

Families' and children's experience of sport and informal activity in Olympic areas of the East End

Report to Sport England

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1. Summary

Background to the report

Sport England is interested to know how families with children experience the following aspects of neighbourhood life: involvement in sport; access to facilities; activities for young people; and the engagement of young people in poor areas in the Olympic development. Sport England wanted evidence from our research tracking the experiences of 100 families over eight years in the Hackney and Newham areas, living close to the Olympic development¹. Our neighbourhood study aims to uncover how bringing up children is affected by area conditions².

The announcement of London's successful Olympic bid appears to have provoked great interest in many of East London's local communities. These events coincided with our entering the seventh round of a longitudinal study of families in deprived areas of Hackney and Newham. The families had expressed a high level of concern for young people as they matured beyond the bounds of the immediate family, but found very little to do within the areas they lived in. At the same time they often have far too limited resources to be able to travel outside the areas to do constructive activities, as well as having related concerns over time constraints and travelling to unfamiliar locations. As a result, many young people in these areas simply hang around on the streets, either directly causing problems, or more likely creating a threatening environment for adults and local children. High levels of economic inactivity, truancy rates above the UK average and a culture of underachievement create further pressures³. The fear for the future of young people in these areas and their circumstances is acute. Local conditions, experiences and attitudes strongly shape and constrain young people's active engagement in sport.

The chair of Sport England asked us to help Sport England by adding questions specifically about the Olympics and about youth participation in sport to our last round of interviews. We agreed to ask specific questions as follows:

- Can your family access sports facilities?
- What helps access?
- Will the Olympics affect children's access to sport?
- What do young people in these neighbourhoods need to let off steam?
- Would sport help in this?
- What barriers prevent young people from participating in sporting activities?
- Can anything be done to improve the neighbourhood? Will such improvements will happen?

We also agreed to re-analyse responses to questions already asked in previous rounds (including data collected from interviews with one hundred families living in the north of England) relating to outdoor activity, local facilities, and the more general informal provision for children and young people that helped them to socialise.

The Olympic context of this report

We have data, collected since 1998 from the same families, giving us a strong body of evidence on how families experience bringing up children in difficult East London areas. There is a surge of public interest in sport and in the local areas as a result of the Olympic bid. There is also significant hope that it will lead to regeneration and improvement of local conditions. The prospect of young people within the area benefiting seems probable if an inclusive approach is taken. However, people within the area are not talking so much of the sports legacy after 2012 when the Olympic facilities are no longer needed for the event itself, they are talking more about the build up to the

¹ Mumford, K & Power, A (2003) *East Enders: family and community in East London*. Bristol: Policy Press

² Lupton, R (2003) *Poverty Street: The dynamics of neighbourhood decline and renewal* Bristol: Policy Press

³ Lupton, R (2000) Profiles of Hackney and Newham; Lupton, R and Power, A (2003) 'Disadvantaged by where you live? New Labour and neighbourhood renewal' in J Hills and K Stewart (eds) (2005) *A More Equal Society? New Labour, poverty, inequality and exclusion*. Bristol: Policy Press. Power, A (2006) Paper prepared to support the work of AMION Consulting for DCLG on the evaluation of the National Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy (unpublished)

Games and engaging their own young people over the next few years in constructive and positive activities, involving local sports as the Olympic 'fever' takes hold.

Findings

The following sections summarise the main themes relating to sport and activities arising from interviews conducted with one hundred families in East London (as well as data collected from families in the north of England in earlier rounds). Our findings are important in understanding what helps families; what increases young people's engagement in sport and leisure activities; what encourages young people to take up more positive activities; how Sport England can work with local partners to improve both formal and informal provision of exercise facilities and outdoor activities related to sport within these deprived areas in close proximity to the main Olympic site⁴.

a. Access to facilities

Over half the families have some access to facilities, rising to nearly three quarters in the Newham area, but for only a minority of families are these facilities local⁵. Very few after school activities or facilities for young people are easily accessible, helping only 6% of families. About three quarters of the families experience significant barriers including: location and cost; negative, frightening environments; anti-social behaviour; other family pressures and problems; the need and desire to accompany children; and fear of trouble.

b. Parks

Parks are very important to families, particularly as the majority live in flats with limited space. In London, over half of the families use parks on a regular basis. In Northern areas parks are used far less frequently, possibly because more families have gardens, and because one of these areas has very limited local park provision. However, even in London nearly half of the families we interview do not use parks regularly. The main criticisms of parks by parents are: lack of supervision; lack of child-oriented activities; the lack of suitable facilities for different ages; the dominance in parks of anti-social behaviour and a sense of threat. A main deterrent to mothers and young children using parks is young people hanging about in parks where they can be free from adult supervision. Through lack of park supervision, some may act in anti-social, intimidating ways in these spaces. There is a general shortage of well-maintained local parks, affecting nearly half the families.

c. The neighbourhood environment

Neglected environments deter participation and generate significant fear of crime. In practise our study areas experience high levels of crime, with 80% of the East London parents perceiving crime to be a serious problem. Parents living in all of the study areas were fearful of paedophiles beyond a general sense of risk because estates in the areas have actually been targeted for re-housing them. Social workers confirmed this view expressed by mothers⁶.

Bullying is also quite common, affecting a third of children with the families. Most bullying happens in schools or when travelling between home and school, and on the whole parents believe that schools respond and help resolve problems. Bullying is less of a 'street' problem for parents, who worry that their children may be attacked or mugged after either previously being on the receiving end of these crimes or knowing others who have been. Such concerns feature very highly amongst the London-based parents in our study.

Teenagers on the street are considered by many parents to be one of the biggest area problems, and many of the younger teenagers do not like to go out or use the streets because of fear of their peers. Nearly half the parents simply don't let their children out without them being accompanied. This seems particularly damaging to participation and could be changed by more supervision and more activity per se.

⁴ The findings are based on the two neighbourhoods including in our long term study but reflect wider conditions

⁵ Annex 1 provides a summary table of findings

⁶ Discussions with interviewer, round 1

d. Activities for children

Parents report a significant lack of activities for their children and shortage or inaccessibility of facilities. A neighbourhood school has closed in the Newham area. Some open spaces have been built on, particularly in the Hackney neighbourhood; and the local park in Newham has been reduced to provide land for road widening. However, other facilities have opened, such as the leisure pool in Hackney, yet others have closed due to problems, such as a new leisure centre also in Hackney, despite being recently opened. But parents complain about the high charges and the loss of more local facilities such as youth clubs. The vast majority of parents referred to the closure of youth facilities and inadequate supervision of open spaces.

e. Street games

Games, particularly football, are common among boys. We have observed some street games while visiting, but we primarily observe informal social contact on the streets where “young people hang out”. The value of this informal socialising should not be under-rated as young people learn social skills within their peer groups although such interaction has the potential to become anti-social.

When street interaction and play becomes threatening, the young people involved are frequently perceived as ‘gangs’ by the parents. The dominant presence of boys on the streets becomes very troubling. A particular current nuisance comes from small motor scooters specially designed for kids and teenagers; they are both noisy and considered by parents as menacing. The police are viewed as powerless to do anything about this however; and we also became aware of this issue through observation. Television and particularly the ever more sophisticated computer games market can become a substitute for street games and sport. In terms of promoting physical activity, computer games could arguably be seen as an obstacle by encouraging a sedentary lifestyle yet parents did not necessarily view excessive game playing as negative as such activities kept them indoors, safe, and out of trouble. Given the scale of the problems some parents face within their neighbourhoods, the desire to keep children indoors is understandable, even if this limits their social development and range of experience.

f. Parenting

Over two thirds of parents say they enjoy sport with their children more than any other activity (over two thirds), closely followed by going to parks (just under two thirds). Other pursuits feature far less prominently such as outings, cinema, holidays. Cost is a big constraint. Their biggest worry is their children getting involved in crime, affecting over a third of parents. Schools, the children’s future and their children’s safety are big worries for nearly a third of those interviewed. Parents perceive the biggest pressure on their children as coming from peers, with a quarter of parents saying their children have come into conflict with gangs. Parents emphasise the importance of their support and that of schools in helping children and young people. Schools are viewed as extremely important in helping young people to navigate a positive course in their lives.

The coming of the Olympics

Most parents think that the decision to host the Olympics in their areas is positive and 60% of our London respondents told us that the event will have a positive effect on children’s attitudes to sports. This gives Sport England a very good opening to build on the Olympic decision in these areas. Sport Action Zones are one possibility where multiple low-cost activities help to engage young people. Alongside this, our parents stress the need for informal, less structured activities in spaces that are both inviting to young people and supervised. Parks, clubs and youth friendly cafes obviously fit this category of activity. Many of the parents are keen to help so that young people in their area become more actively involved. They apply this commitment as much to other young people as to their own as this would reduce the threat to their own children. The idea of waiting until post-2012 to develop these approaches seems a terrible loss of opportunity – particularly as

the Home Office has shown that youth provision, at one fortieth the cost of the penal system per young person, directly leads to crime prevention⁷.

Conclusions

- **The Olympics and the regeneration needs of Hackney and Newham** offer a golden opportunity to introduce a series of relatively small and local inexpensive activities such as games areas in parks and small open spaces to make the deprived Olympic neighbourhoods models for youth spending in other deprived neighbourhoods. There is a need to raise the profile of spending positively on young people. By gaining insight into the barriers families face, it would be possible to develop strategies to encourage maximum participation. There is a need to harness excitement in the run-up to the Olympics as well as focusing on the legacy hopefully left by the games. For example, seeing the 'world's best' athletes as an inspirational, awe inspiring experience.
- **The supervision and maintenance of neighbourhood environments** has a hugely important impact not just on families' use of open spaces and participation in activities, but also on young people's attitudes. Environmental neglect forces families to hold back their children and young people. Simply not allowing young people on the streets means that disturbed families with less control, more problems and more difficulties allow their children to take over the streets and open spaces. Other parents then feel powerless.
- **Promoting sport, health, fitness activity**, both amongst young boys and young girls, can be extremely positive. Islington council is doing this actively in its few parks⁸. It has attracted large numbers of very diverse children, mostly from ordinary backgrounds. They organise low-cost activities like running, biking, trampolining, mobile rock climbing, rugby, basketball and other "tarmac" sports. Other activities include: keep fit, dance, Brazilian Capoeira, martial arts, skipping, and hurdle races. They do this in very restricted public spaces in a highly visible way. The high local profile does not deter participation; far from it, it attracts it because it looks sociable and "cool".
- **Creating a cool "macho" appeal for teenage boys** at the point of breaking away from their families may compensate for not doing well in school, or help them re-engage with their education. For girls, female sports leaders who are lively, friendly and attractive create appeal. The reintroduction of competition, challenge and inclusion in visible and free local events seems very positive in addition to using role models within schools/youth clubs communicating the benefits of sport to children and young people (increased confidence, reducing stress, maintaining weight, looking good, gaining transferable skills). Such measures could be incorporated into Sport England's proposals for Sport Action Zones.
- **Families with children say they like sport and parks** best among all the things they do; their children enjoy these more than anything else. The Olympics have galvanised awareness, so we should act on this.

⁷ www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime

⁸ Meeting with Head of Greenspace, London Borough of Islington; Discussions with Greenspace & Leisure Team, 2007

2. Introduction

Sport England is interested to know how families with children experience the following aspects of neighbourhood life: involvement in sport; access to facilities; activities for young people; and the engagement of young people in poor areas in the Olympic development. Sport England wanted evidence from our research tracking the experiences of one hundred families in the Hackney and Newham areas, close to the Olympic development. This study aims to uncover how bringing up children is affected by area conditions.

The announcement of London's successful Olympic bid appears to have provoked great interest in many of East London's local communities. These events coincided with our entering the seventh round of our longitudinal study of families in deprived areas of Hackney and Newham. The families had expressed a high level of concern for young people as they matured beyond the bounds of the immediate family, but found very little to do within the areas they lived in. At the same time they had far too limited resources to be able to travel outside the areas to do constructive activities, as well as having related concerns over time constraints and travelling to unfamiliar locations. As a result, many young people in these areas simply hang around on the streets, either directly causing problems, or more likely creating a threatening environment for adults and local children. There is a high level of economic inactivity, truancy, and lack of access to jobs. The fear for the future of young people in these areas and their circumstances is acute. Local conditions, experiences and attitudes strongly shape and constrain young people's active engagement in sport.

The chair of Sport England asked us to help Sport England by adding questions specifically about the Olympics and about youth participation in sport to our last round of interviews. We also offered to re-examine questions that we had already asked (including data from interviews with one hundred families living in the north of England in a parallel study) relating to outdoor activity, local facilities, and the more general informal provision for children and young people that helped them to socialise.

3. Method

For seven years, we have been following the lives of two hundred families living in four of the most disadvantaged urban areas in the country: 'West City' and 'East Docks' in East London, and 'Kirkside East' and 'The Valley' in Yorkshire. From our yearly visits to the same families, we record their changing views and experiences of raising their families in often difficult and challenging circumstances. We normally speak to the mothers in these families, although occasionally their children, partners, or other relatives will contribute if present⁹. The four areas were chosen from a larger study covering twelve disadvantaged areas being tracked over time to understand the key factors associated with neighbourhood decline and renewal¹⁰.

At the final round of the study, sport as a topic was directly addressed. Interviewees were asked whether London winning the bid to host the Olympics in 2012 would impact on their children's sports activities. As this topic was introduced whilst the interviews were underway, only about half of our respondents in the north (mainly in Leeds) were asked these sport-related questions. With the seventh round of interviews almost completed in The Valley, only a fraction (4.3%) of interviewees were asked.

We agreed to ask specific questions as follows:

- Can your family access sports facilities?
- What helps access?
- Will the Olympics affect children's access to sport?
- What do young people in these neighbourhoods need to let off steam?
- Would sport help in this?
- What barriers prevent young people from participating in sporting activities?
- Can anything be done to improve the neighbourhood? What? Do you think such improvements will happen?

We added these questions to the final round interview schedule about the Olympics and youth participation in sport as well as re-analysing questions already asked in previous rounds relating to outdoor activity, local facilities and informal provision of benefit to children and young people. The data presented in this report to Sport England contributes – via the perspectives of mothers - to qualitative research into attitudes to physical activity¹¹ focusing on children, adolescents and young adults.

This report reflects the views of parents bringing up children in the Olympic areas of East London. Mothers are the dominant child-rearers and they form the large majority of respondents.

In the text we have used many quotes directly from respondents. For more information about the interviewees see annex 6.5.

