to join the school football teams and use the skills they learn here, to play for the school or a club.' (Interview: 22.06.2013)

By 2013 it was evident that the project's football development rationale had become much narrower as the sessions had only been used to improve skills and provide local football playing opportunities for young people with no evidence that participants had been signposted to local football teams or other football opportunities within Aston. The priority for football development had been significantly reduced by the project's growing emphasis on volunteer development.

In the later stage of this project, with no host agency in place to support them, the volunteer staff had been forced to search for new funding sources to help the project to survive. They had been able to find small pots of funding to support volunteer development from local non-sporting organisations which had responded to the national policy on volunteering and building social capital. This had resulted in the project staff adopting a 'street-level' approach to policy-making and implementation

by placing greater emphasis on volunteers rather than participants, leading to low participation rates at the session. These low participation rates meant that the project was not seen as an organisation that could contribute to the FA's participation targets. The project did not therefore attract funding from the FA for its players and the emphasis on volunteering continued. However, this lack of emphasis on football development and participation at the session placed the project's future at risk.

As table 5.4 below shows, this project was not protected from the changes to the content of the national policy stream during the middle stage of the research period. These changes increased the vulnerability of the project as the original project aims were diminished and it started to lose its focus. The original funding streams had helped the project to retain its rationale but when they disappeared, the project staff took on a policy-making role themselves and adapted the project to meet local policy objectives that would provide the project with sufficient funding to survive.

Table 5.4 Analysis of the policy stream for the Aston football project, 2005-2013, using the Multiple Streams Framework.

	2005 **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2006-2008** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2008 – 2012** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2012 - 2013** **THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD**
PROJECT RATIONALE	• **Community Safety (incl. Gang crime)** • **Football development**	• **Community Safety** • **Football development** • **Volunteer development** • **Community cohesion**	• **Football development** • **Diversionary activity (reduced in importance)** • **Volunteer development (increasing in importance)** • **Community cohesion**	• **Volunteer development** • **Football development (limited to skills and playing opportunities)** • **Diversionary activity (reduced in importance)**
PROJECT FUNDING	• **Aston Pride** • **Hat Trick**	• **Aston Pride** • **Hat Trick**	**100% RUN BY VOLUNTEERS** • **Aston Pride (ending 2010?)** • **StreetGames for volunteer work** • **Small pots of funding**	**100% RUN BY VOLUNTEERS** • **StreetGames for volunteer work** • **Small pots of funding?**
THE POLICY STREAM				
POLICY SOLUTIONS	• Regeneration and empowering local communities • Mainstream acceptance of the concept of 'regeneration through sport' at	• Emphasis on regeneration starting to reduce nationally • Use of sport and football programmes as a way to reduce youth crime starting to reduce in importance nationally	• Mainstream view of regeneration through sport fading away nationally and locally • Cameron's Big Society and Volunteering • Use of sport and football programmes as a way to reduce youth crime losing importance	• Little left of the national or local policy of regeneration through sport • Use of sport and football programmes as a way to reduce youth crime given less importance and resources by the Home Office and National football organisations • Greater emphasis on the use of

	2005 START OF THE PROJECT	2006-2008 MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT	2008 – 2012 LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT	2012 - 2013 THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD
	national and local level • Use of sport and football programmes as a way to reduce youth crime, nationally and locally		• Greater policy emphasis on increasing participation in sport nationally and locally • Priority for dealing with young offenders through punishment. (Cameron's policy of Tough on Crime). • No national policy for people living in disadvantaged areas due to lack of sympathy • Sport England priority for increasing participation by using NGBs and Whole Sport Plans (WSPs)	informal football programmes to increase participation rates for the WSP • Big Society and Volunteering • Priority for dealing with young offenders through punishment • Sport England priority for Whole Sport Plans (WSPs) and increasing participation nationally and locally • FA keen to address low participation rates as part of its WSP, nationally and locally
NATIONAL POLICY SOLUTION ADVOCATES	• Sport England • ODPM and its Social Exclusion Unit	• Sport England's commitment fades after the mid 2000s. • No Government Departments with this commitment in the late 2000s.	• Sport England • The FA	• Sport England • The FA

	2005 **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2006-2008** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2008 – 2012** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2012 - 2013** **THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD**
LOCAL POLICY SOLUTION ADVOCATES	• Aston Pride NDC	• Aston Pride NDC • Aston Sports Club	• Aston Sports Club	• Aston Sports Club

Conclusion for the rationale of the project

Football and volunteer development were the core elements of the rationale for the Aston football project throughout its lifetime even though the content of the national problem and policy streams changed in the middle years. The project had responded to high profile local problems such as gang crime, anti-social behaviour by young people and community cohesion issues at the start and middle years of the project by integrating this into the design and implementation of the project. However, community safety and community cohesion disappeared from the project as the content of the national policy stream moved away from New Labour's policy commitment to address social problems at a local level through national regeneration programmes. By 2013, volunteer development had emerged as the project's leading rationale and football development had become a minor rationale.

There was little evidence of knowledge of or access to local policy streams after the middle years of the project and this was exacerbated when Juned left his position as project coordinator, with no local policy advocates remaining in place to support the project. The project's host agency, Birmingham City Council, had adopted a hands-off approach to the project, not providing support or protection when the content of the national streams moved away from social exclusion and sport as a social tool. This had resulted in a move away from top-down implementation at the start and middle years of the project towards a bottom-up approach in the later years of the project as the volunteers took responsibility for the project themselves as a policy vacuum developed due to changes in the national and local streams changed and funding sources became more difficult to find.

Partnerships

Birmingham City Council

Birmingham City Council had acted as the host agency for the project at the start and middle years of the project whilst the major funding sources were in place. This partnership had provided the project with the infrastructure for the project delivery and included the employment of the project staff and the financial management systems. This partnership complemented Birmingham City Council's commitment to the devolution of its services to local areas and community empowerment particularly

in areas of deprivation. Felce, the Area Manager for the Sports service, did not get involved in the operational side of the project but helped to give the project access to the support it might need on a longer term basis. Felce explained his role:

> 'the intention before I left was to get Aston Sports Club to be self-sufficient enough to transfer across once the facilities were complete and I think they did do that to some success.' (Interview: 24.06.2015)

Birmingham City Council also played a significant role for the project by providing good quality all-weather sports facilities in Aston through its application to the 'Barclays Spaces for Sport' programme, a partnership between Barclays Bank and the Football Foundation launched in 2004 to support projects in deprived areas. This funding provided a floodlit MUGA on Aston Park and a revenue stream which was used to subsidise the use of the MUGA by local projects, including the Aston football development project. By 2013, the project was still using this facility as its base and was seen as a priority user for the facility on Saturday mornings.

However, the direct partnership between Birmingham City Council and the project came to an end when Felce left his post and the major sources of funding from Hat Trick and Aston Pride came to an end in 2009. Birmingham City Council as host agency did not support the project in applying for further funding sources to extend or expand the project at any point through applications to agencies such as the Football Foundation, leaving the project to rely on its young volunteers. Birmingham City Council remained as a minor partner in its role as the provider of the sports facilities on Aston Park but did not have any additional involvement after the middle years of the project, reflecting the move away from working in deprived communities in the national policy stream.

Aston Pride

Aston Pride, established solely to deliver the New Deal for Communities programme, was a major funder at the start and middle years of the project, providing their projects with targets which would contribute to its own NDC national targets. This encouraged a top-down approach to implementation by the project staff and supported close partnership working with other projects also funded by Aston Pride

such as the youth service and ‘fresh wings’ (a sexual health project) to support the operational side of their sessions in a wider context. Juned elaborated on their role:

> ‘We had to engage a whole set of partners. We were limited in terms of our specialism. We would get the young people there and engage with them in terms of the education element but we would have to bring in a third party.’ (Interview: 19.06.2013).

However, when Aston Pride’s funding came to an end in 2011, many of these partners and projects had already disappeared, leaving the project isolated and responsible for all aspects of implementation. At this point, the project’s focus narrowed down from a wider cross-cutting approach onto the development of football and young volunteers, an area for which they had the skills and expertise and which also reflected the changes in the national policy stream.

From the start, Aston Pride had been beset by internal tensions and governance issues. From 2006 onwards, its work had been led by Birmingham City Council meaning that there was no legacy organisation in place in Aston when the New Deal for Communities programme came to an end and many of the local projects and partners disappeared. The Aston football project was one of the many projects that were funded by Aston Pride. Aston Pride took a similar ‘hands-off’ approach to the project even though the project coordinator reported that they had exceeded their targets and had a high profile in the community. The project did not feature in any key documentation produced by Aston Pride except through its link to the new sports facilities on Aston Park. The project’s low profile reflected the lack of a local policy champion at Aston Pride who could provide support as its funding came to an end. This took place at the same time as the elements in the national policy stream shifted away from social exclusion and the use of sport as a social tool. This created the conditions for a ‘street-level’ approach to policy-making and project implementation as the project volunteers were left by themselves without any key national or local partners to provide financial support for the survival of the project.

The Birmingham FA

The Birmingham FA had been a partner to the project in its role as a conduit for the funding from the national FA which was responsible for the administration of the

UEFA Hat Trick funding. The national FA was not mentioned as a partner by any of the interviewees at any point and no reference was made to the role of the FA's national Hat Trick programme manager who held responsibility for providing national support to the local Hat Trick projects.

The nature of the project's relationship with the Birmingham FA was unclear even though Juned had confirmed that the Birmingham FA was a partner. In 2013, the majority of the volunteers did not consider that the Birmingham FA was a partner to their project but believed that they should be a partner, not aware that Juned, the previous project coordinator, was employed by the Birmingham FA. Rezel, one of the projects coaches gave his view on the Birmingham FA:

> 'I think they should be involved as these could be new footballers. It's showing the FA what sessions are going on and some of them they're not aware of. So, these kind of sessions are good and they should definitely be involved.' (Interview: 22.06.2013)

Juned had a different view of the relationship between the project and the Birmingham FA as he saw it complementing his work at the Birmingham FA. Juned explained how the project fitted in:

> 'My role is …. ensuring that there is appropriate provision and coach development opportunities for….. BME communities, that the right investment goes into disadvantaged communities….. We've got set targets, we've got to deliver, we've got to increase participation in areas of deprivation.' (Interview:19.06.2013)

However, this seemed to be an informal partnership between the project and the Birmingham FA which relied on Juned's own relationship and involvement with the project. Juned had remained as a volunteer with the project, giving support and advice, mainly in his own time. There was no evidence of any resources or funding from the Birmingham FA to support the project even when the objective to increase participation became a leading element of the national sport policy stream. By 2013, the 'street-level' approach adopted by the project staff had led to low participation rates as well as a lack of structured links to local junior club opportunities, meaning that the project did not meet the requirements of FA funding streams such as 'Grow

the Game'. This lack of funding from the FA in turn further weakened the project's focus on football participation and club development as its rationale.

Aston Sports Club

Aston Sports Club had been developed as an umbrella sports organisation in response to the local problem of the fragmentation of local sports opportunities. Membership of Aston Sports Club had included Aston Football Club, the local cricket club, a local badminton club and a local women's sports project as well as the Aston football development project. Aston Sports Club aimed to 'create a legacy for future generations' (Kendall: Interview: March: 2011) and to act as a voice for its members across the city with partners as well as to support their funding and grant applications. However, there was little evidence that the project had benefited from this partnership in terms of support and funding.

The project did benefit from its relationship with Aston Football Club in the middle years of the project when the club would regularly encourage players from its senior teams to become volunteers at the project's sessions. These players would signpost talented teenage players from the sessions into the club's teams and they would then take their own coaching experience back to the club where they would start to coach their own teams. However, this approach had stopped by 2013 with no evidence of any links between the delivery of the project's sessions and Aston Football Club or Aston Sports Club. By 2013, Zikel, the existing project coordinator had become the secretary of Aston Football Club as a result of encouragement from Juned but this had not resulted in any tangible benefits for the project, still leaving the project with no external support.

Aston Villa Football Trust

Aston Villa Football Trust had a limited interest in this project and even though the project's core activity was football, Felce confirmed that the Trust had not been interested in being the host agency for the project:

> 'They had the view, to be brutally honest, that they didn't see the benefit of having the extra responsibility of the Hat Trick project…. It really didn't sit with a professional football club trying to increase its fan base. It's about what the

> ambitions of professional football clubs actually are, whether it is to improve the communities in which they operate or increase the brand awareness of the club they represent and to break even by charging relatively high amounts of money to schools and community groups.' (Interview: 24.06.2015)

The project did develop indirect links with Aston Villa Football Trust in the latter stages of the middle years of the project as it narrowed its focus to football and volunteer development. At that point, Aston Villa Football Trust began to run the nationally funded Kickz programme on the floodlit ATP on Aston Park and the project would refer any challenging teenagers to these sessions rather than retain them at their own sessions. The project also signposted some of its young volunteers to other programmes run by Aston Villa Football Trust where they were able to gain additional experience and qualifications. However, the relationship remained minimal with little involvement by Aston Villa Football Trust in the project even though Aston Villa Football Club was located across the road from Aston Park.

Positive Futures

Positive Futures did not fund the project's activity programme but it did provide funding to Aston Sports Club to run a separate Positive Futures programme in Aston during the middle years of the project. A separate, independent Positive Futures project was eventually set up to deliver these sessions in Aston, encouraging the Aston football project to concentrate its focus on football and volunteer development. Juned explained how the project maintained their links with this new project:

> 'Positive Futures are still down here on a Thursday night, we support that and we managed that project for two years and now they've gone independent. We have a brilliant relationship with them and we refer young people to their project.' (Interview: 19.06.2013)

This left the Aston football project without any stable sources of funding as Aston Pride and Hat Trick came to an end, with a project reliance on volunteer resources for the future.

StreetGames

In 2009, StreetGames became the project's only remaining national partner with the common aim of supporting volunteer development work. However, this partnership did not bring significant amounts of funding to support the project's sessions and although it did provide access to coach qualification and training courses, there was little evidence that this had benefited the project's volunteers. Zikel, the current project coordinator did benefit from attending volunteer training courses, becoming a national Young Advisor for StreetGames with the opportunity to get involved in national events and training opportunities. This partnership reinforced the volunteer development aspect of the project as well as supporting the personal development of the current project coordinator but it did not bring stability for the future of the project.

Other local partners

By 2013, there was no evidence of any local projects or partners supporting the implementation of the project. The project's local partnerships were limited to accessing small pots of funding from organisations with grant sources such as the Community Cash funder. Zikel explained how difficult it was to find funding for the project:

> 'It's more hard to get funding to maintain it, it's easier to get funding to do separate projects but once you've got a project established it's not as easy to get funding for the maintenance and that's where the difficulty lies.' (Interview: 22.06.2013)

Kai, one of the project coaches, expressed his concern about the lack of funding in Aston:

> 'With the budget cuts, I don't like the fact that money is being taken away from the vital things in the community like the youth centres and libraries.' (Interview: 22.06. 2013)

This lack of local partnerships created a sense of isolation among the project staff with no plans for working with new partners in the future and no long term sources of local funding for the project. The priority for the volunteer project coordinator was survival for the project and although he had a vision for the future, there was no evidence of any local partners to help the project to achieve this vision.

Conclusion for the partnerships of the project

The most significant partnership for the project should have been Birmingham City Council in its role as the host agency. However, Birmingham City Council had adopted an administrative, time-limited role with the project. This partnership had been based on the view held by both parties that it should be supporting a self-sufficient, short term, sports project in an area of deprivation with the expectation that their involvement would not be necessary after the funding had finished. This resulted in a 'hands-off approach' by the host agency which was also justified by the view that the project staff had sufficient experience to run the project by themselves. The partnerships and funding at the start and middle years of the project ensured that the project was subject to a top-down approach to implementation, meeting its targets. The project's initial self-sufficiency and independence meant that it did not seek or attract other partners as a means of future support or advocacy and no further major funding sources were put into place at any point by either the host agency or the project staff to expand or extend its work

However, in the later years of the project when the funding from Aston Pride and Hat Trick had come to an end, the project staff started to adopt a street-level' approach to the project's work, making their own plans for the project and narrowing the project's rationale. The initial involvement in addressing community safety issues and gang crime was transferred out of the project to other partners such as Aston Villa Football Trust and Positive Futures, as the additional expertise needed by the project staff to support this work began to disappear when Aston Pride's funding came to an end. This shift in the project's objectives made it more challenging for the project to apply for sources of funding to support its activity programme, especially as the national funding streams had changed as a result of the changes in the national policy stream, with the exception of specialist funding for addressing ASB and community safety through sport. This meant that the project's volunteers had to concentrate on searching for small local funding grants to support other areas such as volunteer development, resulting in less time and resources available for project planning and implementation. Many of the original local issues such as ASB and community cohesion were still prevalent in the later years of the project meaning that the project could still have played a significant role in using sport to address some of

these social problems. However, this role had been taken up by other local agencies, leaving the project without access to this national funding stream.

Throughout its lifetime, the project retained its focus on football, with the potential to develop partnerships with national and local football-related organisations. However, these partnerships remained limited or even absent in some cases as summarised in table 4.5 below. The most significant football-related partnership was with the UEFA Hat Trick programme as this had helped to develop the project. However, other potential partners such as the Football Foundation or Aston Villa Football Trust, both of whom could have brought significant funding over a longer time period or organisational stability to the project were noticeably absent. The only local football-related partnership was with Aston Football Club but even this partnership was limited and did not bring the stability or resources that the project needed, contributing to the continual need for a ‘street-level’ approach to project development by the project’s volunteers as their efforts concentrated on the project’s survival.

5.5 Analysis of the role of football organisations at the Aston football Project, 2005 – 2013

FOOTBALL ORGANISATIONS AND THEIR ROLE	**2005** **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2006-2008** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2008 – 2012** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2012 - 2013** **THE PROJECT AT THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD**
UEFA (THROUGH THE NATIONAL FA)	• Role of main project funder	• Role of main project funder	• Role of main project funder finished in 2009	• No involvement
NATIONAL FA	• No involvement	• No involvement	• No role	• No role
FOOTBALL FOUNDATION	• No role	• No role	• No role	• No role
ASTON VILLA FC/ FOOTBALL TRUST	• No role	• No role	• Project referred young people to the Kickz programme and work experience at the Trust	• No role
BIRMINGHAM FA	• Provider of Hat Trick funding to the host agency	• Provider of Hat Trick funding to the host agency	• Juned joined the Birmingham FA and remained as a project volunteer	• Juned still at the Birmingham FA and at the project as a volunteer
ASTON FOOTBALL CLUB	•	• Project planned to signpost young people into Aston FC • Aston FC players volunteered at the project	• Project signposted some young people into Aston FC • Aston FC players volunteered at the project	• Little involvement

The recruitment of young people for the sports programme

The project retained its focus on both football and young people living in Aston throughout its lifetime as shown in table 5.6 below. At the start of the project, the emphasis had been placed on recruiting teenagers who were involved in anti-social behaviour or who were gang members. At this point, the number of young people attending the sessions rose rapidly and at one point, over one hundred young people were attending each session. The main methods of recruitment at the start and middle years of the project was the informal referral system used by local agencies as well as the nature of the session. This supported the project's top-down approach to implementation at this time, helping to ensure that the project achieved its targets. The project was based at the all-weather pitch at one end of Aston Park, near the side of the road and overlooked on two sides by terraced housing including a local newsagent which was well-used by the local community. It was also opposite Aston Villa FC's ground, a focus for the football in the local community. Young people often brought their siblings and friends to the session with them and parents would often bring their younger children to the session, already familiar with the coaches running the session.

However, by 2013, the project was only running one session on a Saturday morning throughout the football season and had recruited a younger age group, namely, children aged 5 - 14 years old. The current session was run flexibly so that young people were able to turn up at any time and only paid a nominal fee reflecting the low incomes of many families living locally. The timing of the session and the profile of the children reflected the project's shift away from community safety towards football development since this early Saturday morning session was unlikely to act as a diversionary activity for anti-social behaviour by teenagers. Juned confirmed the project's emphasis on the younger age group:

> 'We don't really run any more youth related projects as we don't have the capacity to do it in terms of the funds.' (Interview: 19.06.2013).

The lack of funding and project instability had significantly affected project implementation as Zikel reported that the session had been struggling to re-establish

itself after a period with no funding to pay for the hire of the all-weather pitch resulting in only small numbers of young children currently attending sessions. The project volunteers had then adopted a more structured approach to the recruitment of participants with the use of school visits and leaflets, produced by the chair of Aston Sports Club demonstrating the continued need for a 'street-level' approach to the project to address day to day issues. The recruitment of young people attending the sessions had become a significant problem by this time as it had also affected the volunteer development rationale of the project. Rirazeah, one of the volunteer coaches explained how it was affecting their own coaching experiences:

> 'Sometimes there are so little kids and we want to run three sessions and get them into groups and move like a cycle around and that's not possible.' (Interview: 22.06.2013)

The recruitment of young people for the project changed as the project itself changed, with the focus on young people wanting to play football rather than using football to address the challenging behaviour of young people, reflecting the change away from social exclusion in the policy stream at a national level. The number of participants declined as the funding streams continued to disappear and were not replaced, forcing the volunteers to find small pots of funding to keep the project going. This financial instability resulted in the project volunteers needing to adopt a 'street-level' approach to the project, unable to focus on the project's rationale but forced to find new ways of dealing with the project's crises.

5.6 Analysis of the focus on young people in disadvantaged areas at the Aston football project, 2005 - 2013

FOCUS ON DISADVANTAGED YOUNG PEOPLE	**2005** **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2006-2008** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2008 – 2012** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2012 - 2013** **THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD**
PROJECT RATIONALE	• Football development • Volunteer development • Community Safety	• Football development • Community Safety • Volunteer development (increasing in importance) • Community Cohesion (increasing in importance)	• Football development • Volunteer development	• Football development • Volunteer development
GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THE PROJECT	• Aston Park	• Aston Park	• Aston Park	• Aston Park
RECRUITMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE	• Young people living in Aston, often older teenagers • Recruitment through local partners including informal referrals • Word of mouth • Visible project	• Young people living in Aston, mainly older teenagers • Referral process with agencies for the most challenging young people • Word of mouth • Visible project	• Young people living in Aston but moving towards the younger age group • Fewer young people with challenging behaviour • No informal or formal referrals • Word of mouth • Visible project	• Younger children living in Aston • Recruitment through local schools and local partners • Visible project

The planning for programme evaluation

The examination of programme evaluation in this case study is important to demonstrate the level of project accountability and the approach to top-down implementation. Programme evaluation did take place in the early stages of the project as a result of the national funding requirements from the Hat Trick programme and Aston Pride. These evaluations showed that the project was achieving its aims and objectives and meeting its targets as confirmed by Juned:

> 'In terms of the data that we submitted, we exceeded all our outputs and outcomes, the project was hugely successful.' (Interview: 19.06.2013).

This external evaluation helped to reinforce support at the project level for the top-down implementation of the project and to retain the focus on its rationale.

However, the project coordinators confirmed that there had not been any programme evaluation since 2010 as the project had not had any new major funders and there had therefore not been any external requirements to carry out an evaluation. The current project coordinator confirmed that they had not carried out any evaluation work themselves and had not considered it to be worthwhile whilst their participant numbers were so low. Zikel elaborated on this view:

> 'There's not been so much to monitor and evaluate, well there has in the sense that we've seen where our weaknesses are and what we need to do but because of the weather and lots of cancellations there hasn't been a consistent flow so it's not been as easy' (Interview: 22.06.2013).

Zikel did confirm that they did keep session registers so that they knew how many young people attended each session but more detailed monitoring data was no longer undertaken. Programme evaluation was no longer a priority for the project volunteers as there were no external funding requirements to collect data and the priority was the survival of the project. The discontinuation of the programme's evaluation and lack of accountability allowed the project volunteers to continue to

adopt their ‘street-level’ approach to project implementation and to adapt the project’s rationale as necessary.

The planning for the future of the programme

At the start of the project, the vision for the future had revolved around the creation of a pathway of integrated football opportunities for young people within Aston Football Club. However, this vision had not become part of the project’s implementation plan as the requirements of the external funders had taken priority. When the external funding had come to an end, the emphasis placed on community safety by the external funders had also come to an end and the focus had moved on to volunteer development and providing football playing opportunities. These changes to the project, reflecting the shift in the content of the policy stream at a national level, still did not include planning for the original vision of an integrated local football pathway.

In 2011 Zikel and Liam, the new head coach, had initially decided that their priority was to build up the project in order to get more young people to attend the sessions. It was decided to widen the range of project activities on a Saturday morning to include other sports such as urban golf, to develop a girl’s section and to get the funding for an outdoor shelter to support their sessions in winter. However, in 2013, there had been further changes in the voluntary management team as Liam, the head coach had left the project for a new job, other volunteer coaches had also left the project and many of the changes that they had planned had not taken place. This demonstrated the weakness of a local approach to project planning for the future without external funders who would have required a project implementation plan with targets, monitoring data and accountability.

In 2013, Zikel had another new plan for the future of this session as he wanted to retain it as a session for those young people who enjoyed playing football on a regular basis but who would not have the playing ability to reach a high enough standard to play in a club or a league. Zikel explained his plan:

> ‘The aim for this location is to maintain it as a development centre for those kids who can’t progress. After that, once the numbers begin to progress

> slowly, then I will be looking into leagues and getting them into Sunday leagues or Saturday leagues…..That's the plan' (Interview: 22.06.2013).

Zikel wanted to expand the project out of the area and hand the running of the sessions over to the other volunteer coaches:

> 'Things are moving, we're transforming, stage by stage and I want to push my volunteers to start managing all of this and do their own thing. That's something I want to discuss [with them] today' (Interview: 22.06.2013).

There was, however, no evidence of any planning for the recruitment of more young people to the existing Saturday session even though the project's volunteers coaches had confirmed that this was their highest priority.

This 'local-level' approach to project planning by the project coordinator had had a negative impact on project implementation as the future plans kept changing, taking the focus off the current situation and not solving the current project crisis which had led to a declining number of participants. This demonstrated the vulnerability of an isolated project that was located outside a formal structure, unable to access external funding with the requirement for accountability and without the support of benevolent partners to give it access to resources and insight so that it could have a greater chance of survival in the future.

CONCLUSION

This case study illustrated a project set up at a time when Kingdon's three streams, problem stream, political stream and policy solutions converged. The Aston football project had been established during the period when social exclusion and regeneration through sport were at the heart of the national policy stream, driving the development of the national New Deal for Communities programme as the policy response to the local problem stream. The project had been developed in response to a number of local issues that were already elements of the local problem stream addressed by Aston Pride's Delivery Plan. The local issues which formed the basis of the project's rationale, included the lack of integrated football opportunities for young people, a lack of community integration, employability and antisocial behaviour and gang crime in Aston. The project was able to attract funding from the national policy streams so that it could use sport to address these local issues. This

funding created the requirement for a project implementation plan with targets fostering a compliance with a ‘top-down’ approach to implementation by the project staff at the start and middle of the project. This implementation plan was supported by the wide range of partners and projects which had been funded to support Aston Pride’s delivery plan. The project evaluation demonstrated that it was exceeding its targets at this stage, contributing to the view held by its project staff that there was no need for close partnerships or links to football-related organisations to support its work.

However, in the middle years of the project, the content of these three streams started to change and the national and local policy commitment to social exclusion and regeneration through sport began to weaken. This shift in the national policy stream took place at the same time as the ending of the project’s funding. This in turn led to the ending of Birmingham City Council’s role as host agency and was compounded by the approaching closure of Aston Pride with access to its funding stream and local partners. There had been no further major funding bids to organisations such as the Football Foundation to support the project’s implementation plan when the funding from Aston Pride and the Hat Trick programme came to an end in 2009. This would have had the potential to create a longer period of financial stability for the project and its staff as well as to retain the support of Birmingham City Council as its host agency. The choice of host agency had been limited at the start of the project, with Birmingham City Council as the only organisation willing to accept this role. However, the nature of this partnership with the project meant that the host agency did not protect it from the changes in the national policy stream or give it access to the local political steam with potential new partners. The lack of common ground with Aston Villa Football Trust at the start of the project meant that the project did not have the opportunity to have a football-focused host agency which could have also protected it from the changes in the national stream and enable it to build on its original rationale on a long term basis with the potential to merge with similar football projects such as the Kickz programme and Positive Futures. The financial instability created by the lack of funding streams available to the project had resulted in an insecure environment for the project staff who left for more secure employment, leaving the project’s volunteers with sole responsibility for the project.

This organisational change in the later years of the project acted as a catalyst to the move away from a 'top-down approach' to project implementation towards a 'street-level' approach. This can be seen in table 5.7 which shows how the project moved away from fulfilling the majority of Hogwood and Gunn's requirements (1984:199-206) towards fulfilling the majority of conditions for adopting a bottom-up approach to implementation (Lipsky: 1980).

