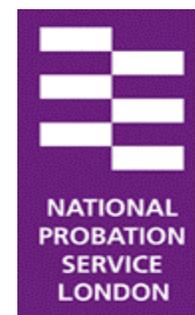


Stockwell Green Community Services and the SEED and PROSEED projects:

The response of a Muslim-led organisation in addressing
social exclusion, economic disadvantage and radicalisation

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background and overview

Stockwell Green Community Services (SGCS) are a small Muslim-led voluntary organisation based in Lambeth, South London. This is an area high on measures of multiple deprivation with a large Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) population who are over-represented in many areas of disadvantage. SGCS instigated the SEED project (Support for Employability Enhancement and Development) and its successor PROSEED (Providing Real Opportunity and Support for Employability Enhancement and Development) in recognition of the presence of high levels of economic and social exclusion, criminal behaviour and an increase in the expression of extremist ideology in the local Muslim community. The projects were largely funded by the European Regional Development Fund through the URBAN II regeneration programme which has as its focus the improvement of infrastructure and the reversal of decline in traditional economic activities in urban areas as well as the modernisation of training and promotion of employment.

The aims of SGCS were to divert those at risk of social and economic marginalisation, crime and radicalisation through the provision of educational, training and personal development opportunities. The roots of these risks were considered to include foreign policy, racism, discrimination, poor housing, a lack of employment and training opportunities and a distrust of local and national government leading to disenfranchisement and increased social isolation. The ethos behind the project included the encouragement of responsibility within the community to engage with those vulnerable of becoming dislocated from society. To achieve this, the project adopted a triangular approach incorporating the Metropolitan Police, Lambeth Borough Council and the community, with the local Mosque providing the foundation for the project, acting to lend support as well as vital religious credibility.

Evaluation

Evaluation of the project was undertaken in a number of phases; firstly looking at quantifiable outputs of the projects, and measurement of achievement against targets. This was carried out through analysis of the records at SGCS. The second phase of the evaluation aimed to illuminate understanding of why the programmes have managed to engage with the relevant individuals and organisations to attempt attitudinal and behavioural change. This was done via the method of semi-structured interviews with those involved with the project. Finally, through the development of a hypothetical model of the project's engagement with beneficiaries the aim was to offer a

theoretical perspective of how the project works to achieve its goals. The investigation was undertaken with the following research questions in mind:

- I. What are the outcomes of the SEED/PROSEED projects with respect to education and training?
- II. What are the circumstances and techniques that attempt attitudinal and behavioural change and what do these mean to those involved? and
- III. What are the processes at work in SEED/PROSEED and how may they be characterised?

Quantitative evaluation

The client group of the SEED and PROSEED projects were diverse; roughly 50% were female, and ages ranged from 10 to 50, with an average age of 25 years. Beneficiaries were drawn from 13 ethnicities, with four continents represented in the project's activities, and those from BME groups making up 98% of the project's participants. Beneficiaries appeared to be somewhat distanced from mainstream education with a limited number enrolled in other centres of learning.

Recruitment to SGCS was considered a two tier process; individuals were introduced to the project through various conduits, most usually through friends, the Mosque or via family members. Individuals about whom there was concern were identified by family or community members and were informally introduced to the project through Mosque elders and project leaders. The aims of the projects with respect to crime, radicalisation and social exclusion were not made explicit, instead, the facilities for self-improvement and training were emphasised. A second level of engagement was enacted through the personal development seminars. Topics considered of concern to those at risk of radicalisation were discussed, and through this medium those with the most extreme views became apparent. They would then be the focus of targeted mentoring by a peer or elder of the community who aimed to challenge their maladaptive beliefs through diversion and religious scholarship.

This personal engagement was in addition to the more formal training programmes which gave tuition in information and communication technology, business information systems and personal development amongst others. The variety of courses offered is indicative of the multi-platform process of engagement enacted by SGCS, which aimed to encourage personal responsibility with a view to attitude and behaviour change through guidance, training, advice, information and empowerment.

The ability of the project to reach and engage the interest of service users was indicated by the considerable number of beneficiaries interested in further study; with approximately 90% of respondents wishing to pursue more training. In addition, an aggregate satisfaction score generated from post-course evaluation questionnaires indicated a positive assessment, with most beneficiaries giving a rating of good or very good.

Previous evaluation of the SEED and PROSEED projects has been considered in two ways; firstly, through the funding body URBAN II and its independent assessment, and secondly through internal monitoring against established aims. The URBAN II report generated in 2005 for the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) was highly favourable about the achievements of the SEED programme stating that it had significantly achieved on its projected outputs. Internal evaluation of the PROSEED project was necessary to secure continued funding, and is measured against outputs specified at the initial funding stage. SGCS's internal evaluation also indicated that the project had surpassed initial targets on most measures.

This remit's external validation of the PROSEED project confirmed these assessments, with the project seen to have exceeded initial targets with respect to training delivery and those working towards qualifications. In addition, goals for referral to employment advice and routes into employment were reached, as were targets for individuals receiving personal development support.

Both the SEED and PROSEED projects overachieved on their initial targets in most areas. Hence, it may be tentatively presented that, through the projects, SGCS have exhibited an ability to reach, attract and engage with those most at risk of progressing towards extremist views and economic inactivity. This may be considered suggestive of the ability of SGCS to enable delivery of practical tools for academic, personal and social development. In addition, this indicates the instigation and continued propagation of a site for direct engagement with those at risk of crime and radicalisation.

Qualitative evaluation

This aspect of the assessment is based on semi-structured interviews with nine individuals determined to have in-depth knowledge of the project. These include beneficiaries, coordinators and members of the police and local authority therefore giving a wide range of perspectives to elucidate the processes at work. Through thematic analysis of the interviews five themes emerged which together serve to give a deeper understanding of the factors thought to be influential in the project's operation.

Need

Two related aspects of need were discussed; those of disadvantage and disenfranchisement leading to an increased susceptibility to crime, radicalisation and social exclusion. Issues of poor social provision combined with the experience of prejudice related to ethnicity and religion were influential in a sense of disconnectedness from wider society. This disenfranchisement was a bidirectional process of isolation and distrust influenced by the events of 9/11 and 7/7 and the associated War on Terror. These features created an environment of vulnerability, where the dual pressures of disadvantage and disenfranchisement increased opportunities for the movement toward crime and extremism.

Platform

The SEED and PROSEED projects and their aims were practically facilitated in two ways. Firstly through the provision of an iteratively constructed practical infrastructure crucially influenced by proactive leadership and built on the foundation provided by Stockwell Mosque. Secondly, via the creation of a platform of engagement upon which members of the authorities and the Muslim community could interact, the project built trust and crystallised the roles, rights and responsibilities of all parties in addressing the issues facing the community.

Belonging

The theme of belonging had two facets, those of community appropriateness and inclusivity. The project was deliberately organised around the practical, cultural and religious needs of the beneficiaries, an appreciation of which stemmed from its origins in the local community. The effect of this was to build social capital and trust in the project through which attitude change was operationalised via the conferral of authentic Islamic teaching. Inclusivity was fostered through personal engagement with the beneficiaries by those of a similar background acting as role models and change agents allowing the open challenging of maladaptive attitudes. This took place in a community context contributing to the development of inclusion into wider social systems.

Multi-dimensional capacity building

The building of capacity took place at all levels of the project's operation, encompassing the Muslim community, the organisation and the individual. Initially, the coordinators proactively enhanced the skills-base of the personnel enabling more effective delivery of the projects. This was done alongside the development of community capacity, which has been identified as important in addressing issues of anti-social behaviour and social exclusion. Personal development of the beneficiaries was approached from multiple angles including enhancing skills,

civic responsibility and the ability to deal with personal problems, alongside practical support aiming to divert those at risk away from crime and extremism.

Empowerment

This was enacted via two routes, firstly through horizon broadening and a focus on aspirations, and secondly through empowering the beneficiaries by fostering self-respect in a positive person-centric environment. The role of ambition as a means of developing positive goal directed behaviour was emphasised alongside the provision of novel experiences leading to change. Self-respect and self-esteem were encouraged through the conferral of skills and a focus on respect and empowerment, such that the individual was enabled to address challenges themselves within a supportive, inclusive environment.

These hypothesised processes clearly require empirical validation however comparisons are present with a number of positively appraised methods. Strong similarities are extant between those at SGCS and Communities that Care, engagement mentoring, successful youth development programmes and multi-problem approach interventions. This lends support to the techniques utilised by the SEED and PROSEED projects and optimism that they may have positive outcomes in line with their aims and the potential for transference across contexts.

Model

In order to conceptualise the ways in which beneficiaries engage with the SEED and PROSEED projects, a psychological model of individual processes within group membership was applied to the project. This was adapted from an extant model of group socialisation (Moreland and Levine, 1982) and is a hypothetical representation of the route of change the project attempts. It should be noted that this model would require empirical testing validation to assess the degree of support and hence, confidence that could be placed in the proposed concepts. Such an empirical test of the model was not possible using the data available to this study.

The model consists of transition through five stages of group membership and is represented in Figure 1; it incorporates investigation, socialisation, maintenance, resocialisation and remembrance. These are segmented into stages of engagement. The process begins with a pre-engagement phase consisting of the consolidation of personnel, infrastructure and the practical offer the project will need in order to attract beneficiaries and encourage involvement. Following this, the engagement stage comprises the enactment of routes to practical, personal and ideological development. This is carried out in a positive, person-centric environment which

focuses on ambition, aspiration and personal enhancement as a way of affecting attitudinal and behavioural change.

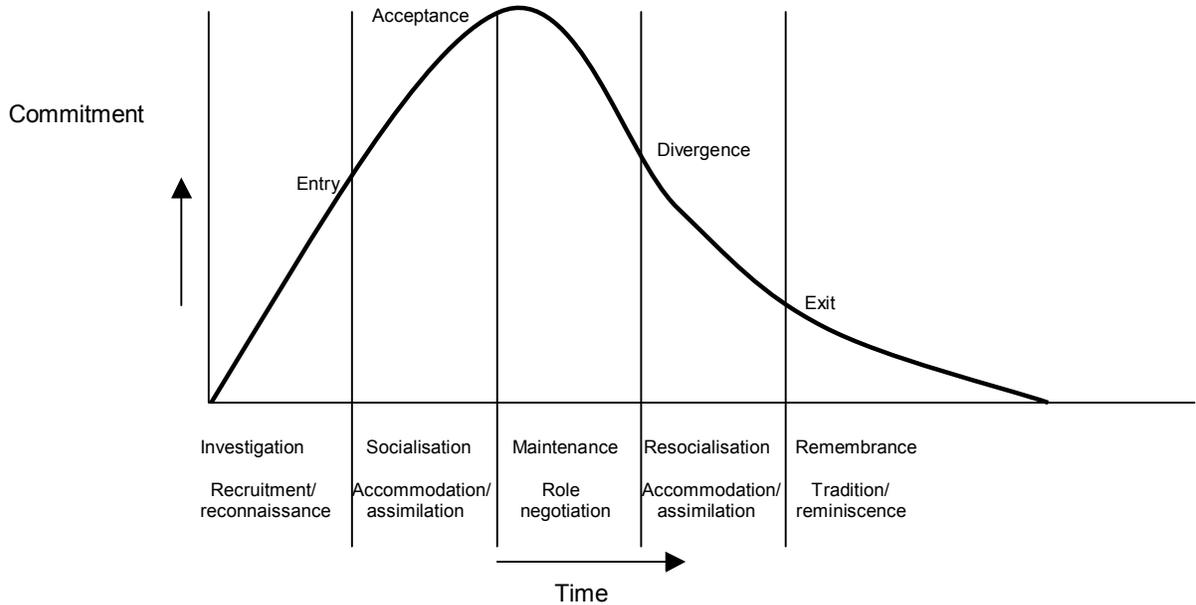


Figure 1: Model of group socialisation showing five stages of group membership: adapted from Moreland and Levine (1982)

It is proposed that these techniques act via a process of socialisation that firstly inculcates an increasingly adaptive social identity that then moves the individual towards a more positive relationship with society. This is conceptualised as the adoption of a role of positive citizenship, encompassing progressively prototypical social and economic engagement with society. In the post-engagement phase, if the programme is successful, there is continuing low-level contact between the individual and the project. This is assumed to encourage the further development of a positive social identity and provide support to facilitate social and economic inclusion.