⁹ For more detail on the Neighbourhood Study and the methodology applied, see Mumford, K & Power, A (2003) *East Enders: family and community in East London*. Bristol: Policy Press

¹⁰ Lupton, R (2003) *Poverty Street: The dynamics of neighbourhood decline and renewal* Bristol: Policy Press; for more detailed methods see Power, A (forthcoming, 2007) *City Survivors* Bristol: Policy Press

¹¹ Sport England (2005) *Understanding Participation in Sport: A systematic review*. London: Sport England

4. Findings

The following sections detail the main themes relating to sport and activities arising from interviews conducted with one hundred families in East London. We drew on more general data collected from families in the four areas. Our findings are important in understanding what helps families; what increases young people's engagement in sport and leisure activities; what encourages young people to take up more positive activities; how Sport England can work with local partners to improve both formal and informal provision of exercise facilities and outdoor activities related to sport within these deprived areas adjacent to the Olympic site.

4.1 Access to facilities

The Neighbourhood Study first addressed the topic of young people's leisure activities at round two. Interviewees were asked about the quality of provision of leisure facilities in their neighbourhoods (see **Table 1** below) and the results varied considerably between the different study areas. The majority of interviewees in our two London neighbourhoods viewed their neighbourhoods as either fairly or very good for such facilities (64% in West City and 57% in East-Docks). In the two northern neighbourhoods the results were more negative, with almost half of the interviewees in Kirkside East (44%) and a large majority in The Valley (80%) explaining that their neighbourhoods were either fairly bad or very bad for leisure facilities.

Table 1: Interviewees' views on leisure facilities in their neighbourhoods, at round 2 of the Neighbourhood Study, 1999-2000 (%)

	Northern Neighbourhoods		London Neighbourhoods	
	Kirkside East	The Valley	West-City	East-Docks
Very good	6%	0%	21%	13%
Fairly good	38%	18%	43%	44%
Fairly bad	30%	56%	17%	24%
Very bad	14%	24%	13%	11%
Neither good nor bad	10%	0%	2%	0%
Do not know	2%	2%	4%	7%

Moving forward to the seventh and final round of the Neighbourhood Study (2006), interviewees were asked if they can actually access sports facilities. Nearly three quarters (74.4%) of our Kirkside East respondents in the north were asked this question and the majority (55.8%) answered positively, explaining that they are able to access such facilities (see **Table 2** below). All of those asked in the other northern neighbourhood, The Valley, also answered positively (4.3%). A more mixed picture emerged in London as although the majority of families told us they could access sports facilities, a proportion of these said they could access some but not all the facilities they wanted to (19% of 52.3% in West City and 16.7% of 61.5% in East Docks).

Table 2: Interviewees' access to sports facilities at round 7, 2006

	Northern Neighbourhoods		London Neighbourhoods	
	Kirkside East	The Valley	West-City	East-Docks
Yes	55.8%	4.3%	33.3%	54.8%
No	18.6%	0%	19.0%	16.7%
Some, not others	0%	0%	19.0%	16.7%
Family not active/sporty	0%	0%	2.4%	2.4%
Q not asked/not applicable	25.6%	95.7%	26.2%	9.5%

4.1.1 The importance of sports facilities to families: What parents tell us

The importance interviewees place on provision for their children is reflected in the high percentages who told us they would focus on facilities for children if they were in charge of their neighbourhood. Over half of the interviewees in the two northern neighbourhoods opted for facilities for children (46% in Kirkside East and 42% in The Valley) or a park (6% in Kirkside East and 19% in The Valley). A smaller proportion of the London respondents would create more facilities for young children if given the power (22% in West City, 24.2% in East Docks), yet this was the most common response amongst a wide variety of (less popular) answers

including improving neighbourhood appearance, upgrading housing stock and installing better street lighting.

Adding to those calling for better facilities, 14% of parents in West City and 9.1% in East Docks told us they wanted to see additional parks or recreation spaces. The smaller numbers of London respondents suggesting more facilities indicates that many parents think there are enough facilities already while access and supervision may be barrier (see below). Certainly, a great sense of 'connectedness' appears in a number of accounts as respondents feel they are relatively close to a range of amenities, aided by extensive public transport links through living in the capital. Another possible explanation would be that their concerns over neighbourhood conditions, crime and anti-social behaviour take priority, overriding any desire for greater leisure provision as parents channel their energies into keeping their children indoors.

4.1.2 Supports and barriers for families: What helps or hinders access to sports and sporting facilities?

To establish what is being done to facilitate families helping their children and young people pursue sports in the study's final round, we asked interviewees' to tell us what enables easy access to sports and sporting facilities for them and their families. In East Docks, Kirkside East, and (to a lesser extent) West City, the largest percentage of interviewees told us that the provision of local, or near enough, facilities would help most (38.1%, 27.9%, and 11.9% respectively), as did half of the interviewees asked this question in the remaining neighbourhood, The Valley (2.2%, see **Table 3** below).

Table 3: Factors helping interviewees' access to sports facilities at round 7, 2006 (%)

	Northern Neighbourhoods	London Neighbourhoods	
	Kirkside East	West-City	East-Docks
Money	2.3%	4.8%	4.8%
Local/near enough facilities	27.9%	11.9%	38.1%
Knowing where to go/look	7%	4.8%	0%
Own transport/a lift	7%	2.4%	0%
Skills with which to start a group	0%	0%	0%
After school clubs	0%	7.1%	4.8%
Family support/ babysitting/ childcare	0%	4.8%	7.1%
If prepared to travel	0%	2.4%	0%
Good advertising/ leafleting	0%	2.4%	0%
More than 1 of these positive reasons	11.6%	9.5%	9.5%
Cannot access: Multiple reasons	0%	21.5%	26.3%
Not applicable	25.6%	28.6%	9.5%
Question asked	82%	100%	100%

4.1.3 Barriers: what prevents families and young people taking part in sport?

When the interviewees were asked about any barriers young people may face locally in their pursuit of sport, their answers gave an insight into what could be done to increase participation. The need for greater provision locally was the most dominant answer in the north with 39.5% of interviewees in Kirkside East articulating this, along with half of those asked in The Valley (2.2%, see **Table 4** below). These findings seem to suggest, when considered with the data above (see **Table 3**), that there are as many northern interviewees satisfied with the level of local provision of sports facilities as there are dissatisfied. A more complex picture emerges in London, with the largest number of interviewees citing more than one listed factor preventing participation. Our London interviewees were also more likely to suggest a wider range of limiting factors, with lack of money mentioned with the highest frequency (9.5% of respondents in both East Docks and West City).

Table 4: Barriers to young people participating in sport, at round 7 (2006) (%)

	Northern Neighbourhoods		London Neighbourhoods
	Kirkside East	West-City	East-Docks
Lack of money	2.3%	9.5%	9.5%
Nothing local	39.5%	7.1%	4.8%
Lack of government support	2.3%	2.4%	2.4%
Lack of parental support	0%	7.1%	9.5%
Age limit on services	2.3%	0%	0%
Lack of transport	7%	2.4%	0%
Lack of school based sports	2.3%	2.4%	0%
Not viewed as 'cool'	0%	2.4%	4.8%
Lack of information	0%	2.4%	0%
If never done sport before	0%	4.8%	0%
Poorly maintained/ supervised facilities	0%	7.2%	0%
Gangs/ASB hindering activities	0%	2.4%	2.4%
Lack of confidence	0%	4.8%	0%
Lack of time	0%	2.4%	0%
Activities oversubscribed/waiting list	0%	2.4%	0%
Cultural/racial divisions	0%	0%	2.4%
Laziness/lack of discipline	0%	0%	4.8%
More than one of these	14%	23.8%	28.6%
None	9.3%	14.3%	26.2%
Do not know	4.7%	0%	4.8%
Not asked	16.3%	2.4%	0%

4.1.4 Barriers: Lack of facilities

Respondents often talked about the absence of facilities to allow the pursuit of physical activity coupled with living in areas with high population densities. This issue was particularly salient for our London respondents, many of whom are housed in flats or tower blocks leading to any existing facilities being oversubscribed:

... [There's a] huge need for swimming and football pitches, that sort of thing. Tennis ... courts in [local area] are very popular, people are there for hours on end. Most people round here live in flats, there's a minority in houses. You know, great, grown, hulking teenagers – they need to go out and run round. [Jasmine, East End, R7¹²]

At school, they have a day when they can do sports, they have somewhere to play, but at home they get bored and there's nowhere to play nearby. The other day, my son said he was going to play outside. I looked out and saw him climbing over a wall to another area, but I thought it was too quiet and unsafe so I brought him back ... Because there's no opportunity to play in the area they're always restless. [Hulya, East End, R7]

I still feel that there needs to be more play spaces for the younger kids. It's like, yeah, there's a basketball court and I think that's great 'cos there's a lot of teenagers here, but there's still not really that much for [younger children]. I mean there's like a little piddly park downstairs that none of the kids want to go in 'cos it's boring. And the only park, local, is [names park]. And then you've got a large number of kids there so a lot of the time you don't get to go on the swings

¹² The 'R' number refers to the interview round i.e. R7 is round 7

because there's – it's like one space for a bunch of kids. So it would be nice to see a few more, younger park areas ... [Beth, East End, R7]

Interviewee's husband: This is an example, they close one pool, some problems in the building ... they only have a small play pool, not Olympic size. There's nothing for sport activities.

Interviewee: Very expensive. It's not enough for this area. For example, for my child, they are waiting three months for swimming classes; all my friends are waiting three months. Before we had a nice swimming pool. Just building, they take the [taxes] and the money, the council just want the money. [Ece & Onur, East End, R7]

The observation of a lack of facilities was sometimes made in connection with a general impression of an undeveloped or inadequate infrastructure¹³, ultimately discouraging sporting pursuits, and pointing to a fundamental inadequacy in provision in the eyes of respondents:

When [my son] was young, I paid £15 a week to go to martial arts. I had to take him there and pick him up. I couldn't do it because of my job. If there was a mini-bus – my sisters in Canada and America say they have this. They participate in all these sports. Because we don't have the support, resources and organization – I wouldn't think of asking [my son] to get on a bus to [neighbouring area] for fear of him being bullied or something happening. [Hannah, East End, R7]

We used to have youth clubs, you could play table tennis, badminton, tennis, basketball. They stopped doing youth club for whatever reason, I can't remember. Most things kids go to now, they need to have an adult with them. We need more things for the younger ones. The older kids play in the park and intimidate the younger ones. [Kerry, East End, R7]

Significantly, this lack of support and underlying infrastructure is picked up by the teenage son of one of our London respondents:

Interviewee's son (17): Yeah, where I work in the holidays, they wanna go out and play football and stuff all the time, you know. Because like, after school, they go there, but all they do is play a match or something. And then they get bored of that, they wanna do some training and games and stuff but they've got no-one to do it with. And they got like, no equipment or anything, you know. So they need a coach but there's no coaches about. So that's why they're usually playing [outside]... [Destiny, East End, R7]

This failing in provision is highlighted further given the relatively recent gains in resources for the under five's with the government's Sure Start initiative¹⁴. Such changes add weight to respondent's perceptions that teenagers are poorly provided for in their local areas. For younger generations growing up with Sure Start, keeping engagement as they reach adolescence should be easier, but for those who have missed out on such initiatives, a perceived 'lost generation' is identified, who will fail to reap the benefits of structured activity:

...the older kids, like primary kids, they get a lot of [activity] in school during the day and after school, 'cos we do a lot of after school clubs, sporting activities. So they can stay behind two or three nights a week and do a sporting activity. So the facilities are there for them. And a lot of the parents have taken up on this ... you've got the teenagers – they're the ones that are sort of, out in the cold basically. That generation has missed that. 'Cos, sort of, at the end of their time,

¹³ see also, Sport England (2005) *Understanding Participation in Sport: A systematic review*. London: Sport England

¹⁴ www.surestart.gov.uk

half way through their secondary, all this come about. 'There's no point us getting involved' – which isn't a truth – they could still get involved. They're like, 'can't be bothered now'. I think had it been there from primary, they'd've seen it through to where they are now. Because there wasn't such a push on exercise and keeping fit, it just wasn't pushed a lot but now it is. [Nora, East End, R7]

The respondent quoted below ends up having to borrow equipment from her workplace – in this case Sure Start - because of the lack of provision in her area:

[There's] nothing available in the neighbourhood so I'd borrow sports equipment if I wanted to do anything like that with my [8 year-old] daughter. I work for Sure Start so can borrow stuff. There is nowhere for kids to go and do stuff like this in the neighbourhood. It is a long way to go to [the local] Park for a ride. [Patsy, Northern city, R7]

Alongside the problems detailed above of a lack of facilities compounded with living in overcrowded areas and inadequate infrastructure, another common complaint centred around existing facilities being poorly maintained and therefore unattractive to young people as illustrated below by the comments of the children of our respondents:

Interviewee's son [17] ... I mean, how many leisure centres is around this area? I don't think there's any.

Interviewee: No.

Interviewee's son: Nearest one's up [local] Street, and there's one at [neighbouring area], you know. You take a bus journey but young kids can't really go that far, you know.

Interviewee: There's [the leisure centre] – it's a dirty, horrible place. It is, it's an awful place. So run down now.

Interviewee's son: Nine, ten year-olds ain't really gonna go there, they wanna stay around this area. And all they've got is like – you can go to [local] park but if it's wet and stuff ... their football pitches in their state, it's gonna be wet. And they don't really want to play, so they've got nothing to do. [Destiny, East End, R7]

Interviewee's daughter [12]: Round [the neighbouring area], there's ... [names] leisure centre But [the leisure centre's] dirty, it's free but only the summer holidays. The water was really dirty so we only stayed 45 minutes.