Table 5.7 Analysis of the approach to project implementation at the Aston football project

Requirements for 'top – down' implementation (based on Hogwood and Gunn's conditions)	**Aston football project Early and Middle Years 2005-2008**	**Aston football project Later years up to the end of the research period 2009-2013**
1. There is a single (or very few) implementing agency (ies)	**Yes** *The project was hosted by Birmingham City Council and received its funding directly from the national and local agencies*	**Yes** *The project was independent, run by volunteers and not hosted by any other organisations*
2. There is complete understanding of, and agreement upon, the objectives to be achieved throughout the implementation process	**Generally, yes.** *The project staff focused on the objectives agreed with their funding partners.*	**No** There were no external funding requirements. The project volunteers regularly changed the emphasis on the project rationale, so that they could attract small pots of funding or pursue their own ideas..
3. In making progress towards the policy making objectives the tasks to be performed by each implementing agent can be specified in complete detail	**Yes** *The project staff had detailed development plans that were prepared as part of the funding applications.*	**No** *There were no written plans in place and verbal plans regularly changed*
4. There is perfect communication between implementing agents	**Yes** *The project staff worked closely with each other, ensuring good levels of communication*	**No** *The volunteers mainly worked in isolation with little evidence of involvement in the planning or management of the project. A turnover of volunteers resulted in a lack of continuity*
5. Those in authority can demand and	**Yes**	**No**

will receive perfect obedience	*The project met the requirements of its funders fully.*	*The project was not accountable to any agencies*
6. The circumstance external to the implementing agency do not impose crippling constraints	**Yes** *The project was protected from any negative constraints by its funding*	**NO** *The external circumstances did impose crippling constraints and made it difficult for the project to survive*
7. Adequate time and sufficient resources are made available for each stage of the implementation process	**Yes** *The project had sufficient resources for this stage of the project*	**NO** *There was a lack of funding and support for the project which meant that at one point it had to take a break until new funding was found.*
8. The policy to be implemented is based upon a valid theory of cause and effect	**Yes** *for the football rationale.* **Possibly** *for some elements of the social inclusion based rationale.*	**Yes** *for the football and volunteer rationale*
9. The relationship between causes and effect is direct with few if any intervening links	**Yes** *for the football rationale.* **Possibly** *for elements of the social based rationale but also indirect links as a result of the complexity of the social issue.*	**Yes** *for the football and volunteer development rationale.*
Conditions for 'bottom-up' implementation (based on Lipsky)	**Aston football project Early and Middle Years 2005-2008**	**Aston football project Later years and now 2009-2013**
10. Street Level workers with high ideals	**Yes.** *The project staff had previously worked with challenging young people and were committed to their work and wanted to make a difference*	**Partly.** *The turnover of volunteers meant that the high ideals of the first project coordinator were lost although the volunteer coaches all wanted to make a difference to the local young people.*
11. Workers with the ability to exercise discretion and autonomy	**Yes** *The project staff were allowed to pursue other short term interventions if it complemented the project*	**Yes** *The project volunteers had total freedom and autonomy*

12. Working under intolerable pressure such as uncertainty about resources for their work, inadequate time to achieve objectives	**No** *The project staff had secure jobs and secure funding for the delivery of their work in this period of the project's life*	**YES** *The project volunteers had little certainty about project funding and were personally responsible for the project's survival. There was no external support for the project's volunteers*

The project's volunteers had found it increasingly difficult to obtain funding for the existing activity programme during the later years of the project, resulting in the chase for local funding sources. By this time, the contents of the national policy stream had firmly shifted away from social exclusion and sport as a social tool towards other elements such as the Coalition Government's focus on the Big Society and increasing sports participation rates. The project's rationale around volunteer development similarly increased in importance, reflecting the success of the project's volunteers at finding small pots of funding which had been put in place locally to support the national priority of the Big Society and development of volunteering.

This 'street-level' approach to implementation had also changed the project volunteers' method of future planning for the project. As a result of this change, their project planning had resulted in a stronger focus on adapting the project to attract funding to support volunteer development rather than planning to address the issue of the recruitment of young people for the project.. This approach consequently removed the potential opportunity for applications to national and local funding streams which could have addressed the local issue of low participation rates in football and brought some financial stability to the project. This was compounded by the reliance on project volunteers to run the project in the future with minimal support, no succession planning and volunteer retention issues. This street-level approach to project development and implementation which took place at a time when the national policy streams had changed, with no support from partners and only limited access to local funding streams increased the project's fragility and vulnerability, placing its survival at risk in the future.

CHAPTER 6
CASE STUDY NO.2 BRAUNSTONE FOOTBALL PROJECT

BACKGROUND TO BRAUNSTONE

The second case study was located in Braunstone, Leicester, with a population of just over 13,000 residents. The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) rated Braunstone as the 57th most deprived ward in England. In 2001 the demographic profile of the area was as follows (based on data from the Office for National Statistics and the 2001 Census):

- 85.1% of households experienced one or more dimensions of deprivation
- 14% had a limiting lifelong illness compared to 11.5% in Leicester
- 20% of 16-34 year olds had no qualifications and were economically inactive
- 25.9% were in elementary occupations
- 27.1% had no car and were unemployed compared to 16.2% in Leicester
- 21% of pupils in the main secondary feeder schools in Braunstone where pupils achieved 5 GCSEs at Grades A-C compared to 49% nationally.
- 24% of the resident population aged 16 and over were on income support compared with a national average of 8 %
- 6.8% of the population was non-white
- North Braunstone was 8th in the East Midlands for rates of teenage conceptions and had the highest rates in Leicester
- Approximately 70% of adults smoked in Braunstone compared to a national average of 28%

This demographic profile demonstrated that residents living in the Braunstone New Deal area had experienced multiple layers of deprivation ranging from low income to poor educational attainment and poor health which had contributed to high levels of social exclusion. Braunstone had an overwhelmingly white population in 2001 unlike Aston, the first case study, with the result that community cohesion was absent from the NDC's delivery plan and not identified as a local issue to be addressed.

The majority of the project's sessions were run on Braunstone Park in the centre of the Braunstone estate, shown in the centre of the picture

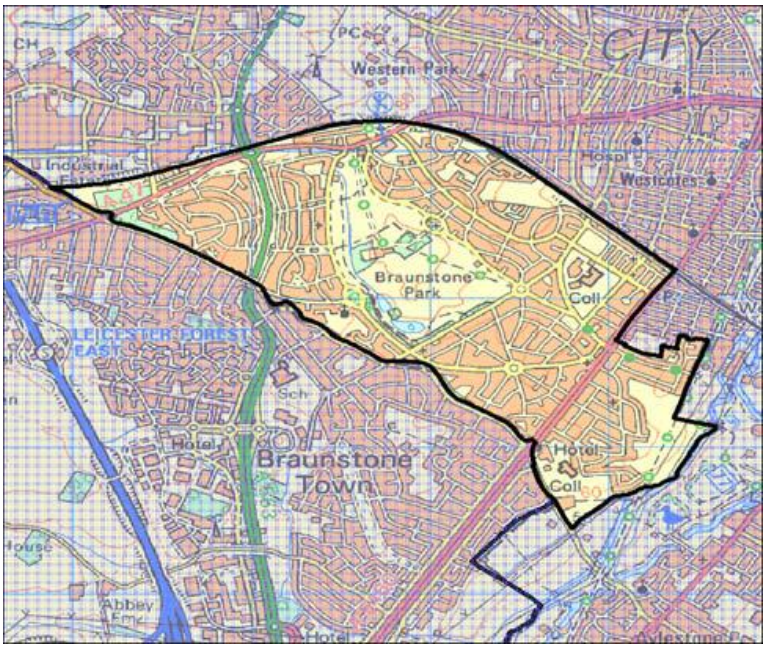

Figure 6.1.Location for the project's sessions (Leicester City Council)

Young people at the MUGA on Braunstone Park taking part in the Fireball project, an arson reduction initiative in partnership with the Fire Service.

Figure 6.2 Fireball Project (Sport Action Zone)

Braunstone, designated as a New Deal for Communities (NDC) Pathfinder area by the Government in 2000, was allocated £49.5m to regenerate the estate over a seven-year period. Braunstone Community Association (BCA) was set up by Leicester City Council as a separate company to implement the NDC delivery plan for Braunstone which aimed to address the key indicators for deprivation in Braunstone which were as follows:

- The highest mortality rates in the city
- Poor housing
- The second highest level of unemployment in the city
- Low levels of educational achievement
- High crime rates
- Low pay
- Lack of community and shopping facilities

As part of this process, it had been recognised that Braunstone residents also had low sport participation rates and faced multiple barriers to taking part in sport. Braunstone was, designated as a Sport Action Zone (SAZ) in 2001 by Sport England, one of twelve Sport Action Zones nationally and only one of two in the East Midlands area. The aim of the Sport Action Zone programme was described by Sport England as follows:

> ‘’Sport England launched the Sport Action Zone initiative in 2000 to help combat low levels of participation in sport in communities that experience the effects of poverty and deprivation. The aim was to help local communities to help themselves by getting local people to play a role in identifying what was needed in each Zone and then involving them in the planning and delivery process.’’ (Sport England: 2006)

In 2001, the BCA and Sport England had appointed a Sport Action Zone Manager and Assistant Manager to lead the work of the SAZ in Braunstone for a five year period. This work had focused on the establishment of a number of projects that had been integrated into the NDC’s main regeneration initiatives. When the NDC programme funding came to an end in 2009, the BCA was replaced by ‘b-inspired’, an organisation representing the Braunstone Foundation which was set up by the

BCA itself before it ceased operating, to continue the regeneration work in Braunstone. The SAZ also changed its name to fit into the new organisation and became known as 'b-active'. The aim of 'b-active' complemented the initial work of the SAZ but as seen below, it had a wider geographical remit than solely Braunstone and ran city-wide projects such as the Braunstone Achievement Project as described on its website:

> 'The b-active service uses sport as a vehicle to address a number of issues that communities face, such as educational attainment, health, crime and unemployment. Our aim is: *'To use sport and physical activity as a way of improving the quality of life for communities, now and in the future.'' (B inspired website: 2014)*

One of the major projects arising from the initial work of the SAZ was the Braunstone football project, the subject of this case study, which started in 2002 and apart from a short break in 2012, was still continuing to run football sessions for young people in 2014.

BACKGROUND OF THE BRAUNSTONE FOOTBALL PROJECT

In 2002, the Needs Assessment and Action Plan (NAAP), produced by the SAZ team identified the development of the Braunstone football project as a key project that would meet the needs of young people who said that they wanted to start playing football or who wanted to play more football. The two main aims for the Braunstone Football Project were identified as firstly, to give young people the opportunity to play football and secondly, to use football as a way of reducing crime and anti-social behaviour on the estate. This project was closely linked to the NDC's community safety theme, a priority in the BCA's Delivery Plan as illustrated below:

> 'Make Braunstone a safer place to live and more fun. A nice, friendly, safe, crime-free environment…….In SRB and New Deal consultations and surveys the people of Braunstone, young and old, put crime and safety at the top of their agenda. Improvements in safety will improve the reputation of the estate, attract positive new residents and reduce the number of void properties which attract vandalism, litter and fire.' (Braunstone Community Association:1999)

NACRO was selected as the host agency responsible for delivering the project as the aims of this organisation were considered as complementary to the project's aim of reducing crime and anti-social behaviour through sport. The project, originally given the title of the 'Braunstone Football project', was renamed the 'Reducing Youth Crime through Sport' project in order to improve its success rate for applying for funding from community safety organisations. This renaming also opened the project up to other sports for young people and not just for football. This was important as the project needed to be seen to cater for girls and young women and it was recognised that this would be difficult if only football was on offer. When the project staff were in place, it was decided to rename the project again with a title which would be seen as more accessible to young people and it became known as the 'Score4Sport' project.

The original delivery plan for the project had two main aspects: firstly, the delivery of a sports activity programme for 8 to 19 year olds including football and secondly, the provision of sports 'youth workers' who would be responsible for involving 'disengaged' young people in the project and acting as mentors for them while supporting behaviour change. It was envisaged that this delivery programme would give young people more opportunities to play sport, in particular football, engage them in positive activity as well as change their behaviour. In the middle years of the project from 2004 to 2009, the project ran regular sessions at Braunstone Park (see figure 6.1) for local young people based around football, working closely with local community safety partners and developing young people as volunteers and qualified coaches (see figure 6.2).

The funding for the Braunstone Football project ran out in March 2012 and the project ceased to function at this point. However, the project was revived six months later in September 2012 by a newly formed local social enterprise, Community Projects Plus, set up by two local sports workers, Melling and Hunt, who had previously been employed at the Fit and Active Buddies (FAB) project in Braunstone. Melling, the contracts manager for Community Projects Plus, confirmed that the motivation for reinstating this project was as a result of his own past involvement in regeneration and sports projects in Braunstone:

> ''There'd been loads of activity before but it's kind of dropped off and we thought that's something that needs to come back and we could both kind of

influence… It came about just through pure determination to make things happen.' (Interview: May 2013)

Melling confirmed that it was doubtful that any other organisations would have taken it over:

> 'No, I don't think so, it's hard to say. It's our history of working in Braunstone. People used to come in on their days off, me and Jon [Hunt] got that real relationship, love relationship with it.' (Interview: May 2013).

Community Projects Plus had become the project's new advocates and secured new sources of funding for the project albeit on a short term basis which had meant that the project had been able to provide a programme of regular football sessions to local young people in Braunstone.

The development of this project from 2002 to 2014 is summarised in table 6.1. below.

Table 6.1. The timeline for the development of the Braunstone Football project

DATE	STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT
2002	• Project identified and developed as a priority in the Braunstone SAZ NAAP
2002	• Project funding secured and NACRO appointed as the host agency • Dean Tams, SAZ Assistant Manager, appointed as the project manager
2003/04	• Project staff recruited and the delivery of the project began. • Office base in Braunstone with the NDC, SAZ team and FAB project
2004 to 2006	• Regular sports sessions for 8 to 19 year olds. • Workshops for young people around employment, education, drug and alcohol abuse in partnership with other NDC projects • Successful Fireball project with the Fire Service and the Police • Volunteer development for young people • Volunteers employed as qualified sports coaches at the project
2006-08	• Tams, original project manager left the project for a post within NACRO as Regional Manager • Franklin, Assistant project manager, promoted to take over the

DATE	STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT
	project • Project delivery continued
2008	• Franklin left the project and replaced by a project manager new to the project, Dominic (*surname unknown*). • Project continued to deliver but participant numbers started to decline.
2009	• Tams, the NACRO Regional Manager set up a new training and education project in Leicester. • The office base for Score4Sport moved from Braunstone to a new city centre based NACRO training and education facility but this was dogged by vandalism and break –ins and was eventually closed down. • The project continued to deliver but the decline in activities and participants continued
2010	• Dominic left the post of project manager and was not replaced for a period of time • The project continued to deliver sessions but these became haphazard, participant numbers declined, no management support from NACRO
2011	• Local coordination of the project ceased and was done sporadically by an existing manager at NACRO with responsibility for projects in other areas. • SiSports was contracted to run the sessions but participant numbers continued to decline with uncertainty about the future of the project
End of March 2012	• The project funding ran out, the staff were made redundant, the project stopped and NACRO ceased its involvement
April 2012 to end August 2012	• Project ceased.
September 2012	• The project was reinstated by Community Project Plus • Funding from Positive Futures as part of the 'Positive Futures through football' programme. • Football sessions at the MUGA on Braunstone Park • Funding from the Police Crime Commissioner

DATE	STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT
January 2014	• The project's session for 14-17 year olds was designated as a 'Football Mash-up' by the Leics FA. • The funding from the Police Crime Commissioner extended until the end of March 2014

Key changes in the development of this project have been used to divide the case study into four main time periods to support the use of the policy analysis frameworks. The 'start' period of the project covers the first 18-24 months which include the confirmation of the funding streams, appointment of project staff and the commencement of project activities. The 'middle years' period of the project covers a period of stability when the first two project coordinators, Tams and Franklin, were in post and it ends when the NDC started to wind up and NACRO's interest in the project started to wane. The 'later years' period of the project covers a time of change and instability when the project activity started to fail and the project ceased to run. The 'project revival' period covers the time when the project was reinstated by a new host agency and ends at the point when this research was carried out. These periods have been built into the policy analysis frameworks to show more clearly how the changes in these three streams have affected the project over its lifetime in terms of its rationale, partnerships and funding sources.

THE RATIONALE FOR RUNNING THE SPORTS PROGRAMME

The community safety theme

Community safety was viewed as a key element of the local problem stream when the project was first established in 2002. The project was seen as being able to contribute towards community safety through the perceived power of football to transform the lives of young people, providing a successful diversionary activity for challenging young people, especially boys and young men. This rationale influenced and determined the choice of the host agency, NACRO, the range of community safety partners involved in the project, the funding sources and the project's delivery plan which included a number of sessional youth workers who would carry out one to

one work with ‘challenging’ young people to support behaviour change at the football sessions.

Community safety remained a key rationale throughout the project’s lifetime even after it had restarted in September 2012 after a six-month break. Melling, the Community Projects Plus contract manager, explained that the problem of anti-social behaviour was still prevalent in 2014:

> ‘the key thing is identifying the hotspots and drawing people into the session. We know there are still areas on the estate where anti-social behaviour is taking place.’ (Interview: May 2013).

This was also confirmed by the project’s head coach, Simon Seal, who had been running sessions at the project since it had been set up as he explained the aim of his work:

> ‘Keeping the kids off the street and giving them something positive to look forward to.’ (Interview: May 2013).

It was clear that community safety was still seen as a predominant feature of the local problem stream by the local police who supported the sessions through social media. Melling described the project’s relationship with the police:

> ‘The local police follow us on Twitter and they retweet the info about session times. They’ve been doing it quite a lot since September.’ (Interview: May 2013)

However, this view of the importance of community safety in 2013 was not shared by all partners and in particular, Davis, the manager of the B-active project, who maintained that community safety issues were no longer such a high priority on the estate in 2014. Davis elaborated on her view:

> ‘Well, I think it’s really low in comparison to what they were before, you know, I think it’s a multitude of things. You’ve obviously got StreetVibe that’s done a lot in the area, you’ve still got sessions running at the Grove, there’s sessions still running at places like the schools, after school clubs.’ (Interview: February 2014).

This view is reflected in table 6.2. below with the move away from prevention replaced by an emphasis upon punishment and the problem of the rising prison population as the key feature of the national problem stream. However, there was still some agreement at a local level by partners and politicians that crime prevention and the reduction of ASB was still an important problem to be addressed.

Table 6.2: Analysis of the problem stream for the Braunstone football project, 2002-2014, using the Multiple Streams Framework

	2002- 03 **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2004-2009** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT'S DEVELOPMENT**	**2009 – 2012** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2012 - 2014** **THE PROJECT REVIVAL**
PROJECT RATIONALE	• ***Community safety*** • ***Football development***	• ***Community safety*** • ***Volunteer development*** • ***Football development*** • ***Health (limited)***	• ***Community safety***	• ***Community safety*** • ***Football development***
PROJECT FUNDING	• ***BCA*** • ***Positive Futures***	• ***BCA*** • ***Positive Futures*** • ***Leicester City Council*** • ***Vinspired***	• ***BCA (ends in 2010)*** • ***Positive Futures*** • ***LCC (facility use)***	• ***Positive Futures*** • ***Police Crime Commissioner*** • ***LCC (facility use)*** • ***Leics FA – Mash-up***
THE NATIONAL AND LOCAL PROBLEM STREAM	• Social exclusion and areas of high deprivation, nationally and locally • High youth crime and ASB, nationally and locally • High levels of unemployment and low educational attainment	• Emphasis on deprivation and high youth crime and ASB decreasing nationally • High local levels of unemployment and low educational attainment for young people in deprived areas • Local youth crime and ASB	• No national priority for social exclusion or deprivation issues after Labour left government in 2010. • National move towards the Big Society with the need to increase social capital and volunteering. • National move towards localism	• No national discussion about social deprivation or regeneration. • High priority on individual responsibility, the Big Society and the issue of welfare dependency. . • Crime prevention loses some of its importance

	2002- 03 START OF THE PROJECT	2004-2009 MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT'S DEVELOPMENT	2009 – 2012 LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT	2012 - 2014 THE PROJECT REVIVAL
	for young people in deprived areas • Low participation in football	issues • Low participation in football	within the context of austerity and the recession • Local issues of ASB • Low participation rates in sport nationally including football	nationally • Youth crime and ASB, locally • Low participation rates in sport nationally including football
NATIONAL PROBLEM SPONSOR	• ODPM and its Social Exclusion Unit	• ODPM and its Social Exclusion Unit (ODPM dissolved in 2006) • Home Office	• Home Office (specialist unit only) • Sport England • The FA	• Home Office (specialist unit) • Sport England • The FA
LOCAL PROBLEM SPONSOR	• BCA • SAZ	• BCA • SAZ • NACRO	• SAZ/ B-Activ • NACRO	• Community Projects Plus • Leics FA

The football development theme

Football development remained a key rationale for the project throughout its lifetime, the result of a mainly top-down approach to project implementation. The project provided free football playing opportunities for local young people as well as supporting the development of volunteer football coaches during the middle years of the project. However, the project's remit did not extend to club development or the provision of local pathways into junior football clubs. In the middle years of the project's life, the project staff took a more flexible approach to implementation and the selection of sports was widened to include activities such as dance, rounders, cricket and basketball, often as a means to attracting young people especially girls who were not interested in playing football. By 2013, the project had returned to only providing football sessions for young people in Braunstone although the coaches had started to discuss the potential to provide other sports in order to attract new participants especially girls and young women.

The importance of football continued to be recognised when the project was reinstated in September 2012 by Community Projects Plus as Melling explained:

> 'Football is important. I think it has to be based on what drives the young people to come down, that's the key thing.' (Interview: May 2013).

The project had also started to develop a wider role in the development of junior football as clarified by Seal, the head coach:

> 'A lot of them are raw talent. We spoke to a couple and signposted them to clubs. I go and watch them.' (Interview: May 2013).

This wider role had been adopted by the head coach who confirmed that he had signposted some of the young people at the sessions to local football clubs and as well as to LCFC's development centres. Seal also described how the sessions had been used to prepare these young people for the football club environment:

> 'We're engaging a lot of sixteen, seventeen, eighteen year olds who've never been in that club environment and the whole mentality changes. 'What do we do, Si?' Well, you can't go there and just turn up when you feel like it. You're going to have to train. You're going to have to address your diet, your

> smoking, else you're not going to last. You can't last down here ten or fifteen minutes.' (Interview: May 2013)

The project's approach to football during its lifetime reflected the changes in national sports policy as the emphasis on addressing low participation rates football through the provision of playing opportunities during the start and middle years of the project was extended to developing informal pathways to local junior clubs during the project's revival, reflecting the priorities of the FA. The project retained a mainly top-down approach to implementation of this aspect of the project, driven by the view of the FA and of the project staff that football was a key sport for the engagement of local young people.

The volunteer development theme

The development of volunteers was not seen as an important rationale at the start of the project. However, it soon became an established objective for the project during the middle years as the project staff became aware of the benefits of engaging local young people as volunteers and qualified coaches. This work supported the BCA's delivery plan theme of employability by helping to address the local problem of low educational attainment and high unemployment rates for local young people. The project received funding for volunteer development from firstly, the Barclays Spaces for Sport Programme and Football Foundation revenue funding which accompanied the capital development of the new sports facilities on Braunstone Park and secondly, from v-Inspired', a national youth volunteering agency. This enabled the project's coach education programme to provide young volunteers with qualifications such as the Junior Football Leader Organiser and the FA Level One coaching certificate. This was confirmed by Davis:

> 'It had a coach education programme, lots of courses, they employed the volunteers to become coaches for role models.' (Interview: February 2014).

B-Activ had continued this work with the young volunteers as highlighted by one of the case studies on their website:

> 'Chris had been unemployed since leaving school in 2005. He had always been interested in sports. He started volunteering when he was 15 for a project near to his home in Braunstone called SCORE 4 Sport. Through this

> he went on to do a Junior Football Organiser award and the Junior Sports Leader Award before becoming a volunteer at Braunstone Grove.' (Braunstone Achievement project website: 2014)

However, the project's rationale around volunteering and training started to lose its importance after Franklin, the second project manager, left the project in 2009 and a new project manager came into post. The lack of continuity in project management and the relocation of the project's office base from Braunstone to NACRO's new education and training centre in Leicester led to the severing of ties with its partners in Braunstone and was a major factor in the discontinuation of joint working in areas such as coach education. Davis confirmed the impact of these two events,:

> 'There's a lot of joint-working there and then when they moved and Hannah [Franklin] left, obviously all of that stopped.' (Interview: February 2014)

It was clear that although the development of NACRO's new education and training centre in Leicester had had the potential to support this particular rationale for the Braunstone Football project, the education and training centre's failure and subsequent closure meant that work to support volunteering and training was neglected and the project focused solely on running football playing sessions for the young people. This period also marked the beginning of a reduced commitment to the project from NACRO as its host agency.

After the project had been reinstated in 2012, the importance of the development of young people as volunteers was recognised once again. Melling reflected on the work that had originally been done by the project in the middle years:

> 'A lot of the coaches from the Score 4 Sport project that was here were actually local young people who had grown up taking part in the sessions and who go on to lead. And I think there's something in that in terms of regeneration, in terms of young people seeing a positive role model, a positive influence.' (Interview: May 2013)

Seal reported that funding from the police had been used to train eight young people from Braunstone to become Level One football coaches. One of these young people now regularly volunteered at the project's session in 2013 and worked on a paid sessional basis for Seal's own coaching company.

The importance of volunteer development for the future rationale of the project was unclear at the time of the interviews in 2013. Community Projects Plus recognised that volunteers were important for the sustainability of the session but the majority of the existing volunteers were young people from outside the local area who were using the sessions to complete their voluntary hours as part of the Junior Sports Leaders Awards (JSLA) and Community Sports Leaders Award (CSLA) courses. Seal recognised that many of the young people at this session were interested in becoming qualified coaches and earning money from this career:

> ‘Most of them are unemployed, a lot of them have turned their life around. I would say a good majority have said, ‘Can I come and work for you, Si?’’ (Interview: May 2013)

This demonstrated that the project was still seen as a potential way of addressing local youth unemployment issues by providing a pathway into a career as a sports coach for local young people especially if they had been in trouble and had not achieved good educational grades at school.

The rationale of volunteer development had become an integral part of the project in its middle years but the effect of host agency neglect and abandonment had meant that this feature of the project had disappeared. The revival of the project in 2012 had not yet seen the return of this rationale as the project had focused on community safety and football as a result of the funding sources, namely the Leicestershire Police Commissioner, Positive Futures and the Leicestershire FA.

The environment theme

The improvement of the local environment was an important theme within the BCA’s Delivery Plan. The regeneration of Braunstone Park was a key element of this theme as, located in the middle of the estate, it was often described by local residents as ‘a jewel’ and a ‘green lung’ even though many of its facilities had been neglected, vandalised and it was often viewed as an ‘unsafe’ area for children. Nevertheless, Braunstone Park was the main facility for outdoor sport on the estate and an important resource for the project. The project therefore, benefited from capital funding brought in by the BCA and the SAZ team from a number of national partners for the regeneration of sports facilities on Braunstone Park including a new floodlit

MUGA, changing rooms, traversing wall and football pitches. This capital funding also brought revenue funding with it for the facility development plans which was used by the project to support its own activity and coach education programme. The improvement of the environment was not part of the rationale for the project but it did contribute to helping the BCA to deliver its own targets for improving the local environment by ensuring that these new sports facilities were well-used by local young people. As the middle years of the project came to an end, so the revenue funding from these facilities also came to an end. Lack of sports facilities was no longer an issue in Braunstone, making it more difficult for the newly appointed project managers to find new sources of funding to replace it. When the case study interviews took place in 2013-14, these sports facilities were still in good condition and well-used by local residents, providing little reason for this theme to be part of the project's rationale.

The health and well-being theme

Health and well-being was not part of the rationale for the project at the beginning of its life even though the benefits of increased participation were recognised. The documentary evidence does indicate that there were potential links to local drugs and alcohol workers, however, it is not clear whether this intervention ever took place. At a later stage of the project, there is evidence that a funding bid was made to Leicester City Council's Area Committee covering Braunstone in May 2006 for a new element of the project (Score 4 Sport is called S4S in the bid) in partnership with the local Fit and Active Buddies (FAB) project run by Leicester City PCT to be called 'Junior Calorie Killers and Fit Chicks'. The project stated that:

> 'The S4S project is now keen to work with young people around the obesity issue and has already addressed a need to look at this type of work.' (Leicester City Council Cabinet Report: 2006).

There was no evidence to show that this funding bid was successful and it is not clear whether health and well-being became part of the project's rationale at this stage of its development. However, the independent evaluation carried out by Hall and Aitkin did show that, in 2007, the project did have a role in improving health for young people:

> ‘In addition to contributing to crime reduction and economic targets, the project is further developing its contribution to health and well-being. Currently it works in partnership with the Community Food project to run a programme of Healthy Eating in a number of local junior schools.’ (Hall and Aitkin: April:2008)

However, this joint-working remained a minor element of its work but demonstrated the project manager’s street-level approach to project development and implementation at this period of the project. When the project was reinstated in 2012, health and well-being was not an element of its rationale. The contract manager described how there had been some joint working at one of the sessions with a sexual health worker but that it had been unplanned and was as a result of the health worker’s involvement with the Braunstone Grove Youth House on the same site. However, Seal did recognise that poor health did affect the project’s sessions:

> ‘There’s probably seven or eight who’s really hooked on, you know, cannabis and bits and that’s their drug before the start. They can’t play unless they have that and so we’ve been working really, really hard over the last umpteen months to educate them. To be fair they’re doing more [football] now…..and it was really disruptive, so now I try to implement that quite strict.’ (Interview: May 2013)

However, it was unlikely that health and well-being would become an element of the project rationale in the near future.

Conclusion for the rationale of the project

The rationale of community safety and football development had been embedded into the project from its start in 2002 and it remained the core rationale for the project throughout its lifetime even after there had been a break in the project in 2012. This core rationale continued to be viewed as an important local solution to a local issue even after regeneration through sport and crime prevention had mainly disappeared as elements of the national policy stream. Football remained the main sport for the project as it was considered locally as the most effective means of engaging young people at risk of ASB and in the later years of the project, the Leicestershire FA reinforced this rationale by funding it as part of its own football participation work.

The project also benefited from the BCA's work to improve the local environment and in particular the sports facilities on Braunstone Park. However, this did not become part of the project's own rationale although it did contribute to BCA's own rationale on improving the local environment.

The 'street-level' approach to project implementation during the middle years of the project meant that the project had also adopted other objectives such as those related to health and well-being and volunteer development. Health and well-being formed a minor, informal and temporary part of the project's rationale whereas volunteer development became a more formal, integrated part of the project's rationale during the middle years. Both these elements of the project's rationale disappeared as a result of project staff changes towards the end of the middle years of the project. The revival of the project in 2012 in a much smaller form was the result of a social enterprise founded by two workers who had been involved in the work of the SAZ through the middle years of the project. Their view that the project had been an effective local solution to reducing ASB through football in Braunstone had resulted in successful funding applications to local and national community safety and football related agencies, reinstating the project with its original rationale of community safety and football.

PARTNERSHIPS

The BCA AND THE SAZ

In 2002, the main partner for this project was the BCA which supported it with funding from the NDC Delivery Plan's Community Safety theme, as well as providing an office base in Braunstone with informal day to day support for the project staff. The funding was initially for a three year period but it was extended by the BCA as a result of the monitoring reports which showed that the project had achieved its targets. The project staff attended the BCA's Community Safety theme group meetings and used these networking opportunities to develop new elements of the project in association with other community safety partners such as the Police and the Fire Service.