Conclusions

The conclusions drawn from the research revolve around the importance of multi-method engagement with those at risk of social exclusion, and the position of Muslim-led community groups to enact this process. They can be summarised as follows:

- Muslim-led groups such as SGCS are well-placed to deliver services to disadvantaged communities as a consequence of their understanding of appropriate routes to engagement.

- Although there are people outside the Muslim community who could effectively deliver diversionary programmes, partnership work with those from the relevant community context would significantly aid in successful project delivery through the conferral of additional cultural and religious understanding, credibility and trust.
- The utilisation of the human resources within the local community should be supplemented with the inclusion of external expertise. Facilitated through partnership work, this should include systematic selection criteria for facilitator recruitment to ensure appropriately skilled individuals are employed.
- The gaps that exist between Muslim communities and the authorities can be positively bridged through empowered community oriented organisations. The success of this partnership work is dependent upon an acceptance of the rights and responsibilities of all actors.
- The techniques applied by SGCS have the potential to be usefully employed in alternative contexts. Developed for use with those at risk of crime, radicalisation and social exclusion, these methods may also be utilised with individuals actively involved with crime from similar cultural and religious backgrounds. This should be supported by robust evaluation to assess the outcome of this transference.
- Considerable levels of disadvantage and disenfranchisement exist in Muslim communities. The relationship of this position of social marginalisation to maladaptive outcomes in the form of crime, radicalisation, and social and economic exclusion, was supported through the research. The inter-connected nature of these issues indicates that a long-term holistic approach is necessary to address these problems.
- Capacity building within Muslim communities should be a priority, both as an aim in itself, and as a route to addressing the issue of those at risk of adopting maladaptive attitudes and behaviour.
- A multi-faceted solution to the compound issues facing the Muslim communities is necessary to address issues of personal and community capacity and religious understanding. This can be aided by the recognition of the interaction between hard and soft outcomes (for example, between skill development and increased self-esteem), and deployed to engage with those at risk of social exclusion.
- Islamic teaching, and challenges to pre-existing ideas of participants are important in responding to the potential exploitation of those with an impoverished understanding of religious ideology.
- Intervention aiming to engage with the issues facing the Muslim community should remain flexible and imaginative in nature. Therefore, robust and equitable processes of community consultation are vital to inform and inspire programme development, and ensure the provision of relevant and attractive programmes. Any such consultation

should take into account both different Muslim contexts and gender issues that could be subsumed within them.

- The concept of group socialisation and the development of a positive social identity through the adoption of a role of citizenship, and the movement away from maladaptive social identities, are useful methods of conceiving the mechanics of attitudinal and behavioural change at work in the SEED and PROSEED projects.

Recommendations

The recommendations that stem from the research and outlined conclusions are two-tiered, firstly consisting of suggestions aimed specifically at the SEED and PROSEED projects, and secondly, outlining broader recommendations considering scope for future directions. All of these may be considered valid for comparable organisations. They are as follows:

Specific recommendations

Partnership

Further partnership work should be encouraged between the authorities and Muslim-led projects in order to enhance networks of support and develop methods of best practice in engaging those at risk in Muslim communities. This may in turn facilitate the transfer of techniques to alternative contexts.

Transferring knowledge

The experience developed through the SEED and PROSEED projects could be utilised by their coordinators to provide advice and support to those wishing to undertake similar initiatives elsewhere. A useful site for this is in the criminal justice system where engagement with offenders from a similar cultural and religious context could be informed by the knowledge developed by SGCS. In the medium term, SGCS may want to consider engaging in Knowledge Transfer Partnerships to facilitate such advice and transfer of skills.

Connections

The network of contacts developed by those at SGCS is a valuable resource which should be utilised. Suggestions for its application are to continue building relationships between organisations in the area; to advocate for Muslim and disenfranchised communities; to assist in the development of further measures to address social exclusion; and to facilitate the development of an increased network of individuals and groups aiming to enhance community capacity in the local area and beyond, with a view to bridging the gaps between Muslim communities and the authorities.

Wider application

The transfer of the techniques utilised by SGCS to alternative contexts is considered one worthy of further investigation. A particularly consequential site for this is in the criminal justice system. Offenders who hold maladaptive views related to radical ideology may be considered broadly comparable to some of those engaged with by the SEED and PROSEED projects. Hence, adaptation of these methods in this context is considered a promising avenue for further work.

Multi-faceted approach

The multidimensional nature of the disadvantage experienced by those in Muslim communities requires the application of a broad palette of interventions, including personal and practical development, underpinned by authentic Islamic teaching. Work in this area should be of a long-term, holistic nature with particular focus on capacity building within the communities to allow them to proactively engage with problems in a supportive context.

Inclusion

The dynamic and complex nature of Muslim, and other disadvantaged communities, means that in order to correctly assess need and appropriate service delivery, systematic processes of inclusion and consultation should be carried out with all potential stakeholders. This is considered important for those from outside the community who may not appreciate particular aspects of disadvantage due to their external position. It is equally important for those within the communities' precincts to ensure equitable inclusion of all constituent members' needs, and the continued expansion of this inclusive ethos.

Continued reflexivity

The current approach of reflexive and imaginative engagement with the client groups should be maintained to ensure its continued community-focus and ongoing relevance to the different potential beneficiaries and past service users.

Evaluation

Evaluation should be at the heart of any further work to ensure effective programme delivery and to aid in the conferral of further support. This should include self-evaluation by beneficiaries through validated questionnaires; internal evaluation by the project against specified aims; and periodic external evaluation.

Broad recommendations

Transparency

The interlinked nature of the relationships between organisations and individuals in the local community and within the different components of SGCS and associated organisations confer many benefits. The overlaps in staffing, board memberships and volunteers should be made clear and transparent. This will act to confer increased credibility to the organisation in the eyes of those in a position to provide support and aid in audit trails and subsequent evaluation.

Ongoing development

Following programme completion, considerable attention should be given to the movement of beneficiaries into paid or voluntary work. This may be enacted through the development of further links with local businesses, concomitantly building community support and social capital.

Further reach

The position of organisations such as SGCS, in the broader Muslim community is one which may facilitate the attempt to engage with advocates of extremist ideology, as well as those at risk of radicalisation as was the case in SEED and PROSEED. A hoped for outcome of this would be the diversion of those who espouse violent radical ideology, and move away from involvement with violent extremism, also in the building of trust between increasingly polarised Muslim and non-Muslim communities.

Future directions

The transferability of the techniques applied in the SEED and PROSEED projects are explored in a brief exposition of methods of practical implementation applicable to alternative contexts. This is addressed through the various stages of the hypothesised model, with consideration given to the implications of different service delivery agents, resources and relationship to the community it aims to engage with.

Whilst, in theory, broadly similar techniques may be used by groups both external to, and originating within a particular Muslim community, those coming from outside would have the challenge of developing trust and credibility with service users. Whereas, Muslim community groups may have greater concerns developing the physical infrastructure needed to deliver the service. Therefore, partnership work would appear to confer the benefits of both elements, with the advantage of increased knowledge and information transfer between groups.

INTRODUCTION

The core values of the SEED/PROSEED project matches many that are high on political and public agendas. Issues of culture, discrimination, community, religion, education, extreme radical thought and terrorism operate on a global stage. Yet their effects are felt at the domestic, local level as well as internationally. Fundamental to the debate are perceived, and espoused differences. There are differences in individual histories, cultural experiences and the narratives that surround them. These ultimately influence differences of treatment, response, privileges and rights. As such, this difference has begun to be recognised and engaged with in the public sphere (Modood, 2006).

The lived experience of those young Muslims who have been involved in the SEED/PROSEED project are intimately associated with the effects of such factors. Before an overview of the project itself is given, we thus feel it necessary to set it in its community context. This will include a brief overview of Muslim experiences, including some consideration of the historical context of Muslims in the United Kingdom, the effects of immigration, the social and economic position of Muslims and the impact of the recent wave of 'Islamic terrorism'. Issues of Muslim identity will then be discussed as will the issue of radicalisation, its relationship with crime, and education and intervention projects.

The first measure of self-reported religious affiliation was taken in the 2001, British Census (Modood, 2006). Although the reach of the census is limited and it is probable that not all members of the United Kingdom population were included (Brown, 2000), the number of Muslims in Britain was stated to be 1.6 million (ONS, 2004). This umbrella figure, hides a wealth of diversity (Peach, 2005) and an increasingly complex relationship between adherence to Islam, race, nationality, gender and ethnicity (Geaves, 2005). The concept of a homogenous Muslim population denies the varied and complex nature of Islam and its adherents (Vertovec, 1997) yet, it has been argued that there is sufficient evidence to consider British Muslims a single religious community (Siddique Seddon, 2004).

The recognition of religion as grounds for identity definition and subsequent protection under the law has been one of considerable political and legal debate (Anwar, 2005). Legislation allowing defence of a claim of discrimination on the grounds of religion in the workplace is very recent (Madood, 2006) and engendered considerable debate (Malik, N. 2004). Prior to this, defence against discrimination was available on the grounds of race (Madood, 2006), but not religion (Allen, 2005). The movement towards protection against religious discrimination has been described as part of a continuum, from the descriptor of 'colour' in the 1950's and 60's, to race,

then ethnicity in the 1990's and most recently religion (Peach, 2005). All of which may mask the complexity of individual identities and the divisions along ethnic, intra-state and religious grounds (Kepel, 1995). The common conflation of ethnicity and religion is seldom more keenly felt than in the Muslim community, and with increasing diversity of the British population, the ramifications are likely to come increasingly to the fore.

The Muslim community includes people from a wide variety of ethnicities, with 60% being British-born Muslims (Siddique Seddon, 2004). A significant part of the Muslim community comprises first generation migrants drawn from a rich and diverse geographic and cultural arena. The majority of those in the United Kingdom are historically drawn from South Asia, in particular Pakistan and Bangladesh, and make up 1 million of the Muslims in Britain (ONS, 2004). This group have perhaps most recently been identified by religion rather than race (Allen, 2005) and have been framed as outside, or alien to ostensible notions of the 'British way of life' (Barker, 1981).

Whilst immigration of Muslim people to Britain has a long history (Siddique Seddon, 2004), events in the 1960's and 1970's led to a significant rise in numbers (Kepel, 1995). Commonwealth citizens originating in South Asia, predominantly single men, came to Britain to work, facilitated by the shortage of labour (Khan, 1979). The majority of those immigrating to Britain were drawn from poorer rural areas of the Punjab and Azad Kashmir in Pakistan and the Sylhet region of what is now Bangladesh (Peach, 2005). Work was available in predominantly manual roles situated in the industrial centres of Bradford, Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester (Siddique Seddon, 2004). Thus communities built up around these areas, generally in socio-economically depressed zones of the cities (Anwar, 1979) with the process described as 'settlement by tiptoe' (Lewis, 1992). These individuals were 'ethniced' and framed as oppositional to a capitalist culture of accumulation (Abbas, 2005) and were largely socially immobile (Castles and Kosack, 1973).

With the arrival of the men's dependents, religious, cultural and educational issues became increasingly pertinent, and the community became less transitory (Abbas, 2005). This raised a number of issues, in particular the requirement for places of worship (Geaves, 2005), religious education for their children and provision of culturally appropriate food (Neilson, 1992) amongst others (Vertovec, 1997). Thus there was the inception and development of cultural centres and concomitant growth of communities aided by organisations such as the Bradford Council of Mosques (Lewis, 1997). This has been described as a two stage process of community formation, where an initial tendency to overlook differences in origin and come together as a diverse community, evolved into segregation along regional, caste, or sectarian origins as numbers grew (Dahya, 1974).