Interviewee: I think there's not enough. [Helat, East End, R7]

It would help if the swimming was cheaper or free in the holidays. And it should be more advertised. [My daughter] hardly sees any of the staff in [the gym]. She's got no idea about programmes or what she should work on as there's no-one around. If they're setting things up I do believe they should have the staff. She hardly ever sees anyone to ask anything. [Jackie, East End, R7]

When respondents tell us about the problems they face as detailed above, they will travel outside their areas if they are able, but for many this is not an option:

Well all we really do is we go swimming. We've bought two new bikes for the summer and we do cycling. But any of the things we do, we do outside. We go to [another area] and we do our things out there. Lots of nature stuff, but it doesn't involve [this area], it involves leaving [the area]. [Sinead, East End, R7]

4.1.5 Barriers: the problem of peer pressure

In addition, existing facilities may appear threatening to young people if they are dominated by pre-formed groups, potentially causing anxiety if they are subjected to peer pressure. A related

observation often made is that local facilities are catering for 'problem children/young people' only:

... to be honest with ya, unless you wanted to pay for the facilities – I know there's the [local] Boys Club and there's a place called The [youth club]. ... I don't want my kids mixing with people that are gonna be... They're all street-cred boys, and I don't want my kids being like that, you know? ... and they promote children to go to these clubs, you know, so they're not congregating on corners, but when all these clubs close, the street-cred kids, you see 'em at 10, 11 o'clock at night, hanging around the streets causing trouble. [Alice, East End, R7]

Interviewer: *Are there youth clubs in the area?*

Interviewee: *I couldn't tell you, even if there was I couldn't tell you because my children don't go to anything like that. Like [my daughter] ... she's hanging around with her friends, and I said to her 'why don't you get involved in a youth club or something'. Community Links run a lot of stuff, I was happy to phone 'em up and find out what stuff they've got going, but she said a lot of disaffected [young people] attend Community Links and so sometimes there's trouble more than, although they're laying on really good things, it could end up them sending your child where they're going to get into trouble. [Annie, East End, R7]*

Interviewee: *... There's not enough for kids to do at night, there's no youth clubs.*

Interviewee's daughter (13): *But if there was a youth club I'd be scared to go there because of the people there already.*

Interviewee's husband: *People on the streets are dressed as troublemakers but only ten per cent are. Sport will happen when there's facilities for them to use. [Tina, East End, R7]*

Inadequate advertising of events and facilities was also perceived as a problem for a small number of respondents:

Interviewee's daughter: *Round [neighbouring area], there's [names] ice skating rink... there's ice skating lessons but you have to go in and ask them, they don't have any posters. The Saturday school didn't have any posters either. I found out through [the local school]. This year you have to pay for it, last year we didn't.*

Interviewee: *I think there's not enough. [Helat, East End, R7]*

4.1.6 Barriers: expense can be a major limiting factor

A particular concern for our London respondents, many of whom are on low incomes, is the cost of pursuing extracurricular activities, with money being cited as a key reason as to why facilities are inaccessible¹⁵:

I think the facilities are too expensive ... to be honest, they're far too expensive. They want nearly five pound for a swim and things like this. It's just ridiculous. ... Some of the leisure centres that are around in the area are for the children, and they are very expensive because they're catering for the city folk and they're catering for the, you know, the hi-tech gym equipment.[Rosemary, East End, R7]

Interviewee: *With sports it's money. Because there's two of 'em, I can't afford it. You'd like to do dancing wouldn't you [speaking to daughter]? They do after school clubs. You've got drama and activities on a Thursday ... And computers, don't you, yeah. But other things, if they want to do dance, then it's difficult.*

Interviewee's daughter: *And gymnastics.*

¹⁵ see also Sport England (2005) *Understanding Participation in Sport: A systematic review*. London: Sport England

Interviewee: *Oh yeah, and gymnastics. And they're very good at it. They want to do it. It's money worries.* [Rose, East End, R7]

There's lots of facilities around us but they all cost money. The boys play Sunday League football – that's a cost – it's expensive to participate. They can't come to ask me for pocket money because they've already had it. They've been doing it for four years – you can't take it away from them. But now [my daughter] wants to do things. [Kate, East End, R7]

I can afford it but there's people that can't. It seems ridiculous, being in the middle of London. [Trudy, East End, R7]

[There is a] *sports centre very nearby, the only obstacle is money, because of the sports centre itself. It used to be a pay for a session system, and now it is terms. It is not useful, kids need to try it and see if they like it.* [Holly, Northern City, R7]

Such evidence contributes to understanding why adults working in managerial and professional occupations are far more likely to participate in physical activity than those on low incomes¹⁶. Constraints on finances can also ultimately lead to young people's safety being compromised:

I don't really know that there are enough good places around. I mean there is this adventure playground down by our school ... I think the problem with that is it's not ... we have an after school club. You have to pay for it, a lot of parents now will send their children instead to the adventure playground which isn't supervised because they think it's cheaper ... there aren't really that many parks to go to in [the area] and I think they're not properly maintained, most of them. [Kathleen, East End, R7]

Most of the kids haven't got the money, they're getting up to mischief, nicking bikes and all that stuff. It's a deprived area, perhaps their parents haven't got the money, they haven't got jobs, the parents can't give them what they need or want. [Ellie, East End, R7]

Some of the interviewees talked about the ways in which they make a concerted effort to ensure their children can pursue the sports that interest them. However, as the quotes below demonstrate, the motivation to participate is often coupled with having additional resources at their disposal, for example, allowing families to 'opt out' of council facilities as well as paying for extra-curricular activities:

Interviewer: *Do you feel your family can do the activities they want to, for example using sports or recreational facilities?*

Interviewee: *... I am a member of [local] gym and I swim. ... We became members for the kids especially, for my [7 year-old] son's co-ordination problem and we thought it was a nice atmosphere for the kids. That sounds snobbish. But we took the kids to [the council] Sports Centre and my son got chicken pox, so we didn't go back ...*

Interviewer: *What enables this?*

Interviewee: *Money and a car, it is a drive to get to the gym, we work hard and earn a bit extra so we can get a take away and watch a film on a Friday and attend a gym.* [Amanda, Northern City, R7]

Another family explained it this way:

¹⁶ Sport England (2002) *Participation in Sport in England: Sport and the Family* London: Sport England

Interviewee: Yes, in the holidays at [the local] Sports Centre the kids do sports. And [my son] plays football through a league run by [the local] Junior Football League. ... And [my sons] do judo locally. They had to stop when my husband was on sick pay because of the costs, grading costs £10 each a time.

Interviewer: What enables this?

Interviewee: Having the money enables it and we put ourselves out, on a Thursday, so [my son] can go to football, driving around et cetera for that. So money and time and effort are needed for the kids to do sport. [Tina, Northern City, R7]

4.2 Expanding participation in sport: changing the way we do things in inner city areas

4.2.1 Parents recognise the benefits of sport

Systematic reviews of UK published and unpublished qualitative research studies found that participants recognised the health benefits of physical activity¹⁷. A small number of interviewees in the Neighbourhood Study talked spontaneously about sport in round six, appreciating the benefits of structured activity and positive outcomes in the form of increased levels of self confidence:

They come straight home from school. If they want to go back out, they must let me know. The youngest likes playing football. He goes regularly to training and goes to the gym. [Gloria, East End, R6]

They've just finished building a community centre. It'll get children off the streets when it opens. That's why I was very keen for the boys to play football. It gives them confidence. [Kate, East End, R6]

The level of importance given to sporting activities by some families is illustrated in the following quote, where an interviewee describes the conscious decision to work longer hours, enabling her family to spend money on activities without worrying:

It is hard both working full-time and having kids, it takes its toll on them and us, but [the] benefits are a higher household income, so we can do nice things with them, like ice skating lessons, football season tickets, et cetera. [Polly, Northern City]

Having the financial resources, however, did not always guarantee access to sporting facilities when local leisure provision is poor quality or non-existent, forcing families to look elsewhere:

It's been fine for us but it's because of us and also we're on the edge of [the borough] ... If you say 'did they learn to swim in [the area] or play football' – no. It's the [street] that's kept us in the area, not [the borough]. The standards in [the area] are poor. [Leah, East End, R6]

When asked direct questions about sport in the final round (seven) of the Neighbourhood Study, many parents spoke in very positive terms about the benefits of participating in physical activity, often observing beneficial effects in their own children:

Interviewer: Do young people in this area need to let off physical energy? Would sport help?

Interviewee: Yes. Yes. My three certainly. My middle one can be a bit aggressive and [judo] is an outlet. [Tina, Northern City, R7]

¹⁷ Sport England (2005) *Understanding Participation in Sport: A systematic review*. London: Sport England.

Interviewer: *Do young people in this area need to let off physical energy? Would sport help?*

Interviewee: *Yep. My personal experience is, looking at [my son] – someone who has huge problems concentrating in class and being a total nightmare most of the time – sport, for him, I think has just totally focused his mind, which is why I'm still so keen that he continues. Because it does, it does burn off his energy and he is far calmer and more focused because of it. [Debra, East End, R7]*

Interviewer: *Do young people in this area need to let off physical energy? Would sport help?*

Interviewee: *Yes, especially the little ones. I think it teaches sharing and fitness and self-control and enables them to let off steam. And yes [sport would help]. [Mandy, Northern City, R7]*

4.2.2 Ethnic diversity

In addressing participation, particularly in ethnically diverse inner city areas, consideration of cultural differences is paramount, especially as those from minority ethnic groups are the least likely to take part in sport¹⁸:

I don't know, I s'pose just knowing what's available ... And things that are sort of, culturally acceptable, like my friend at number one, she won't take her little boy swimming because she won't put on a costume and get in the pool. That's not acceptable. If I don't get into a costume and in the pool it's because I don't like the size of me [laughs]! I can do that. Knowing enough people that sort of say, 'ooh, there's so and so, such and such going on, have you heard about this, have you heard about that?' And there are lots of, well two or three free local publications that come through every so often and there's a lot of information in those. Again, it's all in English, so people who can't read English would find it hard to access things 'cos they wouldn't know what's on. And also, having the internet, being – I'm not computer literate but I can go on the internet and look up [activities] if [my daughter] wanted to do it I can find it out. I guess there's plenty of people who wouldn't have the first idea how to go about looking for what they need. [Joan, East End, R7]

4.2.3 Engaging with young people

Some respondents spoke of a lack of interest and engagement amongst young people in their local communities, ultimately curtailing or reducing participation. Existing research by Sport England¹⁹ suggests a complex mix of factors which hamper participation, many of which have already been outlined here. However, it is worth noting that some respondents question the goal of universal participation and that this could be due to a subtle shift in attitudes as indicated by decreasing levels of overall participation in sport in the UK in recent years. Worryingly, the most notable decline since 1990 has been in the 16 to 19 and 20 to 24 age groups²⁰, but it seems likely that the seeds of such a decline are sown much earlier in childhood. Is it a case of 'some children just aren't into sport', or can anyone be persuaded to take part?:

You know, and even if you instil the correct attitude in children from the start, then hopefully – I mean it doesn't always work – but hopefully they will do that, carry on and do something. I mean not all children like sports – that's debatable as well. [Peggy, East End, R7]

We have things in school, lots of young people in school just don't want to do P.E. I think there is an attitude of anti-exercise and anti-PE – not from everyone,

¹⁸ Sport England (2002) *Participation in Sport in England: Sport and the Family* London: Sport England

¹⁹ Sport England (2002) *Participation in Sport in England: Trends 1987-2002* London: Sport England

²⁰ Sport England (2002) *Participation in Sport in England: Trends 1987-2002* London: Sport England

but from a lot of the young people. It all fits into the whole idea that young people just wanna sit and play Playstation and watch telly and things like that. [Andrea, East End, R7]

4.2.4 The need for parents as role models

Respondents emphasised the need for role models to galvanise young people, often citing parental influence as most important – despite arguably being most difficult to address – over people working in the community or professional sports people:

I ain't got fat, lazy kids, I've got skinny, active kids. A lot of their mates though, they've got quite a few of their mates that are just fat and they sit there all day, these little fat kids. I s'pose they'd need a bit more energy, but then that's to do with their fat parents I s'pose, isn't it. [Hailey, East End, R7]

It's their attitude in the home. The parents don't talk to 'em: 'Have you had a nice day at school?' It all stems from the home life. [Alexa, East End, R7]

I don't know. I mean they are very young kids so they are dependent on their parents sort of guiding them, aren't they, and if their parents just kick them out the door and let them play till ten o'clock at night, then I would say it's definitely a lack of motivation on the parents' part to guide them into more constructive activities. As long as they're out their way, it doesn't matter what they do. And a lot of them just cycle round there, you know, it may be if there was some sort of cycling proficiency club or... The thing is, with things like that you need to, the kids aren't gonna go somewhere else to it, it has to be brought to where they are. It's almost like, if somebody came around and found all the kids cycling out the front here and said, 'Ooh, come up ... and once a week we'll do cycling proficiency' ... they would do it. But if you said 'there's cycling proficiency on a Saturday morning at the fire station, they wouldn't bother to go down there. [Joan, East End, R7]

And I think unless you've got that sport ethic almost built into you from quite an early age, it's very hard to engage and get kids of fourteen to suddenly think 'yeah, we're gonna go off and play sport', more than kicking a ball around. For a lot of them, they don't even do that, you know. [Debra, East End, R7]

It's got to be something that looks exciting to them to want to get involved and something that, I don't know, you could start a youth club or something. Sort of run by people who understand young people. [Annie, East End, R7],

Yet as the following quotes illustrate, it can be difficult for parents to be role models when they lead tough, pressurized lives or have not had the opportunities themselves to participate in sport:

[My son] wants to play football but it's me again, I can't take him after school. I have to help with his sister's homework. Being alone with them, I can't do it all. Their priority is their studies. [Desiree, East End, R7]

Swimming – I don't know how to swim so I can't go with them [daughter and sons]. [Sade, East End, R7]

4.2.5 The neighbourhood environment

People need environments conducive to the pursuit of physical activity, which means protecting existing spaces, particularly in inner city areas as well as developing new ones²¹. Conversely,

²¹ Sport England (2005) *Understanding Participation in Sport: A systematic review*. London: Sport England

data collected on neighbourhood conditions strongly conveys how neglected neighbourhood environments can have a direct, negative effect on participation. Interviewees were asked about a number of issues potentially impacting on the pursuit of sport and leisure activities at round six of the Neighbourhood Study (2005). Questions were asked to ascertain interviewees' perceptions of any risks for children in their neighbourhoods; what would make their areas better for children; satisfaction with the neighbourhoods as places to bring up children, and whether they view their neighbourhoods as being different in any way to those located elsewhere. Whilst not addressing sport and leisure directly, interviewees highlight a number of factors that clearly problematise their children's pursuit of them. For our respondents based in The Valley (28%), West City (29.5%) and East Docks (21.4%), the most commonly expressed parental concern centred on their children getting involved with drugs:

The drugs and fighting worry me 'cos they're boys. I feel like putting bars on the windows and not letting them out. I don't want to be here when they're older. I want to be a lot further away. [Elaine, East End, R6]

My mum's road used to be beautiful, she's got people living there, new men continually coming in and out and all women live there – it's a brothel. The woman that lived next door, she's only 24, she's got in with the wrong crowd ... In the last four years it's got bad. People are on crack, there was a crack house on [a local] Street near [the supermarket]. They used to have the door open – you look everywhere – you see someone I used to be at school with and they're on drugs. [Kerry, East End, R6]

The last quote demonstrates how the tangible threat of drugs in respondents' communities looms large beyond a level of general concern. Below, the extracts show how respondents can convey feeling severely restricted in their day-to-day lives due to such concerns, in this case curtailing their usage of communal social spaces:

There's a playground there but my daughter doesn't play there as it's not safe. She just goes to school. It's not even safe to take the lift. There's all sorts of people around we don't know. They clean the lifts regularly but they pee in them. They're coming to the stairwells to drink and do drugs at night. They fix the security door and it gets broken regularly. Usually it's the outsiders that are doing this. [Yonca, East End, R6]

Interviewer: *What do you feel are the main risks for children in this neighbourhood?*

Interviewee: *We have a park in here, and teenagers use drugs and smoke. We find condoms, there's swearing – F-words.*