The Braunstone Football project staff shared an office with the SAZ and FAB (Fit and Active Braunstone) team, enabling them to work closely together and to retain the focus on the project's rationale. However, the close partnership between the project

and the BCA, SAZ and FAB team started to fragment after Franklin, the second project coordinator had left the project, the project's office base had been moved out of Braunstone and a new project manager was put into post. Davis, SAZ Manager in 2006, explained:

> 'Hannah [Franklin] was very close to us. We used to have joint team meetings between FAB, Score4Sport and SAZ, you know we'd do planning days together, we shared resources, we did the sports festival on the park' (Interview: February 2014).

This partnership working was further weakened by the subsequent coordination of the project centrally by NACRO with little contact between NACRO, its local coaching staff and local partners.

The project became even more vulnerable during the later stage of the middle years of the project's life as the core funding for the SAZ finished in 2007 and BCA's core funding finished in 2010. Table 6.3 shows that the political streams had changed by 2010 and the political priority of the Coalition Government had turned away from addressing social exclusion and supporting welfare policy towards austerity, the 'Big Society' and individual responsibility. The project had no local political supporters or partners during this period to protect it and to give it access to local funding streams to ensure its survival. The project's delivery became unreliable and, in early 2012 the project closed down.

The project was revived in September 2012 after a six-month gap but there was little evidence of partnership working with 'b-inspired' which had replaced the BCA or 'b-active' which was the successor to the SAZ. Melling confirmed this lack of involvement with B-Activ:

> 'The link with this project is minimal, we don't have much involvement. They know it exists but their direction is taking them elsewhere, they are funding-led.' (Interview: May 2013)

This was recognised by Davis herself:

> 'My understanding of it is not so strong.' (Interview: February 2014).

Davis confirmed that the project no longer matched b-active's rationale which prioritised family activities, women and qualifications and employment in 2013:

> 'The main emphasis was around family as there is things for young people and for adults but there isn't things for us together…we've just wrote a bid around that.' (Interview: February 2014).

This lack of local partnerships in Braunstone meant that the project was still reliant on short-term, relatively small pots of funding as the new project entrepreneur, Community Projects Plus, endeavoured to provide the project with stability and a long term future.

Table 6.3. The analysis of the political stream for the Braunstone football project, 2002-2014, using the Multiple Streams Framework

	2002- 03 **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2004-2009** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT'S DEVELOPMENT**	**2009 – 2012** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2012 - 2014** **THE PROJECT REVIVAL**
PROJECT RATIONALE	• ***Community safety*** • ***Football development***	• ***Community safety*** • ***Volunteer development*** • ***Football development*** • ***Health***	• ***Community safety***	• ***Community safety*** • ***Football development***
PROJECT FUNDING	• ***BCA*** • ***Positive Futures***	• ***BCA*** • ***Positive Futures*** • ***Leicester City Council LCC*** • ***Vinspired***	• ***BCA (ends in 2010?)*** • ***Positive Futures (ends in 2012?)*** • ***LCC (facility in kind)***	• ***Positive Futures*** • ***Police Crime Commissioner*** • ***LCC*** • ***Leics FA***
THE NATIONAL AND LOCAL POLITICAL STREAM	• National commitment to tackle social exclusion • National commitment to regeneration through sport	• National commitment to addressing social exclusion coming to an end by mid/ late 2000s. • National move away from tackling the causes of ASB and crime towards individual responsibility	• No national commitment to address social exclusion. • Local commitment to regeneration through sport fading away • Commitment to punishment of offenders • Emphasis on individual	• Vilification of people living in areas of deprivation and on benefit • Emphasis on the market and individual choice • Emphasis on austerity, cutting the deficit and shrinking the state

	2002- 03 **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2004-2009** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT'S DEVELOPMENT**	**2009 – 2012** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2012 - 2014** **THE PROJECT REVIVAL**
	• National and local commitment to tackle youth crime in positive ways	• Local commitment to address ASB	responsibility and choice • 'Shirkers and skivers' takes prominence	• Local commitment to address ASB
NATIONAL POLITICAL SUPPORTERS	• ODPM and SEU • Home Office	• Home Office (Until mid-2000s) • ODPM and SEU (until mid-2000s)	• None	• Home Office (Positive Futures)
LOCAL POLITICAL SUPPORTERS	• The Police • LCC	• The Police • LCC		• Local Police Crime Commissioner • The Police • LCC

NACRO

NACRO was appointed as the host agency by the BCA as it matched the project's community crime reduction rationale and the organisation had demonstrated experience of involvement in sports projects across England. NACRO was paid a management fee for its host agency role and took responsibility for delivery of the project. NACRO adopted an arms-length approach to the management of the project and gave the project staff autonomy and discretion to develop the project as long as it met its funding requirements. NACRO did not play an important role in the delivery of the project whilst the original project staff were in post. Davis emphasised the significance of the original project staff:

> 'She [Franklin] was very sort of passionate about it with, you know, embedding herself within it and I'd say that was probably when it was at its strongest.' (Interview: February 2014)

However, when the original project staff left in 2009, NACRO did not replace Franklin straightaway and the project was left to run itself. Davis elaborated on the impact of this inaction by NACRO:

> 'When Hannah [Franklin] left, they hadn't got anybody so you'd got the volunteers and the coaches that were on the ground…They were young coaches, they needed a steer and when she left they were a bit like in limbo, like 'What do we do?' So the sessions would get cancelled and then there was a bit of a blip where they didn't run any sessions because they were waiting to appoint this other person.' (Interview: February 2014)

In 2010 NACRO did appoint a new project coordinator, Dominic, whose brief was to secure funding for the future of the project and to gather evidence on the impact of the project in order to support these funding bids. However, NACRO did not ensure that this brief was fulfilled and this situation was exacerbated when the postholder left after twelve months with no new project funding in place as observed by Davis below:

> 'I would obviously meet with him a few times, he was brought in to basically secure additional funding and also look at what impact it had and how it could continue, which he didn't do. He was the wrong person really. I don't think he

had the skills that were needed to enable it to, you know, it needed to be embedded, it needed to be sustained.' (Interview: February 2014)

NACRO then gave responsibility for the project to one of its own officers who was already responsible for a number of other projects in the Region. This meant that the project had no access to local management support and it was apparent that the commitment from NACRO as host agency to secure funding to continue the project had died away. Davis described how this had happened below:

> 'They had an officer who came from NACRO but his background wasn't sport, he was running or managing projects…. so his presence wasn't a lot here. I think it's probably fair to say that because they hadn't secured the funding and they hadn't put in an actual plan or anything like that to look at how they were going to move forward, that's where, I think, the momentum, they lost the momentum.' (Interview: February 2014)

NACRO did commission a local sports coaching company, SiSports, to run some of the project's sessions on an interim basis but the project's coaches were all made redundant in 2011 as the project's funding came to an end. NACRO's involvement as host agency also ended in 2012, confirmed by Davis:

> 'It doesn't sit under NACRO, there's no link to NACRO and it's not called Score4Sport.' (Interview: February 2014)

THE POLICE

In 2002, the local police team engaged with the project through their involvement in the BCA's Crime and Community Safety Theme Group as well as through their informal attendance at the project's sessions on Braunstone Park during the early and middle years of the project. The support from the local policing unit also helped to provide funding for local young people to attend the Level One Coaching Certificate course in Football, promoted the project's activities through social media and provided crime statistics for the project as well as the identification of hot spots for the project to address.

The police continued to support the project when it was reinstated in 2012, sharing the view that the project could still provide a local solution to the continuing issue of ASB in Braunstone. The project received short term funding from the Leicestershire

Police Commissioner for its community safety rationale which was extended after achieving its funding targets.

THE YOUTH OFFENDING TEAM (YOT)

The YOT was not a major partner of the project but documentary evidence showed that in the middle years, the project did accept referrals from the YOT for young people who wanted to play sport locally through an informal referral process which relied on the YOT staff's own knowledge about the project.

THE FIRE SERVICE

The Fire Service's Arson Task force was a key partner during the beginning and middle years of the project's life when they worked together to run a specially targeted holiday programme, namely, the Fireball project. This had been instigated as a way of addressing the local issue of arson which included instances where cars, litter bins, benches and buildings had been set on fire by children and young people as well as stones and abuse directed at firefighters attending fires. Davis described the project:

> 'The children would attend weekly training sessions with their managers, where they would go through football skills and drills and would also, team-by-team, have an educational discussion with fire staff regarding arson and the negative effects it can have on the community.' (Interview: February 2014)

However, there was no evidence that this partnership continued after Franklin had left the project.

POSITIVE FUTURES

The Braunstone Football Project received funding from the Home Office's Positive Futures Programme in 2003 to support its work around community safety and young people. However, this funding had ended in 2010-11 and NACRO had not made any further applications. In summer 2012, Community Projects Plus were successful in their application for funding for the project from the Positive Futures programme, managed by the Positive Youth Foundation based in Coventry. The initial funding allocation was for nine months from September 2012 and enabled the project to be restarted and by the time of the interviews, it had been extended for a further three months until September 2013.

LEICESTER CITY COUNCIL

Leicester City Council was an important partner that was involved in a number of different ways over the years, often reflecting the changes in its own organisational priorities. Braunstone Grove Youth House, run by Leicester City Council, did remain as an active partner throughout the project's lifetime upholding its commitment to provide free facility hire of the MUGA to the project at peak times in the evenings and weekends even after the Barclays Spaces for Sport revenue budget had run out. It continued to provide this support to the project when it was reinstated in September 2012. Melling reflected on the importance of this partnership for the project:

> 'The Grove….has dedicated the court time in kind which is a good partnership to have…they [Leicester City Council] saw the benefits of that time in kind to make the courts free, which is fantastic. More in the budget for coaching, tournaments and different things, just to have that flexibility.' (Interview: May 2013)

The City Council's Sports Regeneration Unit (SRU) was involved in the project for the first few years up until about 2008 when it had a strong focus on sport in areas of deprivation including Braunstone. Ball, the Acting Sports Development Manager for Leicester City Council in 2014, was originally the SRU's officer working in Braunstone in 2004 and described how she would visit the project and help out at sessions as there were so many young people attending. The SRU then changed its focus from area-based work to a target group approach. Ball's new area of work at this point was the target group of 'young people' which still enabled the SRU to give financial and coaching support to the project. Ball confirmed that their interest in the project was specifically related to the young people aspect and not related to the issue of community safety. Ball stated that the project had shared their numbers with the city council in return for the financial support and that this had continued as the project had had such good attendance by young people. However, the SRU then changed its priority again from target groups to sport specific work in partnership with National Governing Bodies of Sport (NGBs) and this gave little opportunity for the continuation of joint-working especially as football was not one of their six priority NGBs. This change coincided with the time that the main project coordinators had left the project and there was little or no contact between the city council and

NACRO's new manager for the project. Ball confirmed that they had had little contact with the project since that period although she had recently made new contact with the managers at Community Projects Plus but with no plans for joint-working at that time. Ball did suggest that the SRU might have been interested in supporting the project if it had included a workforce or volunteer development aspect. This lack of partnership working was explained by Davis:

> 'Sports regeneration Unit don't link with them [the project] anymore……I don't think there's that strong political backing. It hasn't got a name, it's not linked to anything.' (Interview: February 2014)

The SRU's involvement and interest in this project clearly changed over the life of this project as their own priorities followed the changes in sport policy at a national level as shown in table 6.4. Their initial commitment to the project reflected the national policy of addressing social exclusion through sport but as national sport policy moved towards an emphasis on increasing participation and work with National Governing Bodies of sport, so their involvement in the project decreased and disappeared.

THE FOOTBALL FOUNDATION AND THE BARCLAYS SPACES FOR SPORT PROGRAMME

The Football Foundation managed the Barclays Spaces for Sport programme in 2003 and allocated both capital and revenue funding to the development of the new floodlit MUGA at the Braunstone Grove Youth House on Braunstone Park. The Braunstone Football Project was seen as a major partner for delivering the football development plan for the new MUGA and benefited from the revenue budget which was managed by Leicester City council. This gave the project access to the free use of the new floodlit MUGA at peak times as well as access to funding to run training and qualification courses to develop young people as volunteers and qualified football coaches at the project. This revenue support ran out towards the end of the middle years of the project.

Table 6.4. Analysis of the policy stream for the Braunstone football project, 2002-2014, using the Multiple Streams Framework

	2002- 03 **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2004-2009** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT'S DEVELOPMENT**	**2009 – 2012** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2012 - 2014** **THE PROJECT REVIVAL**
PROJECT RATIONALE	• ***Community safety*** • ***Football development***	• ***Community safety*** • ***Volunteer development*** • ***Football development?*** • ***Health?***	• ***Community safety***	• ***Community safety*** • ***Football development***
PROJECT FUNDING	• ***BCA*** • ***Positive Futures***	• ***BCA*** • ***Positive Futures*** • ***Leicester City Council (LCC)(cash and facility in kind)*** • ***Vinspired?***	• ***BCA (ends in 2010?)*** • ***Positive Futures (ends in 2012?)*** • ***LCC (facility in kind)***	• ***Positive Futures*** • ***Police Crime Commissioner*** • ***LCC (facility in kind)*** • ***Leics FA – resources for the sessions and training budget***
NATIONAL POLICY	• Mainstream acceptance of the concept of 'regeneration through sport' • Blair's Tough on Crime and the Causes of Crime	• Mainstream view of regeneration through sport starts to fade away	• Mainstream view of regeneration through sport fading away • Cameron's policy of Tough on Crime. Priority for dealing with young offenders through punishment. • Big Society and austerity • No policy priority for people	• Little left of the policy of regeneration through sport • No policy priority for people living in disadvantaged areas • Big Society and austerity • Priority for dealing with young offenders through punishment • Greater emphasis on NGBs to increase participation rates

	2002- 03 START OF THE PROJECT	2004-2009 MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT'S DEVELOPMENT	2009 – 2012 LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT	2012 - 2014 THE PROJECT REVIVAL
			living in disadvantaged areas • Adult participation	
NATIONAL POLICY SOLUTION ADVOCATES	• Sport England • ODPM and its Social Exclusion Unit • Home Office	• Sport England's commitment fades away after the mid 2000s. • No Government Departments with this commitment in the late 2000s.	• Sport England priority for Whole Sport Plans (WSPs) and increasing participation	• Home Office (specialist section) • Sport England priority for increasing participation • FA keen to address low participation rates for its WSP
LOCAL POLICY SOLUTION ADVOCATES	• BCA • SAZ • Local project manager	• BCA • SAZ • Local project manager		• Community Projects Plus • Leics FA

THE LEICESTERSHIRE FA

The Leicestershire FA's involvement with football in Braunstone began in 2001 when it was one of the partners involved in the SAZ's NAAP consultation process and the local issues of the lack of football playing opportunities, lack of structured football clubs and lack of good quality football facilities were identified. The Leicestershire FA identified the development of new football facilities as a priority in its county football development plan which in turn, supported the SAZ application to the Football Foundation for the new MUGA and changing rooms. These new facilities with their revenue budget were essential for the successful implementation of the project. The Leicestershire FA did support the project with the organisation of its coach education courses but it did not become a formal partner of the project until after it was revived in 2012.

In 2013, The Leicestershire FA viewed the potential for partnership working on the Braunstone Football project as an opportunity to help them to achieve their own participation targets and gave the project direct support as part of its 'Mash-up' programme. Longdon, the Leicestershire FA's Football Development Manager (Participation for 16+), described how the partnership was formalised:

> 'We said to them, you're doing something that we want to do, how can we support you to do that 'cos there's no point reinventing the wheel' (Interview: January 2014).

Longdon's post had been funded through the WSP with the aim of increasing participation in football by young people aged 14+ who were not currently playing traditional forms of football. Longdon described the new approach to increasing participation in football:

> 'It's not just about going out on a Saturday afternoon, kicking lumps out of eleven men, sort of thing, so it's a bit of a change in thinking, there are more options, having more people playing football' (Interview: January 2014).

Longdon confirmed that this partnership was based around supporting participation , not achieving specific targets in areas of deprivation:

> ‘In terms of specific targets around areas of deprivation or BME….we have no set target in terms of what we need to achieve.’ (Interview: January 2014)

Longdon did confirm that the Leicestershire FA did see areas of high deprivation as a priority:

> ‘It’s something that we, as a county, are going to explore further anyway, just because we know that football could be a really good tool to engage with people’ (Interview: January 2014).

The Leicestershire FA confirmed that the number of young people aged between the ages of fourteen and seventeen attending the project was helping them to achieve their own targets for the funding that they received from Sport England for their Whole Sport Plan (WSP). Longdon also saw the potential for the project to support the FA’s National Game Strategy by encouraging young people to join local teams:

> ‘If they have got young people at their sessions, that perhaps, you know, dropped out of football and they’re now taking part in the football mash-up, we can signpost them and say, right, okay, if you want to get back into a game or team, we can signpost you in the right direction’ (Interview: January 2014).

The involvement in the FA’s Mash-up programme was the first time that the project had received funding from the FA even though the project’s main rationale was still community safety which was not a priority for NGBs as shown in table 6.4. However, the participation aspect of the project matched the FA’s current national policy around increasing participation for young people aged 14 years and over and made it an attractive project to get involved with. Longdon explained that the partnership between the Leicestershire FA and the Braunstone Football project had started in 2013 through their involvement with Community Projects Plus on a different project:

> ‘Our football development manager for adult football engaged with them for the ‘match fit’ stuff they do in terms of engaging with adult teams and health checks’ (Interview: January 2014).

The importance of this partnership with the FA was welcomed by Community Projects Plus. Melling acknowledged the importance of the football development rationale as well as the wider impact of the project's work, 'I think football being the largest NGB has a real opportunity to improve lives through funding programmes such as this. ..I think it's so easy to write Whole Sport Plans. I think locally for the local FA to come and out and see what's happening and see it in action, really brings it home' (Interview: May 2013).

Conclusion to the partnerships for the project

The project started life with strong local partnerships in place, focused around the BCA, its NDC Delivery Plan and the SAZ. The original project staff strengthened these partnerships and brought new resources to the project which supported and extended the project delivery. NACRO's role as a host agency was not significant for the project whilst the original project staff and local partners were still in place. Indeed, the 'hands-off' approach and the autonomy and discretion that it gave its project staff benefited the project as the staff were able to adopt a top-down approach to implementation as well as taking a 'street-level' approach to the project when new opportunities appeared.

However, when the original project staff, who had acted as local advocates and were passionate about its success, left the project and partners started to disappear as the NDC funding came to an end and the project relocated outside Braunstone, the need for support from the host agency became pressing. The two project managers who replaced the original staff did not share their passion and commitment with the result that not even a street-level approach to the project development was adopted in this time of crisis, indeed the new project staff neglected and abandoned the project. NACRO did not provide the support that the project needed from its host agency at this point, exacerbated by the geographical distance from NACRO's senior managers and the rationale of the project which was based around football and community safety, not working with offenders.

As shown in table 6.5, football organisations only played a minor supporting role in the project throughout its lifetime. The project's main emphasis on community safety had not attracted any local football partnerships until the project's revival in 2012. The changes in the local authority's priorities meant that the project had been unable

to rely on support from this partnership when it started to struggle as its funding ran out. The demise of the project during the later stage of its life shows the importance of having a strong local host agency for supporting a vulnerable project whilst it seeks new funding streams in an environment of changing national policy streams. This crisis resulted in the cessation of the project until a new host agency, Community Projects Plus, came forward voluntarily with the passion to revive the project.

6.5 Analysis of the role of football organisations at the Braunstone football Project, 2002 – 2014

FOOTBALL ORGANISATIONS AND THEIR ROLE	**START OF THE PROJECT** **2002-03**	**MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT** **2004-2008**	**LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT** **2009– 2012**	**THE PROJECT NOW** **2012 - 2014**
UEFA (THROUGH THE NATIONAL FA)	• No role (No application for funding)	• No role	N/A	N/A
FOOTBALL FOUNDATION	• No direct role • Indirectly benefited from capital and revenue funding	• No direct role • Indirectly benefited from capital and revenue funding	• No role	• No role
NATIONAL FA	• No direct role	• No direct role	• No role	• No role
LEICESTERSHIRE FA	• No direct role • Indirectly benefited from facility priorities	• No direct role • Support with arranging coach education courses	• No role	• Support with coach education • Grow Your Game/ Mash-up funding
LEICESTER CITY FOOTBALL TRUST	• No role	• No role	• No role	• No role

THE RECRUITMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE FOR THE SPORTS PROGRAMME

The project had put detailed development plans in place as a result of the funding bids. These had specified the number of young people as well as the age groups for the recruitment of the project. The project staff responded to a mainly top-down approach to implementation and followed these plans. The most important form of recruitment at the beginning of the project was the involvement of local young people in the design of the project's programme. The young people helped to identify the sports, the location, the days and times of the sessions and were part of the recruitment process for the sports coaches. This helped to create credibility and ownership of the project by the young people and helped to strengthen the 'word of mouth' method of recruitment adopted by the project on the estate. When the project started to deliver sessions, they were organised around different areas of Braunstone Park, using portable floodlights on dark evenings as the new floodlit MUGA had not been developed. Young people were therefore visually and audibly attracted to the activity around the edge of the park on an informal, drop-in basis. The project also used its staff to do outreach sessions with the young people on the estate.

The project used a number of ways to recruit young people including the main facility itself, the floodlit MUGA in Braunstone Park which was at the heart of the community so that young people and their parents could easily see and hear the sessions taking place. The project staff also visited the local schools on a regular basis to promote the different activity programmes. The MUGA was in the same location as the Braunstone Grove Youth House which ran regular youth club and activity sessions for young people making it easy for youth workers to bring their young people to the football sessions, widening the base of participants. The sessions ran on a casual basis so that young people were free to turn up to any of the sessions free of charge either on a weekly basis or more irregular with no commitment to attend for a specified number of weeks.

The recruitment of young people for the project maintained its focus on local young people, a funding requirement from BCA, and targeted eight to eighteen year olds with the provision of different sessions for different age groups up until the later

years of the project. The project was recognised as successful for the recruitment of young people who had been involved in or who were at risk of ASB and crime. Melling described the success of the project at its peak:

> ‘It, used to have a lot of young people who used to come and take part and it had a real massive impact locally in terms of anti-social behaviour, giving the kids something to do’ (Interview: May 2013).

However, the aspect of the project’s delivery plan which had focused on the provision of youth workers as mentors for young people to support behaviour change was never delivered. This aspect of the development plan remained ‘hidden’, with no intervention from NACRO to support the project staff to address this work.

The recruitment of young people started to dwindle during the later years as the project’s delivery structure began to fail. Fewer young people turned up to the project as sessions were cancelled at the last minute and there was no certainty about the future of the sessions. There was no evidence of any of the above recruitment methods remaining in place at the project.

The project’s revival in 2012 brought a new impetus to the recruitment of young people even though it was only able to offer one session a week aimed at young people aged fourteen years and over. Community Projects Plus had decided to commission a local coaching company, ‘SiSports’ to provide the coaches for the sessions. Simon Seal, the owner of SiSports, had previously worked as a head coach at the Braunstone Football Project, was passionate about the project and was seen as a main attraction for recruiting young people to the sessions as explained by Melling below:

> ‘Si [Simon] knows the area, lives in the area and his approach, no swearing, no smoking.. supports people to think about how they talk to each other… Simon is the lynch, his stature is one thing, I think the respect he commands from people, I think in terms of a role model for young people to look up to. He cares so much about the community and he cares so much about the young people….He’s part of the furniture, people know him from the area and it’s

> priceless, we get that on top of what we pay for his coaching ability.' (Interview: May 2013)

The project's approach to working with young people was viewed as successful by the coaches, highlighted by Ryan:

> 'As you can see, there's quite a lot of numbers we get down here as well and that's all from us striking a bond with them and making them feel welcome' (Interview: May 2013).

The coaches also reported that at least 30% of the participants were at high risk of getting involved in crime and that some of them had already been in trouble and were turning their lives around as described by Seal:

> 'That lad on the ball now robbed my van five years ago. And I found out obviously twenty four hours before the police that he'd done it and he said, I can't believe that I've robbed your van. Went through crap, hit his lowest point, come down here and, you know, he takes it personally when I speak to him like asking for the ball, but you know, six months ago he come to me and he looked me in the eye and he says, Si, I'm sorry for breaking into your van… but he's obviously one of our high risk.' (Interview: May 2013)

The top-down approach to implementation at the start and middle years of the project ensured that the delivery of the project was designed so that the recruitment of young people helped the project to achieve its targets and rationale as shown in table 6.6 below. However, as the project management changed in the later years of the project, the project delivery structure started to fail and with no strategy for the recruitment of young people, the numbers of young people involved in the project significantly decreased. In 2012 when the project was revived, the new project staff resumed the recruitment of young people albeit for only one session a week and aimed at local older teenagers. This recruitment was based on the new funding requirements and similarly followed a top-down approach to project implementation.

Table 6.6 Analysis of the focus on young people in disadvantaged areas at the Braunstone Football Project, 2002 - 2014

FOCUS ON DISADVANTAGED YOUNG PEOPLE	**2002 - 03 START OF THE PROJECT**	**2004-2008 MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2009 – 2012 LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2012 - 2014 THE PROJECT REVIVAL**
PROJECT RATIONALE	• Community Safety • Football development	• Community Safety • Football development • Volunteer development (increasing in importance)	• Community safety • Football development	• Football development • Community safety
GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THE PROJECT	• Braunstone	• Braunstone	• Braunstone	• Braunstone
RECRUITMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE	• Children and young people • Recruitment through local schools • Outreach work in the community • Word of mouth	• Children and young people • Recruitment through local schools and local partners • Outreach work in the community • Informal referrals from partners • High profile facility	• Children and young people • High profile facility	• Older teenagers • Outreach work in the community • The use of respected, popular, local coaches • Word of mouth • High profile facility

The planning for programme evaluation

Programme monitoring and evaluation did take place in the early and middle stages of the project. The project collected information and statistics on young people attending regular sessions as well as for other interventions such the Fireball project. This data was submitted regularly to funding partners such as the BCA's Crime and Community Safety Theme Group, Leicester City Council, Positive Futures as well as to NACRO as host agency.

In 2007, the BCA commissioned an independent evaluation of the impact of the SAZ including a partial assessment of the Braunstone Football Development project's contribution to the overall impact as the project had been considered as an integral part of the sports regeneration work and still accountable to the BCA. However, the evaluation of the impact of the project did not continue after the middle stage of the project and this was considered to be a major obstacle to applying for funding for the project especially in the later years. Davis recognised that the lack of evaluation had been a key factor for the demise of the project in 2011-12:

> 'No, it wasn't [evaluated]. Because that was one of the big things in the Positive Futures money that they had. Because it was about when it was coming near the end of the Positive Futures money there was discussion around whether they were going to extend that. However, they didn't yet have concrete evidence of, we could all see that the numbers were there and the young people were going but it didn't actually measure the impact it was having. So because of that, it struggled to gain additional funding.' (Interview: February 2014)

Community Projects Plus confirmed that the project had resumed monitoring and evaluation as a requirement of funding agencies such as Positive Futures and the Police Crime Commissioner and a first year evaluation report for 2012/13 had been produced for its funders and supporters, the Youth Service (Grove House), Positive Futures and the Police Crime Commissioner.

The requirement from funders for regular monitoring and evaluation reports had supported the top-down approach to implementation at the start, middle and revival years, which had ensured that the project delivery focused on the rationale and

achieving its targets, resulting in a successful project at these stages of its life. However, the failure by NACRO as host agency to support the project staff in their monitoring and evaluation work resulted in the consequent failure of the project in 2012.

The planning for the future of the programme

The project staff had planned for the future of the project in the early and middle years of the project by applying to new funding streams to sustain future project activity, seizing opportunities to expand the project and developing a vision for the future of the project. The work to develop young people as volunteers and coaches was an important element of the project's future sustainability, creating a pool of local qualified coaches for the project. However, when the original project staff left the project, the new project manager appointed by NACRO did not have the skills or support to continue this work and this was compounded when he left and was replaced by a 'caretaker', an arms-length project manager whose role did not include securing the future of the project.

In 2013, Community Projects Plus confirmed that they had started to plan for the future of the project and had identified five priorities. The first four priorities were to provide diversionary activities, to improve the confidence and self-esteem of the young people at the sessions, to do outreach work and to engage new young people. The fifth priority was sustainability which was seen in a regeneration framework rather than a financial framework as explained by Melling:

> 'It's about sustainability – supporting local young people to take control of sessions so they're not just led by paid staff' (Interview: May 2013).

The continued funding of the project by the Police Crime Commissioner was seen as a high priority by Community Projects Plus as the Crime Commissioners were taking over the allocation of the Positive Futures budget in the future and they therefore, needed to ensure that the project's aims complemented the Police Crime Commissioner's priorities by addressing some of the issues in the local political stream. Community Projects Plus had established a good dialogue with the Police Crime Commissioner and their view was that the monitoring and evaluation information would put the project in a good position for future funding.

The importance of partnerships for the future of the project was recognised by Melling:

> 'We don't see this as Community Projects Plus on its own but who else can come in and work with us and what more can we do to make it bigger and better and reach more people.' (Interview: May 2013)

This approach demonstrated that the planning work was already underway and that the project was building relationships with local political advocates so that they could access local funding streams. Melling confirmed that closer, more active partnership working with the Leicestershire FA was likely to take place in the near future as the project linked to the FA's priority of increasing participation in deprived areas:

> 'Recently, we've looked at the MARS scheme they've got and they're actually looking at using the project as a delivery point so we're going to get some coach time from the FA which is fantastic.' (Interview: May 2013)

A new partnership for the development of a media project for the older teenagers attending the project was also being explored with Leicestershire-based company, Soar Media. The initial idea was to give young people the opportunity to put short videos together about the sessions with commentary, goal of the week, and the potential to edit it and to post photos on Tumblr.

The coaches at the sessions shared a similarly positive view of the future and agreed that they would like to see the project grow as elaborated by Ryan:

> 'Every week new kids coming along to sign up, only good for the session, perhaps it could expand over other days, depending on funding or stuff. I can only see it getting bigger.' (Interview: May 2013).

The vision included sessions run on an extra day per week, engaging girls and young women in the sessions by offering female only sports sessions, running issue-based workshops around drugs and smoking and working towards sustainability through the use of more volunteers and charging young people to attend sessions.