There are considerable differences between this 'old' migration paradigm and 'new' immigrants who have come to Europe since the 1980's, not least because of globalisation, and the increasing sophistication of communication and transport networks (Triandafyllidou, Madood and Zapata-Barrero, 2006). This new generation of migrants can be characterised by their variety, and include political refugees from Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as successful business people from, amongst other areas, Arab states (Madood, 2006).

Immigration can have profound effects at both a societal and individual level (Berry, 2001). Described as acculturation (Powell, 1880, cited in Rudmin, 2003) this is a complex, multifaceted process (Rudmin, 2003). It has been defined as "the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members" (Berry, 2005:698) and is both an individual and group level process (Simoes & Binder, 1980).

Berry (2001) presents a widely accepted (Tadmor & Tetlok, 2006) framework for considering the acculturation process that testifies to the involvement of two orthogonal dimensions, firstly the degree of maintenance of the heritage culture and identity and secondly, the extent of, and desire for intercultural contact. For the acculturating individual, dynamics between these two factors result in an internalised acculturative strategy. There are four possible modes of acculturation - integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation. Integration is evidenced in an interest in maintaining one's own culture and active participation in the new cultural sphere. Assimilation is typified by a rejection of the home culture and an immersion in the adopted culture, separation on the other hand is defined by maintenance of the culture of origin and very limited contact with the host culture. Marginalisation involves the disregard of both the new and old cultures.

There has been little research into the acculturation strategies of British Muslims (Robinson, 2005). However, it has been presented that young South Asian Muslims prefer a strategy of integration, whereas it has been found that most first generation Indian and Pakistanis define their identity by their country of origin, as opposed to 43% of the younger generation who describe themselves as British (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane, 1990). The bicultural and bilingual reality of many young Muslims in the United Kingdom indicates a rejection of assimilation, marginalisation and separation acculturation approaches, with the adoption of dual or hyphenated identities such as British-Pakistani-Muslim illustrating an integrationist attitude (Ghuman, 1999). It appears that there is thus a movement through the generations from a strategy of separation (Anwar, 1998) to that of assimilation (Robinson, 2005). It has been argued however that this is

made more difficult by the experience of prejudice which raises questions as to the degree of belonging felt by young Asian Muslims (Ghuman, 2003).

Britain has historically pursued a policy of multiculturalism based on an ethos of liberal citizenship (Triandafyllidou, Madoo and Zapata-Barrero, 2006), which can be broadly compared to an integration centred approach, where individuals and communities maintain cultural integrity whilst actively operating within the wider cultural sphere. This grew from a rejection of the experience of European fascism and its discourse of racial exclusion (Hussain, 2004). Its early and still applicable definition is that of “a flattening process of uniformity, but cultural diversity, coupled with equal opportunity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance” (Jenkins, 1967, cited in Hussain, 2004:91). However, more recently, the calls for assimilation have increased (Geaves, 2005). This is the policy pursued in France which has adopted an assimilationist stance where the acceptance of cultural norms and the avoidance of difference is promoted (Hussain, 2004).

There has been a growing awareness of the experience of Muslims within Britain in recent years (Abbas, 2006) which has centred upon socio-economic status, unemployment and educational achievement as well as discrimination and Islamophobia. These have been exacerbated by the events of September 11th 2001 and the subsequent War on Terror. The combined impact of which has been argued to have led to disillusion within the Muslim community and a sense of threat from the ‘West’ (Modood, 2006). “The social construction of Islam in Britain, therefore, is a function of the historical, the local and the global” (Abbas, 2005:16).

Socio-economically, British Muslims are considerably disadvantaged, with those of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin the most economically marginal minority ethnic group in Britain (Peach, 2005). The number of those living in inadequate housing is disproportionately high and is strongly correlated to high levels of unemployment found within the community (Anwar, 2005). This is alongside a growing level of over-representation of Muslims in the criminal justice system (Spalek, 2002). A combination of factors have been evinced to explain this situation, primary amongst which are issues surrounding discrimination (Anwar, 2005), in particular, inequality of opportunity with respect to education and employment (Modood, et al., 1997). Further factors posited are cultural in origin. The position of women as home-makers rather than being economically active in the workplace has been said to result in disproportionately low employment levels in the community as a whole, in comparison to other religious groups (Ballard, 1990; Malik, N. 2004). Also, social housing provision does not easily accommodate the larger, multigenerational families found in the Muslim population (Peach, 2005), resulting in overcrowding (Anwar, 2005). Links between this and poor health have also been found, and exacerbated by a lack of culturally appropriate health-care (Dhami and Sheikh, 2000).

Islamophobia has been described as “a new word for an old fear” (Stone, 2004:7) and is broadly defined as anti-Muslim prejudice characterised by exclusion, discrimination, prejudice and violence (Runnymede Trust, 1997). This is argued to be a response to a stereotyped, xenophobic view of Islam as a monolithic culture which is substantially different, implacably threatening and uses its religiosity to political advantage. This is combined with racist notions surrounding immigration and a rejection of criticism of the West, all of which becomes normalised and presented as unproblematic, even culturally acceptable (Runnymede Trust, 1997). This has contributed to the creation of a marginalised Muslim or ‘oriental other’ (Said, 1985) the perception of which is said to be of a barbaric, intolerant zealot with terroristic tendencies (Esposito, 1999).

Reports into the effects and experiences of Muslims in Britain have concluded that there is widespread discrimination on religious grounds in areas as diverse as education, employment, criminal justice, housing, public transport, in the media and political groups (Heppel and Choudray, 2001; Weller, Feldman and Purdam, 2001). In response, the Muslim community has asked for equality under the law and a number of changes to policy (Modood, 2006). These can be broadly characterised as demands for even-handedness amongst religions, including state funding for religious schools and the widening of blasphemy laws; and for the positive inclusion of religious groups such that social institutions may be judged by the inclusivity of Muslims (Modood, 2006).

The situation of British Muslims has become increasingly complex and polarised by the terrorist attacks of September 11th (Ansari, 2005), and July 7th, 2005, the impacts of which have been widely felt and diversely manifested. These may be broken down into wider societal consequences, community level experience and individual encounters with the corollaries of the War on Terror. On the broader national and international stage, the reaction of America and its allies, in particular Britain, is seen in the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan and has been constructed in terms of a mission to “rid the world of evil” (Bush; cited in Merskin, 2004:158). This rhetoric has been argued to construct a negative characterisation of the opponent that encompassed and generalised to all Muslims (Merskin, 2004). This has been interpreted by some as an attack on Islam (Abbas, 2005) and is arguably facilitated by inflammatory language utilised by the media (Ahmed and Donnan, 2004) whose concentration on extremism has resulted in the false belief that Islam condones violence (Ansari, 2005; Triandafyllidou, Madood and Zapata-Barrero, 2006). The combined effect of this serves to stereotype Muslims as “monstrous others” (Allen, 2005:50) who are alternatively terrorists or Muslim apologists (Sardar, 2002). The domain of international politics has also been presented as irrevocably changed following the events of

September 11th, with political alliances, motivations and actions active under the influence of an over-arching discourse of terrorism (Ikenberry, 2002).

At the group level, increasing perceptions of threat have been posited, where the Muslim community is described as stigmatised and segregated from wider society (Anwar, 2005). This situation was extant before Al-Qaeda's actions in 2001, and was evidenced in the rise of groups such as the British National Party and the responses of some segments of the younger Muslim community; specifically the riots in Burnley, Leeds and Oldham in 2001. These were described as an interaction between perceptions of overt threat from those opposed to the Muslim community on the grounds of ethnicity and religion, and some elements of the younger Muslim generation (McRoy, 2006). This may be interpreted as an interactive process of threat perception and intolerance, where the presence of a threat to group identity results in a heightened sense of group solidarity and a turning to the community for support (Janis, 1968; Branscombe, Wann, Noel and Coleman, 1993, Anwar, 2005). The result of this can be isolation as a consequence of a defensive strategy situated in the historical context of colonialism, and proximal threat from violence (Geaves, 2005). Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) has been usefully applied to the subject of intergroup conflict, a précis of which is that "individuals define themselves to a large extent in terms of their social group memberships and tend to seek a positive social identity" (Hewstone and Greenland, 2000:137). Intergroup discrimination can be the result, with the theory especially useful for aiding understanding of the behaviour of those who feel their identity is threatened (Rogers et al., 2007). Further societal corollaries of al-Qaeda's actions and the related War on Terror are present in the negative impact on community relations (House of Commons, 2005) and an increase in hate crime (Birt, 2006; Kaplan, 2006).

The experience of the wider group critically affects aspects of individual level psychological functioning (Giddens, 2001). Cultural difference is the locus of a number of stress factors (Hormuth, 1990) and there are numerous disadvantages facing immigrants and their families in the dominant culture. In addition to the experiential aspect of being tangibly different, there are potentially negative emotional and cognitive impediments (Lalonde & Cameron, 1993). One outcome is the effect on mental health; this is deemed deleterious, and in first generation migrants is termed acculturative stress, which manifests as a deterioration of psychological, somatic and social aspects of well-being (Berry, et al., 1987). One aspect of this can be the negative impact upon identity (Geaves, 2005), and may be considered to translate through generations. In the acculturative process, there are a number of questions migrants may ask themselves, centring on that aspect of identity pertinent to cultural heritage, where the individual may ask 'who am I', 'where do I belong?' (Gleason, 1983; Giddens, 1991) and 'how do members of my group relate to other groups?'. A posited explanation of this is that with inter-societal

mobility comes the necessity to choose between conflicting cultural norms in order to preserve identity (Camilleri & Malewska-Peyne 1997; Lalonde, Taylor & Moghaddam, 1992) and prevent identity conflict (Baumeister, 1986). The negotiation of this process of identity adaptation or change is threatening (Leibkind, 1986), and can result in identity confusion (Berry, et al., 1987). As the home environment is a source of continuity and identity, the conflict between it and the wider society may cause a destabilisation of identity (Baumeister, 1986). This may be considered particularly pertinent where the negotiation of identity occurs between two very different cultures (Geaves, 2005). The significant contrasts between Britain as an individualist, democratic and secular society and the historical culture of many British Muslims (Hussain, 2004), highlights the problems of implicit assumptions surrounding universal values (Lyon, 2005). The effects of migration and related experiences of cultural difference on identity can be précised by stating that the “impact of cultural transition appears to affect all facets of self” leading to “significant reconstructions of both personal and social identities” (Horenczyk, 1996:241).

This may be particularly pertinent among the young. Fifty-two percent of British Muslims are under 25, compared to a national average of 25% (ONS, 2004) making the effects of processes of identity negotiation more pronounced. Additionally, there is what is described as a ‘culture gap’ (Hussain, 2004), where understanding between generations is affected by the fact that 90% of ethnic minority children under 16 are born in Britain, and 90% of those over 30 are born overseas (Modood, 1997). The effects of this may be considered most significant in those from the second and third generations (Abbas, 2005), where multiple identities are in operation (Lewis, 1992), in particular in teenagers, as this is the time of most active identity construction (Waterman, 1985).

However, it has been argued that young British Muslims are generally successful in negotiating these varying aspects of self (Siddique Seddon, 2004) with the development of hyphenated identities as part of this process, and generalisation about an ‘identity crisis’ is overstated (Hussain, 2004). Additionally, it has been argued that identities may operate on different levels, such that a person may hold a religious identity and a nationalistic one which are not necessarily in conflict (Hussain, 2004).