Interviewee's husband: *Many times I go in and tell them to please don't smoke. Most of the time they tell me to...* [Ece & Onur, East End, R6]

There's an astro-turf pitch nearby but it's taken over by people in their twenties with drugs, making noise, so it was shut down. [Leah, East End, R6]

For children growing up in areas where drugs are pervasive, and where 'hard', class A drugs are freely available, a consequence appears to be a heightened awareness of drug usage for both adults and children. In neighbourhood areas associated with play, the process and business of drug dealing can be observed by children, who quickly gain an understanding of what they see unfolding before them, especially when such transactions are conducted in a seemingly increasingly open manner as described below:

Cars slow down, a hand goes from one window into another. They're not affecting us but they're obviously buying and selling drugs. My kids know what's going on – maybe because it's a [cul de sac]. [Leah, East End, R6]

More drugs, it's more open, dealing. People hanging about. I'm sure someone's dealing drugs in the block, another block. [Tina, East End, R6]

Others observe a greater involvement in drugs amongst children at increasingly young ages, which could arguably linked to the pervasiveness of drugs on the streets and openness of drug dealing, clearly validating the concerns of parents:

The way the area was becoming. More drug problems. While the changes in the area were getting more to my husband than me, being out [in the community]. He could see drugs changing hands. Some of them were his pupils. [Tracy, East End, R6]

Interviewer: *Is the area getting better or worse?*

Interviewee: *Getting worse.*

Interviewer: *In what ways?*

Interviewee: *Rising crime, through drugs, kids as young as six!* [Chloe, Northern City]

A commonly cited and related fear to that of involvement in drugs is parent's fears of the potentially detrimental influence of local children and young people on their offspring. As respondent's children reach adolescence, such a worry becomes particularly prominent as the quotes below demonstrate. The assumption appears always to be that the influence of friends and peers will be negative, so rather than giving their children an introduction into sport, for example, their input will lead them down the wrong path:

Interviewer: *What do you feel are the main risks for children in this neighbourhood?*

Interviewee: *Last week I was worried about fireworks night. They're mostly teenagers. I would like to move my daughters out before they become teenagers and are being influenced.* [Faye, East End, R6]

The main risk I think is, because of their age, I see it all the time round here, they hang around in cars. Which they do, typical of that age group, and I think it's peer pressure. You know, whatever their friends are doing, they're more than likely to get roped into. [Barbara, East End, R6]

My older son is more affected by his friends. But he's not allowed out after 6 pm and he asks why his friends can and he cannot. I say 'that's how we live, what will you do outside?' He's so influenced by his friends – the way they speak and dress. They buy expensive clothes and he asks why [I can't buy them for him]. I explain we have a limited income so I feel depressed. It's difficult for me and him. [Hulya, East End, R6]

There's some sort of culture going on in the street at the moment. It's worse for boys – I don't know who they're trying to be, in gangs, on a video ... It's difficult for the good ones to get anywhere. A lot of weapons are used. For boys, you either go that way, get beaten-up or get left on your own. There's a lot of peer pressure... I'm afraid of the violence, the fighting. They don't argue nowadays. ...And people don't control their children. There's a lot of younger parents around. If you live on the fifteenth floor you don't care what's happening downstairs. [Carmen, East End, R6]

Interestingly, concerns over traffic and road safety featured highly amongst our Northern respondents and received less attention in East London, particularly Hackney, in discussion of factors influencing children's activities. This may be explained by acceptance of its inevitability, but also by bigger concerns focussing on crime and disorder.

Interviewer: *What are the main risks for children in the area?*

Interviewee: *For little children, road safety is an issue, they can't play out the front on their own so they can't go out on their bikes, when [they] grow up a bit, [there's] nothing for them to do, they go out and you don't [know] what they are doing, that is a worry, dangers. [Jenny, Northern City]*

Interviewer: *What do you feel are the main risks for children in this neighbourhood?*

Interviewee: *The roads. People perceive the risks of being abducted, but it's a fear, not a risk. Everyone thinks there are far more kids being taken away than there really are. [Joan, East End, R6]*

I control what my children do quite a lot. That might sound horrible but, I don't let my son play out. We have the back garden and we go to parks. So he's never been allowed to play out on his own. I don't feel comfortable with that. Mainly because of the traffic and because... I wouldn't know who he would be mixing with. And I think I'll probably do the same for my daughter... [Erin, East End, R6]

Elsewhere, there was evidence in respondent's accounts that traffic calming measures were having an impact:

When we came here, the bus drivers were speeding along the road. Then they put up speed bumps, I was so happy. There used to be more rubbish, but I always see the guys cleaning the road and less cars being dumped. [Hannah, East End, R6]

The perceived high incidence of criminal activity in these neighbourhoods (all our study areas have substantially higher crime rates when compared with the UK average²² act as a deterrent for interviewees when considering allowing their children to play outside:

...when I was last in [the park] there was a man, startled me asked to buy cigs off me, and asked if a kid had gone missing in the park, and said he thought he knew where [the] body was, I rang police that night and they must have had a similar call from him, they talked of that. [Nina, Northern City]

[My son] used to play with the kid opposite on the landing with the [front] doors open. We can't do that now [due to drug dealers in the building]. He can't play outside on the grass; there was a man with his leg bleeding. [My son] is quite happy indoors. He can't go out on his bike unless you're watching him. [Megan, East End, R6]

The streets in general are a dangerous place to be around. She's not allowed from outside the block. She's got a mobile, she phones me when she gets on or off the train. [Flowella, East End, R6]

I can't name one good thing. The park over there, it was all done up but the kids wrecked it. There's nowhere for them to go. The kids stay out till 10.30 pm – I had to be in at 7.30. I was threatened with stabbing by one of the boys who took my son's cap in the park. They play in the park where the kids are, the places where there's shelter. There's no youth clubs like when I was young. I used to play badminton... My neighbour, I see her dealing drugs in the car and I could hit her, especially when I'm with the children, but she stopped it now. [Kerry, East End, R6]

²² www.crimestatistics.org.uk

As children become increasingly independent, pursuing their own interests and forming social ties with peer groups, parents' fears over them being attacked or mugged also gain momentum. This concern ranked particularly highly amongst London respondents, potentially curtailing their children's freedom:

Interviewer: *What do you feel are the main risks for children in this neighbourhood?*

Interviewee: *The crime, big crime risks. My daughter was mugged when she was 11, at the end of the road, for her phone ... It was two young women with a baby in a buggy and they hid her phone in the buggy cos I actually was there ... As I got there she was screaming, she'd just been mugged, and I saw the girls and I knew they had the phone and they'd stuffed it in the baby's coat or nappy or whatever, and of course, if you're a mother yourself you're not going to pick up a baby and shake it to find the phone. They just ran away, two young women, probably 17 or 18. They followed her off the bus, they targeted her. She doesn't even now want to talk about it. [Kathleen, East End, R6]*

Interviewer: *What do you feel are the main risks for children in this neighbourhood?*

Interviewee: *I don't worry about dangers. My children grew up here. But if they look at someone eye-to-eye, you don't know what might happen. They stay in. [Selda, East End, R6]*

Interviewer: *What do you feel are the main risks for children in this neighbourhood?*

Interviewee: *Muggings, getting mobile phones stolen. [My son's] phone got stolen from school. I try not to think of the worst things. Everywhere they go something might happen. Even with boys. [Kathleen, East End, R6]*

Interviewer: *Have you personally experienced any crime in the last year?*

Interviewee: *It's happened to my friend's kids. It's not just this area. Kids are being targeted by older kids and being mugged constantly. Across [local] Road a wheelchair-bound friend was knifed in the leg and mugged, while crossing the road in broad daylight... [Leah, East End, R6]*

Interviewer: *What do you feel are the main risks for children in this neighbourhood?*

Interviewee: *Violent crime. My main worry as a mother, the worst thing for a mother is to hear your son or daughter has been killed. There was a drug dealer upstairs in the old place. That's why we go to the church... [Hannah, East End, R6]*

Interviewer: *What do you feel are the main risks for children in this neighbourhood?*

Interviewee: *Other children fighting, they walk around with things in their pockets to hurt somebody. Clare, East End, R6]*

A small number of parents expressed deep concern over the known presence of paedophiles in their neighbourhoods, which arguably carries greater resonance for those with younger children in contrast to the concerns described above. Their worries go beyond generic parental concerns over 'stranger danger' as paedophiles are often placed or have no choice but to live in disadvantaged areas on their return to the community after serving custodial sentences²³. Indeed, a number of respondents recounted local knowledge indicating that paedophiles were living nearby, understandably raising fears beyond a communicated 'risk' to be weighed up

²³ East London study interview with Social Services, 1998

amongst many others, acting as a powerful deterrent to allowing children outside, away from home, and out of sight:

Interviewer: *What are the main risks for children in the area?*

Interviewee: *Cars and honestly paedophiles. One moved to high rise block here and told my sister why – because they are safer because they can't have their windows put through or have [their] homes torched - two years ago a man was beaten senseless outside my house, because he had attacked children, told them how much he enjoyed doing it, so they hit him, I rang police, they came quickly but they'd gone. [Jacqui, Northern City]*

Interviewee1: *I mean there's three paedophiles living in this one road, convicted paedophiles. My neighbour but one's an ex-policeman, he told me. He said to me one day 'they're all disappearing off up the road and they know they're not allowed'. He came running down to us, go and get em, 'I'm only telling you, not to scare ya, there's three paedophiles, two of em up there the other one down there. One of them's just done a six-year prison sentence.*

Interviewee2: *And right next to a school. Which is absolutely terrifying. [Kayla & Hailey, East End, R6]*

Interviewer: *How satisfied are you with this area as a place to bring up children?*

Interviewee: *Not great, paedophiles live in the area, and they have approached children at [the] after school club. [There's] lots of latch key kids. We've got an adventure playground but [my son] doesn't go yet on his own because I don't fully trust he wouldn't get beaten up, because it happens. [Angie, Northern City]*

Interviewer: *What do you feel are the main risks for children in this neighbourhood?*

Interviewee: *Threat of intimidation from other children. Threat of one person who's a paedophile [on the estate]. There's crazy people round here. Dirty areas, dog poo. Hygiene, health and safety, well-being. [Peter, East End, R6]*

Interviewer: *What would make it better for children?*

Interviewee: *Have the paedophiles leaving. More controlled, safer places to go. A playground nearby. [Rose, East End, R6]*

4.2.6 Activities for children

Adding to a climate of fear and anxiety conveyed by respondents is the subtle, underlying signals they interpret from a perceived situation of dwindling funds and lack of motivation to maintain facilities. An unwillingness to invest in leisure facilities, and to even maintain existing ones is communicated. In addition, there is a sense from some respondents that financial gain has replaced ongoing investment in the community:

The residents committee at the moment are trying to get all kinds of football teams, youth clubs and stuff but I think they'll find it hard to get premises from the council. I think all that's kind of disappeared really. I know some people who lived here in the 70's and there were loads of clubs and groups for children but that's all gone now. The council keeps selling the land and the property. There's no place – they're not giving great big areas over to football pitches anymore. It's all been built-up, so children have a lot less. [Sinead, East End, R6]

Interviewer: *What has been the most significant change to / development in the area since the beginning of the interview period? (1999)*

Interviewee ... *Before, there was a grass area where the children could play but they're building there. Football pitches and a playground has been built but it's private to those people [new tenants in private flats] as the doors face onto them,*

so my sons won't be able to use it. They have nowhere to play. [Hulya, East End, R7]

We used to have a youth club when we were younger but there doesn't seem to be any anymore. They used to have one for each estate. [Hulya, East End, R6]

Interviewer: What would make it better for children?

Interviewee: Youth clubs. When I grew up there was six youth clubs where people could congregate, one for every day of the week. You don't get that now ... [Fran, East End, R6]

...there should have been places for social activities for kids after school. There used to be a library here, now we have to go all the way to [the local] College. So not just the parks, but places for social activities ... There was a car park there at the back and a park but they're now building buildings so there's no space to walk around. [Hulya, East End, R6]

We've got Sure Start, but it's good if you've got children up to age 4. But the youth get forgotten around here. There used to be a Youth Centre up the road but the council shut it down. [Destiny, East End, R6]

4.3 Parks: their role in helping provide activity and facilities

Parks provide a valuable outlet for families living in densely populated inner city areas with limited amounts of green, recreational space. The interviewees' usage of parks was addressed at round two of the study. In all four of the neighbourhoods, a minority of interviewees explained that they did not use parks at all, although these figures were significantly larger in the two northern neighbourhoods (see **Table 5** below). The lack of a local park in one of the northern neighbourhoods, Kirkside East, is evident in the very low percentage of interviewees who told us they made use of such facilities (4%), and the high percentage of interviewees who explained that there are no nearby parks to use (36%). In each of the other three neighbourhoods, a large proportion of interviewees explained that they use a park or parks locally (42% in The Valley in the north, and 38% in West-City and 60% in East-Docks in London), and the majority did when usage of local parks and other facilities (both in their neighbourhoods and further a field) are taken into account.

At round five of the study (2004) interviewees were again asked about their use of parks, with attention now focussing on frequency of use (see **Table 6** below). Again, the lack of any parks to use in Kirkside East was clear from interviewees' responses to this question. The majority (78%) explained that either they rarely or never used a park or that there are no parks to use. In the other three neighbourhoods, the findings were more positive. The largest percentage of interviewees in these three neighbourhoods explained that they use parks regularly (28% in The Valley in the North and 51% in West-City and 34% in East-Docks in London). Taken together, the interviewees who explained that they use parks either regularly or sometimes constituted over a third of the interviewees in The Valley in the north (40%) and large majorities of the interviewees in the two London neighbourhoods (74% in West-City and 62% in East-Docks).

Table 5: Location of parks used by interviewees, at round 2, 1999-2000 (%)

	Northern Neighbourhoods		London Neighbourhoods	
	Kirkside East	The Valley	West-City	East-Docks
Local	4%	42%	38%	60%
Out of area	32%	2%	2%	4%
City centre only	0%	4%	0%	0%
Local & other in area	0%	10%	47%	11%
Local & other out of area	0%	2%	33%	8%
Local & city centre	0%	6%	6%	2%
There are none	36%	2%	0%	0%
Do not use parks	18%	16%	2%	4%
Not asked	10%	16%	0%	9%

Note: As some interviewees use more than one type of park, figures do not necessarily add up to 100%.