There was also the potential for the project to benefit from the b-active funding bid to Sport England in 2014 in the future if it was successful and to offer its young people the opportunity to play in local leagues and tournaments although it was not clear

whether the new project sponsor, Community Projects Plus was aware of this. Davis explained how the funding could link into the project's work:

> 'The big talk is about them wanting to do tournaments, that's key to them, they want to do something like that. There was a big talk about doing leagues that they wanted and we've written that into our doorstop sport (Sport England bid), ….. so an element of that will run into the new project.' (Interview: February 2014)

The effective revival of the project had given Community Projects Plus the opportunity to plan for the future of the project with its new project staff, the new delivery plan in place, effective recruitment of young people and monitoring and evaluation reports also in place. In 2013, the project's planning for the future remained focused on its rationale of community safety, as it recognised that even though the elements of the national problem stream had moved away from this rationale, there was still a need to address these issues within the local problem stream. The project also continued to plan for the rationale of football development and had linked it to the element in the national sport policy stream around increasing participation, enabling it to secure funding for the future by contributing to the FA's participation targets.

Conclusion

The Braunstone Football project had been developed in 2002 when the national and local problem, political and policy streams had connected as a result of the New Labour Government's commitment to address social exclusion in areas of deprivation. The project's main rationale, to address community safety in disadvantaged areas through sport and in particular through football, was part of both the national and local policy stream during the early and middle years of the project. The top-down implementation of the project (Hogwood and Gunn: 1984) with 'street-level' (Lipsky:1980) flexibility to innovate had ensured that the project met its targets, expanded and maintained its main rationale as shown in table 6.7. However, community safety faded as an element of the national policy stream whilst remaining a local issue. The change in project staff in these middle years and the neglect by NACRO in its role as host agency meant that the project was unable to access either local political support or local or national funding streams for these objectives to

ensure the project's survival. The revival of the project by Community Projects Plus meant that the project connected to the local political stream again by networking with local politicians to demonstrate that the project was addressing local issues of ASB through football, helping it to access both local and national funding streams albeit on a short term basis.

The development of football remained a key element of the project's rationale throughout its lifetime as it fulfilled the identified need for more local football playing opportunities and was regarded as the most effective way of engaging young people at risk of getting involved in ASB. The project's acceptance of top-down policy implementation ensured that football became the core activity for the delivery plan which lasted throughout its lifetime even though the range of sports was expanded during the middle years to attract other young people including girls and young women. The project only connected with the football participation element of the national sport policy stream in the project's revival period when Community Projects Plus was able to use their monitoring and evaluation reports to demonstrate how the project could contribute to the FA's participation targets.

In the middle years of the project, volunteer development also became part of the project's rationale with the potential to contribute to the future planning of the project. However, NACRO's failure to protect the project from changes in project staff meant that this rationale disappeared along with the potential for future funding from the Big Society element of the national and local policy streams. The project had also been involved in health and well-being work on a short term basis as a result of the street-level flexible approach taken by project staff in the middle years of the project. However, this innovation and flexibility disappeared when the original project staff left.

The nature of NACRO, the host agency commissioned to manage the project, had suited the project in the early and middle years. The accountability to the funders and the host agency had ensured that the project staff had taken a mainly top-down approach to implementation resulting in the meeting of targets. The 'hands-off' approach by NACRO to the day to day management of the project had given the project staff autonomy and the discretion to deliver and expand the project as opportunities arose. This had resulted in a project that had expanded from its original

delivery plan with a wide range of community safety partners and yet had maintained the core elements of its rationale.

However, the role adopted by NACRO as host agency was inadequate after the original project staff left in the later years as shown in table 6.7. The quality of the host agency had gained significance when the project had become vulnerable, demonstrating that a local, robust organisation which shared both football and social inclusion aims could have provided the project with more protection. The project's lack of integration into a local organisation also meant that the existing project staff either had to leave the project when they wanted a promotion (Franklin) or leave the local area to join NACRO's regional or national management structures (Tams). This meant that the project was not able to retain the passion, commitment and knowledge of the original project staff and was dependant on the appointment of new project staff with no prior knowledge or commitment to the project, on a short term contract with little incentive to secure the future of the project at a time when the elements in the national policy stream had moved away from the project's rationale. The project managers appointed by NACRO after 2009 were seen as ineffective and did not display any positive characteristics of the 'street-level bureaucrat' (Lipsky:1980) during this period of crisis in the project. Indeed, this eventually led to the abandonment of the project by NACRO

The rejuvenation by Community Projects Plus, a local social enterprise, had enabled the project's ability to address issues in the local problem stream to be recognised in order to secure funding albeit on a smaller scale. The positive effect role of this new host agency is highlighted in table 7.7 which shows how the project had started to fulfil the majority of Hogwood and Gunn's requirements (1984:199-206) for a top-down approach to implementation. The project already had evidence of achieving both the targets and the 'softer' outcomes identified as part of the top-down implementation of national policy around its rationale of community safety and football development. The nature of the project's new 'host agency' meant that it was in a better position to connect to the national and local policy streams when the opportunity arose and that its vulnerability had been reduced.

Table 6.7 Analysis of the approach to project implementation at the Braunstone football project

Requirements for 'top – down' implementation (based on Hogwood and Gunn's conditions)	**Braunstone Football Early and Middle Years 2002-2009**	**Braunstone Football project Later years 2009-2012**	**Braunstone Football project Revival 2012-2014**
13. There is a single (or very few) implementing agency (ies)	**Yes** *The project was hosted by NACRO and received its funding directly from the national and local agencies*	**YES** NACRO's involvement with the project ended in 2012	**NO** The project was restarted by Community Projects Plus who commissioned a local sports coaching company to deliver the sessions on their behalf
14. There is complete understanding of, and agreement upon, the objectives to be achieved throughout the implementation process	**Yes** *The project staff had been involved in the development of the project from the start and shared the same vision*	**NO** *When the original project staff left the project in 2008, the new project staff employed by NACRO did not demonstrate understanding of the project objectives.*	**YES** *Community Projects Plus had a good understanding about the objectives to be achieved*
15. In making progress towards the policy making objectives the tasks to be performed by each implementing agent can be specified in complete detail	**Yes** *The project staff had detailed development plans that were prepared as part of the funding applications.*	**NO** *The project development plans did not remain in place with NACRO's new staff.*	**Yes** *The project development plans were back in place when Community Projects Plus restarted the project*
16. There is perfect communication between implementing agents	**Yes** *The project staff worked closely with each other, holding regular*	**NO** There was a breakdown in communication between NACRO's new	**YES** Good communication returned to the project when Community Projects Plus

	meetings with sessional staff supporting the project	project staff, exacerbated by the relocation of the project base, affecting the delivery of the sessions.	took over the project.
17. Those in authority can demand and will receive perfect obedience	**Yes** *The project met the requirements of its funders.*	**NO** *The NACRO project staff were unable to deliver the project.*	**YES** *The coaching company followed the instructions of Community Projects Plus as it complemented their own ethos*
18. The circumstance external to the implementing agency do not impose crippling constraints	**NO** *The project was protected from external constraints by its host agency and the BCA and insulated by a supportive local environment*	**YES** *The external circumstances including the management by NACRO did significantly affect the project resulting in a break in the project*	**NO** *The sports coaching company was protected by Community Projects Plus so that it could concentrate on delivery of the sessions even though project funding was short-term.*
19. Adequate time and sufficient resources are made available for each stage of the implementation process	**Yes** *NACRO and the BCA supported the project staff with the funding applications and organisational resources so that they could deliver the project*	**NO** *NACRO reduced its support to the project, resulting in poor project delivery*	**YES** *YES – Community Projects Plus gave sufficient resources to the Coaching company so that they could deliver good quality project sessions.*
20. The policy to be implemented is based upon a valid theory of cause and effect	**Yes** *for the football rationale.* **Possibly** *for some elements of the community safety rationale.*	**YES** *for the football rationale*. **POSSIBLY** *for some elements of the community safety rationale.*	**YES** *for the football rationale*. **POSSIBLY** *for some elements of the community safety rationale.*
21. The relationship between causes and effect is direct with few if any	**Yes** *for the football rationale.* **Possibly** *for elements of the*	**YES** *for the football rationale* **POSSIBLY** *for elements of the*	**YES** *for the football rationale* **POSSIBLY** *for elements of the*

intervening links	*community safety rationale but also indirect links as a result of the complexity of the social issue.*	*community safety rationale but also indirect links as a result of the complexity of the social issue*	*community safety rationale but also indirect links as a result of the complexity of the social issue*
Conditions for 'bottom-up' implementation (based on Lipsky)	**Braunstone football project Early and Middle Years 2002-2009**	**Braunstone football project Later years and now 2009-2012**	**Braunstone football project Revival 2012-2014**
22. Street Level workers with high ideals	**Yes.** *The project staff had previously worked and/or lived in Braunstone and were committed to their work and wanted to make a difference*	**NO** *The new NACRO staff were not committed to the project*	**YES** *Community Projects Plus and the Coaching company shared the same high ideals for the project*
23. Workers with the ability to exercise discretion and autonomy	**Yes** *The project staff were allowed to pursue other short term interventions if it complemented the project*	**NO** *The new NACRO staff were put in place to deliver the project and to apply for funding.*	**YES** *Community Projects Plus had the ability to deliver the project as they wanted They passed this autonomy on to the sports coaching company*
24. Working under intolerable pressure such as uncertainty about resources for their work, inadequate time to achieve objectives	**NO** *The project staff had secure jobs and secure funding for the delivery of their work up until almost the end of this period.*	**YES** *The new NACRO project staff were on time limited contracts and near the end of the project had limited time to manage the project as well as being based in a different part of the region.*	**NO** *Community Projects Plus had sufficient funding to deliver the work in the agreed time. Both Community Projects Plus and the sports Coaching Company had other contracts and were not dependant solely on this project for their income.*

CHAPTER 7
CASE STUDY NO.3 THE DERBY HAT TRICK FOOTBALL PROJECT

Background to Derwent

This project was based in Derwent in Derby, one of the most deprived communities in the East Midlands. The neighbourhood was a mixture of ex-council housing and commercial development including large 'out of town' stores and areas already designated for regeneration. The Racecourse Park, an important green space for the neighbourhood and the location for outdoor sports facilities, was also situated in this ward. In 2001, Derwent as a ward had a population of 14,09. The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) for 2001 confirmed that Derwent was the 437th most deprived ward in England with a score of 53.89, the most deprived ward in Derby City. This was highlighted by the results of the 2001 population census (ONS) that showed that this level of deprivation was evident in all aspects of the population's demographics as follows:

- 81% of households experienced one or more dimensions of deprivation
- 14% had a limiting lifelong illness compared to 11% in Derby
- 15.8% of 16-34 year olds had no qualifications and were economically inactive compared to 8.4% in Derby
- 20.1% were in elementary occupations
- 43% of the working population had no qualifications
- 22.1% had no car and were unemployed compared to 12.5% in Derby

This demographic profile demonstrated that residents living in the Derwent New Deal area had experienced multiple layers of deprivation ranging from low income to poor educational attainment and poor health which had contributed to significant levels of social exclusion. Derby had an overwhelmingly white population in 2001 unlike Aston, the first case study, with the result that community cohesion was also absent from the NDC's delivery plan and not identified as a local issue to be addressed. The ward of Derwent, designated in 2002 as a New Deal for Communities (NDC) Pathfinder project area, was allocated £42m to regenerate the area over an eight year period. Derwent residents had already identified the following priorities for improving their neighbourhood:

- To be safe, with low crime and no Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB)
- Their children to do well at school
- To be healthy and active
- Good housing and clean open spaces
- Employment opportunities and skills training
- A good quality of life

These local priorities had already become the content of the local political, problem and policy streams and fitted into the Derwent NDC's delivery plan. This plan reflected these local priorities through the following themes: Crime; Education; Health; Housing and the Physical Environment; Worklessness; Community; and the Quality of Life. The NDC, named Derwent NDC, was run by the Derwent Community Team, hosted by Derby City Council with an office located in the Derwent ward.

The city of Derby had two major sports clubs; Derby County Cricket Club and Derby County Football Club. Derby County FC's Football in the Community Scheme, later set up as the Derby County Community Trust, adopted a leading role as the host agency for this project. Derby Community Trust, proved to be an invaluable support mechanism throughout the life of this project with its close relationship with Derby County FC and its links to local and national partners.

Background to the project

The project was initially set up as a partnership between Derwent NDC, the UEFA Hat Trick programme and the Derby County Football in the Community scheme. This was explained by Carnall, Chief Executive of the Derby County Community Trust (the Trust):

> 'I remember getting a phone call from Carl Wilkinshaw, I think his name was, from New Deal… and he was sort of saying, we've got an opportunity to get into this programme, would you like to do it? It was £20k per year for three years' (Interview 29.06.2015).

Carnall reported that he had been keen to get involved in the project and elaborated on the reasons for this involvement:

> ‘We were looking at a way of subsidising an Inclusion Manager because we could see we were getting a lot more savvy as to what was going on in local communities and wanted to respond to that’ (Interview 29.06.2015).

The new Derby Hat Trick project, hosted by the original Derby County Football in the Community scheme, consisted of a project manager, a local apprentice and revenue funding for the delivery of the programme. The Derby Hat Trick project manager, Rich Astle, who had been with the project since its inception, described the recruitment process for his post as project manager in the following way.

> ‘We [Derby Football in the Community] hosted the project so that entailed employing me as the Hat Trick officer. I already had got a lot of experience of the Derwent ward as I’d worked there previously for another sporting charity called Sporting Futures. So I’d got a good awareness of the area already and the issues in the area and the kids in the area. I’d got contacts.’ (Interview: 28.04.2014)

Carnall confirmed that Astle had been seen as the right project manager for the Derby Hat Trick project from the beginning and that had enabled the Trust to give Astle a degree of autonomy in the delivery of the project. Astle remained as project manager for over ten years alongside Matty Blakemore, originally a local apprentice at the Derby Hat Trick project, who had subsequently been recruited as the manager of the local Kickz project staying in post until 2015. A key feature of this project has been the continuity of the project staff which was a direct result of the staff retention strategy of the host agency, Derby County Community Trust.

> ‘Rich [Astle] worked with us part-time for a number of years, we were desperate to get him involved, so desperate because we knew he was an outstanding member of staff and would have a massive impact on the programme…..We empowered him to grow how he wanted. I think when you pay people fairly and you give them the opportunity to make something their own, I think they stay.’ (Interview: 20.06.2015)

The project had been set up so that it was based with staff from Derwent NDC and could respond to the local community. The project also benefited from a good sporting infrastructure, some of which was historic and some was newly built such as

the Steve Bloomer facility (see figure 7.1). Astle explained how the facilities supported their work:

> 'in terms of provision we'd got the Racecourse, we'd got this brand new astro turf facility, the cricket ground is right next door and then what was called the Derby Community League – the Derby mini soccer league – well, they used the Racecourse as their hub' (Interview: 28.04.2014).

The Derby Hat Trick project acted as a catalyst for two other areas of work within the project, firstly, the work with Derwent FC to develop itself as a local junior football club and secondly, the Derby Kickz project which worked with young people to reduce ASB through football. Carnall explained how the new Kickz programme met their local needs in Derwent:

> 'When we got our first agreement to deliver Kickz, it made absolute sense for it to be in Derwent, still the area where the Police were identifying the biggest challenges, hot spots, those kind of things, so that's carried on to this day.' (Interview: 20.06.2015).

The Kickz project became an integral part of the Hat Trick project even though it continued to keep its own project name in recognition of its funding source.

Derby County Community Trust (see figure 7.2) recognised that the funding for the Derby Hat Trick project may have finished in 2012 but its legacy was still evident as Carnall confirmed:

> 'Hat Trick might not exist anymore in terms of a brand or an individual project but I look at the Steve Bloomer pitch…. I look at the mums and dads and aunts and uncles who were trained up to run Derwent FC which is still running, the work we're still doing in Derwent schools, so we always knew we didn't need a Hat Trick project to carry that on.….it was about leaving an infrastructure in the area that could carry on.' (Interview: 20.06.2015)

The development of the project from 2004 to the time of the research, including the Kickz project and the development of Derwent FC, is summarised in table 7.1.

Table 7.1. The timeline for the development of the Derby Hat Trick project

DATE	STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT Derby Hat Trick project	STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT Kickz project	STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT Derwent FC
2004	• Successful funding bids made by Derwent NDC for the Hat Trick project for £120k for three years. Matched funding from Derwent Pride and Hat Trick • Hosted by the Derby County Community Trust	N/A	• Existing club with random age group teams. • No links between teams
30th October 2005	• Project Coordinator, Rich Astle, appointed • Project started to operate	N/A	As above
2006	• Local resident, Matty, taken on as an apprentice • Sessions start to be delivered at local schools	N/A	• Development work was at the planning stage
2007-08	• Regular sessions delivered at schools • Coach qualification/ leader courses • Link for participants from the Derby Hat Trick project to the Kickz project	• Funding bid for Kickz project successful • Whitworth appointed as the first Kickz project coordinator • Regular football sessions set up in Derwent for 12 to 19s • Dance group set up to target girls • Young people as volunteers	• U9 and U10s teams based at the Racecourse for the central venue league • Astle became chair of the club committee
2009	• As above – project continued • Astle becomes Inclusion Manager and oversees both the HatTrick project and the Kickz project • The National FA gives the project	• Funding approved to expand Kickz project to other areas in Derby	• Development work continued

DATE	STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT Derby Hat Trick project	STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT Kickz project	STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT Derwent FC
	a bridging grant for 6 months to ensure it continues before the FF money is received. • Successful application to the Football Foundation Community Programme Strategy (FFCPS) to extend the Hat Trick project for a further three years • Wide range of local partners contribute funding to the project		
2010/11	• Project continues	• Matty became project coordinator of the Kickz project	• Development work continued • Parents trained up as volunteers and coaches
2012	• Football Foundation funding finishes • Project delivery continues	• Project delivery continued	• Development work continued
2013	• Project delivery continues	• Project delivery continued	• The club had 7 teams, one for every age junior age group • Astle no longer directly involved • Qualified volunteer coaches • Achieved Charter Standard status
2014	• The Hat Trick project funding comes to an end and the project formally finishes. • Sessions still continue to be delivered in Derwent ward for the same age groups	• The project still operated • The Police still continued to give match funding	• The club was run by volunteers and was stable • Grow the Game funding for the next 3 years

The Derby Hat Trick project held its sessions at local schools in the Derwent ward as well as at the Steve Bloomer pitch, pictured below.

Figure 7.1 Main location of project sessions (Football Foundation, n.d.)

The location of the project's host agency, Derby County Community Trust, part of Derby County FC.

Figure 7.2 Location of Derby County Community Trust (Derby County Community Trust, n.d)

Key changes in the development of this project have been used to divide the case study into three main time periods to support the use of the policy analysis frameworks. The 'start' period of the project covers the first 18-24 months which include the confirmation of the funding streams, appointment of project staff and the commencement of project activities. The 'middle years' period of the project covers a period of stability it ends when the key funding streams started to disappear. The 'later years' period of the project covers the time when the project activity started to wind down and focus on sustainability and ends when this research was carried out. These three time periods have been built into the policy analysis frameworks to show more clearly how the changes in these three streams have affected the project over its lifetime in terms of its rationale, partnerships and funding sources.

The rationale for running the sports programme

The football development theme

The main aim of the project was to develop football for young people living in the ward of Derwent. The lack of local football opportunities, including pathways to local clubs and competitive opportunities formed part of the content of the local problem stream for this project throughout its lifetime as Astle, the project manager, confirmed:

> 'It was really a football development project so the key aim would be to increase participation for young people that might not necessarily have that opportunity' (Interview: 28.04.2014).

The project's implementation plan was based on the need to provide more football playing opportunities at local schools, improve structured local football provision in the community and to put in place a sustainable local football club structure for young people of all ages as explained by Astle:

> 'If we could develop a club that could be coached and administered by me, local residents would become volunteers then that would be the legacy as we only had three years' funding' (Interview: 28.04.2014).

The work with Derwent FC, instrumental to the football legacy of this project, complemented the national FA policy to increase the number and quality of junior

clubs. The club was already in existence in the local area but lacked qualified volunteers and a coordinated approach to teams as stated by Astle below.

> 'We had to have it [Charter Standard] for our own good, for our own development as a club because it gave us a structure to aim for. We could say to parents, listen, you need to go and get Level One coaching qualifications…... If you don't do your coaching qualifications, we won't be Charter Standard, your kids can't play in the leagues any more'. (Interview: 28.04.2014)

The award of Charter Standard helped Derwent FC to access more funding from the FA's national funding stream to support the development of junior clubs as Astle elucidated below:

> 'Grow the Game - if we weren't Charter Standard, we wouldn't have even filled it out. It has enabled me to apply for all sorts of stuff, U9s kit through the Premier League New Kit scheme, brand new Nike kit, you can imagine some of the kids round here could barely afford to wear decent trainers, sports kit, stuff like that.' (Interview: 28.04.2014)

Astle, was clear that any other social outcomes such as improving health and reducing anti-social behaviour would be 'off shoots' from these main football development aims. However, Astle's view contrasted with that of the Trust articulated by Carnall, Head of the Derby Community Trust:

> 'If I look at our delivery now, having football is almost a vehicle of which we deliver health programmes, inclusion programmes, so the amount of physical football coaching, technical coaching we do is maybe 20% of our whole delivery programme' (Interview: 20.06.2015).

An external evaluation of the project in 2011 confirmed that as the project grew, so it expanded its social outcomes, often prompted by the search for major funding streams to sustain the project.

> 'The project team indicated that the increased focus of the Hat Trick project on addressing broader social issues had evolved over time and had been

stimulated through the process of applying for and receiving funding support from the Football Foundation Core Programme (FFCPS).' (Bradbury: 2011)

However, the analysis of the project activity demonstrated that the project staff were able to 'tweak' their project at the delivery stage throughout the project's lifetime to achieve these wider social project targets whilst still maintaining their main focus on football which included the work on achieving charter standard for Derwent FC, the provision of football qualifications and regular football playing and coaching opportunities for local young people

The shared understanding of, and agreement by the project delivery staff about football development as one of the main objectives demonstrated one of the key features of a 'top down' approach to project implementation. This objective, which originated from the requirements of the funding bids remained a constant feature of the project throughout its lifetime, benefiting from the retention of the original project staff even when these funding requirements had ceased.

The project's original funding streams came from New Labour's policy stream as identified in table 7.2. The table shows how the national policy towards using sport as a tool to address social problems was prevalent in the early days of the project but that it started to lose its significance nationally as the New Labour Government's term of office drew to an end and the Coalition Government took over. The national policy of increasing sports participation became a higher priority driven by Sport England and was mirrored in the FA's Whole Sport Plan during the later years of the project along with a continued emphasis on coach and club development. However, as highlighted by table 7.2, this project has remained focused on football development and has continued to use football as a tool to address community safety issues and volunteering.

The table also shows that the project has continued to attract significant awards from funding programmes and maintained a number of key partners throughout its lifetime. Derby County Community Trust has played a significant role in maintaining the rationale for the project in the face of changing national policies and funding streams as the project has stayed in line with the Trust's own vision of supporting the needs of its own local communities. This demonstrates the complexities of changing national policy streams during the lifetime of a project and ensuring that these

changes are reflected at the local level especially when an organisation such as the Derby County Community Trust has sufficient resources to be able to follow its own priorities and retain the original rationale. The support from the Trust has enabled the project to thrive even as national policies and funding pots have reduced and moved away from the original policies.

Table 7.2 Analysis of the changes in the policy stream for the Derby Hat Trick project, 2005-2014, using the Multiple Streams Framework.

	2005 **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2006-2009** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2009 – 2014** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD**
PROJECT RATIONALE	• **Football development including volunteers** • **Community Safety**	• **Football development** • **Community Safety** • **Volunteer development (increasing in importance)** • **Community Cohesion (increasing in importance)**	• **Football development** • **Community safety** • **Volunteer development** • **Community Cohesion (decreases in importance towards the end of this period)**
PROJECT FUNDING	• **Derwent NDC** • **UEFA Hat Trick** • **Derbyshire Police**	• **Derwent NDC** • **Football Foundation** • **FA** • **Derbyshire Police** • **Future Job Funds** • **Derby City Council**	• **Football Foundation** • **Derbyshire Police** • **Future Job Funds** • **Kickz**
THE POLICY STREAM			
POLICY	• Social exclusion as a priority • Mainstream acceptance of the	• Starting to move away from the concept of social exclusion • Starting to move away from regeneration and sport as a social tool	• Social exclusion as a national priority has disappeared but loses prominence more slowly at the local level • Coalition Government's austerity agenda dominates main policy areas with emphasis on individual responsibility

	2005 START OF THE PROJECT	2006-2009 MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT	2009 – 2014 LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD
	concept of 'regeneration through sport' – sport as a social tool. • Prevention of youth offending	at national level • Use of sport and football programmes as a way to reduce youth crime remains strong in some areas.	• Cameron's policy of Tough on Crime. Priority for dealing with young offenders through punishment • Cameron's Big Society with its emphasis on volunteers and social capital • Mainstream view of regeneration through sport fading away and disappears • Greater policy emphasis on use of NGBs to increase participation in sport • Use of sport and football programmes as a way to reduce youth crime remains strong in limited areas
NATIONAL POLICY ADVOCATES FOR THE PROJECT	• Sport England • ODPM and its Social Exclusion Unit • Home Office	• Sport England • ODPM • Home Office. • Football Foundation	• Home Office (limited areas) • Football Foundation • FA
LOCAL POLICY ADVOCATES FOR THE PROJECT	• Derby County Community Trust • Derwent NDC • Derbyshire Police	• Derwent NDC • Derby County Community Trust • Derbyshire Police	• Derby County Community Trust • Derbyshire Police •

The volunteer development theme

Volunteer development became an increasingly important aspect of the project's rationale throughout its lifetime. It was seen as a way of helping to address the local issue of the worklessness and in particular, the number of NEET young people (Not in Education, Employment or Training) in Derwent which exceeded the average in the city. It was also seen as essential for the future sustainability of the football development aspect of the project.

The need to reduce 'worklessness' and to improve skills amongst local young people was a priority for the NDC and consequently, one of the project's funding requirements was to appoint a local resident as an apprentice each year. This apprenticeship was based on the principles of volunteer development such as work experience, mentoring and training and qualifications. The first apprentice, Matty Blakemore, a local resident, was regarded as a positive role model for the project and subsequently employed as the Kickz project coordinator up until 2015, helping to provide continuity for the aims and implementation of the project.

> 'It was important to have an apprentice from the local area but it has to be the right person…. he [Matty] was such a good role model……a young person could actually look up to him and think, you know, he's really made a go of it, he's working for the football club.' (Interview: 28.04.2014)

The project continued to support this commitment to addressing worklessness by developing the skills of local young people. A number of sports leadership and coach qualification courses were offered to Year 9 and Year 10 pupils at local schools including the Junior Football Organisers course (JFO) tutored by Astle himself who described the benefit of offering this course as:

> 'Football was the hook for those who struggled in school' (Interview: 28.04.2014).

The project developed a pathway for these young volunteers and if they were out of work and not in College, they received the opportunity to do their Level One FA Coaching award. The project was also involved in the Future Jobs Fund and the Modern Apprenticeship programme which meant that there were regular opportunities for these young volunteers to apply for apprenticeships and

placements at the Trust. Laura, one of the young volunteers at the project, successfully applied for one of the Modern Apprenticeships in 2010 and used it to gain coaching qualifications and practical experience. Laura had used this experience to get casual paid work at Derby County FC and explained her role:

> 'to work on match days, look after the mascot, meet the players and manager and talk to them. I was seen by my mates on TV – the Portsmouth vs Derby game. My mates think I'm lucky and that I've got the right job'.(Interview. March 2011).

The development of these young volunteers created the opportunity for a mutually beneficial relationship between the Derby Hat Trick and Kickz project. The Derby Hat Trick project referred challenging young people to the Kickz project when they reached the age of 12 and the Kickz project developed young people into qualified volunteers as they grew older. These qualified young volunteers then gained practical experience by returning to the Hat Trick project to help to deliver local football sessions both in the curriculum as well as in the local community. This also supported the progression of some of the young volunteers into paid employment as a coach.

> 'I've seen participants that were coming down at fourteen, fifteen and are now Level One, Level Two qualified and coming down as leaders to help run the sessions now or they're getting full-time employment with the Trust. With the coaching route, there's definitely career progression if that's what they want to do.' (Interview: 01.06. 2015)

This system of volunteer development emerged between the two separately funded projects as a result of the 'street-level' approach to policy implementation taken by the local project staff, reflecting the level of discretion and autonomy that they had been given.

Another important aspect of volunteering at the project was the development of local adult volunteers. The Hat Trick project staff worked closely with the Derbyshire FA to develop its adult volunteers as qualified coaches so that Derwent FC could achieve the FA's Charter Standard. This work also supported the Derbyshire FA with its own

target of increasing the number of qualified coaches and the number of Charter Standard football club based on the priorities in the FA's Whole Sport Plan.

> 'Derwent FC now has a team for every age group, U9s to U15s, all run by local residents who have a Level One, CRB, Safeguarding, Emergency First Aid and that is totally self-sufficient now in terms of how it is run.' (Interview: 28.04. 2014)

The early commitment to the development of volunteers by the local project staff and their partners reflected the New Labour Government's policy of using social tools such as sport to address worklessness in areas of deprivation, especially amongst young people. This commitment to volunteering remained in place with the arrival of the Coalition Government and the Big Society with its emphasis on building the capacity of residents within local communities. The ongoing work with adult volunteers reflected the constant themes of coach and club development at a national sport policy level throughout the project's lifetime. This commitment to volunteering proved to be a dimension of the project that was seen as offering a solution to a local problem throughout its lifetime as well as staying in line with national policy changes.

The community safety theme

In 2004, Derwent NDC's Delivery Plan designated community safety and the reduction of ASB as a high local priority. When the Hat Trick project was set up in 2006, it was identified at an early stage that one of its roles could be as a potential tool to address ASB locally by engaging young people through the use of football. The project created strong links with the local policing unit through the membership of a local police officer on its steering group and the statistical analysis of the link between the project's activity sessions and local crime rates. This helped the project staff to adapt the implementation of the project to the local context so that it could help to address ASB in practical ways such as running football sessions in specific locations and at specific times of the week and day.

In the early and middle years, the use of sport to address community safety remained a theme within national sports policy enabling the project staff to attract new sources of funding to support their work.