A stronger identification with religion rather than ethnicity has been suggested as one corollary of identity negotiation (Gilliat-Ray, 1998) and may be a consequence of the interwoven character of some ethnic and religious identities (Barton, 1986, cited in Siddique Seddon, 2004). Identity has been described as “an individual differentiating phenomena ... the (self) definition of a person or group, in relation to others” (Hussain, 2004:84) with the emergence of an explicitly Muslim identity having been posited (Kepel, 2000). This is said to be crucially influenced by, and influential upon negative experiences of discrimination (Vertovec and Rogers, 1995; Anwar, 2005) and economic

and social exclusion in wider society (Munoz, 1999) with the assertion of minority identity, a characteristic of recent times (Modood, 2006). Defining identity by religion can therefore be said to provide a framework for resistance where feelings of powerlessness and disenfranchisement emerge (Poston, 1991). Circumstances like the Rushdie affair and injustices enacted upon a global stage, such as the conflicts in the Gulf and Middle East were engaged with on religious, rather than ethnically orientated bases (Geaves, 2005) and contributed to a growing sense of global Muslim solidarity (Modood, 2006). However, consideration of the relationship between Muslim identity, British citizenship and Muslim communities, should be approached with an appreciation of the sometimes partial and simplistic interpretation of the complex, diverse and situational aspects of identity (Geaves, 2005).

The wider context in which this identity negotiation takes place has been presented as relevant to the development of 'radical' views and an oppositional stance whereby some young British Muslims explicitly reject British values (Geaves, 2005). This has been described as a 'return to Islam' and is argued to offer young British Muslims an alternative ideology combining a sense of faith solidarity and political action against a negative hegemony (Akhtar, 2005) which is felt to have put its interests before that of Muslims (Abaas, 2006). This has been exacerbated by groups such as Hizb ut-Tahr, and what was al-Mahijoroun which have enabled the connection of Muslim youth and a wider group with whom to solidify their identity (Akhtar, 2005). This creates a polarity between oppressor and victim (Akhtar, 2005), arguably placed within a wider context of the battle between good and evil and given a framework within a familiar discourse of resistance (Geaves, 2005).

This phenomenon or, 'radicalisation' of some young Muslims is one of considerable media and public attention (Bux, 2007) any definition of which should note the difference between essentially unproblematic radical thought and its extremist form exhibited through violence. Extremism has been explained as the antithesis of democracy; and radicalisation as the desire for significant societal change as a consequence of belief internalisation (Slootman and Tillie, 2006). These convictions are that Islam is under threat, and is being marginalised as a result of the actions of political entities which should therefore be distrusted and removed, thus making way for the restoration of the fundamentals of the true religion based on a literal interpretation of the Qur'an. This assumes that Islam is the superior religion and should form the basis of society and that true believers have a duty to initiate this change, and religious leaders who do not do so are considered traitors (Slootman and Tillie, 2006). The development and acceptance of extreme ideology in the individual may be approached from two perspectives; consideration may be given to why it happens and alternatively, focus may be given to how it happens, these will be addressed in turn.

The motivation behind those who are attracted to a radical interpretation of Islam has been said to have a number of roots, some of which have already been discussed. These casual explanations are predominantly located in near history and include a series of events which have impacted on the global and national Muslim community (McRoy, 2006). A key outcome of this is the experience of symbolic exclusion to which a religious response is seen as active resistance (Akhtar, 2005). This operates in tandem with a sense of powerlessness as a result of a lack of legitimate political representation (McRoy, 2006). This is considered to be informed by the media promulgating a view of Muslims as dangerous (Lawrence, 1998) which acts to create an arena of insecurity and alienation (Rizvi, 2007). The result of this may be seen as an escalating sense of social isolation, and follows a series of what have been described as crises experienced by Muslims both locally and internationally. These include the Satanic Verses affair, foreign policy actions, Islamophobia, social exclusion (McRoy, 2006) and most recently the events of 7/7 which are said to have had a highly negative impact on social cohesion (Bagguley and Hussain, 2007). Arguably this is exacerbated by recent and increasing 'anti-terror' legislation (Modood, 2006) which serves to enhance the feeling of disenfranchisement by British Muslims. Alongside this it has been said there is a lack of leadership from within the Muslim community, some of the elders within which have been described as poorly equipped to deal with those at risk of being radicalised (Abbas, 2006), possibly best illustrated by the finding that out of 100 Mosques contacted following 7/7/05, none reported taking steps to act against extremism in their precincts (McRoy, 2006).

These elements may be considered to operate alongside the inequality and socio-economic disadvantage experienced by those from BME groups generally, and Muslims in particular (Slootman and Tillie, 2006), as relative deprivation has been described as an important factor in the route to terrorism (Atran, 2004; Sageman, 2004). Wider socio-economic and geo-political issues may also be pertinent, as the identification of those who hold extremist views with those disenfranchised within the global community may impact upon motivation (Arena and Arrigo, 2005). Perceptions of wrongdoing against the group can act to crystallise an image of victimisation and threat which encourages violence in response to the unacceptable alternative of further persecution and continuing disadvantage (Arena and Arrigo, 2005). The process of radicalisation has thus been described as a result of the perceived illegitimacy of the political order and an increasing isolation from society, related to local, national and international events which "conspire to compound the aspirations, expectations, attitudes and perceptions of already disenfranchised groups" (Abbas, 2007a:109).

Aspects of these theories have been borne out quantitatively when unaffiliated Muslims and members of Al-Muhajiroun were compared. Several factors emerged as important in the radicalisation process including the experience of discrimination, and a considerable sense of blocked social mobility and decreased life satisfaction. In addition, members of Al-Muhajiroun had significantly less confidence in the British political system. They were also not particularly religious prior to joining and hence did not have a sound knowledge of the Islamic faith which arguably leaves them in a weaker position to critically appraise the information presented (Wiktorowicz, 2005).

The phenomenon of homegrown radicalisation and terrorism itself is not new (Beutel, 2007) and has the potential to be a rapid progression to action (EUROPOL, 2007) yet investigation into the emergence of radicalisation in Muslims in Britain is just beginning, and is rife with controversy (Harris, 2002). However, a number of points can be made with respect to those likely to be susceptible to this form of indoctrination. The demography of those most at risk has been described as men between adolescence and young adulthood, who are part of disenfranchised, often disadvantaged minority groups (Choudury, 2007; Hoffman, 2007). This age range is considered to be the most definitive characteristic of radicalised Muslims in the West, who are thought to be almost exclusively between 14 and 25 years of age (Bujis, Demant and Hamdi, 2006, cited in Slotman and Tillie, 2006). Whilst radicalisation is most often associated with those whose family originate in Muslim countries, there have been several instances where this has not been the case (for example Richard Reid), consequently the complexity of relationships between ethnicity and the susceptibility to adopt extremist views must always be considered (Spalek and Lambert, 2007).

Whilst cognisant of the embryonic nature of systematic knowledge about those who hold extremist views, a number of parallels may be drawn between those at risk of delinquency and crime, and those potentially susceptible to radicalisation. The age when most crime is commissioned is comparable to that discussed in relation to potentially violent extremists (Silke, 2008), similarly the majority of offenders are male, the gender found to be most associated with radical recruits (Bakker, 2006). In addition, an arena of disadvantage, social exclusion and discrimination has been implied as informative in both behaviours (Silke, 2008), as has the relationship between failure and criminogenic action, although causality cannot be implied (Farrington et al., 2006; Ferrero, 2005).

With respect to initiatives to address the issue of radicalisation, the similarities between crime and extremism may allow for the extrapolation from extant interventions with young offenders to work with those at risk of, or already indoctrinated into maladaptive radical thought. The importance of

the community in addressing issues of delinquency and crime has been asserted (Hope, 1995) and is exemplified in projects such as Communities that Care (Hawkins and Catalano, 1992) which along with other youth development initiatives aim to divert those at risk of crime and social exclusion toward more adaptive behaviours (Roberts, 2002). Further along this continuum is that of working with those who have broken the law and are in the community. Within the UK criminal justice system, this role is most commonly carried out through the Probation Service, the importance of which is increasing as the proportion of disposals to the community as opposed to diversion to prison is rising (Solomon and Rutherford, 2007).

Whilst the place of the Muslim community in the movement to tackle radicalisation and extremism is still being debated (Spalek and Lambert, 2007), the utility of cross-organisational relationships, in particular between the public and private sectors has been evinced when dealing with those who have, or are at risk of, transgressing the law (Beutel, 2007). This is seen in the 'de-radicalisation' methodologies adopted by some police forces, where Imams are brought in to address the ideological aspect of offending behaviour (Blick, Choudhury and Weir, 2006). The UK government has taken the stance that Muslim communities are central to this initiative and have been identified as the ideal delivery agent for change (Reid, 2006). The route of change has been recommended to include education, engaging with young people and Muslim women, and the development of Mosques as community resource hubs as well as the empowering of Imam's to engage effectively with the community on the issue of extremism (Home Office, 2005). An interweaving of various aims may thus be conceptualised through education and training initiatives. The considerable levels of deprivation found in the Muslim community may be addressed through these techniques aiming to achieve employable individuals and to facilitate the economic development of traditionally marginalised communities. Alongside this, the aim of moving those at risk away from extremism may be facilitated, leading to greater individual and community capacity. This is the approach of Stockwell Green Community Services (SGCS), a Muslim led community based organisation which through diversionary projects aims to move those within its precincts away from worklessness, crime, radicalisation and economic disadvantage towards social inclusion, employment, skills and training.

There are very few projects dealing explicitly with these issues. The dearth of interventions is however likely to change with the recent availability of funds for dealing with extremism (Sugden, 2007). As such it is important that those projects that are addressing these issues are appraised such that good practice may be identified and disseminated. This is the aim of this research. SGCS have initiated a number of projects which aim to engage with those at risk of crime, radicalisation, worklessness, social exclusion and economic marginalisation with a view to directing them towards employment, education and social integration. This research will

investigate the outputs and processes at work in the projects to address the following research questions. Firstly, what are the practical outcomes of the project with respect to educational achievement, diversion into employment and capacity building? Secondly, how might the processes at work in the project that allow it to address the issues of crime, radicalisation and economic disadvantage be conceptualised? Finally, a hypothetical model of the proposed influences at work will be developed with a view to crystallising the outcome of the formal evaluation process. This is followed by conclusions and recommendations based on the outcomes of the research, with a final section addressing possible further applications and future directions.

SEED and PROSEED project overview

Context

Stockwell Green Community Services is based in Stockwell, an inner city area of South London in the borough of Lambeth. It is a highly diverse area: 15% describe their ethnicity as Mixed, Asian or Chinese and 33% classifying themselves as Black (ONS, 2004). This diversity is represented through the age ranges, with 123 languages spoken in the area's primary schools (Demie, Taplin and Hutter, 2007). The majority of people live in social housing (ONS, 2004) and it is one of the most densely populated London boroughs (ONS, 2005). It was also identified as in need of community capacity building and for the participation of excluded groups in social and economic activities (ERDF, 2004).

Lambeth has been identified as an area of multiple deprivation. When compared against the rest of England, it ranks high on crime and disorder, income deprivation, both generally and specifically, affecting children with widespread unemployment, poor housing and low educational attainment characteristics of the locality (Sen-Gupta and Barker, 2004).

Some of these factors have been identified by the Home Office (Home Office, 2004) as key in a potential 'terrorist career path' in particular, considerable levels of deprivation and exclusion. Support for this was found after the attempted terrorist attacks of the 21st July, 2005 in London, some of the perpetrators of which had strong links to the Stockwell and Lambeth area (BBC, 2007). The area was further associated with terrorism following the wrongful shooting in Stockwell tube station of Jean Charles de Menezes. The area may therefore be regarded as having strong links with radical Islam and extremism by the public, media and government.

Background

The SEED and PROSEED projects grew from recognition of the presence of anti-social attitudes and low levels of employment and educational achievement in some members of the Stockwell and wider Lambeth community resulting in decreased community potential with respect to economic development. These included criminal behaviour and the promulgation of extremist views, and were particularly prevalent in the community's young people. In response to this, the trustees of Stockwell Mosque (registered charity name: Aalami Majilise Tahasuzze Khatme Nubuwwat) invited a number of individuals, both from within and without the local community, to act to address the maladaptive attitudes and behaviour identified. This involved a process of relationship building between the community, the police and local authority. Several conferences were organised, addressing subjects such as the Role of Mosques in the Development of Local

Communities, and the Role of Religions in Diminishing Terrorism. These were aimed at building both cross community and cross agency support and interaction. Out of this, grew Stockwell Green Community Services (SGCS). Established in 1999, it describes itself as a Muslim-led community based voluntary organisation aimed at promoting services to young Muslims and those from Black and Minority Ethnic (BME)¹ groups.