Table 6: Frequency of use of parks by interviewees, at round 5, 2004 (%)

	Northern Neighbourhoods		London Neighbourhoods	
	Kirkside East	The Valley	West-City	East-Docks
Regularly	8%	28%	51%	34%
Sometimes	4%	12%	23%	28%
Rarely	14%	14%	16%	28%
Never	48%	20%	10%	10%
There are none	16%	4%	0%	0%
Not asked	10%	22%	0%	0%

4.4 Street games

Traditionally street spaces have played host to children's games, providing important social and leisure space for families. Modern traffic has greatly reduced this potential²⁴. Data from the General Household Survey suggests that, for adults, the least popular setting for sport and/or physical activity was roads or pathways in towns and cities²⁵. However, such locations appear to be vital for families and young people living in urban environments. Street games such as football are common amongst boys. We observed many street games while visiting the neighbourhoods under study, confirming how vital it is to maximise opportunities for young people to pursue active play in their immediate environment²⁶. More prominent, however, was witnessing the informal social contact on the streets where "young people hang out". The value of this informal socialising should not be underestimated although this type of interaction has the potential to change into destructive, anti-social behaviour.

When street interaction and play becomes threatening, the young people involved are frequently perceived as 'gangs', or as part of the street gang culture, by respondents. The dominant presence of boys on the streets can become very troubling for the local community. A particular current nuisance comes from small motor scooters specially designed for kids and teenagers; they are both noisy and considered by parents as menacing. The police are perceived as powerless to do anything about this however; and we also became aware of this issue through observation. Television and particularly ever more sophisticated computer games can become a substitute for street games and sport. In terms of promoting physical activity, computer games could arguably be seen as an obstacle by encouraging a sedentary lifestyle yet parents did not necessarily view prolonged game playing as negative as such activities keep children indoors, safe, and out of trouble. Given the scale of the problems some parents face within their neighbourhoods, the desire to keep children indoors is understandable.

²⁴ Gehl, J (1996) *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space*. Copenhagen: Arkitektens Forlag., Urban Task Force (1999) *Towards an Urban Renaissance. Final Report of the Urban Task Force*. London: Stationary Office; Rogers, R & Power, A (2000) *Cities for a Small Country* London: Faber

²⁵ Sport England (2002) *Participation in Sport in England: Sport and the Family* London: Sport England

²⁶ Sport England (2005) *Understanding Participation in Sport: A systematic review*. London: Sport England

A greater proportion of men take part in sport than women²⁷, and this variation can be explained both by the increased likelihood of boys playing competitive sports, but also their participation in street games. A special effort is required to engage girls and young women, who often perceive sport as an unattractive option:

It's more about what the providers want to run, you know, there's lots of very old, traditional boys clubs here ... which are based on boys only. Yes, there's sporting focus but it's boxing. It's kind of all those traditional things. Trying to get them to open up and engage that, actually it's young girls as well, need access to stuff, and they ought to be looking at a broader range of sports. We are getting somewhere and I think for a lot of kids, unless those facilities are offering the things they want, there's no interest in engaging with them and they'd rather just hang around on the street. [Debra & Alan, East End, R7]

... My daughter wanted to play football from an early age but there's no girls teams. She'd have to travel to Bromley, North London, Crawley, Warwick, because girls then, in this area, doesn't seem to have a lot going on. Even now there's not a lot of girls teams. With me not driving it costs an absolute fortune in cabs and trains. [Gillian, East End, R7]

Street games could be utilised as a way of encouraging participation amongst girls by emphasising their potential for fun and enjoyment, providing an opportunity for positive social interaction with their peers²⁸. Currently such informal activity tends to be dominated by boys, yet girls also hang around in groups:

Interviewee: It's true what they say, no matter where you are in the world, give group [of] kids a football, don't matter, they've said that wherever they are in the world, they can make a game out of it. And football is a street sport, I think really.

Interviewee's son (17): You can play anywhere, it's really cheap.

Interviewee: You can play anywhere, but it's more kids from very deprived areas that are more likely to play football because they can't afford to go like, rugby, tennis, things like that. Although round here in ... if you can afford it, they do do tennis and rugby and cricket, but it's very expensive. Actual fact, there's not enough money to put into football round here, is there?

Interviewee's son: Not really, no. [Destiny, East End, R7]

Wherever boys are they always seem to be kicking a football around. You go into any of the parks and there's boys kicking footballs around. [Andrea, East End, R7]

Encouragement of informal activity must also be reinforced with regular, structured activity tailored to specific age ranges being non-negotiable within the school curriculum. Encouraging participation amongst girls and young women may involve offering non-competitive sports, or making male dominated competitive sports more attractive to them. Teachers must also actively support girls and young women to fully participate, whilst being mindful of issues around body image:

'One of the key elements of building confidence is observing someone like you successfully performing the intended behaviour'²⁹.

²⁷ Sport England (2002) *Participation in Sport in England: Sport and the Family* London: Sport England

²⁸ Sport England (2005) *Understanding Participation in Sport: A systematic review*. London: Sport England

²⁹ Sport England (2005) *Understanding Participation in Sport: A systematic review*. London: Sport England

4.5 Parenting and parental attitudes to sport

Over two thirds of parents say they enjoy sport with their children more than any other activity, closely followed by going to parks (just under two thirds). Other pursuits feature far less prominently. Their biggest worry is their children getting involved in crime, affecting over a third of parents. Schools, their children's future and their children's safety are big worries for nearly a third of parents. Parents perceive the biggest pressure on their children as coming from peers, with a quarter of parents saying their children have come into conflict with gangs. Parents emphasise the importance of their support and that of schools in helping children and young people. Schools were viewed as extremely important in helping young people to navigate a positive course in their lives.

The interviewees were also asked in the study's final round whether young people in their areas need to expend physical energy. All interviewees asked this question in the northern neighbourhoods (81.4% in Kirkside East and 4.3% in The Valley) and a vast majority in our London areas (92.9% in both East Docks and West City), told us that young people needed to be active. A similar response was recorded to the question of whether sport would enable 'letting off steam', with all but 2.3% of the (81.4% of) interviewees in Kirkside East, all of those in The Valley (4.3%), and the majority of our London respondents answering 'yes' (88% in West City and 90.5% in East Docks), sport would provide a means to release energy.

Some interviewees make a very clear and spontaneous connection between the pursuit of physical activity and keeping on the 'right path', arguing that children and young people need sport to help them to expend physical energy or they are likely to turn to crime:

Interviewer: Do young people in this area need to let off physical energy? Would sport help?

Interviewee: Yes. They need all the help they can get. Any sports for youngsters, it helps with the drugs problem, to keep them interested. For young boys, football and boxing, they've always been very important in this area. Boxing in particular. ... Once a boy likes his body he's not going to get into drugs is he! And it's sociable. [Trudy, East End, R7]

Interviewer: What barriers are there to children and young people doing sports?

Interviewee: It is not about barriers, it is about them letting off physical energy in bad ways, not via sports, kids, today. [Laverne, Northern City, R7]

Interviewer: Do young people in this area need to let off physical energy? Would sport help?

Interviewee: Yeah. It's a constructive way of doing it because otherwise they let off energy and usually end up in trouble, so it is constructive ... it's a good direction for kids to go. [Barbara, East End, R7]

Interviewer: Do young people in this area need to let off physical energy? Would sport help?

Interviewee: Well, I think so. Or [they are] easily led into crime. [They have] taken [the local] sports centre away, it is a very bad thing, kids will turn to crime. [Laverne, Northern City, R7]

[What's so good about keeping active?]

It's keeping yourself busy. There's an old saying, well not an old saying, an old fashioned view – if you're keeping busy you're keeping out of mischief [laughs]. It's true isn't it, really. [Peggy, East End, R7]

Elsewhere, a connection is made between having adequate leisure provision, as one respondent recalls from their own youth, and fostering respect within the community. Perhaps a lack of investment in facilities for children and young people communicates an underlying message of disregard, in turn creating a disaffected, troubled generation:

Interviewer: *Do young people in this area need to let off physical energy? Would sport help?*

Interviewee: *They do when they start smashing up people's cars. They need to have it channelled into something else. There's a lack of facilities for them. From the thirties down generation, they have a lack of respect. My generation from the fifties down have a lot more respect because we had things to do. [Gillian, East End, R7]*

The excerpt below shows a respondent reflecting on her own approach of actively encouraging and supporting her son in his sporting activities, allowing her to spend time with him and ultimately reaping the rewards of his good behaviour. She reflects on how different circumstances could have been by recounting the weaknesses in her brother and sister's style of parenting:

Interviewer: *Do young people in this area need to let off physical energy? Would sport help?*

Interviewee: *Yes, definitely. There's got to be a sport a child likes. My brother said to me 'How do you cope, taking your son training four days a week?' But he spends all his time in the pub and his kid's got an ASBO order. They've ruined the child ... He says his son has behavioural problems but it's bullshit. He won't put no effort in taking his son places, do things. I knew my sister's son would end up in big trouble, he's on a curfew and everything. My brother stayed with me for a little while and he said he wishes his son was like [my son]. His son can barely read and write – he shouldn't've been allowed to have children. [Alexa, East End, R7]*

In more general terms, a West City respondent describes not only the beneficial effects of physical activity from her own perspective, but on how the building of a nearby basketball court seems to have transformed the external environment by changing the behaviour young people locally:

Interviewer: *Do young people in this area need to let off physical energy? Would sport help?*

Interviewee: *I do, yeah, and I think most people do. It's got to be good, wherever you come from in't it. It'll probably make people a lot less aggressive. 'Cos I know after I've been to the gym I feel quite refreshed and in an 'up' mood. I don't come out all bummed out and, it probably works wonders for a lot of people. I think it's definitely a positive thing. Actually I must say it's been a lot quieter ... 'cos the kids used to sit outside and scream and yell at each other and make lots of noise. But since the basketball court's been put up it seems quieter. I don't know if it's 'cos it's gotten colder. But, no, it seems to be less manic outside. [Beth, East End, R7]*

The role of sport in teaching children social skills and coping strategies to employ in later life was also explored by respondents, indicating that for some, the value placed on physical activity goes far beyond participation in the activity alone:

All young people should be spending three hours running around. Lessons of endurance, competition and working hard, it's all great. [Ariana, East End, R7]

... I think school sport should be compulsory, and there should be a lot more of it. And that's not just about the health of the kids, and fitness ... it's about teamwork ... and actually getting used [to] that ... there are winners and losers, and competing's important. And actually, you're not always gonna win whether you think you're the best high jumper in the school or not, sometimes it's gonna go wrong. I think they're great life skills, for too long they've not been seen as good things, you know. People lose! You can't just divorce that from the experience of our children. I just think it's outrageous actually, for so long we've

put these things off. We're all winners for taking part, well, we're actually all losers as well then [laughs]. [Debra & Alan, East End, R7]

National level problems were also highlighted, including a lack of sports in schools and a perceived lack of government support for young people's pursuit of sports. One interviewee raised the issue of the government's green agenda when talking about barriers to her family enjoying cycling:

I wish there were more cycle ways, like abroad, like in Holland, I wish the government would spend money on that sort of thing, they want us to be greener, but don't help us. My husband takes the children on the canal cycle path. [Kathleen, Northern City]

Interviewer: *Does your family have any concerns or worries at the moment, that our questions have not enabled you to talk about? If yes, what is it / are they?*

Interviewee: *No, not really. It's a good interview and you can get your point across. Like talking about sport, keeping 'em off the streets. They're like caged animals if they're kept indoors. They'll get into mischief, they need more things out there. The government needs to fund more free things from 9 to 10 years old. I wouldn't let my kids out on the street at that age. I need to make sure they're safe and looked after. [Kerry, East End, R7]*

4.6 The impact of the Olympics bid of the families attitudes to sport

Families concluded that the Olympics would have a noticeable impact. Approximately four fifths of interviewees living in Kirkside East were asked the question (79.1%), revealing a more negative outlook with just over half viewing the Olympics as having no influence (51.2%). Only a very small number (2.3%) felt that it would have any impact on their families. Our London respondents viewed the prospect of the Olympics very differently, which is perhaps unsurprising given that this world class event will be situated in such close proximity to them: 59.5% in West City and 57.1% of respondents in East Docks viewed the Olympics as having an impact on their children's sporting activities or access to them. Of the remaining London respondents, a sizeable proportion told us they didn't know either way, usually because 2012 seemed so far in the future (14.3% in West City and 19% in East Docks).

Respondents viewed schools as playing a pivotal role in introducing and engaging children and young people into sport when discussing the potential impact of the Olympics. Unfortunately, the efforts of schools were often thought to be lacking, as the following quotes illustrate:

Just the fact that, [my daughter], she hasn't had any P.E. this term at all, nothing, not anything. Last year she did swimming the first term, and P.E. the second two terms but this term they've done nothing, as far as I can make out. I don't really know why. You get a letter saying what's going on and there's been no letter saying what they're doing this term and, you know, you say 'oh, P.E.'s on Wednesdays, please bring your P.E. kit'. Her P.E. kit has sat in the cupboard since September doing nothing. Fortunately I'm able to take her myself to gym and swimming and stuff like that. If she didn't have that, then there would be no other exercise. [Joan, East End, R7]

I hope [the Olympics] will, but don't think it will, I hope it encourages the schools to be more involved in sports, but it is wishful thinking, I feel. [Amanda, Northern City, R7]

In our primary school we used to do gymnastics, we used to do the Coca Cola badges, weren't it? These people nowadays, they haven't got the staff in the schools or anything like that, to do it. Or the facilities. [Natalie, East End, R7]

[The Olympics] *should do, eventually, but nothing seems to be happening at the minute. I'd have thought the schools would be into it.* [Linda, East End, R7]

Yes, get the country fitter again. Need to be. Obese kids age five, it is cruel. It is wrong. [They] can't run in an emergency. [It's] dangerous for operations. [They] We had sports at school and kids rush home now, [there's] no sports. [Adele, Northern City, R7]

Sport isn't part of their lives, it's no surprise is it, look at the national curriculum, the sport, you know, yeah you've got a swimming lesson a term or whatever it is, and most schools hate doing swimming as it takes loads of teachers, it takes out two hours of the day, it costs them a stack a money, you know, it's all about minimum provision. Or they've had all their playgrounds flogged off or, you know, it's a bit late now to suddenly think, 'oh, perhaps sport was quite good for them'. [Debra & Alan, East End, R7]

Echoing previous comments on the decline in competitive sports in schools, which although following an arguably more inclusive ethos, is in direct opposition to the pursuit of the Olympian ideal:

What I've noticed, at school, when they have sports day, years ago, they used to have competitive sports, but now it's non-competitive where all the children come out in their classes and they do a range of activities, fun activities but there's no competition. So what I would say is it'd be interesting to see now with the Olympics, the Olympics is about competition isn't it? It'll be interesting to see now how schools are going to get children involved in things. ... Our children need to feel a bit of competition. Out there in the real world ... it's competitive isn't it? Whether we like it or not, that's what it is ... it's them building resilience. [Annie, East End, R7]

Yet this non-competitive approach was favoured by one interviewee as successful in building confidence and thereby increasing participation in those otherwise reluctant to take part:

In the last couple of years, the last year, it's been more geared towards sports. And even children who thought they weren't able or capable of doing sports are now doing it. In schools now, at least two or three times a day we have fitness. It's basically running round the playground, doing a few stretches. And you've got children with weight problems, and that, 'I can't run 'cos I'm fat', it's not about that, you're all equal. But if you can't run, you jog, or you walk, you're still exercising. And then once they become relaxed in themselves and feel that self-confidence, they then start to participate and become more active. [Nora, East End, R7]

In contrast, a couple of respondents described a very pro-Olympic policy operating in their children's schools where sport as a vocation is actively pursued:

Interviewer: *Do you feel the Olympics coming to London in the next few years will have any impact on your child's sports activities and/or access to them?*
Interviewee: *It will do to my eldest as his school is also a sports college and it is gearing up for the Olympics already. Something about using the sports college for training, for training some of the kids for the Olympics, because of the Olympics.* [Holly, Northern City, R7]

One interviewee talked of the inspirational effects of having sports professionals directly engaging with pupils, passing on their enthusiasm, expertise and knowledge:

By getting experts coming into school to do cricket sessions. At [my children's school] we've had cricket and tennis coaches coming in. It tends to have a knock-on effect, if they see that activity, they want to take it up outside the school. [Rachel, East End, R7]

Another interviewee raised the issue of the need for local facilities alongside support from schools for the Olympics to have any lasting legacy:

I think [sport] will be pushed more, or will mean schools push it more. But if [there's] no local facilities to do it, what is the point? Kids will drive parents mad asking and [there's] nothing locally to do around here. [Denise, Northern City, R7]

As already noted, the prospect of the Olympics coming to London in 2012 was perceived by many families living in the East End as a positive development, generating excitement with the promise of helping their children to reach their full potential:

[My sons] used to do gymnastics and now they're both now talking about going back to the gym [laughs]! 'I want to be in the Olympics now'. ... If that's what they want to aim for, the world's your oyster, go for it. Because it's in the East End of London, it's in their home town, it's down the road from them. They can say they can go and watch this or see this. They're really excited about it. ... Since we got the bid, I've found a lot more children are now becoming more involved in sport. They want to be active now because they've set their sights on being a part of that when it happens. [Nora, East End, R7]

The fact that the Olympics receives a less enthusiastic response in the north should be noted. How can we engage young people nationwide and not just those living nearby? Critical voices were also heard in our London areas as parents looked more generally at the potential drawbacks of a world wide event being hosted on their doorstep:

Interviewer: *Do you feel the Olympics coming to London in the next few years will have any impact on your child's sports activities and/or access to them?*

Interviewee: *That's going to be a very very hard one because [the local] Council and all the other councils, they never really have much money to spend on kids, to be able to bring the kids through, like maybe do special programmes for them. They're always short of money aren't they. So I really don't know, I don't think the 2012 Olympics is going to be any good for East London. It will for the big business people and all, but not for the likes of us. I don't think it's going to make much difference around the [local] area. I'm hoping I'm wrong, but... [Niamh, East End, R7]*

Oh [the Olympics]'ll definitely have an impact, let's just hope it's positive. I mean I was very positive about getting the Olympics, I thought it was terrific...everyone was very, very excited. The worry is that [the local area's] going to get the dregs of it, the bulk of the money will go into [neighbouring areas], and so on. We'll get the car parks ... I think people want to be sure that [area] gets a good deal out of it, and they don't see [the area] as ever having negotiated a particularly good deal for anything. And I think [the local] leisure centre [closing] is a perfect example of that. ... We'll certainly have to put up with congestion and traffic and noise no doubt, so I think we need to get some benefit out of it too. And I hope [the local] residents at least get some tickets and some proper benefits, some lasting benefit. And I think most of the sporting facilities in [the area] are pretty dire at the moment, so ... they could be improved. [Kathleen, East End, R7]

Interviewer: *Do you feel the Olympics coming to London in the next few years will have any impact on your child's sports activities and/or access to them?*

Interviewee: *No way. Maybe for football or something. They are closing Olympic pools! Maybe something'll change in the [neighbouring] area, but not in this area. I'm paying £1000 for council tax for this flat in this area* [Ece & Onur, East End, R7]

5. Overview and recommendations

- **The Olympics and the regeneration needs of Hackney and Newham** offer a golden opportunity to introduce a series of relatively small and local inexpensive activities to make the deprived Olympic neighbourhoods beacons for youth spending more widely. There is a need to raise the profile of spending positively on young people. By gaining insight into the barriers families face, it would be possible to develop strategies to encourage maximum participation. There is a need to harness excitement in the run-up to the Olympics as well as focusing on the legacy hopefully left by the games. For example, seeing the 'world's best' athletes as an inspirational, awe inspiring experience.
- **The supervision and maintenance of neighbourhood environments** has a hugely important impact not just on families' use of open spaces and participation in activities, but also on young people's attitudes. Environmental neglect forces families to hold back their children and young people. Simply not allowing young people on the streets means that families with less control, more problems and more difficulties allow their children to take over the streets and open spaces. Other parents then feel powerless.
- **Promoting sport, health, fitness activity**, both amongst young boys and young girls, can be extremely positive. Islington council is doing this actively in its few parks³⁰. It has attracted large numbers of very diverse children, mostly from ordinary backgrounds. They organise low-cost activities like running, biking, trampolining, mobile rock climbing, rugby, basketball and other "tarmac" sports. Other activities include: keep fit, dance, Brazilian Capoeira, martial arts, skipping, and hurdle races. They do this in very restricted public spaces in a highly visible way. The high local profile does not deter participation; far from it, it attracts it because it looks quite festive, sociable and "cool".
- **Creating a cool "macho" appeal for teenage boys** at the point of breaking away from their families may compensate for not doing well in school or help them re-engage with their education. For girls, female sports leaders who are lively, friendly and attractive create appeal. The reintroduction of competition, challenge and inclusion in visible and free local events seems very positive in addition to using role models within schools/youth clubs spelling out the benefits of sport to children and young people (increased confidence/reducing stress/maintaining weight/looking good). Such measures could be incorporated into Sport England's proposals for Sport Action Zones.
- **Families with children say they like sport and parks** best among all the things they do; their children enjoy these more than anything else. We know that parents view their children's involvement in sport/physical activity positively and therefore appropriately targeted initiatives to increase participation should be welcomed. The Olympics have galvanised awareness, so we should act on this.

³⁰ Observations recorded by authors, summer and autumn 2006; discussion with Islington Council Leisure Services, Oct 2006

6. Annexes

Annex 6.1a: Sport England questions for round 7 questionnaire

Annex 6.1b: Summary tables of responses

Annex 6.2: Family characteristics: make up of 200 families at round one (percentages)

Annex 6.3a: Information about the four areas

Annex 6.3b: Summary of area characteristics

Annex 6.3c: Brief description of 4 neighbourhoods

Annex 6.4: Methods

Annex 6.5: Summary information about the families

Annex 6.1a: Sport England questions for round 7 questionnaire

- Do you feel your family can do the activities they want to, for example using sports or recreational facilities?
- If not, why not / if yes, what enables this?
- Do you feel the Olympics coming to London in the next few years will have any impact on your child's sports activities and/or access to them?
- Do young people in this area need to let off physical energy? Would sport help?

List of common sports *to prompt with:*

- Swimming
 - Football (including 5-a-side)
 - Gym
 - Dance
 - Tennis
 - Basketball
 - Running club
 - Biking / skate boarding
 - Skating
- What barriers are there?

Annex 6.1b: Summary tables of responses

Table 1: Whether family can access sports facilities

	Hackney		Newham	
	Number	%	Number	%
Yes	14	33.3	23	54.8
No	8	19.0	7	16.7
Some, not others	8	19.0	7	16.7
Family not active/sporty	1	2.4	1	2.4
NA	11	26.2	3	7.1
Q not asked	0	0	1	2.4
Q missed	0	0	0	0

Table 2: What enables access to sports facilities

	Hackney		Newham	
	Number	%	Number	%
Money	2	4.8	2	4.8
Local/near enough facilities	5	11.9	16	38.1
Knowing where to look or to go	2	4.8	0	0
Own transport or a lift	1	2.4	0	0
Having skills and starting up a	0	0	0	0
After school clubs	3	7.1	2	4.8
Family support	2	4.8	3	7.1
Lack of time/money	4	9.5	5	11.9
If prepared to travel	1	2.4	0	0
Good advertising/leafleting	1	2.4	0	0
Can access: multiple reasons	4	9.5	4	9.5
Can't: lack of local facilities	2	4.8	1	2.4
Can't: poorly maintained facilities	2	4.8	0	0
Can't access b/c of personal	0	0	1	2.4
Can't access b/c of age restrictions	0	0	1	2.4
Can't b/c of age gap b/w	0	0	1	2.4
Cannot access: multiple reasons	1	2.4	2	4.8
NA	12	28.6	4	9.5
Q not asked	0	0	0	0

Table 3: Whether the Olympics coming to London will affect children's sports

	Hackney		Newham	
	Number	%	Number	%
Yes	25	59.5	24	57.1
Yes – in London only	0	0	0	0
No	8	19.0	9	21.4
No, not in Hackney	1	2.4	0	0
Child isn't sporty	0	0	1	2.4
Don't know	6	14.3	8	19.0
Q not asked	1	2.4	0	0
NA	1	2.4	0	0

Table 4: Whether young people in the neighbourhood need to let off physical energy

	Hackney		Newham	
	Number	%	Number	%
Yes	39	92.9	39	92.9
No	0	0	1	2.4
Some do, some don't	0	0	1	2.4
Don't know	1	2.4	1	2.4
Q not asked	1	2.4	0	0
NA	1	2.4	0	0

Table 5: Whether sport helps / would help young people in the neighbourhood let off physical energy

	Hackney		Newham	
	Number	%	Number	%
Yes	37	88.1	38	90.5
No	0	0	2	4.8
Don't know	3	7.1	2	4.8
Q not asked	1	2.4	0	0
NA	1	2.4	0	0

Table 6: Barriers to young people in the neighbourhood doing sports

	Hackney		Newham	
	Number	%	Number	%
Lack of money	4	9.5	4	9.5
Nothing local	3	7.1	2	4.8
Lack of government support	1	2.4	1	2.4
Age limits on services	0	0	0	0
Lack of transport	1	2.4	0	0
Lack of school based sports	1	2.4	0	0
Not viewed as 'cool'	1	2.4	2	4.8
Lack of information	1	2.4	0	0
If never done sport before	2	4.8	0	0
Lack of parental support	3	7.1	4	9.5
Poorly maintained facilities	2	4.8	0	0
Gangs/ASB hindering activities	1	2.4	1	2.4
Lack of supervised facilities	1	2.4		
Lack of confidence	2	4.8	0	0
Lack of time	1	2.4	0	0
Activities oversubscribed/waiting	1	2.4	0	0
Cultural/racial divisions	0	0	1	2.4
Laziness/lack of discipline	0	0	2	4.8
More than one	10	23.8	12	28.6
None	6	14.3	11	26.2
Don't know	0	0	2	4.8
Q not asked	1	2.4	0	0.5

Annex 6.2: Family characteristics: make up of 200 families at round one (percentages)

	East London		North	
	Inner	Outer	Outer Estate	Inner City
Couple status:				
Married	52	28	38	34
Unmarried – with partner	20	10	20	22
Alone	28	62	42	44
Ethnic composition:				
White/Irish	44	46	94	68
Minority (all others)	56	54	6	32
Housing:				
Flat/maisonette	86	64	0	18
Terrace/semi	6	34	100	82
In work (Rd 1)	25	28	38	14
In work (Rd 5)	60	58	56	50
Of those in work - % full-time	66	75	66	40
Of those in work - % part-time	33	25	33	60
Tenure:				
Council	} 72	} 78	} 72	30
Housing Association				22
Private landlord	10	8	2	14
Owner	18	14	26	32
Time in area:				
Under 2 years	10	4	12	8
2-10 years	40	52	28	42
11-20 years	28	16	28	28
21-30 years	4	4	20	12
Whole life	18	24	12	10

Source: Round 1 and Round 5 interviews, Families Study, CASE, 1998, 2003

Annex 6.3a: Information about the four areas

Location	East London		North	
	Inner	Outer	Outer estate	Inner city
Population (rounded)	31,000	23,000	18,000	14,000
Tenure: -				
Local Authority	49%	40%	26%	34%
Housing Association	12%	11%	4%	8%
Owner occupation	24%	32%	33%	44%
Private renting	12%	13%	2%	11%
Ethnic Composition	White = 60.9%	White = 59.6%	White = 97.4%	White = 58.5%
<i>Local Authority Data</i>	Black = 25.8%	Black = 26.6%	Black = 0.4%	Black = 12.3%
	Asian = 9.4%	Asian = 12.4%	Asian = 1.0%	Asian = 24.5%
	Mixed = 3.3%	Mixed = 0.8%	Mixed = 1.2%	Mixed = 2.4%
Main Regeneration Programmes	New Deal for Communities Excellence in Cities Sure Start	Employment Action Zone Excellence in Cities Sure Start Single Regeneration Budget	Excellence in Cities Sure Start Single Regeneration Budget	New Deal for Communities Employment Action Zone Excellence in Cities Sure Start Single Regeneration Budget
Deprivation Rank (IMD 2000)	72	35 and 79	388	60
Housing changes	New Deal for Communities investment (slow start). Significant increase in luxury flat building.	6,500 new homes Private Finance Initiative for estates major demolition and investment	Arms Length Management Organisation housing management and investment – some demolition	Objective 1 (EU) New Deal for Communities Housing Market Renewal some demolition and investment
Type of Area	Increasing number of new luxury flats alongside mainly council estates (flats). Some older private streets.	Mainly council estates (flats and houses). Some new mixed tenure developments	Predominantly one large inter-war council estate (houses with some flats)	Mixed area – council, Housing Association, private (houses and flats)

Notes:

1. Gentrification is beginning to affect population in housing areas adjacent to estates in both London and Northern inner city areas.
2. Ethnic definitions – White includes Irish and from EU of white heritage; Black includes African, Caribbean and Black British. Asian includes Indian and Pakistani and Bangladeshi. Mixed race includes all people of mixed ethnic origin.
3. The Northern outer estates deprivation measures improved, particularly employment and education scores.