> ‘So the inclusion programme is tackling ASB, tackling youth crime, that’s where the money was, I was able to go out and get that funding, so I was kind of fortunate that the work that I was doing was a hot topic at that particular time and it allowed me more funding partners.’ (Interview. 28.04.2014)

At this point, it was recognised that the Derby Hat Trick project was only able to address ASB with young people aged younger than twelve years. Consequently, the project staff applied to the national Kickz programme for funding to set up a new project to provide additional sports sessions to cater for the older local teenagers at peak ‘hot spot’ times. The Kickz project, as a result of its local success, has continued to access funding from the national Kickz programme which has remained in place even though the priorities within the national policy stream have moved away from this approach.

> ‘There was a little bit in the project around reducing anti-social behaviour , helping to reduce youth crime but what happened was, on the back of having the Hat Trick, we had what was called a Kickz project which was aimed at older participants and more specifically targeting ASB, youth crime, exploring young people’s potential.’ (Interview. 28.04.2014)

The emphasis on addressing community safety and reducing ASB was already starting to decline at the end of the New Labour Government and this decline continued with the Coalition Government. In the later years of the project, national policy had veered away from tackling youth crime by using engagement in sport with the exception of the Home Office albeit on a very reduced scale. However, the local project staff, the host agency and their local partners, continued to consider this as one of the objectives of both the Hat Trick and Kickz project and ensured that the projects were able to continue to address local community safety issues.

A summary of the divergence in the changing view of the problem stream at both a national and local level can be found in Table 7.3 below. The table shows that this issue was a high national and local priority during the beginning and middle years of the project and that it was driven by the ODPM’s Social Exclusion Unit and the Home Office. However, as the New Labour Government’s term of office drew to an end and the Coalition Government took over, this definition of the national problem changed towards punishment and deterrence and individual responsibility. The national

emphasis on social welfare and using sport as a way to address anti-social behaviour was minimal. However, the project maintained its view of the importance of local problems and retained its rationale from the early years of the project right through to the time of the research.

Table 7.3 Analysis of the changes in the problem stream for the Derby Hat Trick project, 2005-2014, using the Multiple Streams Framework.

	2005 **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2006-2009** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2009 – 2014** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD**
PROJECT RATIONALE	• **Football development including volunteers** • **Community Safety**	• **Football development** • **Community Safety** • **Volunteer development (increasing in importance)** • **Community Cohesion (increasing in importance)**	• **Football development** • **Community safety** • **Volunteer development** • **Community Cohesion (decreases in importance towards the end of this period)**
PROJECT FUNDING	• **Derwent NDC** • **UEFA Hat Trick** • **Derbyshire Police**	• **Derwent NDC** • **Football Foundation** • **FA** • **Derbyshire Police** • **Future Job Funds** • **Derby City Council**	• **Football Foundation** • **Derbyshire Police** • **Future Job Funds** • **Kickz**
		THE PROBLEM STREAM	
NATIONAL PROBLEM	• High deprivation and social exclusion • High youth crime and ASB	• High deprivation starting to lose its priority • Area of high youth crime and ASB • Low participation in football, lack of club opportunities	• Deprivation including youth crime and ASB disappears as a key national issue after Labour left government in 2010. Remains as a local issue • Child poverty and the equality gap are the only

	2005 START OF THE PROJECT	2006-2009 MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT	2009 – 2014 LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD
	• Low participation in football, lack of good quality junior clubs	• Migration levels starting to raise concerns	reference points but not reflected in policy • The recession and the role of the state become the main issues • Individuals living in deprived areas are portrayed as shirkers who should be responsible for their own lives • Migration seen as a key issue • Low participation rates in sport including football and lack of club opportunities
NATIONAL PROBLEM SPONSOR FOR THE PROJECT	• ODPM and Social Exclusion Unit • Home Office • Sport England • The FA and Football Foundation	• Home Office • ODPM and its Social Exclusion Unit (ODPM dissolved in 2006 and taken over by Dept for Comms and Local Govt.) • Sport England • The FA and Football Foundation	• Sport England and NGBs • Home Office (a small specialist element)
LOCAL PROBLEM SPONSOR FOR THE PROJECT	• Derwent NDC • Derby County Community Trust	• Derwent NDC • Derby County Community Trust • Derbyshire Police • Derby city Council • Derbyshire FA	• Derby County Community Trust • Derbyshire Police • Derbyshire FA

The environment theme

The need to improve the environment by dealing with the condition of physical facilities in areas of deprivation was a significant element in the problem stream, addressed by regeneration schemes during the New Labour government and generating significant levels of capital and revenue funding. This need was reflected at a national sport policy level and enabled Derwent NDC to successfully apply to the Barclays Spaces for the Sport programme for £570k for the development of an Astro Turf Pitch (ATP) on the Racecourse playing field site. This helped to address the lack of good quality local sports facilities in Derwent and supported the implementation of the Hat Trick project's three year delivery plan.

The Hat Trick project used this facility to supports its work to develop Derwent FC through its involvement in the mini soccer central venue league at the ATP. This meant that local children could start playing in a mini soccer team locally without the need for transport to 'away' matches and it was used as a base to form new U9 football teams for Derwent FC on an annual basis. The Steve Bloomer pitch was still being used by Derwent FC, the Kickz project and local teams in the later years of the project and as both Carnall (Interview: 01.06.2015) and Astle (Interview: 28.04.2014) confirmed, the facility was seen as a positive legacy from the New Deal for Communities programme era.

The commitment to allocating significant amounts of national funding towards new sports facilities in areas of deprivation declined from the middle years of the project as the New Labour's commitment to tackling social exclusion started to reduce. In the middle years of the project, sport policy placed a greater emphasis on funding facilities that would either contribute to increasing participation or supporting elite performance in sport and the commitment to solely addressing the lack of facilities in areas of deprivation disappeared.

The health and well-being theme

The issue of poor health in deprived areas was evident in both the national and local problem streams. It was seen as a national problem by the New Labour Government and as a local problem by Derwent NDC. Astle (Interview: 28.04. 2014) did confirm that in the early and middle years, although the Hat Trick project had not been set up

as a solution to the local problem of poor health, it did support public health project workers so that they could deliver their own workshops to the project's participants around issues such as substance misuse. However, this was seen as a small part of the project's work and was in line with the trend towards adopting the NDC's cross-cutting approach to project delivery. The documentary evidence and interviews did not show any links to the local PCT or to other health workers after the Derwent NDC programme had ended.

The project's role in supporting health and well-being was seen as being the provision of sport participation opportunities for children and young people. The Trust which acted as the funding applicant for the project did align the project to this theme where possible in order to improve its success at attracting funding. In 2009 the application to the Football Foundation Community Strategy Programme did recognise that the health of the young people attending the project's sessions would naturally benefit from participation in sport and physical activity and it therefore, had a secondary overlap with the FFCSP's theme of health and well-being. However, this was regarded as a natural 'by product' of this project and as this outcome was not measured separately, this did not become a new objective for the project affecting implementation.

The decline in prominence within the national policy stream of public health issues in areas of deprivation did not affect this project as it was not a formal part of the project rationale. In the later years of the project, although the national sport policy stream did move towards increasing participation with a growing recognition of the link to improving health, the project still did not include increasing participation in sport or improving health as its rationale. The project remained focused on its original rationale, supported by the project staff with football development at its heart and used as a social tool by its host agency and local partners to address the project's own social priorities, namely community safety and volunteer development.

The community cohesion theme

In 2004 Derwent ward had a mainly white population and community cohesion was not considered as an issue locally. Community cohesion only became an increasing feature of national policy in the middle years of the New Labour Government as migration levels started to become a national and local concern.

The initial involvement in community cohesion began in the project's middle years, competing in football tournaments against other Derby Hat Trick projects from the national programme. The project staff appreciated the benefits of expanding the geographical horizons of young people living in Derwent and the opportunity for them to meet young people from other backgrounds.

> 'We used to take young people from Derwent over to Walsall and have competition days with them, training days with them, 'cos a lot of the young people we were working with, one of the issues in the area, they were very parochial, they're very insular and a lot of the young kids certainly wouldn't have gone out of Derby, a lot of them probably don't go far out of Derwent.' (Interview: 28.04.2014)

In line with the emerging national policy, the project staff started to introduce an informal community cohesion element into the project at this point, adopting a flexible 'street-level' approach to their policy design and implementation work. The Derby Hat Trick project became part of the SCARF (Schools, Citizenship, Anti-Racism and Football) initiative in Derby which linked a predominantly 'white' primary school in Derwent with a predominantly 'Asian' school in Derby city centre. The project staff helped to teach the children about racism, stereotypes and discrimination, working together to design a poster and then playing together in a tournament at Derby County FC's main ground, meeting the first team players. This complemented the work already being carried out by Derby County FC to tackle racism through the national 'Kick it out' programme and was welcomed as a positive addition to the project.

There was no evidence of community cohesion work being continued by the Derby Hat Trick project after the SCARF project ended. However, an informal element of community cohesion work was still evident in the Kickz project in 2014 as their local young people regularly played against other Kickz teams such as from the Aston estate in Birmingham representing a very diverse community as shown in the Aston Football project case study, also part of this research study.

> 'We play Aston Villa at Kickz which is a project borne out of the Hat Trick project and they have a lot of kids from the Aston estate.' (Interview: 20.06.2015)

In the later years of the project, the Coalition Government moved away from community cohesion as a policy issue that could be addressed locally towards identifying migration as a national problem that needed to be addressed through migration control and national targets. Community cohesion did not at any point become a formal, permanent element of the Derby Hat Trick or local Kickz projects and it disappeared from the Derby Hat Trick project completely and was not recognised by its partners as an important local issue for the project to address.

Table 7.4 tracks this change in the political stream, and highlights the decreasing national political importance of addressing social exclusion and supporting people living in areas of deprivation. The table shows that this political issue was a high priority during the early and middle years of the project and that it was driven by the New Labour Government's commitment to improve people's lives and to address inequalities, especially those caused by poverty and social exclusion. These political priorities were responsible for the development of area-based regeneration programmes such as NDCs as well as for attracting resources and support from national agencies such as the FA and Sport England for 'sport as a social tool' programmes. However, as the New Labour Government's term of office drew to an end and the Coalition Government took over, the character of this political stream changed and was replaced by an emphasis on individual responsibility, less state intervention and a view of people living in poverty as 'shirkers' (Kelly: 2012). In the middle and later years of the project, as this political commitment to regeneration disappeared, so the resources and the support structure disappeared that had helped to create this project.

Table 7.4 Analysis of the changes in the political stream for the Derby Hat Trick project, 2005-2014, using the Multiple Streams Framework.

	2005 **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2006-2009** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2009 – 2014** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD**
PROJECT RATIONALE	• **Football development including volunteers** • **Community Safety**	• **Football development** • **Community Safety** • **Volunteer development (increasing in importance)** • **Community Cohesion (increasing in importance)**	• **Football development** • **Community safety** • **Volunteer development** • **Community Cohesion (decreasing in importance towards the end of this period)**
PROJECT FUNDING	• **Derwent NDC** • **UEFA Hat Trick** • **Derbyshire Police**	• **Derwent NDC** • **Football Foundation** • **FA** • **Derbyshire Police** • **Future Job Funds** • **Derby City Council**	• **Football Foundation** • **Derbyshire Police** • **Future Job Funds** • **Kickz**
		THE POLITICAL STREAM	
POLITICAL STREAM	• Commitment to tackle social exclusion • Commitment to	• Commitment to addressing social exclusion coming to an end by mid/ late 2000s.	• No commitment to address social exclusion at national level and gradually decreases at the local level • Commitment to punishment of offenders at nation at national level. Still focus on prevention at a local level

	2005 START OF THE PROJECT	2006-2009 MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT	2009 – 2014 LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD
	tackle youth crime in positive ways		• Emphasis on the market individual responsibility and choice • Public support indicated by election results • Emphasis on austerity, cutting the deficit and shrinking the state
NATIONAL POLITICAL SUPPORTERS	• Home Office • ODPM and SEU	• Home Office • ODPM and SEU (until mid-2000s)	• Home Office (small specialist section)
LOCAL POLITICAL SUPPORTERS	• Derwent NDC • Derby County Community Trust	• Derby NDC • Derby County Community Trust • The Police	• Derby County Community Trust • The Police

Conclusion to the rationale of the project

Football, community safety and volunteer development in Derwent continued to be key elements of the core rationale of the Derby Hat Trick project throughout its lifetime even though the national problem and policy streams changed. The project was initiated as the result of New Labour's policy commitment to address social problems at a local level through national regeneration programmes such as the national New Deal for Communities programme. The Hat Trick project responded to local problems such as anti-social behaviour by young people and worklessness and built this into the design and implementation of the project complementing its rationale to address community safety and develop volunteers. The Hat Trick project was also given enough flexibility and autonomy by its host agency to respond to other problem streams such as improving health and community cohesion although these were only part of the project's rationale for limited period.

Derby County Community Trust as host agency, shared the same objectives as the Derby Hat Trick project including the development of football and the commitment to address local issues through sport. These shared objectives were a contributing factor to the recruitment and retention of project staff that shared the same vision and brought their own passion to the project. These staff helped to retain the project's core rationale and adapt their implementation to new local and national funding streams when it benefited the project and its young people. This successful approach helped to create a stable financial position for the project for a ten year period and prevented new funding streams from changing the rationale of the project.

The implementation of the project was a mainly 'top down' approach with elements of a bottom-up 'street-level' approach at certain times of the project's life. The mainly 'top down' approach to project implementation meant that the project was able to achieve the aims of its original rationale of football development and volunteer development as well as community safety later on in its lifetime. However, at specific points, the project staff were able to act as 'street level bureaucrats' so that they could temporarily adapt the project to incorporate one-off initiatives such as SCARF or supporting other NDC projects such as improving health to use their project to work with local young people.

Partnerships

Derby County Community Trust

Derby County Community Trust, formerly Derby County FC's 'Football in the Community Programme', acted as the host agency for the project throughout its lifetime and adopted the role of the lead partner. The Derby County Community Trust was the project's most important 'partner' and provided organisational resources such as the support of a professional bid writer, office space, IT support and finance support which helped the Derby Hat Trick project to focus on project delivery and leave its legacy in Derwent. The aim of the Derby Hat Trick project complemented the overall aim of the Derby County Community Trust as summarised by Carnall who stated that:

> 'the vision statement of the Trust is very much using Derby County FC and its brand and its resources to improve peoples' lives' (Interview: 20.06.2015).

It was clear that the Trust was in a strong position to be able to support the project on a long term basis and provide the stability that was necessary for this type of project, better than other potential host agencies as identified by Astle below:

> 'The Community Trust would have had more capacity to host the project and I just think that their aims and objectives as a community scheme around increasing participation, opportunities for all in respect of gender, ethnicity, age and so on.' (Interview: 28.04.2014)

The ethos of the Derby County Community Trust was clearly a key factor in the recruitment and retention of the staff which created stability for the Derby Hat Trick project. Astle confirmed that this level of autonomy was important for him personally:

> 'So that was why I stayed, because I was allowed to develop the programme' (Interview: 28.04.2014).

The relationship with Derby County Community Trust was mutually beneficial as it recognised that it could use the Derby Hat Trick project as a way of launching its inclusion work and over time it used the success of the project in Derwent to expand its inclusion work in new geographical areas. As Astle observed, the Trust embraced the project positively from the beginning:

> ‘The head of the Community Trust is very willing to try new things, it was the Community Trust’s first venture into that type of programme. Before that they’d nearly all been about after-school clubs, holiday coaching, weekend clubs and stuff like that.’ (Interview: 28.04. 2014)

The Derby Hat Trick project brought prestige and accolade to the Derby County Community Trust as the host agency as its success and achievements were recognised by other organisations, helping to reinforce the good reputation of the Trust and its staff. Astle elaborated on these achievements:

> ‘For the last two years, we have won the Midlands Community Team club of the year and for the last two years we have been shortlisted for the national awards, that’s out of seventy two professional clubs’ (Interview: 28.04.2014).

The establishment of the Derby County Community Trust in 2008 had involved a significant amount of partnership development work beforehand and this had laid the foundation for the different partnerships involved in the project, some on a long term and some on a short term basis. Carnall described the process:

> ‘We spent about 18 months recruiting a fantastic Board of Trustees who had a passion and commitment to drive it forward and actually to respond to local need… so we recruited the Divisional Commander from the Police onto the Board of Trustees, where we were working in sport and with NGBs, we got the Director of the County Sports Partnership on the Board.’ (Interview: 20.06.2015)

Carnall explained the value of his own relationship with partners:

> ‘I’ve been here so long and some of our partners have been here such a long time…I think I have become integral to a lot of those relationships, which is fine, that’s my job’ (Interview: 20.06. 2015).

The Derby Hat Trick project, fully integrated into the Trust, benefited from this collaboration as this had helped a number of key partners to become members of the project’s steering group. These partners also benefited from their involvement in the project such as a local primary school which offered free use of their facilities to the project and in return received free coaching sessions for their pupils after school.

The choice of Derby County Community Trust as the host agency enabled the project to maintain its rationale and yet still be flexible, maintain a strong financial grounding and have the continuity of project staff sharing the same vision and the same approach to project implementation. It also enabled the project to retain its commitment to address the needs of young people living in Derwent even though the national policy streams was changing in its character with the needs of young people in areas of deprivation becoming more marginal.

Derwent NDC

Derwent NDC (also known locally as Derby NDC) had been set up specifically to deliver the New Deal for Communities programme in Derwent and was responsible for initiating the Derby Hat Trick project. The NDC instigated the project by providing its own funding towards the project and applying for the national Hat Trick funding. It provided funding of £20k per year for three years so that in return, the project would contribute to the themed areas in the NDC's Delivery Plan and contribute to its national targets. It also placed its own funding requirements on the project such as twelve-month apprenticeships for local residents and regular monitoring returns.

The Derby Hat Trick project was based in the same offices as Derwent NDC so that its project staff could benefit from its geographical location within Derwent. However, the project only showed limited evidence of close working with NDC staff at an operational level. The partnership with Derwent NDC was not easy at either a strategic or operational level as, like many other NDCs at the time, it encountered organisational difficulties, local tensions and developed a reputation for conflicts of interest, making poor decisions and wasting money. Carnall confirmed that the relationship was not straightforward and noted that:

> 'Working with New Deal was tricky. We just found them difficult to work with… it just didn't really seem to have any local strategy, it was all, we've got this money, let's invest and let's see what happens' (Interview: 20.06. 2015).

Derwent NDC did continue to support the project with £10k over a second three year period after its initial funding had run out but it proved to be challenging and time-consuming as Carnall explained below:

> ‘We just needed £5-10k from New Deal just to keep it going over the next three years and bearing in mind New Deal had built a Viking village for about £1m that closed after about three weeks…one of the local councillors said to me, I don’t think we should fund this because you lied.. you told me you would make this programme sustainable and here you are three years on, asking me for £10k… we got the money and we carried it on for another three years… and again we did some great work down there.’ (Interview: 20.06.2015)

Derwent NDC helped the project to access other pots of funding and resources that had been brought into the area by partners such as the Extended Schools service, the local School Sport Partnership and Derby City Council’s sports development unit. Astle explained that:

> ‘We would go in and deliver curriculum coaching at school, after school, evening coaching sessions, mostly free apart from the provision during the school holidays. That was because we were part of another group funded through New Deal to put on Positive Activities for Young People (PAYP) during the school holidays’ (Interview: 28.04. 2014).

However, these partnerships and additional sources of funding stopped when the New Deal for Communities programme started to come to an end. Carnall confirmed that many of these partners had disappeared as the NDC funding finished:

> ‘They’re [Partners] just not around. Just look at New Deal. I think people come and go, if I look at our local authority now, they’re just so different now to back then… some of the organisations don’t exist anymore’ (Interview: 20.6.2015).

The partnership between the project and Derwent NDC faded before the end of the NDC programme, with few staff or revenue projects still in existence. By this time, social exclusion was far less in prominence in the political stream as was the use of

area-based regeneration schemes, and the Coalition Government was already identifying new political priorities for inclusion in the political stream.

The national FA

The National FA provided the project with initial funding through the UEFA Hat Trick programme, matching the funding from Derwent NDC. As Astle commented, 'the relationship wasn't so close at the beginning' (Interview: 28.04.2014), however, this did change over the next three years as the National FA recruited a National Manager to support all the Hat Trick projects across England. This practical support was viewed positively by the Trust especially as the National FA supported the Hat Trick project with interim funding after the initial three years' funding had finished whilst the Trust was waiting for the new funding bids to be assessed. Carnall reported that:

> 'It was the National FA directed through the County FA, there was a bit of slippage which they supported us with to be fair and once Martin came on board as the national Manager for the FA, they really did get hold of the Project (the National Hat Trick programme)'. (Interview: 20.06.2015)

However, when the UEFA Hat Trick funding had finished in 2009, there was no evidence that the FA had any further direct involvement in the project. By this time the national sport policy stream had reflected the move away from the use of sport as a tool of social engineering replaced by a greater emphasis on NGBs' responsibility to increase adult participation in their own sports. The aims of the UEFA Hat Trick programme had lost its relevance to the national FA as it developed its Whole Sport Plan with its remit to increase participation in football and this new remit was not seen as influential by the Derby Hat Trick project as elucidated by Carnall below:

> 'Our relationship with the FA is an interesting one in terms of, as an NGB, because, if you like, we adhere to their policies and procedures on coach education… but they don't really dictate or govern what we do in any way, shape or form and actually that works for us because we're not a football programme.' (Interview: 20.06. 2015)

Carnall (2015) confirmed that the Trust did deliver projects which supported the female participation targets of the FA's Whole Sport Plan but that the Derby Hat Trick project was not part of this work. Indeed, other National football organisations such as the Football League were seen as more relevant to the work of the Trust. Carnall clarified the Trust's position:

> 'What's probably more important to us is the Premier League and the Football League in terms of talking about governance… that's not a criticism of the FA, it's just where we are positioned now. The FA are over there and we're miles over here' (Interview: 20.06. 2015).

This view reflected the Trust's commitment to addressing local community needs and developing their own local policies and projects rather than following their own NGB's national policies which they did not consider as central to their work.

The Football Foundation

The Football Foundation was a major funding partner and provided the second and third tranche of three-year funding to the Derby Hat Trick project after the initial UEFA funding had finished. The Football Foundation's Community Programme Strategy Fund had originally been developed to align to the New Labour Government's policy of addressing social exclusion and in particular aimed to support projects that addressed social issues through sport, prioritising projects in areas of deprivation. The project's funding application was designed to meet the following core objectives of the Football Foundation Core Programme (FFCPS):

- Contribute to preventing and reducing offending
- Contribute to promoting respect amongst communities and bringing people together through football
- Contribute to encouraging personal development from participation in football and sport through to volunteering, training and employment
- Contribute to tackling the rise in obesity in children and adults

In line with national policy changes during the middle years of the project, the priorities of the Football Foundation changed as Sport England's policy changed towards increasing participation and the introduction of Whole Sport Plans for NGBs and away from using sport as a social tool. This brought the partnership between the Football Foundation and the Hat Trick project to an end when the funding finished in 2012.

The Derbyshire FA

The Derby Hat Trick project had developed a strong partnership with the Derbyshire FA from the start as a result of previous collaboration between staff at the Derby County Community Trust and the Derbyshire FA. Carnall described this relationship:

'I think we have a good relationship with them. So the County Development Manager from the FA sits on my Board of Trustees, I sit on the Local Football Partnership, the National Game Board' (Interview: 20.06.2015).

This view of the partnership between the project and the Derbyshire FA was also shared by their County Development Manager, Harper, who emphasised the importance of trust, the continuity of staff at both organisations and the location of their offices.

> 'We've always had a good relationship. The guy, Simon, who's head of the Community and Paul, they've been in post quite a long time and the majority of staff here have been in post for quite a long time …. Our Department Head's nearly ten years, so she's has a lot of dealings with Simon on a strategic level as well. There is a lot of trust there between the two, that's definitely helpful… It probably helps that we're in the same place if we need to catch up, just over the road.' (Interview: 01.06.2015)

Harper confirmed that the Derbyshire FA shared some of the aims of the Derby Hat Trick project and was an active partner:

> 'The project ties in well with it. If players are coming down and falling back in love with the game again and then wanting to play at weekends and then going to local clubs which are then supporting numbers and recruitment at

local clubs… so definitely a really good project worth supporting from The County FA's view as well' (Interview: 01.06.2015).

The Derbyshire FA benefited from their partnership with the project to support their coach development work as well as the growth and retention strand of their County Development plan. In 2014 the Derbyshire FA supported the project financially for the first time through the 'Grow Your Game' fund with a grant of £5k to Derwent FC to support their facility hire and coach education.

The significance of the project in supporting the development of football in inner city areas was recognised by the Derbyshire FA as confirmed by Harper:

'Both the Hat Trick and Kickz projects are very important cos the inner city areas of Derby are very different, compared to rural areas' (Interview: 01.06.2015).

The benefit of having the Derby County Community Trust, part of Derby County FC, as the host agency for the project was also viewed as a significant factor by Derbyshire FA, especially in attracting young people to get involved in the project and participate in football which would in turn help them to achieve their own targets.

The partnership between the Derby Hat Trick project and the Derbyshire FA lasted for over ten years as a result of the level of trust and collaboration between the two organisations even though the original funding streams had finished and the FA had moved away from its policy of using football as a tool to address social problems. Both partners still continued to find ways to collaborate and benefit from the partnership whether it consisted of receiving small pots of funding, running coach education courses or contributing to organisational targets.

The police

At the start of the project, the police had been a member of the project's steering group as well as being involved in the delivery of the project, using the sessions to build trust and improve relationships between local beat officers and local young people. Carnall described the practical benefits of the project for the local policing staff:

> ‘In the early days, the safer neighbourhood policing unit, some of their officers would go to our sessions. We got some of them to do their Level One coaching , we helped pay for them to do that, they would come down and help coach the session. It was great for breaking down the barriers… I’d heard reports of PCSOs in that area being chased across the Racecourse but now if they saw a group of young people hanging around on the street corner, they could stop and chat, they knew them, you know, there wouldn’t be that animosity.’ (Interview: 20.06.2015)

The police had also provided the project staff with access to a data analyst to support the project’s monitoring programme. This had provided the evidence that the project was achieving its goals, helping to develop a sense of mutual benefit between the project staff and the Police. The partnership between the project and the Police was further strengthened as the project started to use this evidence to respond to local policing issues and moved its sessions to local hotspots, helping the police to address the issues caused by young people in these areas. Astle confirmed this approach to supporting the work of the Police:

‘We’re helping their objectives around tackling ASB, tackling youth crime, getting young people off the streets, getting them to do something positive’ (Interview: 28.04.2014).

When the project expanded to include a Kickz project, the Police similarly extended their support to this programme. This benefited the Police as well as the Trust itself as confirmed by Carnall:

> ‘On certain nights it was our Kickz night and we were getting no calls for service [ASB 999 calls to the Police], which was pretty unusual for that area but once you’d got data like that, the Police were great partners and it helped us to go to other agencies and say, listen this is the impact we’re having here, this is the potential savings you’re making.’ (Interview: 20.06.2015)

The duration and strength of this partnership reflected the recognition of the continuing need to address community safety issues at the local level in Derwent even though the national problem stream had moved away from this issue. The

involvement of the police in this project helped to retain community safety as a key element of the project rationale as well as helping to ensure that it continued to influence project staff with the project design and implementation throughout its lifetime, strengthening the top-down approach.

Conclusion for the partnerships of the project

The most significant partnership for the Derby Hat Trick project was its lead partner, the Derby County Community Trust which acted as its host agency, sharing similar aims and objectives. The Derby County Community Trust (also known as the Trust) integrated the project into its organisation enabling the project staff to focus on the delivery of the project as well as benefit from the Trust's collaborative leadership which brought key partners to the project. The Trust's track record and its organisational structure helped to bring major funding pots into the project over its lifetime such as the Football Foundation, helping to create the stability needed to extend the project to include the Kickz programme as well as to retain key project staff. This approach also ensured that the route from the funding agency to the project could be described as direct, only going through the Trust's financial systems. This enabled the adoption of a mainly top-down approach to project implementation with the flexibility of the bottom-up, 'street–level' approach at times, enabling it to take advantage of short term projects and funding.

The project had a range of partnerships over its lifetime but as the national policy stream moved away from addressing social exclusion, many of these partners also disappeared along with their funding streams and resources. Derwent NDC had been set up specifically to deliver the NDC programme but did not survive as an organisation after the NDC funding had finished. The Derby Hat Trick project's partnership with its host agency meant that the project was able to continue its work in Derwent, retaining its original aims and objectives even though the NDC and other NDC funded partners were experiencing organisational instability.

The continued recognition by Derbyshire Police of the need to reduce and prevent ASB by young people in Derwent, meant that the partnership between the project and the Police remained in place and gave stability to the local problem stream even though the problem and policy streams were changing at a national level. The

project continued to respond to the local needs of the Police, bringing a local Kickz project to the area which attracted regular partnership funding from Derbyshire Police, continuing to support the local policing targets.

The partnership with the Derbyshire FA, in place since the start of the project, focused on supporting coach development work for the project's volunteers. However, as the national sport policy stream changed, the project's work to increase participation in football and to develop a Charter Standard club became more important for Derbyshire FA's own participation targets. This helped to retain them as a partner and increased their support, through access to funding pots such as 'Grow the Game'.

The partnerships between the project and football-related organisations such as Derby County Community Trust and the FA are summarised in table 7.5. These particular partnerships were all based on aspects of football, whether the use of football as a social tool or as a means to participation. The most important partnership was the project's host agency, the Derby County Community Trust, which had football at its heart. This common understanding and passion for football contributed to the integration of the project within its host agency and built the links between the project and the other-related football organisations. In line with the changes in the national policy stream, this table shows how the partnerships at a national level had disappeared by the end of the project and yet the partnerships with local football organisations had remained stable or increased in importance over its lifetime. The table also demonstrates the importance of football organisations for the project as they continued to bring a combination of funding and resources, advocacy, practical support and in the case of Derwent FC, an infrastructure to create a legacy for local young people wanting to play football in a competitive environment.

These policy changes at the national level were, indeed, reflected in the partnerships and funding programmes of all the national partners especially during the middle and end years of the project when the New Labour Government and the Coalition Government moved away from the policy of addressing social exclusion. The exception to this change was the national Kickz programme which remained in

place, continuing to support local Kickz projects. The importance of the local problem stream to local partners as highlighted in table 7.3. meant that the partnerships based around social inclusion and sport with the Trust and Derbyshire Police remained in place as a result of the recognition that the original issues had not disappeared and that the project still had a role to play in using sport to address some of these social problems as well as having a role to play in the development of football in the local community.