Through engagement with the local people and consultation amongst community leaders, the importance of education in diverting those at risk of crime, radicalisation, social exclusion and unemployment was identified. A number of challenges were present throughout this process. For example, there was reluctance to voice concerns about the situation of disenfranchised community members stemming from concern over potential stigmatisation of Muslims in the area. The reaction from local authorities including the Police was also interpreted as negative, with the lack of ownership construed as having its roots in concern over the consequences of labelling the community. The events of September 11th, 2001 heightened awareness of the potential outcomes of extremist views and the possibility of its occurrence in Britain. Throughout this period, a process of trust building was initiated between those involved with SGCS, the Muslim communities and the authorities. Over a period of two years, this resulted in various partners collaborating to respond to the problem of anti-social behaviour, extremism and economic disadvantage.

Two programmes came out of this process, SEED (Support for Employability Enhancement and Development) and its successor PROSEED (Providing Real Opportunity and Support for Employability Enhancement and Development). Implicit to both of these programmes were beliefs about the nature and impact of the dangers of disenfranchisement. The genesis of the anti-social behaviour and extremist attitudes were considered to have their roots in a number of issues ranging from the distal to the proximal. These include foreign policy, racism, discrimination and poor housing, as well as lack of employment and training opportunities and low levels of economic development in the area which negatively impacted upon young Muslims and other disadvantaged members of the community. There was thus recognition that the need for community development with respect to employability enhancement and education and training opportunities was closely associated with the movement towards crime and radicalisation.

Short term projects which predated SEED and provided an experience base for the project include HELP (Holidays Education and Learning Programme), SPARC (Sports Programme to Aid

¹The classification of Black and Minority Ethnic groups is used as this is the term utilised in all official statistics and is one which may be considered to most realistically mirror the position of the SEED and PROSEED clients. However, it is acknowledged that there is considerable variation of experience within this broad classification.

Reduction of Crime) and GRACE (Gun Reduction and Addressing Crime through Education). These used a variety of diversionary techniques such as sports and education to move their participants away from crime and towards employment. SEED was the first project with substantial funding totalling £160,000 and was a one year education-led pilot project part-financed by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), through the URBAN II regeneration initiative. This aimed to provide the tools for self-empowerment to members of disenfranchised groups, living in areas of multiple deprivation, through the provision of funding for environmental, economic and social improvements. PROSEED was a progression of the SEED project and was also funded through the URBAN II programme receiving £230,000, match funded by community organisations.

Aims

The aims of the SEED and PROSEED projects may be categorised as both explicit and implicit. Their stated goal was to engage local people through training and education to enhance skills and employment prospects. This was complemented with a focus on personal development, considered key in the movement towards community integration into mainstream society aiming to encourage economic growth and the enhancement of personal capacity. Less explicit aims included conscious decisions to engage young Muslims perceived as being in danger of involvement in extremist activities and crime. The ethos behind the project was thus the encouragement of responsibility within the community in engaging with those members at risk of becoming disengaged from wider society. This was facilitated by the transmission of skills through training, with the final aim that of an empowered community able to challenge and counteract radicalisation and anti-social behaviour and contribute to its own economic development.

Engagement with a number of key groups was identified as important in fulfilling these aims. There was a particular focus on trying to draw in hard to reach groups such as Muslim women, those from BME groups, the unemployed, young people and refugees and asylum seekers. In addition to the primary beneficiaries, the involvement of children and families was considered important in the development of understanding across diverse ethnic and religious communities.

These groups of individuals have been highlighted as important in the reach of the project for a variety of reasons. Those members of the community considered disenfranchised and marginalised including those at risk of radicalisation and crime were targeted to assist their route away from anti-social behaviour and towards employment. Female members of the community were supported through the provision of training in information and communication technology. This may be considered particularly important as worklessness is disproportionately high in

women from BME and Muslim groups (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2006). In addition, these skills had been emphasised as important by the women in facilitating both their own empowerment and bettering their family's reality. This was considered important as the internet and related technologies were identified as sites where extremism and radicalisation have an open forum. Thus, the project was well placed to help encourage reflective, evaluative and critically aware use of the internet. Due to the project's religious foundation, it was uniquely equipped to aid in this process of female involvement as issues of trust and the need for cultural sensitivity were inherently appreciated. In addition, the provision of multi-lingual facilitators minimised problems of communication.

These aims were the foundation of the SEED and PROSEED projects; however, due to the largely retrospective nature of this study, some aspects are unavailable for explicit assessment. The ability of the project to deliver education and training to members of the local community may be considered measurable goals. Whereas, the process of intrapersonal change beneficiaries are assumed to go through is not amenable for overt assessment, as baseline attitudinal measures are not available from beneficiaries prior to engagement with the project.

Methods used by SGCS

An iterative process of interaction with the community was initiated in order to identify what was most pertinent to its members and to increase the applicability of the courses, based on a principle of demand dictating supply. Hence the projects organised by SGCS may be described as bottom-up initiatives with their roots in the community they served.

SEED offered training, education and support for personal development through seminars and formal workshops. These incorporated tuition in information communication technology, GCSE mentoring and advice on gaining employment. The personal development of the beneficiaries was facilitated through a number of seminars with focus on topics such as anger management and gang and gun culture as well as the mentoring of young people considered in need of personal or academic guidance. These were delivered by facilitators drawn from the local community who were considered positive role models for those with whom they would be engaging. Their credibility with beneficiaries was enhanced as they came from the same community as them with higher levels of academic achievement that conferred authority and respect.

The status of the facilitators was considered key to the effectiveness of the project in enabling the subtle challenging of negative ideas and beliefs. This was carried out via the programmes that made up the SEED project, and as a result of personal contact between beneficiaries and project

leaders. So, personal development seminars would focus on an area of concern and incorporate the individual's place within the religious community and wider society to encourage responsibility and engagement. Debate would be encouraged and from this, the views of beneficiaries would become apparent. Those who were considered at risk of radicalisation or promulgating extreme views, were covertly identified as in need of further mentoring by peers or older members of the community.

SEED ran in 2004-5, and was followed by PROSEED. This was a longer term project initiated in March 2006, and planned to run for three years, it is based on the same model as SEED. Its aim was to facilitate the development of a community core, considered lacking the Stockwell area (European Union, 2004), to provide training and improve employment potential in its beneficiaries as well as moving participants away from extreme and anti-social attitudes. Like the SEED project, beneficiaries are drawn from the Stockwell and Larkhall wards of Lambeth, constituents of which had to make up 80% of the total beneficiaries.

Education is again the key driver behind the programme with a major change from SEED being the availability of accredited training programmes. These focus on information communication technology, business administration and personal development and were again selected in consultation with the local community. Its explicit stated mission is threefold, aiming to provide the tools for integration and build citizenship, to address poverty and unemployment through provision of programmes focused on education and training, and to build capacity in individuals and groups, looking to increase confidence and a sense of community belonging. Marketing of these courses is carried out through a variety of sources, including personal contact with programme leaders, via local Mosques including Streatham and Stockwell, and with the aid of partner organisations.

Partners

A triangular approach was adopted in response to the challenges in the area, involving liaison between the Metropolitan Police, the local authority and the community aiming to build trust between the agencies and increase effective collaboration under the auspices of SGCS. A variety of local, educational and governmental partners were effective in the realisation of the project. Considered key to this was the involvement of Lambeth Borough Council and the Metropolitan Police who were represented by the local Borough Commander and the Muslim Liaison Officer from Scotland Yard amongst others.

Educational support was provided by the Association of Business Executives (ABE). This organisation is described as important in the continued effectiveness and evolution of the

PROSEED project through the provision of accreditation for a number of the programmes. Further accreditation is supplied through City and Guilds. Alongside this, the development of associations with bodies of higher education such as Staffordshire and Middlesex Universities is proposed in order to provide a route from the project to university placement. This was made possible through the inception of the London College of Business Management and Information Technology (LCBMIT) which was established by those involved with the SEED and PROSEED projects as a delivery agent for the planned courses, and through which the funding was channelled.

A variety of other local organisations were involved in the project's operation, including the Ash-Shahada Housing Association who are part funders and have engaged individuals from the SEED and PROSEED projects in work experience. Further groups connected to the projects include the Stockwell Green Centre, Stockwell Green Youth Project, the Government Office for London, London Action Trust, Lambeth Voluntary Action Council, One London, Estate Skills Partnership, the Tigrian Community Group and Job Centre Plus. Members of these last four are represented on the steering group for the project along with the Clapham and Stockwell Faith Forum. The wide variety of interests represented by these groups may be considered evidence of the diverse and community driven nature of the projects. The result of these relationships may be considered to benefit the participants of SEED and PROSEED through networks which enable the organisation of work placement, as well as the dissemination of information regarding the project. Additionally, the involvement of Job Centre Plus allows a direct link between the training received and guidance on employment opportunities.

The multifarious nature of these organisations may be considered complementary to the interactive process of community integration present in the project. The community and religious leaders lend support and credibility to the project which in turn provides appropriate and attractive activities conferring skills to its beneficiaries aiming to increase levels of self-worth and education and hence aid movement away from anti-social behaviour unemployment. The support of the Mosques and wider religious community is considered important in these processes, and the bringing together of the local Mosques has been highlighted as vital to the cohesion of the project. Inter-faith dialogue has also been stressed as a key part of the SEED and PROSEED projects as initiated by SGCS with leaders from all the major religions brought together under its remit in the shape of the Clapham and Stockwell Faith Forum.

Interaction between organisations is facilitated through seminars such as one entitled 'Voices of Young Muslims' where members of all the major organisations detailed above attended. This provided a platform for interaction between the authorities, those of different faiths and young

Muslims, ultimately aiming to emphasise the community role of the Mosque. An outcome of this is the inception of the Lambeth Programme Board, a cross-organisational group involving the police, the local authority and representatives of all local Mosques who work together to address the issues facing the community. The concepts of leadership and responsibility taking are also considered important in the effectiveness of the project. High levels of personal commitment and an emphasis on infrastructural support allied to ownership, both in the Muslim community and in wider organisations such as the police and local authorities, are highlighted by those involved with the project as key to its operation.

The projects have been identified as having a particularly high profile in the wake of the terrorist attacks on July 7th 2005 (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005), and the mistaken shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes at Stockwell tube station shortly thereafter. Therefore the aims of these projects – addressing issues of educational attainment and personal capacity to draw those at risk of radicalisation away from anti-social attitudes and crime and towards employment, economic contribution to the area and self-improvement – may be considered of significant topicality and pertinence. This is evidenced in the presence of the reduction of extremism in Lambeth as a goal of the Local Area Agreement. With these issues high on the public and political agenda, the profile and relevance of the project may be considered likely to increase.

Attention will now be given to an evaluation of the SEED and PROSEED projects encompassing quantitative and qualitative elements. Measurable outputs will first be presented with a view to assessing the ability of the project to reach and engage with members of the Muslim communities in Stockwell to deliver educational and skills training. Consideration will then be given to the outcome of interviews with a number of individuals considered to have in-depth knowledge of the project in order to examine the processes at work which aim to enact attitudinal and behavioural change. Finally, there will be discussion of a hypothetical model which aims to conceptualise the movement of the individual through the engagement process.

QUANTITATIVE EVALUATION

In this first part of the evaluation, the quantifiable outputs will be addressed using pre-existing data gathered from the project. This is made up of numbers of individuals undertaking specific training and demographic information, registration forms, attendance records and evaluation sheets completed by the beneficiaries at the conclusion of the course. This information will be utilised to begin assessing whether the project's explicit aims have been met.