Source: CASE Areas Study 1998-2004, Census 2001 and Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000
CASE Area Profiles 2005

Annex 6.3b: Summary of area characteristics

Area Characteristics	London		North	
	Inner	Outer	Outer	Inner
Ethnically Mixed	Yes	Yes	Very little	Yes
Dominant Tenure	Council	Council	Council	Social renting
Housing Type	Estates – flats	Estates - mixed	Estate – houses; some flats	Mixed
Older Street Property	Yes	Yes, some	No	Yes – many Victorian terraces
Park(s)	Yes	Yes	Yes, but largely considered to be unusable / not 'family friendly'	Yes, but largely considered to be unusable / not 'family friendly'
General Appearance	Poor – small park improved. Some signs of gentrification	Poor	Poor	Poor – small park improved
Crime (stats) <i>local authority: recorded offences per 1000 pop. Jan-Mar 2004 National = 27.8</i>	46.0 Notably above England/Wales average, but fell 2% 2001-2004	38.4 Somewhat above England/Wales average, and stable 2001-2004	40.4 Somewhat above England/Wales average, but falling since 2003	29.7 Above England/Wales average, and rose 3.47% since 2003
School performance <i>local authority: % of total pupils 5 GCSEs (A*-G) National = 88.8</i>	89.6 Above England average	93.6 Above England average	85.7 Below England average	85.5 Below England average
Tenure change	Right To Buy, Housing Association conversions, private new build	Right To Buy, Housing Association and private new build	Right To Buy, small housing association developments, some selected demolition	Right To Buy and Housing Associations and gentrification
Transport/Roads	Buses. Underground at a distance, very busy road(s)	Trains, underground and buses, dissected by A13	Buses, busy main road, rest minor roads	Buses, busy main road, rest minor roads
Demolition	None	Large scale	Small scale	Large scale, but very slow
Ethnic change	Rapid (far above average)	Rapid (far above average)	Signs of change (below average)	Significant change (above average)

Annex 6.3c: Brief description of 4 neighbourhoods

<p>London inner</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Several large council estates – mainly flats - Mixed in with Victorian street properties - Very near City - Also near Islington – Chapel Market and Angel - RTB now very expensive - Some higher income buying into estates - Gentrification nearer city – main road divide between south (gentrifying) and north (majority) i.e. opening of trendy bars, boutiques, tattoo parlours & specialist shops - Very rapid ethnic change – minority dominates many areas - White population declining – mainly elderly left - Fractured social networks but lots of activities for families, although leisure facilities are poor - Major investment through NDC but very slow to take off - Private management company manages area
<p>London outer</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Now well connected to city centre with new tube line and DLR extension - Docks as focus for regeneration - Big new conference centre – attracts visitors - New “urban village” – incomers with higher incomes - New developments completely socially & geographically isolated from existing ‘core’ community - New secondary school - Dome is visible across the river - Much of area dominated by main road – dual carriageway - Noise, dirt, barrier, dominates environment, fearful underpass – crucial link - Lots of unused but unattractive space - New school and college in docks - Some council housing being demolished - Some new HA building - Strong ethnic minority population – particularly African – rapid change - Declining white population resistant / hostile to changes - Run down appearance of local shops etc
<p>Northern outer estate</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Large outer council estate - Built before/just after War - Some “cottage” brick semis, lots of open space, many ‘airy’ homes + prefab concrete 19780s houses - Some shops and now big Tescos - Open space and park, beck, woods – not supervised or maintained - On main bus route to centre - Local schools - Lots of local facilities but sports facilities lacking - Low income - Very few minorities, some mixed race children, local girls’ school has lots of Asians - Lots of local family networks – ¾ have relatives nearby - Lots of complaints regarding housing service, particularly repairs - Seen as a dump by many - Big difference between North and South – particularly ethnic composition but also family networks and quality of life e.g. ‘hot spot’ for teen car crime in south of estate - Minimum spending programme because Leeds is not a strong performer
<p>Northern inner city</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Very close to city centre - Steep hill up through different styles of housing – some beautiful Victorian brick terraced houses - Very low demand at outset but increased demand over course of study - Very decayed properties and shops mixed in with major facelift on older properties on main road and some estates – facelift targeted arterial routes only - Some new-ish H.A development - Some blighted council blocks, demolition planned but very slow - Some visible drugs problems – leading to strong police intervention - Conspicuous minority men in traditional costume in/around streets/cafes – Somalis? - Strongly growing ethnic minority population - Some gentrification near park in older houses - Very mixed (most of 4 areas) - Visibly very poor, but considered no-go for kids due to needles etc - Beautiful local park

Annex 6.4: Methods

Our neighbourhood study involving families is linked to CASE's '12 Areas Study', which is researching twelve low income areas across England and Wales. This study is tracking the areas back to 1991 and forward to 2007. Each of our 'areas' is made up of a series of levels: (i) regional (ii) local authority (iii) areas of approximately 20,000 people and (iv) estate / small group of streets. The study aims to find out why some areas recover while others do not, and to assess the effectiveness of different interventions, including large government-driven regeneration schemes. To do this, we collected a wide range of data, including: interviews with staff at all levels; health indicators; educational performance; housing indicators (such as empty property rates, turnover, stock condition); crime statistics; and a record of the aims and progress of the special initiatives being tried in each area. The 12 areas are in: Hackney, Newham, Knowsley, Nottingham, Newcastle, Sheffield, Blackburn, Birmingham, Caerphilly, Redcar and Cleveland, Leeds and Thanet. (Glennister et al, 1999).

The Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) has ran a survey of 200 families with children (under the ages of 18) in four low-income areas in England, between 1998 and 2006. Through successive rounds of interviews we learnt how area conditions and area changes affected people who lived locally. Our aim was to find out about and document the ways in which areas could improve or decline as local families saw it.

Annex 6.5: Summary information about the families

Interviewees in East London: inner

'Name'	Family Relationship	Ethnicity	Age	Resident children's ages ³¹	Number of resident children	Occupation ³²	Length of residence in area ³³
Adeola	Married Mum	Black African	20s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	1 year
Alice	Married Mum	White UK	30s	School-age	2	Childminder	11 years
Andaiye	Single Mum	Black African	40s	School-age	2	School assistant	14 years
Ariana	Married Mum	White Irish	40s	School-age	3	P/T Writer	14 years
Beth	Single Mum	White	40s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	30 years
Carrie	Married Mum	White UK	30s	Pre-school & post-school	4	Home-worker	25 years
Charlene	Married Mum		20s		3	F/T Customer Services Administrator	4 years
Charley	Mum in couple	White UK with mixed race child	20s	Pre-school & school-age	2	Not in paid work	3 years
Charlotte	Married Mum	White	30s	8 years	1	P/T Tattooist	3 years
Cynthia	Married Mum	Black African	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	Cleaning	13 years
Debra and Alan	Married couple	White UK, mixed race & white children	30s	School-age & pre-school	3	Not in paid work	8 years
Delilah	Mum in couple	Black African	30s	Pre-school & school-age	4	Occasional social care work	9 years
Destiny	Married Mum	White	40s	School-age	2	F/T Childminder	15 years
Ece & Onur	Married couple	Turkish	30s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	6 years
Ellie	Married Mum	White UK	50s	Post-school	1	Foster-carer	29 years
Emily	Mum in couple	White Jewish	20s	Pre-school	1	Casual sales work	3 years
Eve	Mum in couple	Black African	30s	Pre-school & school-age	2	Care work	5 years
Faye	Single Mum	Black Caribbean	30s	Pre-school & school-age	3	Occasional shop work	Whole life
Felicity	Married Mum	White UK	30s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	3 years
Felicity	Single Mum	Black African	30s	Pre-school	2	Not in paid work	5 years
Gina	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	P/T Bar Maid	14 years
Helat & Aziz	Married couple	Kurdish	30s	School-age	1	Own their own business	7 years
Hulya	Married Mum	Turkish	20s	Pre-school & school-age	2	Not in paid work	5 years
Jane	Married Mum	White UK	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	11 years
Jasmine	Married Mum	White	30s	Pre-school	3	P/T Reporter	6 years

³¹ We define 'pre-school' as under 5. We define children as those aged 18 and under.

³² We have deliberately described occupations in general terms.

³³ At time of first interview (1999). All other information in the table relates to the interviewee's circumstances at the time of the second interview, if they took part in the second round.

'Name'	Family Relationship	Ethnicity	Age	Resident children's ages	Number of resident children	Occupation	Length of residence in area
Jess	Single Mum	White UK	20s	Pre-school & school-age	2	Not in paid work	20 years
Jessica	Mum in couple	White UK	20s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	Whole life
Joan	Single Mum	White UK	40s	School-age	1	Foster-carer	19 years
Joanne	Married Mum	White UK	30s	School-age & pre-school	4	Editor	9 years
Justine	Single Mum	White UK	30s	School-age	1	Sales assistant	Whole life
Karli	Married Mum	Turkish	30s	School-age	3	Not in paid work	12 years
Kathleen	Married Mum	White other	40s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	13 years
Kebire	Married Mum	Turkish	30s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	4 years
Kerim	Married Mum	Kurdish	20s	Pre-school & school age	3	Not in paid work	Less than 1 year
Kezban & Mustafa	Married couple	Kurdish	20s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	5 years
Leah	Single Mum	White	40s	School-age	3	F/T Freelance Marketing	13 years
Linda	Mum in couple	White UK	20s	Pre-school	2	Occasional hairdressing	2 years
Liz	Single Mum	White UK	30s	School-age	2	School assistant	Whole life
Lola	Single Mum	Black French	40s	Pre-school	1	F/T Catering Supervisor	4 years
Marilyn	Married Mum	White UK	30s	School-age	3	Secretarial	Whole life
Megan	Single Mum	White UK	20s	Pre-school	1	Childminder	2 years
Millie	Married Mum	Black Caribbean	30s	School-age	2	Childminder	17 years
Mina	Married Mum	Asian	20s	School-age	6	Not in paid work	Less than 1 year
Narin	Married Mum	Kurdish	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	4 years
Natalie	Single Mum	Mixed race	20s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	Whole life
Niamh	Married Mum	Irish	40s	School-age	1	Childminder	18 years
Peter	Single Dad	White	50s	-	-	F/T Flower Stall	All life
Rebecca	Mum in couple	White	30s	Pre-school	1	F/T Childminder	All life
Renata	Married Mum	Brazilian	20s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	1 year
Rosemary	Married Mum	White UK	20s	School-age	1	School assistant	Whole life
Sarah	Mum in couple	White UK	20s	School-age & pre-school	4	Play worker	5 years
Selda	Single Mum	Turkish	30s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	20 years
Shushan	Married Mum	Black African	30s	Pre-school	1	Financial sector	2 years
Sinead	Single Mum	Irish	30s	School-age	1	Teacher	12 years
Snejana	Married Mum	Kosovan	20s	Pre-school	2	Not in paid work	1 year
Sola	Married Mum	Black Caribbean	40s	Post-school	1	Care-worker	19 years
Sophie	Single Mum	Black British	20s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	19 years
Theresa	Mum in couple	White UK	20s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	Whole life
Tina	Mum in couple	White UK	30s	School-age & pre-school	3	Sports instructor	Whole life

'Name'	Family Relationship	Ethnicity	Age	Resident children's ages	Number of resident children	Occupation	Length of residence in area
Tracy	Married Mum	White	30s	-	-	F/T Cashier	25 years
Trudy	Single Mum	White	50s	-	-	Florist	All life
Yetunda	Single Mum	Black Caribbean	40s	School-age	1	Financial sector	20 years
Yonca	Married Mum	Turkish	40s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	9 years
Zena	Single Mum	Asian	30s	Pre-school & school-age	4	Not in paid work	7 years
Zoe	Single Mum	Mixed race	30s	School-age	1	Not in paid work	10 years

Interviewees in East London: Outer

'Name'	Family Relationship	Ethnicity	Age	Resident children's ages	Number of resident children	Occupation	Length of residence in area
Alexa	Single Mum	White	40s	Post-school & school-age	2	Not in paid work	1 year
Aliya & Said	Married couple	Other	30s	School-age & pre-school	3	Husband occasional computer engineer, wife not in paid work	5 years
Amber	Single Mum	Black Caribbean	20s	School-age	1	F/T Nursery Nurse	5 years
Aminia	Married Mum	Black African	30s	Pre-school & school-age	2	Not in paid work	3 years
Andrea	Mum in couple	White UK	40s	School-age	1	Teacher	Whole life
Annie	Married Mum	Black British, with mixed race children	30s	Pre-school & school-age	3	School assistant	Whole life
Audrey	Single Mum	Black African	30s	Pre-school	1	Nurse	1 year
Barbara	Married Mum	White UK, with mixed race children	40s	School-age & post-school	3	Administrative assistant	20 years
Becca	Single Mum	Black African	30s	Pre-school & school-age	4	Not in paid work	4 years
Belinda	Single Mum	Black African	30s	Pre-school & school-age	4	Not in paid work	10 years
Carmen	Married Mum	Black Caribbean	30s	School-age & pre-school	3	Not in paid work	10 years
Caroline	Single Mum	White	20s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	18 years
Chanika	Married Mum	Black African	-	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	4 years
Chantel	Married Mum	Black African	40s	Pre-school & school-age	5	Home-working	11 years
Clare	Single Mum	White UK, with mixed race children	20s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	7 years
Clarissa	Single Mum	Black Caribbean	40s	School-age	1	Not in paid work	30+ years
Constance & Grace	Grandmother / Granddaughter	Black Caribbean	60s / teen	School-age	1	Retired	29 years / whole life
Desiree	Single Mum	Black African	40s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	2 years
Diane	Married Mum	White UK	40s	Post-school	1	School assistant	Whole life

'Name'	Family Relationship	Ethnicity	Age	Resident children's ages	Number of resident children	Occupation	Length of residence in area
Dionne	Married Mum	Irish	30s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	15 years
Dominique	Mum in couple	Black African	30s	School-age	1	Domestic work	6 years
Elaine	Single Mum	White	20s	Pre-school	2	Not in paid work	3 years
Erin	Married Mum	White	40s	School-age & pre-school	4	Not in paid work	6 years
Flowella	Single Mum	Black Caribbean	20s	School-age	1	Occasional childcare assistant	Whole life
Fran	Single Mum	White UK	20s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	Whole life
Frances	Single Mum	Black African	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	Support worker	5 years
Gabrielle	Single Mum	Black British	50s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	1 years
Gillian	Mum in couple	White UK	40s	School-age	1	School assistant	Whole life
Gloria	Single Mum	Black African	30s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	9 years
Hailey	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	Not in paid work	3 years
Hannah	Single Mum	Black African	40s	School-age	4	Public service officer	8 years
Jackie	Single Mum	White UK	30s	School-age	3	Not in paid work	Whole life
James	Father	White UK	30s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	2 years
Janet	Single Mum	Black African	40s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	1 year
Jelka	Married Mum	Kosovan	20s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	1 year
Josephine	Single Mum	Black African	30s	School-age & pre-school	4	F/T Nurse	
Joyce	Single Mum	White UK	40s	School-age	2	Administrator	9 years
Julie	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	Not in paid work	All life
Kate	Mum in couple	White UK	20s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	5 years
Katja	Single Mum	Eastern European	20s	Pre-school	2	Not in paid work	3 years
Kayla	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	4	Not in paid work	3 years
Kerry	Single Mum	White	20s	Pre-school	2	Not in paid work	7 years
Kessie	Single Mum	Black British	30s	School-age & pre-school	4	Not in paid work	4 years
Kim	Single Mum & Daughter	White UK	Teen	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	14 years
Lesley	Mum in couple	White UK	30s	School-age & pre-school	3	Not in paid work	Whole life
Lilian	Mum in couple	Black British	20s	School-age & pre-school	3	P/T Cashier	17 years
Louise	Married Mum	Black Caribbean	30s	Post, pre and school-age	5	Supervisor, cleaning services	20 years
Luiza	Mum in couple	Mixed Brazilian	20s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	1 year
Madeleine	Married Mum	White UK	30s	School-age	1	Nursery nurse	7 years
Marie	Single Mum	White with mixed race children	50s	School-age	1	Not in paid work	6 years
Michelle	Mum in couple	White	20s	School-age	1	Not in paid work	20 years
Miriam	Married Mum	Black	30s	School-age & pre-school	3	Nurse	4 years