Table 7.5 Analysis of the role of football organisations at the Derby Hat trick Project, 2006 – 2014

FOOTBALL ORGANISATIONS AND THEIR ROLE	**2005** **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2006-2009** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2009– 2014** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD**
UEFA (THROUGH THE NATIONAL FA)	• Role of main project funder	• Role of main project funder	• Role of main project funder finished in 2009
NATIONAL FA	• No role	• Short term 6-month funding to bridge a funding gap • National programme support to Hat Trick projects	• No role
FOOTBALL FOUNDATION	• No role	• Main project funder	• Main project funder finished in 2012
DERBY COUNTY FC/ COUNTY COMMUNITY TRUST	• Host agency • Organisational support	• Host agency • Organisational support • Practical links to Derby County FC	• Host agency • Organisational support • Practical links to Derby County FC
DERBYSHIRE FA	• Member of steering group	• Member of steering group • Support with coach education	• Member of steering group • Support with coach education • Grow Your Game funding
DERWENT FC	• Existing club in Derwent	• Starting to provide junior club opportunities for local young people involved in the project	• Providing accredited junior club opportunities for local young people involved in the project

The recruitment of young people for the sports programme

The rationale of the Derby Hat Trick programme continued to shape the recruitment of the young people to the project's sessions, strengthening the top down approach to project implementation. The project staff ran their sessions at local primary schools during curriculum time and after school so that it helped the project to achieve its objective of providing regular local football playing opportunities to local young people living in Derwent, an area of high deprivation. The delivery of sessions at local schools solved the problem of the lack of local sports facilities before the Steve Bloomer pitch had been developed, meaning that the project could work with as many local young people as possible and achieve its targets. The Hat Trick project also worked with local schools to deliver short term projects addressing new areas of the project such as improving community cohesion through the SCARF project. This approach was further enhanced by the geographical location of the project with Derwent NDC's offices as explained by Astle:

> 'We were close so people could see a physical presence of the project, we could get to the schools easily' (Interview: 28.04.2014).

The sessions taking place at the local schools were then used as a means of recruitment to playing and competitive opportunities on the Steve Bloomer pitch which helped to create a pathway into the mini soccer league and from there into the age group teams of Derwent FC.

The project also took an outreach approach to the recruitment of young people with challenging behaviour so that it could fulfil its objective of improving community safety in Derwent. This included the development of an informal referral process with partners such as the local Police and the local Youth Inclusion Programme (YIP) who used both the Hat Trick and Kickz projects to provide positive activities for their young people. Astle elaborated on this referral process:

> 'They tended to be the ones with the most challenging behaviour so they would send us information about that young person and their background and then they would become a participant at Kickz like anyone else' (Interview: 28.04.2014).

Astle confirmed that the project staff would also send their own young people to take part in the Kickz programme when they became too old for the Derby Hat Trick sessions, usually at the age of twelve or thirteen. Astle explained this process:

> 'There was a definite link between the two [projects], participants moving from Hat Trick to Kikz, sharing staff, the same staff that worked on Hat Trick worked on the Kikz project as well so that young people in the local area could really build up a relationship and trust with the staff. That was really important further down the line if you were asking the young people to attend workshops like the sexual health workshop'. (Interview: 28.04.2014)

Both the Derby Hat Trick and Kickz projects did try to recruit girls and young women to their regular sessions outside school but as Astle confirmed, they had to change the sessions in response to a request for non-football activities:

> 'They set up a dance group at Kickz cos they wanted to target girls and it had mainly been boys – the girls would watch the boys – they said they'd like dance' (Interview: 28.04.2014).

This approach helped to increase the number of girls attending the project but it still remained a football-focused project. Indeed, the attraction of the association of the project's host agency with Derby County FC was seen as an important part of the recruitment process as outlined by harper below:

> 'If you're a decent footballer and you've never been scouted, there's always the chance that you could get scouted and if it's Derby County coaches that are there, they may pass that information on to the Academy guys. Who knows where you might end up. I've heard of it happening.' (Interview: 01.06.2015)

The link between the Derby Hat Trick and Kickz projects and Derby County FC helped to recruit and retain both its participants and volunteers, providing the opportunity for participants to attend games, meet the players, and for volunteers to have the opportunity to volunteer on match days and potentially become paid casual staff. Harper emphasised the importance of this link:

> ‘The power of the brand of Derby County, especially in the city, is going to be massive because the majority of participants will be County supporters. So they’ll get that opportunity to wear the kit, go to games as well as everything else’ (Interview. 01.06.2015).

The different methods of recruiting young people to the project were developed so that the project could achieve its objectives, benefiting from its partnerships with local schools and the Police, even when they were involved in new short term projects. As shown in table 7.6 below, the approach to the recruitment of children and young people that prevailed during every stage of the project’s life, ensured that the young people attending the project’s sessions lived in Derwent ward, an area of deprivation. The ability of the host agency to maintain the project’s funding levels and key partnerships so that it retained the original project rationale meant that the delivery of the project did not need to change throughout its lifetime even though national policy streams had moved away from the original rationale and some of the local partners had disappeared.

Table 7.6 Analysis of the focus on young people in disadvantaged areas at the Derby Hat Trick project, 2006 - 2014

FOCUS ON DISADVANTAGED YOUNG PEOPLE	**2005** **START OF THE PROJECT**	**2006-2009** **MIDDLE YEARS OF THE PROJECT**	**2009 – 2014** **LATER YEARS OF THE PROJECT TO THE END OF THE RESEARCH PERIOD**
PROJECT RATIONALE	• Football development including local volunteers, young and adult. • Community Safety	• Football development • Community Safety • Volunteer development (increasing in importance) • Community Cohesion (increasing in importance)	• Football development • Community safety • Volunteer development • Community Cohesion (decreasing in importance towards the end of this period)
GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THE PROJECT	• Derwent	• Derwent	• Derwent • (Kickz project extended to other deprived areas in Derby)
RECRUITMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE	• Children and young people living in Derwent • Recruitment through local schools and local partners	• Children and young people living in Derwent • Recruitment through local schools and local partners	• Children living in Derwent • Kickz project worked with challenging young people in Derwent • Recruitment through local schools and local partners

The planning for programme evaluation

The Derby County Community Trust as host agency, held ultimate responsibility for the performance of the project and was accountable to the key funding agencies. The project had been integrated into the organisational structure of the Trust and was therefore required to follow the Trust's financial regulations as well as provide both formal and informal reports on the progress of the project. The Trust had a direct interest in the success of the project as it wanted to use it to act as a springboard into further social inclusion work in the community. The Trust was therefore keen to ensure that the project achieved its targets and retained the original aims and objectives, helping to further the work of the Trust. The Trust also wanted to ensure that the project performed well so that the Trust could benefit from its track record, helping to maintain and attract new partnerships and funding sources that would help it to meet its own aims and objectives. This in turn benefited the project as the staff were encouraged to maintain their focus on the delivery of the project and achieve the project's original aims rather than being diverted into new areas that would require an adjustment or replacement of the project's aims.

The project was required to produce regular monitoring reports for its key partners such as Derwent NDC and the Football Foundation and this remained in place until these funding agreements finished as Astle explained:

> 'I would submit quarterly finance and monitoring and evaluation sheets to the New Deal's Monitoring team and that would then form part of the figures that would go into their submission to central Government for their NDC' (Interview: 28.04.2014).

The project benefited from the regular monitoring and evaluation reports as it helped to build its own track record and reputation as a successful project with local partners. A reciprocal arrangement was in place with the Police to evaluate the success of their work in terms of the reduction of ASB and youth crime, not just for the Hat Trick project but also for the Kickz project as Astle clarified below:

> 'There's an analyst at Derbyshire Police who provides me with quarterly figures for all the localities where we do our projects. If I give them the

> postcode for the venues, they give me the half mile radius for the quarterly figures for ASB, youth crime and so on….' (Interview: 28.04.2014)

The project staff maintained that although it was difficult to give definitive evidence about the correlation between their work and these statistics, the level of their engagement with local young people and the nature of their delivery meant that they believed there must be a strong link as reported by Astle:.

> 'ASB in that area [Derwent] has dropped to such a low level …….It's difficult to prove and there were so many projects in Derwent at the time but I would like to think we played a significant role in it definitely. We would get up to 100 young people at the Kikz session on a Monday night, 25-30 young people at the Derwent Youth Club on a Friday night, football, Thursday sessions…' (Interview: 28.04.2014)

This data also helped to keep the Police involved in both the Derby Hat Trick and Kickz projects as they could justify their involvement both anecdotally and statistically. This data was also used to support the project's funding applications to organisations such as the Football Foundation and it helped to find new sources of funding to expand the Trust's work to other areas of Derby. Astle explained how this data was used:

> 'It allowed me to apply for more funding for the Derwent area as I could prove what impact we'd had! Also, we could use it with other funders like the Football League Trust for projects in other areas of the city as we could show what kind of success they'd had, a track record, and want to replicate it somewhere else' (Interview: 28.04.2014).

Evaluation and accountability was important for the project as it helped the staff to keep a focus on the delivery of the project and in turn to achieve its targets. It helped the project to maintain its original aims and objectives regardless of changes in national policy and funding streams. It also ensured that the project continued to share the same aims as the Trust and helped the Trust to expand its social inclusion work into other areas of Derby.

The planning for the future of the programme

At the start of the project, the aims and objectives had been formulated so that there would be a legacy for the future. The first objective was to provide football playing opportunities for young people living in Derwent. The Trust's commitment to social inclusion and its track record of working in Derwent helped to ensure that football playing opportunities were still available in 2015 even though the Hat Trick project had disappeared as a separate project by this time. The Trust confirmed that these sessions would continue to run in the future, in particular during the school holidays.

The project's second objective was the development of a local junior football club that would be in place when the project funding finished, providing regular playing and competition opportunities for local young people. The project staff had retained this focus, working closely with Derwent FC from the start of the project. The original plans suggested that this would be achieved after three years but it took longer than expected. Project manager, Astle, handed over full responsibility for Derwent FC to the club's volunteers in March 2014. As part of the planning for the future, Astle had successfully applied to the FA's Grow Your Game fund for £5k on behalf of the club and summarised the application:

> 'so another two years of funding to deliver funding so they should have teams from U9s to adults.' (Astle: 2014)

The Kickz project, part of a national funding programme still continued to receive funding and run sessions in partnership with the Police in 2015, demonstrating that the need to reduce ASB by young people living in Derwent was still seen as part of the local problem stream by local partners.

> 'There's still remnants of it going – because Derwent is such a key area in our programme and we've still got Kikz there as well. There's still a legacy… Derwent FC, the club, will be the key legacy to what we're doing.' (Interview: 28.04.2014)

Planning for the future had been integrated into the delivery of the project. The retention of the project's rationale allowed the staff to ensure that this planning was translated into action, leading to sustainability of many aspects of the original project.

The Trust, as host agency, had given the staff this ability to maintain their focus on the future through achieving secure funding and consistent aims and objectives for the project. In addition to this, the legacy benefited from the geographical remit of the Trust which covered the ward of Derwent. This made it easier for a stable, well-funded organisation such as the Trust to continue delivering sessions and programmes as part of its own social inclusion work, continuing to meet a local need even though the original Derby Hat Trick project had finished. The Trust, the project staff and local partners recognised that the issues in the local problem stream had not completely disappeared by the end of the project's lifetime, helping to sustain key parts of the project for the future.

Conclusion

This case study illustrated a project based in an area of deprivation, set up at a time when Kingdon's (1984) three streams, the problem stream, the political stream and the policy stream converged at the same time at both a national and local level. At the start of the project there had been a strong local rationale to address firstly, the problem of the lack of football opportunities for young people, secondly, the problem of antisocial behaviour by young people and thirdly, the worklessness rates of young people in Derwent. These issues had been part of the political stream and recognised within the national policy stream within both sport and regeneration. This had attracted both national and local funding streams to the project and had ensured a top-down approach to project implementation (Hogwood and Gunn: 1984) with agreed targets and regular monitoring reports whilst national and local funding was in place.

As the political landscape started to change in the middle years of the project, Derby County Community Trust was able to protect the project from the changes in the three streams at national level so that the project could achieve its original aims and objectives. This meant that the project staff continued to adopt a top down approach to implementation but with the flexibility to adapt to new local initiatives when beneficial, demonstrating the ability of the staff to act as 'street-level' bureaucrats (Lipsky: 1980) when necessary. This can be seen in table 7.7 which shows how the project was able to fulfil the majority of Hogwood and Gunn's requirements (1984:199-206) for a top-down approach to implementation.

Table 7.7. Analysis of the approach to project implementation at the Derby Hat Trick project

Requirements for 'top – down' implementation (based on Hogwood and Gunn's conditions)	Derby Hat Trick project Early and Middle Years 2005-2009	Derby Hat Trick project Later years to the end of the research period 2009-2014
25. There is a single (or very few) implementing agency (ies)	**Yes** *The project was fully integrated into the Derby County Community Trust and received its funding directly from the national and local agencies*	**Yes** *The project remained fully integrated into the Derby County Community Trust and received its funding directly from the national and local agencies*
26. There is complete understanding of, and agreement upon, the objectives to be achieved throughout the implementation process	**Generally, yes.** *The project staff placed more emphasis on the football rationale whereas the Trust placed more emphasis on social inclusion through football. However, there was substantial common agreement.*	**Generally, yes.** *The project and the Trust still retained substantial common agreement about the project's objectives.*
27. In making progress towards the policy making objectives the tasks to be performed by each implementing agent can be specified in complete detail	**Yes** *The project staff had detailed development plans that were prepared as part of the funding applications.*	**Yes** *The project development plans continued to remain in place.*
28. There is perfect communication between implementing agents	**Yes** *The project staff worked closely with each other. The project coordinator of the Kickz project was the protégé of the Derby Hat Trick project manager, ensuring good levels of communication*	**Yes** *The same project staff continued to work closely with each other.*
29. Those in authority can demand and will receive perfect obedience	**Yes** *The project met the requirements of its funders fully. The project staff responded to the ethos of the Trust and met their targets.*	**Yes** *The project continued to meet the requirements of both its funders and the host agency.*
30. The circumstance external to the	**Yes**	**Yes**

implementing agency do not impose crippling constraints	*The project was protected from any constraints by the Trust and insulated by a supportive local environment*	*The external circumstances did significantly change but the project was protected by the Trust and insulated by a supportive local environment*
31. Adequate time and sufficient resources are made available for each stage of the implementation process	**Yes** *The Trust supported the project staff with the funding applications and organisational resources so that they could deliver the project*	**Yes** *The Trust continued to support the project staff with the funding applications and organisational resources so that they could deliver the project*
32. The policy to be implemented is based upon a valid theory of cause and effect	**Yes** *for the football rationale.* **Possibly** *for some elements of the social inclusion based rationale.*	**Yes** *for the football rationale*. **Possibly** *for some elements of the social inclusion based rationale.*
33. The relationship between causes and effect is direct with few if any intervening links	**Yes** *for the football rationale.* **Possibly** *for elements of the social based rationale but also indirect links as a result of the complexity of the social issue.*	**Yes** *for the football rationale.* **Possibly** *for elements of the social based rationale but also indirect links as a result of the complexity of the social issues*
Conditions for 'bottom-up' implementation (based on Lipsky)	**Derby Hat Trick project Early and Middle Years 2005-2009**	**Derby Hat Trick project Later years to the end of the research period 2009-2014**
34. Street Level workers with high ideals	**Yes.** *The project staff had previously worked and/or lived in Derwent and were committed to their work and wanted to make a difference*	**Yes.** *The same project staff stayed in post, remaining committed to their work and wanting to make a difference*
35. Workers with the ability to exercise discretion and autonomy	**Yes** *The project staff were allowed to pursue other short term interventions if it complemented the project*	**Yes** *The project staff were allowed to pursue other short term interventions*
36. Working under intolerable pressure such as uncertainty about resources for their work, inadequate time to achieve objectives	**No** *The project staff had secure jobs and secure funding for the delivery of their work throughout the project's lifetime*	**No** *The project staff continued to have secure jobs and secure funding for the delivery of their work. The project staff were aware of pathways into other*

		positions with the Trust and/or Derby County FC when the project's funding came to an end. This enabled them to remain in post until the project's funding had run out and the objectives had been achieved.

The project staff only adopted a 'bottom-up' approach when it brought an extra dimension to the project which benefited its young people. The project's financial stability meant that the project staff did not face financial crisis at any point which would have created the need to chase 'incompatible' funding streams which might have then resulted in a new project rationale with a new project delivery plan to meet different funding requirements. The high level of staff retention, created by financial and organisational stability meant that the staff had strong values (equating to Lipsky's 'high ideals', 1980) and commitment to the delivery of the project to young people living in Derwent. This resulted in a consistent view of the project's aims and objectives and method of delivery throughout its lifetime by the staff rather than a move towards bottom-up implementation and changes to the delivery plan.

As the middle years of the project came to an end, the dominant definition of the problem stream reinforced by partners such as the Trust, the Police and Derbyshire FA resulted in its continuity at the local level. This ensured that the project still received support and funding from local partners, helping to provide a legacy to the project even after the formal funding sources had finished.

This case study demonstrated that if a project is given sufficient organisational and financial protection, it can retain its original rationale and pursue top-down implementation even when national problem and policy streams have changed. The Trust, as host agency, shared the project's aims and objectives and was sufficiently stable to allow the project to continue its original trajectory. It created a supportive environment for the project which both protected and insulated it from changes in the three streams at the national level which might have significantly changed its rationale. The choice of the Trust as host agency, with its strong association with Derby County FC, was important for this project with its football focus along with the Trust's remit to address local social inclusion issues. This case study shows that in

this instance, Derby County Community Trust as a local football organisation had a key role to play in enabling the Derby Hat Trick project to deliver sports programmes to young people living in Derwent, a deprived area of Derby for more than a ten-year period.

CHAPTER 8

THE CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the research by providing an analysis of three selected football projects in delivering sports-based programmes for young people living in deprived areas which were designed to achieve positive social benefits for individuals and their communities. The aim of the research was achieved through the fulfilment of the following research objectives which were also utilised to inform the structure of this chapter:

1. To provide a critical analysis of the national policy context for sport and welfare between 1997 to 2014
2. To provide a longitudinal analysis of three selected football projects located in areas of deprivation which examined particularly their capacity to develop and sustain their community welfare objectives.
3. To analyse the interconnection between project objectives and changes in the national and local policy environment.
4. To review the literature on policy-making and policy implementation and identify suitable analytical frameworks and concepts to facilitate analysis and to provide a critical assessment of their utility.

The first section provides a critical analysis of the national sport and welfare policy context between 1997 and 2014. The second section examines the similarities and differences between the three case studies as they developed over time as well as the role of power and the environment in which they operated. The third section analyses the links between the objectives pursued by the three cases studies and the changes in national and local policy. The fourth section offers an evaluation of the theoretical frameworks and concepts used in the research. The chapter concludes with a section based on the researcher's own observations and reflections on the research process.

The significance of sport and welfare policy between 1997 and 2014

The election of the New Labour Government in 1997 with its commitment to tackling social exclusion brought a raft of new priorities for national welfare policy which was reflected in national sport policy. New Labour's Third Way was central to their approach to welfare policy and was based on the reformulation of the contract between the state and the individual with the emphasis on rights and responsibilities in return for support from the state. New Labour viewed the role of the state in tacking social exclusion as the provider of resources to support individuals to become 'active' and 'good' citizens. It was envisaged that this would lead to employment resulting in an improvement to their economic and social situation as well to the development of the 'good' society. The requirement for a joined-up approach to achieve this impact, exerted a cross governmental influence, with sport viewed as one of the policy sub sectors with the potential to contribute to the New Labour agenda to tackle social exclusion. The formulation of sport policy to address social exclusion through supporting the creation of the 'active' and 'good' citizen fostered a positive environment for the development of the three case studies when 'sport for the good' was the dominant theme in both national and local sport policy. The report of the Football Task Force in 1999 was the catalyst for football's response to New Labour's concern with social exclusion. A plethora of football programmes and funding streams emerged from national agencies such as the FA, Football Foundation, the Premier League and the Home Office. These interventions were designed to address social exclusion through football and were for the most part located in areas of deprivation, including the three case study areas.

As the 2000s progressed, the concept of social inclusion gained a strong foothold as the focus broadened from solely geographical areas of deprivation to the inclusion of socially excluded groups such as women and girls, disabled people and BME communities. Sport and welfare policy gradually diverged as result of the changing political priorities, creating a less positive environment for all three case studies and a weakening of central government (top-down) direction of policy. The global financial crisis of 2008 was significant for driving forward this change in policy at a national level as New Labour responded to the financial crisis by placing the emphasis firmly on the economy with the commitment to make significant financial savings in the public sector. National welfare policy moved away from a primary

concern with reducing social exclusion and in response to new government priorities, national sport policy moved towards 'sport for sport's sake' and 'increasing participation'. Football's NGB, the FA, responded to these political changes and shifted its emphasis towards increasing adult participation in football. In contrast, the 'sport for the good' football programmes run by agencies such as the Football Foundation and the Home Office maintained their focus on social inclusion and disadvantaged communities.

The election of the Coalition Government in 2010 provided the public endorsement of the need for austerity, financial savings, welfare reform and a commitment to the Big Society. The changes at national policy level since the early 2000s had made it more difficult for project staff in the three case study projects to identify elements in common with the new national priorities. These difficulties increased as the Coalition Government's priorities continued to move further towards austerity, financial savings, public sector reform and the negative portrayal of people living in deprived areas as 'benefit cheats', 'scroungers' and 'shirkers'. At the same time, the Coalition Government made a public commitment to supporting the 'Big Society' policy which aimed to strengthen volunteering and social capital, a feature, albeit a minor feature, in all three projects since their inception.

However, the priorities at a local level did not always follow national policy throughout this period. At the early stage of all three case studies, problems in deprived areas such as community safety and anti-social behaviour (ASB), poor health, low educational attainment, poor housing and lack of access to sport including football, were, indeed, shared as political priorities at both the national and local levels. This resulted in an environment of agreed policies at both the national and local levels which provided political support for all three projects as well as access to significant funding sources. However, this policy agreement at the national and local level started to dissipate from 2008 onwards as many of the national priorities moved away from regeneration, social exclusion and 'sport for the good'. Local sport policy, including football, also followed this move away from regeneration and 'sport for the good' towards 'sports participation' which increased the potential isolation and abandonment of the projects. In contrast, local welfare policy became increasingly important for the three projects with local issues such as community safety and ASB remaining as priorities in all three areas. Nevertheless, the local

policy environment was not always supportive, reflecting the complexity of local policy-making in areas of deprivation. The closure of all three New Deal for Communities (NDC) programmes by 2010 led to the abandonment or 'deprioritisation' of these areas by many local partners including local authorities who would have helped the projects to access local policy-makers and potential resources. In areas such as Braunstone and Aston there were no partners willing to take on this role, increasing the vulnerability of these two projects. Their experience contrasted with that of the Derby Hat Trick project where its host agency, the Derby Community Trust, was successful in the retention of key local partners such as the police who continued to provide support and resources throughout the research period in return for the project's support in addressing the local issue of ASB in Derwent. The inherent nature of the Derby Community Trust as a local community football organisation was central to this success. The Trust had maintained its focus on social inclusion at a local level and still viewed football as a local social policy tool. The Aston football project staff did access small, intermittent pots of local funding to develop social capital through volunteering as part of the local response to the Big Society policy. However, this interaction with the local policy stream did not support the development of new partnerships or provide sufficient financial support. In 2013, the host agency of the Braunstone football project did build a new relationship with a key local policy maker, the Police Crime Commissioner, ensuring that the project was, once again, seen as a solution to the problem of ASB for local welfare policy and was, for the first time, regarded by the local FA as supporting the local sport policy of increasing participation.

All three case studies gained their strength in the early stages from the policy agreement at both a national and local level. However, the response to changes at the national and local policy level manifested itself in different ways and, where there was no supportive structure in place, as in Aston and Braunstone, it tended to increase their vulnerability to policy drift.

A longitudinal analysis of the three case studies

This section provides an analysis of the similarities and differences between all three case studies. This analysis has been supported by Table 8.1. 'Summary of the similarities and differences between the three case studies' which highlights the

similarities between all three projects at their inception and the growing differences between the Derby Hat Trick project and the other two projects in Aston and Braunstone as the policy environment changed.

Table 8.1 Summary of the similarities and difference between the three case studies

Research findings	Similarities between case studies	Differences between case studies
1. Focus of the projects	Shared focus of football, young people and location in areas of deprivation remained in place.	
2. Rationale of the programmes	Shared use of football as a tool to tackle ASB by young people in the early and middle stages. Shared rationale of volunteer development in the early and middle stages Shared flexible approach to secondary objectives to expand the programmes in the early and middle stages	Only the rationale of the Derby Hat Trick project remained the same. The rationale of the other two projects changed as a result of external factors
3. Nature of the projects' host agencies	None	All three projects were hosted by different types of organisations and received different levels of support and resources. The Derby Hat Trick project was the only project that retained its original host agency, the Derby County Community Trust which had been a former Football in the Communities programme.
4. Association with New Deal for Communities Programmes	Shared location in New Deal for Communities programmes (NDCs) with access to regeneration funding in the early and middle stages. All three projects were seen as making a contribution to the regeneration of their local communities in the early and middle stages.	The relationship between the three projects and their NDCs varied. The closer working relationship of the Braunstone Football Project contrasted with the much more 'hands off' approach in Aston and the more difficult working relationship in Derby.
5. Recruitment of young people	Strong engagement with young people by all three projects in the early stages	Recruitment at two projects suffered as a result of factors such as loss of funding steams, change in project staff, external pressures in the middle and later stages.
6. The project	In the early stages all	The Derby Hat Trick project was the only project

Research findings	Similarities between case studies	Differences between case studies
activities	three projects ran football sessions that addressed a range of social welfare issues such as ASB and substance misuse. Football development remained a shared focus for all three projects	that continued to maintain its focus on using sport as a tool and in particular for addressing ASB and volunteer development. Aston maintained its focus on volunteer development whereas Braunstone returned to ASB near the end of the research period.
7. Partnerships	Wide range of partnerships involved in all three projects in the early and middle stages. All three projects benefited from funding and resources from their partnerships. The number and range of partnerships decreased all three projects in the later stages	The Derby Hat Trick project did retain a small number of national and local partners in the later stages in contrast to Aston and Braunstone where this was characterised by the absence of partnerships or intermittent partnerships.
8. Relationship with football agencies		The Derby Hat Trick project was the only project to have a host agency with a football focus. It was also the only project to maintain a constant working relationship with football agencies such as the FA and Derbyshire FA.
9. Access to national and local funding streams	All three projects received significant levels of funding from national sport programmes and local regeneration schemes in the early stages. All three projects received local funding at different stages	Only one project, Derby Hat Trick, maintained the national and local funding streams for the research period.
10. Experienced, project staff	All three projects were established and run by staff with previous experience and knowledge of sport in these areas in the early stages. Staff in all three projects were able to exercise agency and acted as role models in the early stages, All three projects established volunteering programmes for their	Only The Derby Hat Trick project retained the original paid project staff during the research period.

Research findings	Similarities between case studies	Differences between case studies
	participants which led to employment of local volunteers at all three projects.	
11. Approach to implementation	A top-down approach to implementation was shared by all three case studies at the early and middle stages.	This only remained in place for the Derby Hat Trick project. The Aston project adopted an adapted street-level bureaucrat, bottom-up approach
12. Project evaluation	All three projects carried out project monitoring and evaluation at the early stage	Only the Derby Hat Trick retained a constant commitment to monitoring and evaluation during the research period.
13. Survival of the projects	All three projects started at similar times and were still in existence at the end of the research.	Two of the projects were in crisis at points during the middle and later stages.
14. Planning for the future	All three projects were planning for the future albeit in different ways.	

Similarities between the three case studies

All three case studies shared many similarities at different stages of their lifetime but in particular at the beginning and early stages. All three projects shared a focus on young people, football and were based in areas of deprivation. The projects were all developed during the time period when the need to address the issues arising from living in an area of deprivation was a high government priority and resulted in these issues taking prominence within both the national and local problems streams. The New Labour Government had focused on the development of a national regeneration policy, in particular the NDC programme, for addressing these issues at a local level within the most deprived communities. The political pressure that this national priority generated for other policy areas such as for sport and arts, (PAT 10: 1999) resulted in the adoption of a community development policy in national sport policy with an emphasis on regeneration through sport. All three case studies were instigated by their local NDC programmes and all three were funded during the early stage by both national and local regeneration and sports programmes.

All three projects shared a similar focus on football development; with football remaining the key sports activity during the whole period even though the projects

also offered a range of other sports activities to young people, such as dance for girls and young women. At the early stage, the use of football as a way of reducing ASB and crime by young people was an objective shared by all three projects and could be viewed in the context of New labour's concept of the development of the 'good citizen'. At the early stage this objective contributed to the community safety themes of their local NDC's Delivery Programme. All three projects had established positive working relationships with their local NDCs or with other projects supported by their NDCs at the early stage such as youth engagement projects, arson reduction and substance alcohol misuse. The objective of volunteer development also grew in importance in all three projects during the early and middle years as the potential of these projects to support young people to become volunteers and develop their employability skills became more apparent to both project staff and their own local regeneration partners. The influence of market liberalism's emphasis on individualism was strongly reflected in this objective with its aim to support young people to gain employment and become 'active citizens'. However, there was no evidence of the development of volunteers as 'active citizens' that could help to develop New Labours concept of the 'active' society in the three projects. Another key similarity between the three case studies was the successful recruitment of young people was a at the early stage with the number of participants exceeding the expectations of project staff.

At the early stages, partnerships had been integral to all three case studies and in particular local partnerships between sport and regeneration organisations. The local regeneration partners, namely the NDC delivery organisations, had all been responsible for the initiation of the projects and had approached potential sporting partners to support the establishment of the project. The projects' relationship with their local NDCs had attracted a wide range of non-sporting partners to all three projects during the early stages, including the police, Youth Offending Team, local schools and the PCT. These partnerships had benefited all three projects by supporting their football activity programmes to address social problems with the provision of resources such as funding and specialist staff at the early stages in line with New labour's approach to 'joined-up' working. Funding for all three projects had originally come from their own local NDC programmes for the first three years, and in

particular from the community safety theme, attracting partnership funding from national sports programmes such as Hat Trick and the Football Foundation.