At its inception, the SEED and PROSEED projects identified specific criteria against which levels of success may be measured; these may be divided into human and resource outputs. These include numbers of beneficiaries receiving training and support, both academic and personal; service users directed toward employment; and the provision of infrastructure in the form of internet access and community appropriate facilities as well as direct employment of individuals by the project.

Alongside these quantifiable aims are a number of 'soft outcomes' encompassing increased levels of motivation, self confidence and understanding of routes toward employment. In addition, further social impacts were posited, these encompass the inclusion of young people in wider society, and a reduction in crime and the associated fear of crime in the local area. It was also proposed that an increased sense of belonging and understanding would be developed in the beneficiaries. These aims looked to build capacity in both the participants and the organisation as a basis for interaction and collaboration with other agencies. In depth assessment of these will be addressed in the qualitative analysis to follow.

The aims of the project may therefore be characterised as multi-faceted. Education and employment training look to achieve a number of outcomes, firstly to facilitate routes into employment with the related integration into the mainstream economic environment, particularly worthwhile in an area of significant deprivation such as Lambeth. Secondly to confer skills to hard to reach groups such as Muslim women and families so that the skills gap between generations may be reduced, empowering the beneficiaries to take a more active role both in wider society and the increasingly technologically rich world of their family. Personal development seminars addressing issues pertinent to the beneficiaries such as concepts of citizenship, community involvement and self improvement were delivered to build confidence and capacity in participants. Additionally, the convergence of members of diverse faith and ethnic groups in the project and its related activities aimed to generate greater understanding and integration between the Muslim community and wider society.

Taken together, this may be described as a holistic approach to the engagement of the Muslim community and those at risk of radicalisation, crime, social exclusion and worklessness, with success in these various areas considered important by the project coordinators in counteracting extremism. The evaluation is therefore reliant on the identification of achievement levels on the project's quantifiable aims alongside its ability to reach, identify, engage with and challenge the maladaptive views of those most at risk of progressing down the path of extremism with a view to rerouting them towards integration, employment and mutually beneficial membership of mainstream society.

Initially, the demographic profile of the beneficiaries of the SEED and PROSEED projects will be given to assess its ability to reach those most typically at risk of adopting radical views. An exposition on the way in which they are recruited will follow. There will then be presentation of the academic courses offered outlining details of content, outputs, length and client group. An overview of the personal development seminars will also be given addressing the techniques and processes used in their engagement with the beneficiaries. Following this, will be a review of attendance levels and an outline of the interest shown in further training by the beneficiaries as well as the presentation of measures of satisfaction by service users aiming to evaluate the success of the project in offering attractive diversionary programmes. In summation, this information will be put towards an assessment of PROSEED's achievements as measured against the targets outlined at the project's inception and implied aims.

Beneficiaries' profile

An overview of those participating in the SEED project by gender is presented in Table 1. This data is drawn from the registration forms completed on enrolment. It should be noted that exact numbers and related personal details regarding the beneficiaries is not available. The data collected at the projects were based on the number of beneficiaries attending each course, and there were no means to follow how each individual engaged with the programme. Thus, there will be "double counting" where the same individual appears in more than one course, but it was not possible to tell the extent of this problem. This shortfall in the data is as a result of the ways that data needed to be reported back to funders and is the case throughout this report. However, the SEED project registration forms are independent and may therefore be taken as a roughly accurate measure of the number of people who were initially enrolled at the project; similar data are not available for the PROSEED project. As illustrated in Table 1, almost half of those registered were female.

	Gender				Total
	Female		Male		
	N	%	N	%	
SEED enrolment data	53	45	66	56	119

Table 1: Number of male and female beneficiaries of the SEED project by frequency and percentage

Demographic information detailing gender and ethnicity of beneficiaries in the SEED and PROSEED projects per course participation is presented in Table 2. These data are drawn from fully completed registration forms. Because some beneficiaries did not complete a registration form, some did not fill in all the information requested, and some completed the information but subsequently dropped out of the programme, these are a representation of those responses received on enrolment, and not of all beneficiaries of the project. As can be seen, a wide diversity of ethnicities are represented in the client group, with the people of four continents included within the project's reach. The almost equal distribution of male and female beneficiaries is broadly similar to the gender split at Lambeth College, the most directly comparable further education institution in the area, where 53% of students are female, (Ofsted, 2004).

		Gender		
		Female % (N)	Male % (N)	Total % (N)
Ethnicity	Pakistani	10 (18)	16 (30)	26 (48)
	Somali	18 (33)	1 (2)	19 (35)
	Eritrean	9 (16)	7 (13)	16 (29)
	Indian	4 (7)	6 (12)	10 (19)
	Bangladeshi	2 (4)	5 (9)	7 (13)
	African	0	5 (9)	5 (9)
	Other	2 (3)	3 (5)	5 (8)
	Algerian	.5 (1)	2 (3)	2.5 (4)
	Afghani	.5 (1)	2 (3)	2.5 (4)
	Nigerian	0	2 (4)	2 (4)
	British	0	2 (3)	2 (3)
	S. African	1 (2)	0	1 (2)
	Jamaican	0	1 (2)	1 (2)
	Moroccan	0	.5 (1)	.5 (1)
	Turkish	.5 (1)	0	.5 (1)
Total		47.5 (86)	52.5 (96)	(182)

Table 2: Display of percentage service users (and absolute figures) by ethnicity and gender

Figure 2 shows the percentage of individuals from each ethnic group overall, again illustrating information from both projects. The largest proportion of service users are drawn from the Pakistani community, with the next most represented groups being Somalians, Eritreans and Indians and Bangladeshis. In total these five ethnicities make up 78% of the participants of the SEED and PROSEED projects, indicating that the majority of those reached by SGCS were geographically drawn from the Horn of Africa and South Asia. Specific ethnicity information was not available for all participants therefore broader categories such as ‘African’ were drawn from responses given by beneficiaries on registration forms. Taken together, these may be considered to provide a reasonably accurate overview of the ethnic background of initial service users. However, it is not possible to ascertain the attrition rate of those attending the projects and as such the demographic make-up of those completing the courses cannot be assumed from this data.

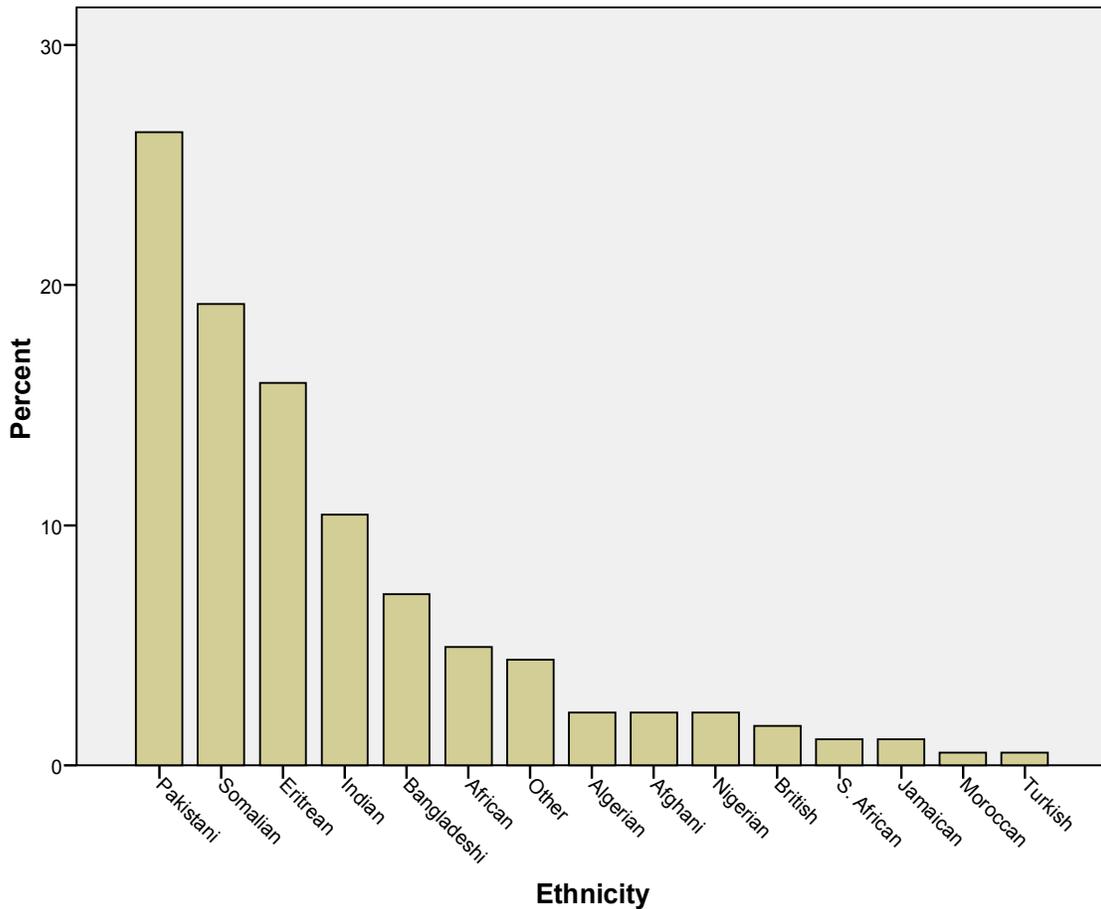


Figure 2: Display of service users enrolled in the SEED and PROSEED projects by percentage representation by declared ethnicity

In considering the population of the Stockwell and Larkhall wards of Lambeth, approximately 20% of residents classified themselves as Black African, and 3% as Asian at the last census (ONS, 2004). These are the second and fourth largest ethnic groups, other than Whites who make up the largest ethnic group in the area, and those who describe themselves as mixed who are the third most represented ethnicity (ONS, 2004). One of the target populations of the SEED and PROSEED projects are individuals from Black and Minority Ethnic groups (BME). This is clearly demonstrated, as BME individuals constitute 98% of the project's participants. This is in comparison to Lambeth College's, 61% BME group membership (Ofsted, 2004) and the wider community of Lambeth, of whom a total of 38% are from ethnic minorities (ONS, 2004).

Information on each beneficiary's ages is presented in Figure 3, with a wide variety of age groups represented, ranging from 10 to 50 (with a mean of 25 years). Due to the fact that some of the data are based on course enrollment rather than individual information, it is not possible to compare the beneficiaries of the project to other institutions with a high degree of accuracy. However, the ages of those at the SEED and PROSEED projects are roughly comparable to Lambeth College with 20% of students aged under 18, compared to 74% aged 19 or over at PROSEED (Ofsted, 2004). This wide age range may be considered indicative of the broad general appeal of educational services, and their relevance across age groups in the area.

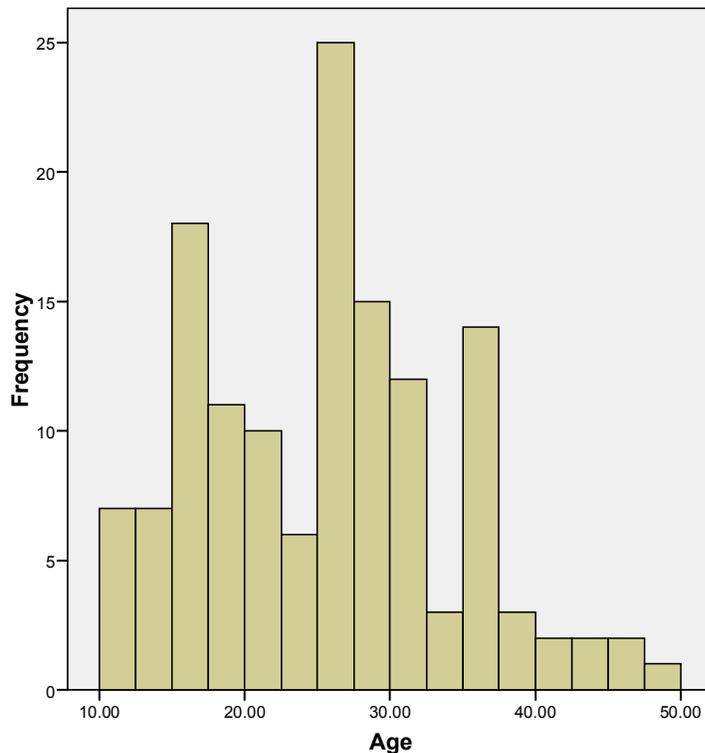


Figure 3: Display of age of service users (M=25, N=138)

There is some limited information indicating that PROSEED service users appear to have been independent of the broader educational field, at the time they engaged with SGCS, with only 10% of those who responded concurrently enrolled at another centre of learning (based on three positive responses, out of 30 completed forms). This indicates that PROSEED provides services for those who are detached from mainstream education and are not receiving support or development elsewhere and is contrast to the SEED project where 53% of respondents were in some additional form of education. The response rate for the PROSEED project is clearly not high, however, these figures may be considered indicative of the evolution of the project from a broader base of beneficiaries to those more in need of educational assistance. This is in concert with the accredited nature of the programmes on offer at PROSEED that may not be as appropriate for those receiving mainstream education at other institutions.