'Name'	Family Relationship	Ethnicity	Age	Resident children's ages	Number of resident children	Occupation	Length of residence in area
Nadia	Married Mum	White with mixed race children	30s	School-age	2	Teacher	3 years
Naomi	Mum in couple	Black African	30s	School-age	2	Cleaning services	6 years
Natasha	Single Mum	White UK	30s	School-age	1	Not in paid work	5 years
Neema	Single Mum	Black Caribbean	20s	School-age	1	Not in paid work	All life
Nicola	Single Mum	White UK with mixed race children	30s	School-age	2	Childcare	Whole life
Nora	Single Mum	Black Caribbean	30s	School-age & post-school	5	School assistant	21 years
Oni	Single Mum	Black African	20s	Pre-school	1	Within legal profession	3 years
Peggy	Single Mum & Grandmother	White UK	50s	Pre-school	1	School assistant	Whole life
Rachel	Mum in couple	White UK	30s	School-age	3	School assistant	14 years
Refika	Daughter & Sister	Turkish	Teen	School-age	2	Youth work	Whole life
Rose	Married Mum	White UK	30s	School-age	3	Not in paid work	15 years
Sade	Single Mum	Black African	20s	Pre-school & school-age	2	Not in paid work	6 years
Sasha	Single Mum	Black African	30s	School-age	3	Child care worker	8 years
Sonia	Single Mum	White UK	30s	School-age	2	School assistant	Whole life
Tamara	Married Mum	Turkish	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	13 years
Tessa	Single Mum	White UK	30s	School-age & post-school	3	School assistant	17 years
Yinka	Single Mum	Black African	40s	Post-school	1	Not in paid work	8 years

Interviewees in North: Inner City

'Name'	Family Relationship	Ethnicity	Age	Resident children's ages	Number of resident children	Occupation	Length of residence in area
Abigail	Mum in couple	White	20s	School-age & pre-school	3	Not in paid work	11-20 years
Abraham	Married Dad	Pakistani	50s	School-age	5	F/T Sales & Marketing comm. Office	11-20 years
Adam	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Adele	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	3	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Adele	Mum in couple	White	30s	Pre-school	2	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Alex	Mum in couple	White	40s	School-age	2	P/T	11-20 years
Amreen	Single Mum	Pakistani	30s	School-age	3	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Aneeka	Single Mum	Pakistani	20s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	under 2 years
Angie	Married Mum	White	20s	School-age	1	P/T Artist	2-10 years

'Name'	Family Relationship	Ethnicity	Age	Resident children's ages	Number of resident children	Occupation	Length of residence in area
Avril	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Caitlin	Single Mum	White	20s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Chandra	Married Mum	Pakistani	30s	School-age	4	P/T	11-20 years
Chia	Married Mum	Pakistani	30s	Pre-school	1	Not in paid work	11-20 years
Ciarissa	Single Mum	White	20s	Pre-school	2	Not in paid work	under 2 years
Cynthia	Mum in couple	African Caribbean	40s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	under 2 years
Daniel	Married Mum	Black African	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	P/T support Worker	under 2 years
Dawn	Single Mum	White	Teen	Pre-school	2	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Deirdre	Single Mum	White	30s	Pre-school	1	N/r	under 2 years
Doreen	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	3	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Ellen	Married Mum	White	40s	Pre-school	1	P/T Researcher	under 2 years
Faryal	Single Mum	Pakistani	20s	Pre-school	3	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Fatima	Married Mum	Pakistani	20s	School-age	2	P/T Nursery Nurse	11-20 years
Fiona	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	11-20 years
Francesca	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	4	Not in paid work	11-20 years
Gillian	Single Mum	White	20s	Pre-school	1	P/T Co-ord comm. Facs	2-10 years
Gillian	Mum in couple	White	30s	Pre-school	1	F/T University Administrator	2-10 years
Gloria	Single Mum	Black British	30s	School-age	6	Not in paid work	11-20 years
Imogene	Single Mum	White	20s	School-age	1	Not in paid work	21-30 years
Jade	Married Mum	White	20s	School-age & pre-school	2	F/T classroom support assistant	whole life
Jane	Single Mum	White	40s	School-age	1	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Janet	Mum in couple	White	20s	Pre-school	2	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Janice	Single Mum	African Caribbean	20s	School-age	1	Not in paid work	21-30 years
Janice	Married Mum	White	30s	Pre-school	2	Not in paid work	under 2 years
Jenny	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	1	Not in paid work	under 2 years
Jessica	Mum in couple	White	30s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Judith	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	2	P/T play worker & toy library worker	11-20 years
Justine	Mum in couple	White	20s	School-age	1	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Kali	Single Mum	Somali	30s	School-age	9	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Kamal	Married Mum	Kashmiri	40s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	31-40 years
Kelly	Mum in couple	White	50s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	11-20 years
Kerry	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	Not in paid work	11-20 years
Laura	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	3	Not in paid work	11-20 years
Lesley	Single Mum	White	20s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Lesley	Single Mum	White	40s	School-age	4	Not in paid work	under 2 years

'Name'	Family Relationship	Ethnicity	Age	Resident children's ages	Number of resident children	Occupation	Length of residence in area
Liz	Mum in couple	White	30s	School-age	3	Not in paid work	21-30 years
Louise	Mum in couple	White	30s	School-age	2	P/T Drugs Worker	2-10 years
Maggie	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age	2	Sick leave	2-10 years
Marilyn	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	4	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Marissa	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	under 2 years
Maya	Married Mum	Irish	30s	School-age & pre-school	3	P/T Housing Officer	2-10 years
Meg	Mum in couple	White	20s	Pre-school	1	P/T Secretary	2-10 years
Melissa	Single Mum	Mixed Race	30s	School-age & pre-school	4	Not in paid work	11-20 years
Michelle	Single Mum	White	20s	School-age & pre-school	2	P/T cleaner	under 2 years
Millie	Single Mum	Black British	2s0	School-age & pre-school	2	P/T Youth Worker	21-30 years
Nancy	Married Mum	White	20s	Pre-school	2	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Naomi	Married Mum	White	30s	School age	2	Not in paid work	whole life
Natalie	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	F/T Civil Servant	2-10 years
Neesha	Single Mum	Pakistani	30s	School-age & pre-school	4	Not in paid work	21-30 years
Nina	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	3	Not in paid work	21-30 years
Nita	Single Mum	White	40s	School-age & pre-school	6	P/T Sure Start	2-10 years
Paulo	Mum in couple	Mixed Race	20s	School-age	1	P/T information Officer	2-10 years
Peggy	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	1	P/T Nursery Nurse	21-30 years
Petra	Single Mum	Black Caribbean	20s	School-age	2	P/T Youth Worker	11-20 years
Philippa	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	P/T Housing Adviser	31-40 years
Phoebe	Single Mum	White	40s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	11-20 years
Polly	Mum in couple	White	30s	School-age	3	Not in paid work	11-20 years
Poonam	Mum in couple	Pakistani	20s	School-age & pre-school	3	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Rachel	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	Not in paid work	11-20 years
Rani	Married Mum	Pakistani	30s	School-age	3	F/T Attendant Officer	21-30 years
Rebecca	Single Mum	Mixed Race	20s	School-age	3	Not in paid work	whole life
Rosemary	Mum in couple	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Ruth	Single Mum	White	20s	School-age	2	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Sahra	Single Mum	Somali	30s	School-age	3	F/T Care Assistant	under 2 years
Sandre	Married Mum	White	40s	School-age	2	N/r	2-10 years
Shahla	Married Mum	Pakistani	50s	Post-school & school-age	3	Not in paid work	21-30 years
Simone	Single Mum	Mixed Race	30s	School-age	1	Not in paid work	2-10 years
Sunita	Married Mum	Pakistani	20s	Pre-school	1	P/T Science Teacher	Whole life
Tricia	Single Mum	Black / African Caribbean	30s	Post-school, school-age & pre-school	3	Not in paid work	11-20 years
Wendy	Single Mum	Mixed Race	30s	Pre-school	2	Not in paid work	2-10 years

Interviewees in North: Outer Estate

'Name'	Family Relationship	Ethnicity	Age	Resident children's ages	Number of resident children	Occupation	Length of residence in area
Adel	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	Not In Paid Work	22 years
Adrienne	Married Mum	White	40s	Post-school & school-age	4	Not In Paid Work	11-20 years
Alice	Single Mum	White	20s	Pre-school	1	Not In Paid Work	All life
Amanda	Married Mum	White	20s	School-age & pre-school	2	P/T Legal Secretary	2-10 years
Amy	Single Mum	White	20s	Pre-school	1	Not In Paid Work	21-30 years
Angela	Married Mum	White	20s	School-age	5	Not In Paid Work	21-30 years
Angie	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	2	Clerical Assistant	21-30 years
Anita	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	Not In Paid Work	11-20 years
Audrey	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	P/T Nurse	31-40 years
Becky	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	Not In Paid Work	under 2 years
Bess	Mum in couple	White	50s	School-age	1	F/T Cleaner	21-30 years
Carla	Single Mum	White	20s	School-age	2	Not In Paid Work	2-10 years
Carol	Single Mum	White	40s	Post-school	1	F/T Temping	21-30 years
Carol	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	2	Not In Paid Work	10 years
Carrie	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not In Paid Work	2-10 years
Cath	Mum in couple	White	20s	School-age	3	P/T Sure Start	2-10 years
Charlotte	Single Mum	White	40s	School-age	4	P/T Nurse	11-20 years
Charlotte	Single Mum	White	20s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not In Paid Work	Whole life
Chloe	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	P/T Bank Clerk	21-30 years
Cynthia	Mum in couple	White	20s	School-age & pre-school	3	Not In Paid Work	2-10 years
Danielle	Single Mum	White	Teen	Pre-school	2	Not In Paid Work	11-20 years
Denise	Married Mum	White	30s	Pre-school	1	Office Manager	2-10 years
Enid	Grandmother	White	40s	School-age	2	P/T Lgi	31-40 years
Erica	Single Mum	Black British	40s	Post-school & school-age	3	P/T Cleaner & Bar Staff	18 months
Fiona	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	Not In Paid Work	21-30 years
Harriet	Single Mum	White	20s	School-age & pre-school	4	Not In Paid Work	11-20 years
Heather	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	Not In Paid Work	2-10 years
Helen	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	4	Not In Paid Work	21-30 years
Holly	Married Mum	White	20s	School-age & pre-school	3	P/T Sure Start	2-10 years
Holly	Single Mum	White	30s	Pre-school	1	Not In Paid Work	19 years
Jacqui	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	Not In Paid Work	11-20 years
Jasmin	Mum in couple	White	20s	Pre-school	2	Not In Paid Work	Whole life
Julie	Older Sister	White	20s	School-age	2	P/T Nursery Nurse	11-20 years
Kathleen	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	F/T Hospital Worker – Nights	31-40 years

'Name'	Family Relationship	Ethnicity	Age	Resident children's ages	Number of resident children	Occupation	Length of residence in area
Katie	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age	2	Home Care Assistant	2-10 years
Kelly	Single Mum	White	30s	Pre-school	1	Not In Paid Work	6 years
Kevin	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	2	Not In Paid Work	11-20 years
Kirsten	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	2	P/T Care Assistant	under 2 years
Lara	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	2	P/T Cleaner	whole life
Laura	Single Mum	White	20s	Pre-school	1	Not In Paid Work	2-10 years
Lauren	Single Mum	White	30s	Pre-school	1	Not In Paid Work	21-30 years
Laverne	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	5	Not In Paid Work	21-30 years
Lindsey	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age	2	P/T Sure Start	2-10 years
Lisa	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	3	P/T Special Needs Assistant	2-10 years
Liza	Single Mum	White	Teen	School-age & pre-school	2	Not In Paid Work	under 2 years
Louise	Single Mum	White	20s	School-age & pre-school	3	Not In Paid Work	11-20 years
Lucy	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	1	Not In Paid Work	under 2 years
Mandy	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age & pre-school	4	P/T Shop Assistant	2-10 years
Margaret	Single Mum	White	30s	School-age	2	Not In Paid Work	11-20 years
Nellie	Married Mum	Mixed Race	40s	School-age	2	F/T Carer	whole life
Nina	Single Mum	White	20s	Pre-school	1	Not In Paid Work	21-30 years
Olivia	Married Mum	White	20s	School-age	1	F/T Fast Food Restaurant	2-10 years
Patricia	Single Mum	White	20s	School-age	1	Not In Paid Work	2-10 years
Patsy	Single Mum	White	Teen	School-age	1	Not In Paid Work	11-20 years
Peter	Married Mum	White	40s	School-age	2	P/T Telecom Worker	2-10 years
Pippa	Single Mum	White	20s	School-age	1	Not In Paid Work	2 years
Poonam	Married Mum	Indian	30s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not In Paid Work	2-10 years
Rita	Single Mum		?	Post-school	2	Not In Paid Work	
Rosie	Single Mum	White	Teen	Pre-school	1	Not In Paid Work	under 2 years
Sadie	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	2	P/T Crèche Worker	whole life
Samantha	Married Mum	White	20s	School-age	1	P/T Sales Assistant	under 2 years
Sara	Mum in couple	White	20s	School-age	1	P/T Cleaner	11-20 years
Sharon	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	2	Not In Paid Work	21-30 years
Sheila	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	P/T Cleaner	21-30 years
Shirley	Mum in couple	White	30s	School-age	2	Not In Paid Work	2-10 years
Sonia	Married Mum	White	20s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not In Paid Work	2-10 years
Suzie	Single Mum	White	20s	School-age & pre-school	2	Not In Paid Work	2-10 years
Tanya	Single Mum	White	20s	School-age	1	F/T Sales Assistant	whole life
Tina	Married Mum	White	30s	School-age	3	P/T Care Assistant	11-20 years
Tony	Dad in couple	White	20s	Pre-school	1	Not In Paid Work	11-20 years
Tracie	Single Mum	White	20s	School-age & pre-school	3		2-10 years

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