At the early stage, staff in all three projects had previous experience of working in these communities, bringing skills, knowledge, commitment and passion with them when the projects were established. These staff proved to be role models for the young people recruited to their activity programmes, setting a good example of behaviour (Yancey 1998) with the potential to act as role models in support of 'New Labour's ideal of the 'active' and 'good' citizen. The benefit of the appointment of project staff who could act as role models was also illustrated in their contribution to the projects' objective to support volunteer development. The project staff at all three projects had encouraged local young people to become volunteers who, in some cases, had taken up paid or voluntary positions such as project coordinators, sports leaders and coaches at the three projects. This was viewed as an important element of their projects' capacity to transform young peoples' lives through sport as illustrated by Bandura (1986: 47) who argued: that 'modelling has always been acknowledged to be one of the most powerful means of transmitting values, attitudes and patterns of thought and behaviour'. It could also be argued that this demonstrated the capacity of all three projects to encourage young people living in deprived areas to exercise the most positive form of 'agency', described by Lister (2004:130) as 'getting organized'. This approach had enabled all three projects to retain local young people who understood the ethos of their projects and who shared the commitment to their project's objectives. The importance of project staff as positive role models who were committed to the ethos of their projects was reflected in their 'agency' which resulted in decisions to adhere to the original project rationale at this early stage. This ensured a compliance with the top-down approach to project implementation at the early stage at all three projects.

This top down approach to project implementation was also supported at the early stages by the regular monitoring and evaluation returns required from each project's funding agreements. The need to complete regular monitoring and evaluation tasks had been put into place by all national funding agencies as a result of New Labour's use of public management theory. This theory placed an emphasis on public accountability as the guiding tool for the implementation of public policy and had resulted in the widespread use of indicator-based monitoring systems at a national

and local level. This had resulted in a compliance with the 'top-down' (Hogwood and Gunn: 1984) implementation strategy for project delivery in all three projects during this early stage. All three projects adopted a flexible approach to their secondary objectives and, during the early middle stage, responded to local opportunities for joint-working with their regeneration partners around other themes such as improving health and, in the case of the Derby Hat Trick project, supporting community cohesion. This flexible, adapted 'street-level' approach (Lipsky: 1980) to policy development by project staff brought additional resources and opportunities to all three projects on a short-term basis which benefited both the projects' partners and their young people. However, these secondary objectives did not become key objectives for all three projects on a longer term basis as their partners moved to new priorities as the NDCs came to an end and the elements of the political stream changed.

All three projects were still in operation at the end of the research period despite a series of crises and a period of project failure at two of the three projects. The strength of all three projects including the 'agency' of project staff in the early stages was a shared feature that had contributed to their survival throughout the research period even though the initial sport and welfare poverty policies had started to disappear at a national level in the mid-2000s. All three projects had demonstrated evidence of project planning for the future albeit in different ways such as the expansion of the Aston football project, the continuation of the Braunstone football project and the integration of the Derby Hat Trick project into its host agency's activity programme. Nevertheless, as the analysis of the differences between the case studies identified, uncertainty about the future remained a key feature of the Aston football development project and the Braunstone football project in contrast to the Derby Hat Trick project.

To sum up, in the early 2000s, the political momentum to prioritise regeneration policy at a national level had created new local regeneration agencies and new national and local funding programmes reinforced by a local political commitment to make this policy successful. These three projects had been developed during this time and shared many similarities in response to these funding requirements, the ideology of their host agencies and partners, and the recruitment of project staff with similar visions for their projects. However, this coherence between the projects

began to disappear when the political commitment to regeneration started to dissipate and the political momentum started to fade along with national and local funding programmes.

Differences between the three case studies

The underlying difference between the three case studies was the continued commitment to the original project rationale by the Derby Hat Trick project and in contrast, the lack of adherence to the original project rationale by both the Aston Football project and the Braunstone football project. The Derby Hat Trick project was the only project to maintain its rationale of using football as a means of addressing the social problem of ASB by young people as well as a commitment to football development. It is argued that the Derby Hat Trick project was able to retain this focus in the context of a changing policy environment as a result of a number of key features such as the nature of its host agency, relationship with football agencies, retention of project staff, approach to project implementation, recruitment of young people, access to national and local funding streams and its partnerships.

At the beginning of the project development process, a key distinction between all three projects was that they were all hosted by different types of organisations, namely, a local authority, a national crime prevention agency and a local community trust based in a professional football club. All three host agencies gave their projects different levels and types of support at different stages. In two of the three projects the involvement of the host agencies stopped when the project's national funding came to an end. Aston Football Project's host agency, Birmingham City Council, took the view that the project should become self-sufficient after three years' of funding. This decision resulted in the withdrawal of Birmingham City Council as host agency after three years and was compounded by the lack of recognition of the need for the formal replacement of a host agency for the project. Aston Sports Club did take on the role of the umbrella organisation for the project but this was not sufficient to prevent the project from becoming vulnerable as its volunteers took on the struggle to find funding to ensure the project's survival. Birmingham City Council did not maintain formal contact with this project after its management function had ceased, even though it soon became apparent that this was not a successful approach for this type of project. Birmingham City Council's response reflected the local

authority's changing role as the enabler, facilitator and outsourcing agent of public services as a result of New Labour's adoption of New Public Management Theory. The emerging role and rationale of Football in the Community programmes as highlighted in chapter three complemented the rationale of both the Aston and Braunstone football projects. However, there was an absence of interest in these projects by their respective local Football in the Community programmes and this was also reinforced by the project staff's own lack of interest in these programmes as potential host agencies. Football and social inclusion were key rationale shared by the projects as well as the Football in the Community programmes. If the projects' local Football in the Community programmes had adopted the role of host agency it could have enabled both projects to maintain their original rationale and provided them with greater protection and access to resources as the policy environment changed.

Braunstone Football Project's host agency, NACRO, had adopted a mainly hands-off approach to the project management which had been successful whilst the original project staff had been in place. However, NACRO's support as a host agency significantly reduced in 2008 when the project staff had been unable to find new funding sources for the project at the time when the national funding programmes changed, and NACRO ended its contract to manage the project in 2012 when the project funding finished, leaving the project unable to operate. The lack of local accountability for NACRO as the project's host agency and the absence of football and sport as a shared rationale meant that there had been no imperative for NACRO to provide the project with the protection and support that it needed as the local regeneration partners disappeared. NACRO's lack of local connections had resulted in the project's isolation from the local policy streams as the NDC's influence began to weaken and as an organisation it had to respond to the changes in the national policy environment. However, Braunstone Football Project was distinctive in that it was resurrected six months later by a new host agency, namely Community Projects Plus, a local social enterprise. The aim of Community Projects Plus was to support the delivery of sport and social inclusion programmes including football programmes as a tool to address ASB by young people. This social enterprise proved that it had the connections to local policymakers which enabled it to find new local funding sources to revive and expand the project.

The Derby Hat Trick project had been the only project that retained its original host agency, Derby County Community Trust, ensuring that the project remained protected from changes in the national policy stream and ensuring that it was able to remain linked to the local problem and policy streams providing the funding and stability to ensure its survival. The choice of host agency which was locally-based, shared the same rationale and was an established organisation with a strong local reputation emerged as the fundamental requirement for this type of project, ensuring that the project continued to thrive, maintain its original rationale and achieve its objectives unlike the other two projects that struggled to survive as the political momentum moved away from regeneration and sport.

All three projects had different relationships with their local NDC programmes throughout the research period. The Braunstone football project had a positive relationship with its NDC in the early and middle stages which resulted in the access to a range of partners and local funding streams which contributed to the achievement of its projects objectives. The Aston football project had a distinctly 'hands off' approach towards the NDC but responded positively to its role in supporting the NDC and its partners to address the local problems of gang-related incidents and behaviour through football. The Derby Hat Trick project was located within the NDC offices which facilitated local partnership working but this did not prevent the tensions at a programme level over access to local NDC funding pots and the performance of the project.

The recruitment of young people to the projects' activities also varied throughout the research period. Both the Aston and Braunstone football projects struggled to maintain their previous strong engagement with young people at their programmes as their projects became unstable in the middle and later stages as a result of staff changes, uncertainty about programme funding, lack of host agency support. The Derby Hat Trick project was the only project to continuously recruit young people to its programmes in sufficient numbers to enable it to meet its national and local funding targets. This reinforced the project's credibility with national and local partners and helped it to retain funding despite the changing policy environment. The three case studies also recruited young people to their programmes in different ways. The Derby Hat Trick project's main recruitment method was through local primary schools, the Aston Football Project recruited their young people through

using the central location of the new MUGA as a ‘magnet’ and the Braunstone Football Project through the location of the MUGA and outreach work. At the early stage, all three projects did work with local regeneration partners to put in place informal referral schemes for young people who were at risk of ASB or crime with partners such as the local Police or YOT, responding to local issues. However, this changed throughout the lifetime of the projects and in particular for the Aston and Braunstone Football projects as they moved away from non-sporting rationale such as community safety, reflecting the policy change at a national level. Nevertheless, the Derby Hat Trick project maintained its approach to the recruitment of young people throughout its lifetime, reflecting its adherence to its original project rationale even though the content of the national political and policy streams was changing. All three case studies still retained their focus on young people although the extent of their work with young people with challenging behaviour in particular varied depending on funding agreements and partnerships. The Derby Hat Trick project set up a Kickz project specifically for this target group, building in a referral system for young people which was supported by local partners who recognised that young people at risk of ASB continued to remain a local issue, unlike the other two projects which tended to concentrate on activities such as providing football playing opportunities. The ability of the projects to maintain their original rationale determined their approach to recruitment as shown by the Derby Hat Trick project which maintained its original rationale to guide the recruitment of its young people.

All three projects had different levels of partnership working during the middle and later stages. Both the Aston and Braunstone football projects remained without partners in the middle and later stages as a result of project staff changes, the withdrawal of partners from areas of deprivation as the NDC programmes closed down and the changes in the policy environment. Neither of these projects had a supportive host agency to help them to maintain or replace their local partnerships unlike the Derby Hat Trick project. The Derby County Community Trust with its association to Derby County Football Club was able to support the Derby Hat Trick project to maintain its partnership with the local police in particular. This project was viewed as part of Derby County Community Trust’s contribution to addressing local social problems through the use of football. Consequently, this project’s ability to access policymakers responding to social inclusion elements of the local problem

stream meant that this project was less reliant on a conducive national policy stream unlike the Aston and Braunstone football projects.

The three case studies also differed in their relationship with the National FA and the County FAs. These relationships remained minimal both in terms of funding and support for the Aston and Braunstone football projects even though football was a shared focus. This lack of engagement reflected the difficulty of policy-making and implementation for new areas of sport even though NGBs including the FA, had been instructed to divert funding streams to areas of deprivation. The Derby Hat Trick project did receive interim project funding from the national FA as well as resources and support from its county FA mainly as a result of its location within the auspices of Derby County Community Trust and Derby County Football Club. The Aston and Braunstone football projects were both disadvantaged by their position outside the mainstream structure of football which rendered them as unimportant or at times invisible to football's governing body. The FA adopted a strategy of minimal engagement with New Labour's political agenda in terms of revenue funding but when the priority to increase participation in sport became a prominent element in the national policy stream with targets as a funding requirement from Sport England in the late 2000s, the County FAs started to engage with both the Braunstone football and Derby Hat Trick projects so that these projects' participant numbers could support the County FA's own targets.

The access to national and local funding opportunities differed as already indicated in this chapter. As regeneration started to lose its prominence at the national level in the middle and later stages of these projects' lives, it became more challenging for project staff to secure major amounts of funding. The staff and volunteers at the Aston Football Project were unable to find any major funding sources, relying on volunteer support to run the programme. This lack of funding prompted the project volunteers to become their own local policy makers, transforming their project into a volunteer development project as a result of small amounts of local funding, linked to the Big Society initiative. However, this project transformation resulted in the neglect of the football objectives and put the project's survival at risk as the football element was not sufficiently strong to recruit enough young people to the project's session on a regular basis and therefore, was at risk of being unable to support volunteer development.

Braunstone Football Project had also entered a period of financial crisis and had ceased to exist in early 2012 even though a project manager had been appointed by NACRO in 2008 specifically to find new sources of funding. The replacement project manager had been recruited from outside the project and proved to be unable to demonstrate the skills and knowledge needed for the identification of new funding sources for the project at the time when national policies were changing. NACRO as host agency did not show any particular sympathy or understanding of the project and similarly, as for the Aston football Project, this financial situation was exacerbated as the NDC programme came to an end and the local partners that might have supported the project, started to move on to other policy issues. However, unlike the other two projects, as identified in table 8.1. the Derby Hat Trick project retained significant levels of national funding with the support of its host agency's professional funding bid writer and the continued support of local partners such as the police who supplied regular monitoring reports on the project's impact on local crime statistics. Both the Aston and Braunstone Football projects stopped pursuing the original 'top down' defined policy objectives near the end of the middle stages of their lifetime in response to this lack of funding and reduced their football programmes and focused on surviving whereas the Derby Hat Trick project continued to comply with the initial top-down objectives and ran its football programme until the end of its funding when the programme was merged into Derby Community Trust's main activity programme. At the end of the research period the Braunstone Football Project had found a new host agency with new funding sources and partnerships and had started to meet its targets, once again encouraged to fulfil the top-down objectives for implementation and with the potential to expand in the future.

The host agency's willingness and ability to help the project staff to find major sources of funding was essential for the survival and protection of the projects after the initial three years of funding. Derby County Community Trust supported the Derby Hat Trick project staff to secure major funding over a ten year-period from both national and local partners resulting in a strong project that achieved its aims unlike the Aston and Braunstone football projects that struggled to survive. Nevertheless, at the end of the period of research, the Braunstone Football Project had been restarted with funding obtained by its new host agency, a result of its new

host agency's skill and knowledge for creating links to the local political stream and its funding.

The differences between the level and type of support given to the projects by the original host agencies also impacted on the retention of staff. The staff in charge of the Braunstone Football Project were given autonomy to run the project by NACRO, however, it was not easy for them to remain involved in the project whilst still furthering their career in NACRO. This meant that the first manager left the project after four years to pursue a career in NACRO as a Regional Manager with little direct contact with the project and the second project manager left her post after eighteen months for an external promotion. These changes brought instability to the project and made it vulnerable to the effects of the changes to the national policy stream at a time when the NDC and its local partners were starting to disappear. Birmingham City Council took a relatively 'hands-off' approach to the management of the project, also giving the project staff autonomy for the first three years. However, when Birmingham City Council relinquished its role as host agency and there was no further funding for the project, the project coordinator left the project for a role with the Birmingham FA, not just as a career progression but also out of personal financial necessity. This left volunteers in charge of the project at a time when the national funding streams were changing and the NDC and its local partners were disappearing. This resulted in an increasingly fragile project, vulnerable and prone to financial crisis, reliant on the dedication of a small number of young volunteers for its survival. In contrast to the other two projects, the Derby Hat Trick project retained its original staff throughout its lifetime, a result of Derby Community Trust's management style and culture that empowered and supported the staff by giving them the opportunity for promotion and continuing professional development whilst still enabling them to continue to have an active role in the project. This approach ensured that the staff running the Derby Hat Trick project shared the original vision for the project, were committed to achieving the aims of the project and built on their existing knowledge and partnerships to meet the project's objectives. The nature of the host agency was clearly a key factor for the retention of the project staff and an essential ingredient in the longevity of the projects. The lack of experienced, committed project staff with access to support and resources at both the Aston and

Braunstone football projects had disadvantaged their projects especially during a period of significant political change at both a national and local level.

The lack of concern with project monitoring and evaluation for both the Aston and Braunstone football projects at the middle and later stages as identified in table 8.1 demonstrated yet another key difference from the Derby Hat Trick project. The accountability of the Derby Hat Trick project to both its host agency as well as to its national and local funding agencies had ensured that it continued to deliver programme activities which fulfilled its objectives with the result that it continued to comply with a top-down approach to implementation. The lack of monitoring and evaluation by both the Aston and Braunstone football projects increased the difficulties faced by project staff in finding new sources of funding as the policy priorities changed.

Finally, the most revealing difference between all three projects was the trajectory of the individual projects which illustrated the contrast between the Derby Hat Trick project and the other two projects. The trajectory of the Derby Hat Trick project proved to be stable and constant, continuing to deliver programme activities throughout the research period. However, the trajectories of the Aston and Braunstone football projects after the early stages proved to be characterised by a series of crises, a struggle for project survival and, in the case of the Braunstone football project, a temporary project failure.

Summary of the similarities and differences between the three case studies

At the beginning of the projects' lifetime, when regeneration and the use of sport as a social tool were prominent in both the national and local political and policy streams, all three case studies shared many similarities. They had all been instigated by their local NDCs, shared similar rationales with sufficient funding, had been managed in a manner consistent with a top-down approach to implementation as a result of funding requirements and had been managed by skilled and committed project staff. However, when the first tranche of funding ran out after three years and the priorities within the national political stream started to change, differences between the three projects started to emerge. The analysis of the case studies showed that the choice or allocation of host agency was instrumental to the success of the projects over the longer time period of ten to twelve years. The choice of Derby County Community

Trust as a host agency provided the Derby Hat Trick project with the resources and support that it needed to secure major sources of funding and to retain project staff throughout its lifetime. The nature of Derby County Community Trust as a former Football in the Community programme, with a shared focus on football and social inclusion as well as its relationship with Derby County Football Club was important for the success of the Derby Hat Trick project's relationship with its host agency. This association with the Derby County Community Trust provided strength and protection through a period of political change at a national level and enabled the project to link to the local political stream and retain its role in Derwent even though the priorities in the national policy stream had changed. The Aston and Braunstone football project were both disadvantaged in their position outside mainstream football and could have benefited from the association with a host agency that shared football and social inclusion as their main rationale. This could have helped both projects to adapt to the changes in the policy environment and to avoid the crises and struggles for survival that characterised the period when the elements in the policy stream moved away from using sport as a social tool.

The number and range of local partners had been similar in all three projects at the early stages but as the NDC programme came to an end in the middle and later stages, this level of partnership working reduced for all three projects. However, Derby County Community Trust's existing relationship with its local partners had enabled the Derby Hat Trick project to retain key partners such as the police over this time period. This was in contrast to the role of the host agencies for the other two projects which resulted in both projects becoming increasingly isolated with a sense of neglect and abandonment. Both projects lost their experienced and committed project staff, resulting in an increasingly fragile and vulnerable state at the later stages of their lives with the result that they veered away from their original rationale, focusing instead on survival. The importance of a committed, local host agency was once more emphasised by the successful revival of the Braunstone Football Project by a new host agency, Community Projects Plus, run by local 'role model' project workers passionate about the project's original rationale, with links to key policy actors within the local political stream and new funding sources. The analysis of the three case studies showed that with Derby County Community Trust as the host agency, the Derby Hat Trick project was the only project that could

continue to access major funding sources, maintain and expand its original objectives, retain project staff, recruit young people to its programmes, plan for the future and sustain its activity programme throughout a period of over ten years.

Power

The analysis of the distribution of power within the three projects is useful to explain the projects' differing responses to the changes in the national and local political and policy stream over their lifetime. All three case studies were instigated during a time period when there was a political priority to address local issues such as sport and regeneration within areas of deprivation. However, this political commitment declined and changed over the following ten years, removing major sources of funding and the commitment by many national and local partners to work in these areas. Luke's concept of power is an important analytical tool for the explanation of these changes and their impact on the three case studies, although it is important to acknowledge that there are overlaps between the three faces.

At the local project level, the importance of power is manifested in the level of protection for the project from changes in the political and policy streams as they moved away from regeneration and areas of deprivation. The level of protection determined the project's access to national and local funding streams, partnerships, retention of project staff and whether it could meet its aims and objectives. All three projects, instigated as a result of the confluence of national and local policy streams, had been given sufficient power in the form of significant levels of national and local funding, experienced project staff and commitment from local and national partners during the first three years to achieve their aims and objectives. However, unlike the Derby Hat Trick project, power within the Aston and Braunstone Football projects weakened and over time when their host agencies failed to put them into a position, by means of the allocation of resources, to be able to respond to the national and local political and policy changes. Birmingham City Council's role as host agency and provider of key resources including legitimacy and funding for the Aston Football Project had been minimal during its initial three years but its involvement completely disappeared after this period leaving only project volunteers in place without the knowledge, skills or partnerships to be able to access either the national or local policy streams for new major sources of funding. Similarly, NACRO, as Braunstone

Football Project's host agency, depending on the original project staff to access funding and develop their own partnerships, appeared to lose interest in the project towards the end of its role as host agency and left the project unable to function with no local political advocates, partnerships or permanent project staff. In contrast, the Derby County Community Trust adopted a pro-active role in the development of local partnerships, funding applications and staff retention. The Trust also used its influence so that the project could positively respond to the changes in the national and local political and policy streams. Derby County Community Trust maintained control of the local agenda through its strong ideological commitment to social inclusion throughout this period, enabling the project to maintain its focus on sport and young people in Derwent and expand its work into other areas of deprivation. The powerful position of the Trust as host agency within the local political stream proved to be instrumental for the Derby Hat Trick project, providing it with legitimacy and access to local and national funding streams throughout its lifetime. At the early stages of project development, all three projects benefited from the government's direct use of power, an example of Lukes' (2005) first face of power to create organisations focused on addressing social inclusion and youth deprivation. This provided the initial support to set up all three projects and ensured that local authorities would provide some initial resources through their NDCs.

The importance of power distribution in wider society for sports projects in areas of deprivation can be further seen in the changing context of the national political and policy streams. In the early 2000s, the New Labour Government prioritised the need to address social exclusion and areas of deprivation through major funding programmes, placing political obligation on sports policymakers to respond to this new regeneration agenda by developing sports projects in areas of deprivation. The emphasis given to the need to address deprivation and social exclusion in the national and local political streams created an environment where it was accepted as morally and economically important, giving support to all three projects at an early stage by allocating funding, supporting new partnerships and recognising their role in regeneration. However, this priority began to weaken at the national level in the mid 2000s, fading rapidly following the election of the Coalition Government, with the result that sports policy actors shifted their priorities and funding to new policy areas in response to new political priorities. The Coalition Government's control of the

agenda, an example of Lukes' (2005),second face of power, effectively kept social exclusion off the agenda and placed personal social responsibility and individualism onto the policy agenda. This change in priority and resource allocation reduced the capacity within the projects as their rationale no longer fitted the main national policy agenda. Funding sources became increasingly difficult to access and their partners withdrew to work in areas that matched the new political agenda. This was exacerbated by the rhetoric from the Coalition Government, an example of Lukes' (2005) third face of using power as ideological manipulation, which portrayed people living in areas of deprivation as the 'undeserving poor' who were 'shirkers', 'scroungers' and 'benefit cheats', weakening the moral and economic obligation for projects and partners to work in areas of deprivation. This created a political vacuum for the Aston and Braunstone football projects in contrast to the Derby Hat Trick project. Derby County Community Trust continued to maintain its original commitment to social inclusion throughout this period of significant change, using the support from its association and shared vision with Derby County Football Club to protect the project from the wider changes in the national policy stream. Support from within the local political stream enabled the project managers to find pockets of funding such as from Positive Futures, the Kickz programme or local police budgets which had survived these changes. However, the Aston and Braunstone football projects had little or no protection as the political priorities changed, weakening their influence and capacity at both a national and local level and significantly affecting their ability to deliver their sports programmes to young people in their area of deprivation until a new host agency took over the Braunstone Football project later in 2012, using its influence to rebuild the project's position and link it to the local political stream.

Derby County Community Trust's resistance to the government's approach of firstly, keeping social exclusion off the agenda and secondly, the portrayal of people living in deprived areas as 'shirkers' in the middle and later stages of project development and implementation, was instrumental in ensuring that the Derby Hat Trick project could thrive over its lifetime and be protected from changes in the political and policy streams at both a national and local level. This was in contrast to the other two projects that became isolated and unable to respond to the changes in the national and local political and policy streams as the priorities in sport and wider society

shifted away from a concern with deprivation. The arrival of a new host agency for Braunstone Football Project, responsible for its subsequent revival with links to the local political stream, reinforced the findings that the role of a project's host agency was particularly important in enabling projects to respond effectively to a changing policy environment. However, whether the intervention by this new host agency in Braunstone would be sufficient to sustain it over the long term remained to be seen.

An assessment of the interconnection between project objectives and changes in the national and local policy environment.

This section provides a discussion on the relationship between policy changes and the projects' objectives with an emphasis on the likely causality between shifts in policy and the differing responses of the projects. As the objectives of all three projects were established as a local response to the national policy on addressing social exclusion through sport, this discussion will examine the effect of subsequent changes in policy. A summary of the analysis of the relationship between the case studies and changes in the national and local policy environment is provided in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 Analysis of the relationship between the case studies and policy changes

Summary of the research findings concerning the case studies	The relationship between changes in policy and the three case studies
1. The projects' focus on football, young people and areas of deprivation remained in place.	The focus of the projects was not vulnerable to policy changes as it could be adapted to a range of policies such as football development and increasing participation.
2. The nature of the projects' host agencies was important. An established organisation which shared the rationale of football and social inclusion with the project was able to protect against changes in national and local policy.	The nature of the host agency was important for the protection against changes in policy which were not compatible with the projects' rationale.
3. Association with New Deal for Communities Programmes	The dependency on NDCs by all three projects for funding and partnerships made them vulnerable to changes in policy.
4. The rationale of the projects only remained in place in one project	The projects' original rationale had been vulnerable to changes in the national policy environment as it had reflected sport and social welfare policy.
5. A compliance with top-down implementation helped project staff to achieve the projects' objectives	Lack of access to national and local funding streams resulted in the cessation of monitoring and evaluation activity for two projects and contributed to 'project implementation failure' at different stages.
6. The recruitment of young people was variable. However, successful recruitment was essential for project survival.	The struggle to recruit young people by two projects at different stages was an indirect consequence of the projects' inability to adapt to policy changes.

Summary of the research findings concerning the case studies	The relationship between changes in policy and the three case studies
7. The weakening of partnerships throughout the research period	The changes in policy at a national and local level resulted in a weakening of 'non-sporting' partnerships for the projects as partners left areas of deprivation for new priorities.
8. The relationship with football agencies was varied and changed over time.	The effect of policy changes on the relationship between mainstream football and the projects was not easily identifiable. The policy emphasis on increasing participation in the late 2000s did bring these projects to the attention of their county FA. However, the nature of the host agency as a credible football partner proved to be more instrumental in creating a positive relationship with the FA when it was beneficial to the project.
9. Access to national and local funding streams was important for the survival of the projects	The effect of policy changes to national and local funding streams was evident in this research. The projects found it harder to gain access to significant new funding streams at both a national and local level. However, the changes in policy were not always reflected in changes to funding streams such as the Football Foundation, Positive Futures and the Kickz programme. These continued to provide funding for projects using similar criteria for using sports as a social tool to address issues such as ASB.
10. Experienced, role model project staff were important to retain at the projects	Changes in the policy environment indirectly resulted in the loss of some experienced project staff at the projects that were most vulnerable to policy change.
11. Survival of the projects	The project with a strong host agency that was protected against the changes in policy continued to focus on the future in contrast with the remaining two projects that struggled to survive as a result of policy changes.
12. Planning for the future	The effect of policy changes on planning for the future was not easily identifiable as one project was planning to integrate its activities into its host agency's main programme and the second project was seeking to link to the local problem stream to address ASB through sport. However, the third project had a wide range of ideas for the future but had not identified any national or local policies that might have provided funding for the future.

First of all, it should be noted that the shared objective of football development remained in place at all three projects throughout the research period. Its continuity was underpinned by the strength of the focus on football which protected or it could be argued, even preventing them from adapting to changes in national priorities. This was in contrast to the projects' social welfare objectives which were much more vulnerable to changes in the national and local policy environment. The social welfare objective for using football to address ASB by young people was shared by all three projects but its prominence weakened and changed in two of the three projects as the national policy environment shifted away from social welfare. The

projects' inflexibility to adapt to these national policy changes resulted in the weakening of this objective at the two projects in Aston and Braunstone and as table 8.2 illustrates, this was the combination of a number of factors such as the unconducive nature of the host agency, the change in project staff, the departure of key partners to support joint-working and the lack of access to significant national or local funding streams. This contrasted with the Derby Hat Trick project where this objective remained a key focus for the programme activities despite national policy changes. The role of the host agency had been instrumental in supporting the project to adapt to the policy changes at a national level by strengthening its link with the local problem stream through its established partnership with the local police.

The social welfare objective for volunteer development adopted an increasingly important role in all three projects as New Labour strengthened its commitment towards the development of the 'active citizen' within its renegotiation of the rights and responsibilities of the individual. In contrast to the majority of New Labour's social welfare objectives, volunteer development continued to remain a national priority in its focus on supporting individuals to become 'active citizens' and gain employment even after the national policy environment had moved away from tackling social exclusion. After the election of the Coalition government the support for volunteer development remained a priority as a feature of the Big Society policy. All three projects retained volunteer development as an objective throughout the research period, often for altruistic motives rather than as the consequence of a favourable, constant policy environment. This commitment to volunteer development was viewed as a means to improve the lives of young people at their projects and to develop new project staff with the right ethos although it could be argued that the access to funding streams at national and local level could also have been a contributing factor.

Nevertheless, the social welfare objectives less central to these projects such as regeneration, the environment, health, education and community cohesion did not remain constant as key objectives in all three projects. As the national and local policy environment moved away from social welfare, many of the funding streams and local partners also moved away to new areas. The 'less central' social welfare objectives shared by these three projects had depended on additional funding and

specialist support from partners from these sectors. The Derby Hat Trick project was the only project to continue its engagement with these social welfare objectives, benefiting from its host agency's support to secure funding from national organisations such as the Football Foundation which had also continued this focus. However, by the end of the research period, even the Derby Hat Trick project had narrowed its objectives to football development and the reduction of ASB in response to the changes in national and local policy.

As highlighted in table 8.2, there was not always a direct connection between changes in the national and local policy environment and changes in the project objectives. The factors that determined the extent of change in project objectives, if any in some instances, included the significance of the objectives to the project, the type of host agency and its ability to support the project to adapt to the changing policy environment at both a national and local level and the access to significant funding streams. As exemplified by the funding priorities of the Football Foundation, changes in the policy environment did not take effect immediately and in some cases did not take place at all. This enabled projects such as the Derby Hat Trick project to continue to support its activities with funding that complemented its existing objectives. These findings would suggest that small, local projects would be more likely to be able to exert their own decisions about the retention, replacement or removal of project objectives at times of national and local policy change if they were located within a strong compatible host agency which could offer them protection from negative policy changes as well as facilitate access to the positive elements of policy change.