The overall demographic profile represented here is that of a culturally diverse group with a roughly equal number of men and women and a reasonably wide age range with the majority of declared ethnicities being from countries which are predominantly Muslim. Whilst collation of data on those at risk of radicalisation is in its nascent stages (Cozzens, 2006), it has been asserted that those most susceptible are male Muslims, from marginalised BME groups (Choudhury, 2007; Hoffman, 2007). In this sample, almost all are from BME groups, and the nature of the project's engagement is such that both men and women are involved to deal with the issue of radicalisation in the community. Thus, whilst not a sophisticated measure of the scope of the project's recruitment and reach, it may be tentatively concluded that the PROSEED project may have successfully reached and recruited those from the demographic profile most in need of diversion away from anti-social attitudes and behaviour.

Recruitment

The identification of those considered most in need of SGCS's services may be conceptualised as a two tier process. Initially individuals were attracted to the project through a wide variety of feeders including the Clapham and Stockwell Faith Forum and other voluntary organisations with which relationships have been built up. However, a key route to the project was personal contact through the project leaders. Parents who were concerned about the behaviour of a family member could be referred to the project via elders at one of the Mosques, most usually Stockwell Mosque, which along with Streatham Mosque were major client feeders, both directly and via the social networks individuals had within them. The person about whom there was concern would then be informally approached and invited to engage with one of the project's programmes. This would be carried out either via the family, for example through the course of an invitation to the

family's home, or when there was contact between them and one of the project leaders in the wider community, Mosque or via friends. The implicit aim was to divert those at risk of violent or extremist behaviour away from crime and maladaptive peer groups and towards employment and increased social integration. However this was not made explicit in the communication with the potential beneficiary, instead the facilities for self-improvement and training available at the project were emphasised.

The outcome of a self-report measure of how the individuals came to the SEED and PROSEED projects is detailed in Figure 4. As is evident, friends are the primary conduit for information about the projects, followed by the Mosque, then the family. This is indicative of the importance of social networks for dissemination of information within the community as opposed to less interpersonal routes of introduction, such as explicit advertising.

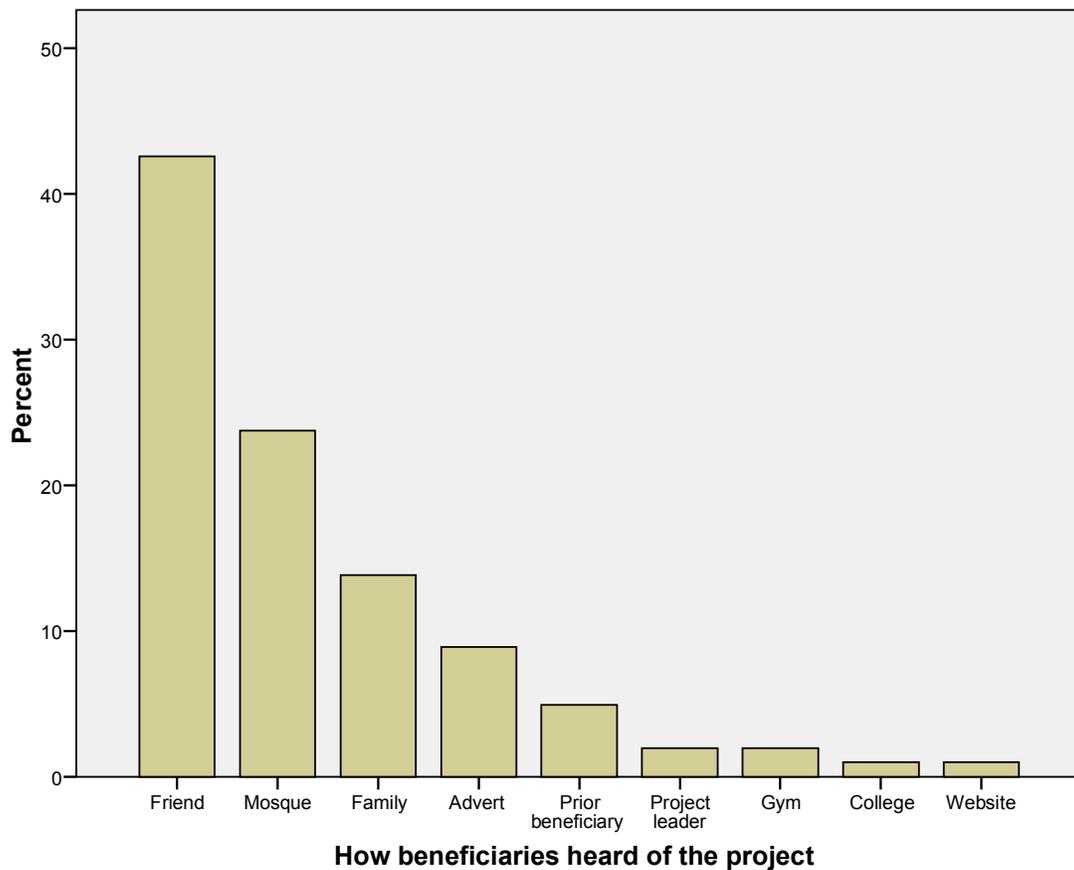


Figure 4: Chart showing how beneficiaries heard about the project

An explicit focus of the project was the engagement with disenchanted and disadvantaged members of the community, particularly those from BME groups. As can be seen from the above overview of beneficiaries, this can be interpreted as being enacted through varied recruitment

routes operating to attract and engage with particular groups. This includes those from particularly high risk groups with respect to educational attainment, employment opportunities and the holding of extremist views, the positive movement towards which has been highlighted in a previous external evaluation of the project (ODPM, 2005).

The second level of engagement with the beneficiaries with more explicit focus on those who held radical views was through personal contact and in particular, via personal development seminars. These seminars aimed to use discussion deliberately focused on topics considered of concern to those at risk of becoming involved in extremism, for example, discrimination or foreign policy, so that those with the most extreme views would become evident. They would then be the focus of targeted mentoring by a peer or an elder of the community, looking to challenge their beliefs using a variety of methods including diversion and religious scholarship to present alternative world views.

Courses offered at SEED/PROSEED

The major difference between the SEED and PROSEED projects is that training courses at PROSEED are officially accredited by a number of bodies including the Association of Business Executives (ABE), City and Guilds (C&G), Microsoft, and the London College of Business Management and Information Technology (LCMBIT)².

The SEED training courses focused on a number of key areas. The first is described as information communication technology (ICT), and encompassed training on Microsoft packages including Word, Excel, Access and Powerpoint, as well as courses on databases, networking, website design and computer maintenance. Work placement support was provided through seminars concentrating on CV writing, including one for women only, bookkeeping and self-employment advice. Personal development seminars were run focusing on issues of self-confidence, becoming pro-active, anger management, peer pressure, gang and gun culture, and self-empowerment amongst others. Family centred advice was provided in seminars looking at family-based learning and training. Additionally, mentoring was given to GCSE students in Maths, English and Science as well as mentor support for Urdu and Arabic language development.

As discussed, the personal development sessions were facilitated by people drawn from the local community two of whom were qualified to PhD level, thus conferring a degree of credibility and authority to the seminars. They were developed by one of the facilitators who held a doctorate in

² LCMBIT is a college run by the staff at SGCS, offering City and Guilds and Microsoft courses, accredited by ABE.

the biological sciences, so whilst being academically highly qualified was extrapolating from his primary field of interest into that of personal development. The seminars focused heavily on ideas of self-actualisation, increasing potential and open-mindedness to alternative world views; these had an Islamic foundation and incorporated practical techniques for improving life chances. The format of these sessions included an overview of the topic, a presentation and then discussion with attendees. These discussions highlighted the views of those taking part and allowed the open exposition of issues of concern. This in turn allowed the identification of those with strong views associated with extremist thought and the challenging of those views from a religious and sociological standpoint. For example, this would involve an exposition from an Islamic scholar's perspective on the acceptability of violence in the current climate, where evidence would be drawn from Islamic sources as to the appropriate response to issues such as the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan. These would be further discussed in a non-judgemental manner where the airing of grievance was encouraged.

This is a particular characteristic of the project and is allied to the issue of responsibility. The attitude taken is that action must be positive in order to overcome the real adversaries of success in the Muslim community. This frames the question as 'what are you going to do about your situation in the world?' In opposition to 'whose fault is it that you are in this position?' Thus, where there is engagement through seminars, teaching and in personal contact, individuals are asked to answer their own questions from a problem-solving perspective and find a positive response that includes interaction and integration with the wider community.

With respect to the PROSEED project, a total of nine academically oriented courses were offered. Details of these are outlined in Table 3 including the relevant accrediting body, duration, gender and average age of people initially registered on each course. As can be seen, whilst the overall gender split is roughly equal, there is a marked difference in the courses in which the men and women were enrolled. The vast majority of female service users took part in the basic ICT course, only, where the remainder of the courses were heavily subscribed to by men. The choice of courses offered was decided upon through a process of consultation with the local community. With respect to female members of the community, a women's open day was organised and enabled a positive and empowering engagement with the women in the area to communicate their needs. This involved a presentation of the aims of SGCS and an assessment of those courses the women were most interested in attending. Considerable demand was found for ICT skill development by the women and hence, this was offered as the primary course for females. This was subsequently advertised in collaboration with partners such as the Eritrean Muslim Cultural Association.

Stockwell Green Community Services and the SEED and PROSEED Projects

The response of a Muslim-led organisation in addressing social exclusion, economic disadvantage and radicalisation

Course	Accrediting body	Duration	Gender		Total	Mean age
			Female	Male		
ICT – women only	LCBMIT/C&G*	14 weeks	18	0	18	32.8
ICT – women only	LCBMIT/C&G*	14 weeks	15	0	15	25.9
ICT – women only °	LCBMIT/C&G*	17 weeks	7	0	7	-
Web design – part 1	LCBMIT/C&G*	10 weeks	0	7	7	21.6
Web design – part 2 °	LCBMIT/C&G*	10 weeks	0	6	6	-
Microsoft Windows	Microsoft **	6 weeks	0	11	11	27.7
Microsoft SQL	Microsoft **	7 weeks	0	5	5	-
Business Information Systems (BIS)	ABE ***	20 weeks	3	11	14	26.5
Business Information Systems (BIS)	ABE ***	10 weeks	3	11	14	26.5
Total			46	51	97	26.8

Table 3: Detail of courses offered at PROSEED including accrediting body, length of course and gender breakdown

- * LCBMIT – London College of Business Management and Information Technology; C&G – City and Guilds
- ** Microsoft Corporation
- *** ABE – Association of Business Executives
- Information unavailable
- ° Registers unavailable – data taken from SGCS course records

Information Communication Technology is a basic course in computers offering preliminary training in computing and word processing accredited by LCBMIT and City and Guilds as part of its ESOL course. This was marketed solely at women via a female only Muslim organisation, and saw beneficiaries from two ethnic groups attend – Somali and Eritrean. Three sessions of this course have been run, the first from November 2006 to February 2007, the second from January to April 2007 and the final one between April and July 2007.