Assessment of theory and the policy analysis frameworks

Neo-marxism and market liberalism were the two macro-level theories selected for this research. The contribution of these two theories to the analysis of the research was significant for firstly, illuminating the changing political context for the case studies and secondly, for sensitising the researcher to areas for critical analysis. Table 8.3. provides a summary of the theoretical contribution to the research analysis and will form the basis for this discussion.

Table 8.3 The utility of the two selected macro-level theories for the analysis of sport policy (Original table adapted from Houlihan and Lindsey, 2012)

Dimension	Neo-marxism	Market liberalism
Unit of analysis	The focus on social class as a structural issue was pertinent to this research with its concentration on young people from deprived areas. The concept of the 'underclass' illustrated the association between poverty, deprivation and social class.	The focus on individualism was a key feature of New Labour's policy solution to social exclusion. The concept of the 'active' and 'good' citizen emerged from the renegotiation of the 'rights and responsibilities' of the individual. The Coalition Government continued this theme with its Big Society policy.
Role of the state	It could be argued that New Labour had endeavoured to mitigate the effects of capitalism through its Third Way in response to the neoliberal approach to the role of the state adopted by the Thatcher government. However, this view has been contested by commentators who have viewed the Third Way as New Labour's acceptance of neoliberalism with its focus on individualism. The most useful feature of this dimension of neo-marxism for this research was the question of the locus of power in the policy-making role of the state as the young people living in deprived communities were absent from the policy-making process.	Both the New Labour and Coalition governments saw the renegotiation of the role of the state and its responsibility towards individuals as a key feature of social welfare policy. The narrowing role of the state as a provider of the 'social welfare net' was weakened even further in favour of marketization by the Coalition government. This changing role of the state provided the political background for the changing policies for this research.
Dynamic for policy-making	The concept of the inherent instability of capitalism was useful as an explanation of the acceleration of New Labour's policy shift away from social exclusion. The 2008 global banking crisis shifted attention away from this policy area and heralded an era of austerity.	This theory provided a useful contribution to the analysis of social welfare policy-making and policy change with the focus on individuals and personal responsibility.
Associated meso-level frameworks and approaches	This theory did not make a contribution to the development of meso-level frameworks.	Multiple streams provided a useful meso-level framework for the analysis of policy change for this research
Primary focus for the study of sport policy	The neo-marxist theory of sport as a form of social control was helpful for the recognition that sport and football, in particular, was used as a tool to help to create the 'good' citizen with its moral dimensions and in some instances, as a diversionary tool to discourage behaviour that was seen as 'anti-social'.	The regulatory role of the state. The relationship between the state, the market and the not-for-profit sector.
Orientation/key questions	How was the tension between sport for sport's sake and sport as an element of social welfare provision managed?	Was the expansion of state involvement in sport evidence in support of the public choice critique of public officials (seeking personal benefits – increased salaries – rather than social welfare)?

As identified in table 8.3 market liberalism provided the political context for the emergence of the three case studies and offered an explanation for the development of the policy context for the research period at the macro-level. Market liberalism's focus on individualism and free choice was clearly visible in New Labour's response to tackling social exclusion with the emergence of the 'active' and 'good' citizen. The adoption of this concept for New Labour's social welfare policies resulted in the 'spill over' of market liberalism into sport policy. This emphasis on individualism was consequently reflected in the projects' objectives and in particular the objectives concerning volunteer development and the reduction of ASB by young people. Volunteer development was viewed at all three projects as a valid contribution to the pathway into employment with the provision of qualifications, skills, knowledge and experience, a direct response to market liberalism's concern with the individual and the creation of the 'active' citizen. Neo-marxist theory was utilised to place this concept in the spotlight and to highlight New Labour's lack of engagement with the provision of structural solutions to poverty and social exclusion. This was reflected in the concept of New Labour's volunteer development which, it could be argued, dismissed the potential for individuals to build their political capacity, to mobilise as a local community and to change the locus of power. The continuation of the focus on volunteer development by the Coalition government's Big Society policy was again a political response to market liberalism's individualism. However, this was no longer viewed as a pathway into employment as welfare reform policies had replaced this function with the use of employment support and benefit sanctions. Volunteer development was now considered as a response to market liberalism's ideal of the 'minimal state' so that individuals could take responsibility for their own communities as the state withdrew from its traditional role as a provider of community facilities and services. It could be argued that Neo-marxist theory's emphasis on the need to change the locus of power might have found support for this planned transfer of the state's role to the community. However, the lack of resources available to implement this policy was so minimal as illustrated by the Aston football development project, that it did not change the nature of volunteer development at the three projects.

Market liberalism's concern with individualism was also reflected in New Labour's concept of the 'good' citizen with its emphasis on morality and behaviour. This concept emerged in sport welfare policies and was reflected in project objectives

such as using football to reduce ASB by young people. As Coalter (2007) argued, sport had been viewed as a tool to create the moral citizen since the late nineteenth century. However, New Labour's joined-up approach to tackling social exclusion resulted in the widening of football's role in the reduction of ASB by young people. Football was not considered to be solely a diversionary activity with the potential to instil good behaviour in young people. It was now viewed as a vehicle for supporting specialist partners to work with young people to reduce substance misuse, including both alcohol and drugs, to reduce arson and to reduce crime, including gang crime. This emphasis on changing the behaviour of individuals through their involvement at local football project could be viewed through the lens of Neo-marxism as New Labour's denial of the need to change the structure of society and to address poverty as the main cause of societal problems. New Labour's approach to the 'good' citizen was not adopted by the Coalition Government as it turned towards the punishment of individual behaviour rather than prevention, still maintaining its focus on individualism in accordance with market liberalism.

The main tools of policy analysis at the meso-level for this research consisted of the utilisation of multiple streams and Implementation theory. Multiple streams theory (Kingdon: 1984) was useful for the identification of the changes to the content of the political, policy and problem streams from the early 2000s up until 2014, a period of significant political change which started with a strong political commitment for addressing deprivation but which ended with its significant marginalisation on the national political agenda. These changes to the individual problem, political and policy streams could be divided into distinct time periods to reflect the stages of the projects' development. Table 8.4. summarises the assessment of the utility of the multiple streams framework as an analytical meso-level framework for this research..

Table 8.4 An assessment of the utility of multiple streams framework

Framework	**Main characteristics useful for the research**	**Strengths in relation to the topic of research**	**Weaknesses in relation to topic of research**	**Assessment of utility for the research**
Multiple streams	The conceptualisation of the three streams, namely the problem,	An effective organising framework; The capacity to draw attention to	Unable to recognise power, knowledge or implementation issues.	The interplay between the three streams, especially problems and

Framework	Main characteristics useful for the research	Strengths in relation to the topic of research	Weaknesses in relation to topic of research	Assessment of utility for the research
	political and policy streams; The identification of policy windows and the activities of policy entrepreneurs in particular at the local level; The identification of problems that 'competed' for attention.	the importance of public opinion/mood; Recognition of agency as well as the importance of structure at a local level.	Lack of focus on inequality although it did identify the nature of the political environment	policies was helpful; The capacity to explore the spill over between welfare and sport policies was essential; The capacity to provide an effective differentiation between national and local level political systems. Useful combination with a chronological framework to assess policy over a longer period.

As highlighted in table 8.4 the theory was helpful for distinguishing between the streams at the national and local level as the research aimed to identify the impact of both national and local policy-making on the three local projects. This helped to identify the time periods when the problem, political and policy streams were similar at both the national and local level such as during the early stages of all three projects and the time periods when they diverged, for example at the end stages of all three projects when young people and ASB were still seen as a problem at a local level but not at a national level.

The extent to which the projects changed was illustrated in the series of tables located in the three case studies in chapters five, six and seven which related project characteristics to changes in the three streams. The comparative analysis of change in the three case studies brought into sharp relief the need to explain why there had been so much change within two projects and so little change in the case of the Derby Hat Trick project when all three projects had been set up at the same time with a broadly similar rationale and with the support of external funding that enabled them to appoint specialist project staff. While the multiple streams framework had been useful for identifying and describing the changes in the projects, it was

arguably less effective in providing an adequate explanation for these changes. The multiple streams framework was effective in drawing attention to the significance of exogenous developments in the policy area, most obviously the substantial changes in the political environment (political stream) of the projects such as the loss of momentum regarding social inclusion in the latter days of the Labour Government and, more significantly, the loss of power by the Labour Party in 2010. The framework was also effective in indicating how changes in the political stream had implications for the composition of the other two streams, especially the problem stream. However, what was less easy to determine using the multiple streams framework was the mechanisms by which changes in national streams translated into impact at the project level. It might therefore be argued that the multiple streams framework was more effective as a tool for organising national level data rather than as a tool for explaining the processes which led to stability and change at the project level. Part of the challenge in using the multiple streams framework as an explanatory tool was the gap between national level developments and the day to day operation of the projects. To overcome this gap, partially at least, this research distinguished between national and local streams and replicated the MSF analysis at the local (municipal) level. This innovation in the application of the MSF proved useful in strengthening the explanatory capacity of the framework. Not only did it enable the researcher to link changes in the content of streams more directly to the projects, but it also allowed the identification of continuity and discontinuity between development in streams at national and local levels. This consequently explained more effectively, why the Aston and Braunstone projects lost momentum while the Derby project was able to retain much of its original momentum and strategic focus.

In addition to applying the MSF at the local level as well as at the national level, the research also augmented its analytical capacity through the integration of implementation theory. The use of implementation theory, with its dual focus on (national) policy management practice and local capacity, was particularly useful in identifying the loss of top-down momentum in relation to implementation and the scope that this created for local policy drift or, in the case of the Aston project, policy-making. The use of Hogwood and Gunn's (1984) ideal type criteria for perfect top-down implementation helped to identify and track the changes in implementation throughout the period under review of all three projects as shown by table 8.5.

Table 8.5 Utility of implementation theory for the research *based on Hogwood and Gunn's top down implementation theory and Lipsky's theory of bottom up implementation theory*

Requirements for 'top – down' implementation (based on Hogwood and Gunn's conditions)	**Utility for the research**
37. There is a single (or very few) implementing agency (ies)	This feature was useful for the identification of any changes to the case studies' host agencies and was used to analyse continuity/ lack of continuity of support from the host agencies.
38. There is complete understanding of, and agreement upon, the objectives to be achieved throughout the implementation process	This feature was helpful as a tool to check whether the objectives had changed during the research period and whether new staff shared the original objectives.
39. In making progress towards the policy making objectives the tasks to be performed by each implementing agent can be specified in complete detail	This feature was useful for the identification of the programme's activities for the case studies and to check whether they met the aims and objectives of the projects.
40. There is perfect communication between implementing agents	This feature was helpful to check whether the programme delivery staff shared the same objectives and understood the role of the programme.
41. Those in authority can demand and will receive perfect obedience	This feature was useful for checking whether the project staff had met the aims and objectives for the funding programmes and had carried out M&E.
42. The circumstance external to the implementing agency do not impose crippling constraints	This feature was useful for checking whether external circumstances had made it difficult for project staff to deliver the programme. It was also useful to consider this as an explanation if the project had failed or been in crisis.
43. Adequate time and sufficient resources are made available for each stage of the implementation process	This feature was useful for checking whether project staff were able to focus on the programme and that they had access to resources such as coaching staff, local facilities and equipment.
44. The policy to be implemented is based upon a valid theory of cause and effect	This feature was not so significant for this research as it was not seeking to establish the effectiveness of the sports programmes. However, the belief in the power of sport held by the project staff and the partners involved in these programmes demonstrated that they believed that these sports programmes would have an effect on young people affected by social problems in these geographical areas.
45. The relationship between causes and effect is direct with few if any intervening links	This feature was not so significant
Conditions for 'bottom-up' implementation (based on Lipsky)	**Utility for the research**
46. Street Level workers with high ideals	This feature was highly significant for the research as a partial explanation for the nature of the delivery in all three case studies. All the case studies had project staff that were passionate and committed to their work and believed in the work that they were doing.
47. Workers with the ability to exercise discretion and autonomy	This feature was significant for the identification of agency at the project level. It also explained the expansion of the programmes over time to include

	new initiatives and funding streams
48. Working under intolerable pressure such as uncertainty about resources for their work, inadequate time to achieve objectives	This feature was important for the two projects that faced crises at different points during the research period.

In particular, the examination of implementation enabled not only an analysis of the interaction between the top-down management of projects and the constrains experienced by 'street-level' service deliverers, but it also facilitated an analysis of how the gradual weakening of top-down concern and momentum gave scope for street-level' policy-making. Moreover, as illustrated in table 8.5. the use of implementation theory enabled the identification of shifts in the pattern of top-down management of implementation with the Derby Hat Trick project being a good example. The Derby Hat Trick project had complied reasonably fully with top-down requirements for implementation throughout the period of the study and had maintained its original rationale and largely achieved its aims and objectives. The substantial continuity of implementation was the product of the retention of key project staff and partners, the availability of necessary resources and the maintenance of shared agreement and understanding of the project aims and objectives. However, what was significant in terms of implementation was that as national interest in projects such as Derby Hat Trick waned with a consequent weakening of top-down management, it was replaced by local level top-down oversight from the Community Trust which helped maintain momentum and focus on deprivation. By contrast, the Aston project (and to a lesser extent the Braunstone project) had either no or significantly weaker local host agency management with the capacity to maintain strategic focus through top-down management of implementation. The result was that both projects were forced to assume greater responsibility not only for policy implementation, but also for policy-making.

Lipsky's concept of 'street-level' bureaucracy (1980) proved to be insightful in relation to all three projects particularly at the early and middle stages of their development when they all expanded their organisational objectives as they responded to new national policy initiatives. As illustrated in table 8.5 Lipsky's emphasis on appreciating the constraints under which local project staff and managers operate was an important counterbalance to assumptions of 'command and control' top-down managerialism. it was also useful in highlighting weaknesses

in central government policy leadership. Consequently, there were occasions when 'street-level' policy and practice were not simply the result of adaptation of project deliverers to constraints of local circumstances and capacity but were a consequence of a decline in central government (top-down) interest and clarity of objectives, thus requiring innovation at the 'street-level' to fill the policy vacuum.

Lipsky's concept (1980) proved to be an essential element in the analysis of the middle and later stages of the Aston and Braunstone football projects when they were struggling to survive. As shown in table 8.5 this analysis was able to identify that the project staff were indeed, working under intolerable pressure as a result of the uncertainty about project funding and other resources (such as access to facilities and staffing) with little support from the host agency. In both these projects, the weakening of top-down pressures was compounded by financial uncertainty which resulted in key staff leaving the projects as they sought personal financial stability and career development. This analysis was also able to show that this left these two projects without the street-level workers in place who had both the 'high ideals' and the understanding and agreement about the project's original aims and objectives and were consequently more willing to accept the redefinition of project goals.

The advantage of using both implementation theory and the multiple streams framework together was that it was possible to provide more subtle analysis of project development and the actions of key project staff especially during periods of crisis as shown in table 8.5. For example, the use of implementation theory and multiple steams enabled a richer analysis and explanation of the developments within the Aston football project when staff began to refocus the project with an increasing emphasis on volunteer development, a declining emphasis on football development and plans to attract more participants from outside the original geographical area. In contrast to the Aston football project, the joint analysis revealed how the Derby Hat Trick project had managed to survive this period of policy turbulence, retain its original rationale as well as its project staff and achieve its aims and objectives.

However, even though these two policy analysis frameworks played an important role in illuminating many aspects of the policy-making process in relation to the three

projects, it must be acknowledged that they had some limitations. As mentioned earlier, the multiple streams tables may have shown the changes in the priorities in the policy stream away from crime prevention but they were not able to explain why some organisations such as Sport England adapted their policies to reflect these changes and why others such as the Home Office still retained the Positive Futures programme even though the development of young people and tackling ASB were no longer seen as national priorities from the mid-2000s onwards.

Whilst the use of multiple streams framework provided considerable insight, one limitation was the capacity of the framework to chart accurately the changes in national policy streams. It must also be recognised that policy making does not have exact 'starting' or 'ending' points, often requiring transition periods whilst policy makers respond to the changes within their own areas. These transition periods often led to overlapping policies, resulting in funding from the Football Foundation's Community Programme being used to provide funding to the Derby Hat Trick project until 2012 in support of social objectives such as preventing ASB. The multiple streams framework was not able to explain deviations from national policy by organisations such as the County FAs that left the regeneration agenda to the FA's national capital and revenue programmes, resulting in minimal partnership working with at least two of the projects for the majority of the period of the study even though football development was a key element in their rationale. The multiple streams framework was able to show the connections between national and local sport policy, however this did not explain why projects hosted by organisations such as Derby County Community Trust which existed outside the main sports development structure, were able to make their own decisions about whether they wanted to follow national or local sports policy. It was in respect of these analytical weaknesses of the multiple stream framework that the application of implementation theory was a valuable complement which greatly strengthened the overall analysis.

Overall, the combination of analytical frameworks adopted for this study was effective in generating significant insight into the policy environment of the three local projects and the factors that affected stability and continuity of objectives over the medium to long term. Of particular significance was the ability of the multiple streams framework to match the changes in the problem, political and policy streams at both national and local level with key changes in the individual projects over a twelve year

period. This was then supplemented by implementation theory which was able to illuminate the changes in project delivery over the twelve year period and show how the projects had responded to the policy making process during a period of significant political change.

Reflections on the research process

This research exceeded initial expectations and proved to be a very positive learning experience. It provided the researcher with the opportunity to receive formal, high quality training on both research methods and the analysis of the data. This included formal training on areas of qualitative research such as research paradigms, research design, research methods, validity and truth, ethics, and research analysis techniques. It also included training on a range of policy issues such as concepts of power and their application in policy and social research and the use of policy analysis frameworks. The literature review had been challenging at the beginning of the research study as a result of previous limited engagement with academic theory or language. However, as the research study progressed and the case study data was collected and analysed, the utilisation of theoretical frameworks and concepts adopted an integral part of the research analysis and assessment process. These frameworks have offered an alternative approach to the analysis of data for social research, in particular for the impact of the policymaking process on case studies over a longer time period. The use of the theoretical frameworks also enabled the researcher to develop a more in depth, holistic view of the projects which, most importantly, identified why two out of the three projects had struggled for so long and why the Derby Hat Trick project had been so successful despite the fact that they had all been located in NDC areas. The use of implementation theory has also been useful for developing the researcher's views about the wider benefits of the requirement for regular monitoring and evaluation by funding agencies. The case study analysis has demonstrated that it can be an important tool to encourage project staff to retain their project rationale and help them to achieve their project's aims and objectives. Implementation theory has also raised the additional question of whether it is reasonable to expect project volunteers to be completely responsible for all aspects of project management especially when these volunteers are young adults in higher education or starting their own careers such as in the Aston football project where this approach put this previously successful project into a state of

constant crisis in the later stage of the project life. The findings of the research have also placed increased importance on the nature of a project's host agency. The analysis of all three case studies have shown that the choice of host agency is a key variable for the explanation of the success of the project, including the retention of experienced project staff. The utilisation of multiple streams and implementation theory as joint policy analysis tools has been instrumental in providing a full and insightful analysis of how policy making has affected these three projects over the twelve year period.

The research methodology worked well with the use of semi-structured interviews as one of the main research tools conducted on a 'face to face' basis, providing the case studies with rich data and filling many of the gaps initially identified in the project timelines. Uncomfortably for the researcher, the interviews at the Aston project reflected the disparity between the views of staff involved in the project during different stages of the project's development, already hinting at changes in project objectives and implementation before the analysis stage. The continuity of project staff at the Derby Hat Trick project and its host agency proved helpful as it produced interview data which helped to build a relatively comprehensive picture of the project during the research period as well as providing the researcher with the opportunity to explore potentially sensitive implementation areas such as the relationship between the host agency and the project as well as relationships with partners. The researcher found it useful to conduct interviews at the projects' sessions as this helped to highlight factors within the individual case studies that might not otherwise have been considered significant such as the physical proximity to Aston Villa FC and yet no formal connection between this Premier League club and the Aston project. The replication of the thematic structure for all three case studies worked well as it provided consistent data for the individual project MSF tables and illuminated the relationship between the projects and changes in national and local policy over the research period. This thematic structure also acted as a successful tool for comparative analysis, facilitating the identification of similarities and differences between the projects at the different stages of development.

However, the thematic structure of the case studies also proved to be challenging at times as a result of the potential for data to be repeated in more than one themed section resulting in the need to combine two of the sections, namely partnerships

and funding, so that the close connection between partners and their access to funding sources could be more easily highlighted. The disappointing part of the research study was that the documentary evidence had been difficult to find from the early stages of the case studies, in particular from the Aston and Braunstone football projects. The interviewees at all three projects confirmed that funding applications, progress reports and monitoring forms had been completed regularly at the early and middle stages of the projects' development and yet very little evidence of these remained even at a local level. This situation had been exacerbated by the disappearance of all three NDC organisations, resulting in the removal of the original websites from the internet and the destruction of paper documents from this time period. It was also disappointing that it was not possible to find interviewees from the NDC organisations or many of their partners as there had been so much staff 'churn' especially at the local authorities. This had led to the inclusion of additional questions for the project interviewees which had fortunately provided sufficient data to compensate for the missing documentary evidence.

The experience of this research was overwhelmingly positive but there would be a small number of changes for consideration if the research was undertaken again. These changes would include the development of a theme around gender and the role of girls and young women in the football projects which would be more prevalent in the interview questions. Two of the three football projects confirmed that they did try to increase the number of women involved in their programmes. However, there was insufficient documentary data especially at the early stages of the projects' development when the project rationale was placed on the need to address anti-social behaviour.

This research study has also raised questions for future research such as the role of policy makers in considering the impact of new policies on existing sport projects, the importance of social exclusion in future sport policy, issues around project sustainability and the role of volunteers in project management and the wider role of football trusts.

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APPENDIX 1

EXAMPLE OF CASE STUDY INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

Interview questions for the first Aston football project co-ordinator

1. How did this project begin, why was it set up?
   Prompt: confirm rationale, aims and objectives, need from young people, role of NDC and regeneration, rationale for funding from Hat Trick, identified by partners such as the police, young people getting into trouble, funding sources and timescales and any national/ local targets, view of NGB and Birmingham FA?
2. What was your role with the project?
   Prompt: appointment as a paid worker and then as a volunteer, links to the community/ NDC, management, funding, M&E, coaching, advocacy, development, sustainability
3. What was your approach to running the project, especially in relation to achieving its aims?
   Prompt: importance of sport/ regeneration themes and how this was built into the sessions, meeting targets/ outputs, recruitment, cost, profile of participants, volunteers.
4. What benefits do you think the young people got from coming to the sessions (and do you have any evidence)?
   Prompt: better football playing skills, links to local football club, better health, out of trouble, becoming volunteers, young leaders, friendships
5. Has the project carried out any M&E in the past or at present for its funders or any other partners?
   Prompt: who the project staff are accountable to especially as volunteers, results, achieving aims and objectives as well as targets, learning, used to change the project sessions
6. Do you think that this project has changed since you first became involved and if so, how?
   Prompt: rationale, objectives, recruitment, funding, partners
7. Are any other partners involved in this project/ session that we haven't already talked about and if so who?

Prompt: Aston football club, Aston Sports Club, CSP, schools, police, PCT, local authority, local voluntary organisations

8. What is the view or role of the FA – national and county towards this project?
   Prompt: planning, supporting or funding the session,
9. Have you had any extra support to run this project such as resources from other partners or the NGB?
   Prompt: access to NGB/ CSP training courses, grants
10. What are your thoughts about this project in the future?
    Prompt: Aston Sports club's plans to take over the MUGA, aim of the project especially in relation to Aston, sustainability
11. Is there anyone else I could talk to about this project and in particular, the NDC, Aston community key people, the Hat Trick application, the Barclays Spaces for Sport funding and the MUGA (Birmingham City Council). Also, are there any funding applications/ NDC docs etc. that I could have access to or do you know where I could find them?
12. Anything else that I haven't asked you about that you think might be useful?

Interview questions for Carnall, chief executive, the Derby County Community Trust

1. Please could you tell me about the Trust and its philosophy – its aims and objectives, view of itself and its role.

2. Would you be able to tell me how and why the Community Trust got involved in this project at the beginning – back in 2005? And why it stayed involved?

3. The Derby Hat Trick project has been running for almost ten years. What do you think are the reasons for this level of success?

4. One of the themes that seems to be emerging is the importance of partnerships. Could you tell me about your/ the Trust's approach to partnerships – local and national.

5. Has the Trust benefited from the Derby Hat Trick/ Kickz project and if so, how such as the view of the local community, track record, development of other projects, funding, awards, status.

6. What are the priorities for the Trust at the moment and in particular around participation and deprivation/ social inclusion? Does the Derwent ward fit into any of these priorities at the moment?

7. What are the plans for the future of the Derby Hat Trick/ Kickz project or any future projects in the Derwent ward.

8. Is there anyone else that it would be useful for me to talk to about the project such as previous or current partners or funders?

APPENDIX 2

EXTRACT FROM INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

Interview with Mohammed Juned, the first Project Co-ordinator of the Aston Football Project

Walpole: I'm really interested in a bit of the history of the Aston football project, how it was set up, and your involvement, how it has progressed and how it is now and you are obviously a key person because you were in there from almost the beginning. So, how did you get involved?

Juned: Initially, I started out as a volunteer and I decided I wanted to run a football project and alongside Aston Christian centre we ran a football project at Holt school which is in central Birmingham for young people who had issues around behaviour management and those who were at risk of being involved in anti-social behaviour so one of the projects we delivered was football for local young people because it was one of the strongest engagement tools in the local area, football. So we thought we'll make it slightly more organised, we'll create a safe and positive environment where they can come and play football, at the same time develop their social skills which they can then transfer to other walks of life like school and work and so forth. So we started running the session on a Saturday at Holt School… the initial sessions started at Holt school… Matt wasn't involved, it was myself and Aston Christian Centre. So we ran the session there and so what we were finding was that we started off with 10 or 15 kids and we went up to 60 or 70 kids and so we had to increase the workforce and went on to recruit some local volunteers and we decided that we had outgrown the facility so we then had to move to an appropriate facility that was local, accessible and we'd bring down the costs and also facilitate for the increased numbers and so we decided that we'd move down to Aston Park. When we moved down to Aston Park, our numbers increased from 60 or 70 young people on our books to over 150. We started the project in 2005, we moved to Aston Park in 2006. At this time, the FA received some funding from UEFA to give the UEFA Hat trick project and matched funding was sought by the local NDC, in our area it was Aston Pride. Aston Pride drew down some funding to deliver the Hat trick project. The matched funding came from the community engagement fund at the NDC. So they had funding to deliver a project to tie into the redevelopment of Aston Hall and

Park, it was a £12.5 m development of the whole site. One of the aspects of this was the Hat Trick project that would invest a lot of time developing local sports provision and thus regenerating the local community, basically creating active citizens through sport.(4.34 mins)

So they hired a Hat Trick officer to be responsible for the delivery of all the development of the Park, within that we then got involved, I was offered a role inside the project as a club development officer. Matt was the main Hat Trick officer and he recruited myself to deliver club development. So we brought the actual football project on board and that then evolved into the Aston mini soccer football session. We then absorbed that into the Hat Trick project. In terms of the legacy of the project at that point we wanted to provide competitive opportunities for the young people as well so we had casual football opportunities, anyone could get involved and play that's for the young people primarily at the same time as engaging local adults to try and get into coaching, mentoring and volunteering and thus developing their skills. At the same time we needed to develop provision so that there is a clear pathway from you come and you have a kick about and you have a clear pathway to competitive provision, play mainstream affiliated football so we developed some teams that entered the leagues but at the same time we looked at the structure of local provision and the local competition framework and we found that there wasn't really a robust competition framework locally and so we needed to try and engage the local teams and provide a foundation where they could develop their clubs and their provision and the services that they provide for local people and so we decided that we were going to bring together five local adult football teams under the umbrella of Aston football club and that's how Aston football club was borne, it was an amalgamation of five local football teams once we were constituted, had a bank account, went through Charter standard and StreetMark, StreetMark was the first recognised accreditation that we received. We developed Aston Football club that has now become a brand.

In terms of Aston football club, it started with the adult football, bringing together the five adult teams. In terms of the development centre project it started through Street Soccer which was the project that we ran through the Aston Christian centre and myself evolved into Aston little league but then as we developed the football club we thought that all football provision in the park should be delivered by one body so

Aston football club absorbed the mini league and turned it into the development centre. (8.15 mins). So there was provision at every level provision at youth level 5-11s and youth level 11 – 16 and adult provision 16+. In addition to that we had a volunteer development programme which was pivotal to our success as needed local people to get involved, we could develop them, they take ownership, they see it as their own project, their community, they're trying to develop it themselves, their own community. So we recruited and we really pushed for the engagement of local volunteers and to really support them, to mentor them, to capacity build their skills and hopefully they'll take over the project in the future.

Appendix 3

List of Interviewees

Astle, R. Project manager, Derby Hat Trick project, Derby County Community Trust. Interview: 28.04.14

Ball, V. Manager, Sport Regeneration Unit, Leicester City Council. Interview: 13.04.14

Carnall, S. Director, Derby County Community Trust. Interview: 29.06.15

Davis, S. Manager, B-Active. Interview: 10.02.14

Felce, S. Sports Services Area Manager, Birmingham City Council. Interview: 24.06.15

Harper, A. County development manager, Derbyshire FA. Interview: 01.06.15

Hunt, J. Director, Community Projects Plus Interview: 17.05.13

Juned, M. Former Aston football project coordinator, GIF manager, Birmingham FA. Interview: 10.04.13

Kai. Volunteer head coach, Aston football project. Interview:16.03.13

Longdon, F. County development manager, Leicestershire FA. Interview: 30.01.14

Melling, R. Director, Community Projects Plus. Interview: 17.05.13

Notice, Z.. Volunteer project co-ordinator, Aston football project. Interview:16.03.13

Rezel Ahmed, Volunteer coach, Aston football project. Interview:16.03.13

Rirazeah, Volunteer coach, Aston football project. Interview:16.03.13

Seal, R. Coach, Braunstone football project, SiSports. Interview: 17.05.13

Seal, S. Head coach, Braunstone football project, SiSports. Interview: 17.05.13