The differences in approach to the issue of extremism in the community the PROSEED project takes may be seen in the demographic make-up of its beneficiaries and the courses on which they are enrolled. Only 9% of the women were engaged with a programme other than ICT. This aimed to build capacity such that female family members were more equitably skilled to deal with the technology used by the young Muslim generation as well as assist them into the economic market. This was with a view to helping with their families' education whilst providing the opportunity for the women to monitor potentially maladaptive internet use, as well as increasing their employability.

The Web Designing course was also accredited by LCBMIT and provided an introduction to designing websites with the facility for progression to intermediate and advanced techniques according to ability. Part of this course involved the designing of websites for local organisations such as the Stockwell Refugee Women's Centre thus providing work experience for the beneficiaries and practical outputs for local groups.

The Microsoft Windows 2000 course provided an introduction to Microsoft networking applications and equipped the beneficiaries with a working knowledge of the software. A further Microsoft accredited course was offered in Microsoft SQL, encompassing instruction in the installation, administration and operation of the application.

PROSEED also offered a course in Business Information Systems. Accredited by the Association of Business Executives, this included modules on Introduction to Business, Computers, Accounting, and IT Application and Skills. These courses ended in an exam and the potential to progress onto further qualifications including university placement. These exam results were not available for inclusion in this report and as such, levels of success or course completion cannot be assessed here.

In addition to academic training courses, the PROSEED project organised a number of open days and seminars addressing topics identified through consultation as pertinent to the community and its residents. These seminars are detailed in Table 4 alongside the number of attendees, partner organisations, and an outline of the objectives of each session. The best attended seminar was that focusing on drug and alcohol awareness, followed by the first seminar providing support for personal development. Partner organisations were also involved in the seminars, making advice available on housing, employment and training, in line with PROSEED's stated aims of building community capacity, economic development and cohesion.

Seminar	Date	Attendees	Partners	Outline
Open day/ICT seminar	27.5.06	30	SGCS	Support for personal development
Open day/ICT seminar/DAAT	25.7.06	34	Drug and Alcohol Awareness Team; SGCS	Training in drug and alcohol awareness
Open day/ICT seminar - parents	25.08.06	23	SGCS	Support for personal development with parental involvement
Open day/ICT seminar	9.09.06	25	GLE Onelondon; Job Centre Plus; Estate Skills Partnership; SGCS	Information on self-employment; PROSEED and ESOL training; job opportunities; and housing support.
ICT seminar – women only	3.10.06	17	SGCS	Information on ESOL and ICT seminar
Self-employment	13.10.06	-	Job Centre Plus; SGCS	Advice on self-employment
Open day/ICT seminar	20.2.07	13	Ash-Shahada Housing Association; Job Centre Plus; Estate Skills Partnership; GLE Onelondon; SGCS	Information on training and citizenship courses; ICT workshop; job advice and employment opportunities, and information on ESOL
Childcare training	26.5.07	10	SGCS	Training in basic childcare and parenting skills

Table 4: Open days and seminars organised by PROSEED detailing involvement of partner organisations and number of attendees
 - Information unavailable

Given the variety of courses and support offered by SGCS, it may be argued that engagement with beneficiaries is a multi-platform process ranging from formal training sessions, semi-structured open days and seminars and personal out-reach work. These address issues at several levels of human experience including the personal, emotional, spiritual and cognitive. This multi-faceted approach was to encourage personal responsibility and heighten understanding and awareness with a view to attitude and behaviour change through guidance, advice, training, information and empowerment.

Attendance and demand for further study

Attendance was monitored through registers. Figure 5 is a display of average percentage attendance rates per course (including both parts of a course where there was more than one), and a mean attendance percentage for all courses drawn from attendance monitoring forms used by SGCS. Percentages represent an average of the attendance rate for all participants for a particular course. This is for the PROSEED project only as the majority of the SEED projects were of very short duration, typically one or two days, and as such attendance levels were generally stable with little attrition across sessions. The attendance rates for PROSEED are slightly lower than national and London averages for secondary school attendance, authorised and unauthorised absence rates for which are 7.92% and 7.66% respectively (ONS, 2007). The course with the lowest attendance rates was in Business Information Systems (BIS) which may be a reflection of course duration, which at 20 weeks is the longest training programme offered by PROSEED.

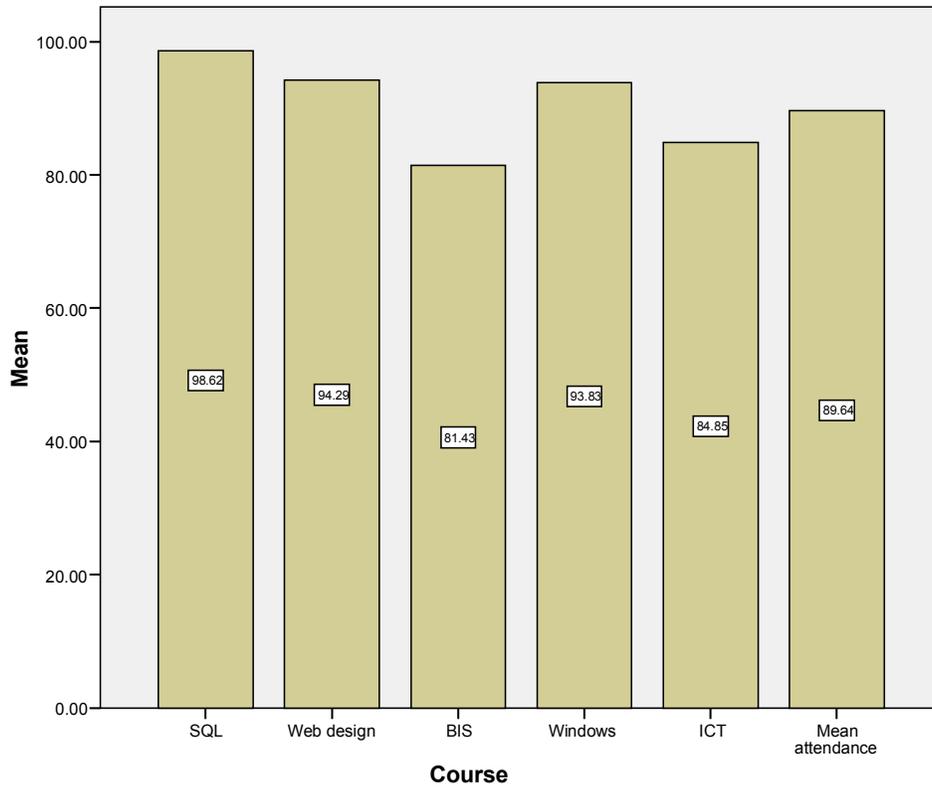


Figure 5: Mean percentage attendance rates for all five courses and overall (M=89.64; N=70)

Information was also gathered from beneficiaries concerning their desire to undertake further training and, within the scope of the courses offered at SEED and PROSEED what this may entail; out of 149 responses, 86% were interested in pursuing further study. The areas for potential future study outlined in the evaluation form may be broadly broken down into those focusing on ICT, Business Management, and Personal Development. The majority of respondents expressed an interest in ICT courses which include Web Design, PC Maintenance and Networking, with 89% of responses expressing an interest in this area. Business Management was highlighted as a topic 44% would wish to undertake further training in, whereas 47% responded positively for further Personal Development courses. Other aspects of development that were noted as desirable by the beneficiaries were language skills (7%), sport (4%) and childcare (2%).

Interest in further study was also measured by a question in the end of the PROSEED course evaluation forms asking if additional training in that particular field was desired. The responses were in line with the previous outcome, with 94% responding positively to the question. It may therefore be deduced that there is a strong desire for those attending the PROSEED project to

continue in some form of education or training, additionally, that the courses themselves were of sufficient relevance to stimulate interest in further study.

User evaluation

As part of the process of individual course completion, the beneficiaries were asked to fill in an evaluation questionnaire. When tested for internal consistency, it was found to be good, with a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.72. This is an indication that all five questions address the same underlying concept, in this case, satisfaction with the course (Nunally, 1978). There were five evaluation questions, addressing the training, its content, and delivery, as well as the venue and refreshments, with possible responses ranging through very bad, bad, satisfactory, good and very good. For brevity, an aggregate satisfaction score has been generated. The outcome of the evaluation responses is presented in Figure 6. As can be seen, the overall evaluation by service users is positive, with most responses falling between good (score 4) and very good (score 5). This is in line with a further measure of satisfaction given by beneficiaries which assesses how they would grade the services offered; this is only for the PROSEED project as this was not measured by the SEED evaluation. Possible grading was on a five point scale ranging from bad to excellent; an overview of these responses is presented in Figure 7. Again, respondents have rated the service provision positively with no negative answers and the most frequent rating being very good. Overall, these responses indicate high levels of satisfaction with the services provided by the SEED and PROSEED projects.

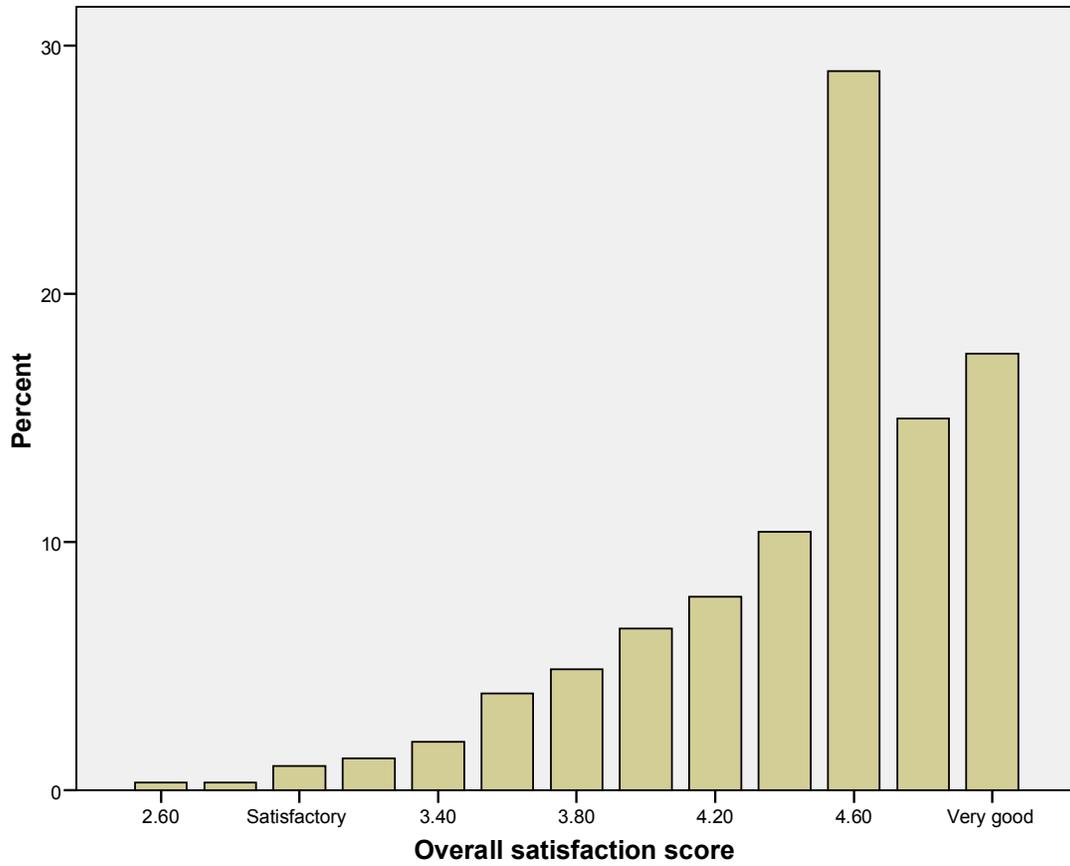


Figure 6: Display of scores on aggregate evaluation rating (M=4.5; N=307)

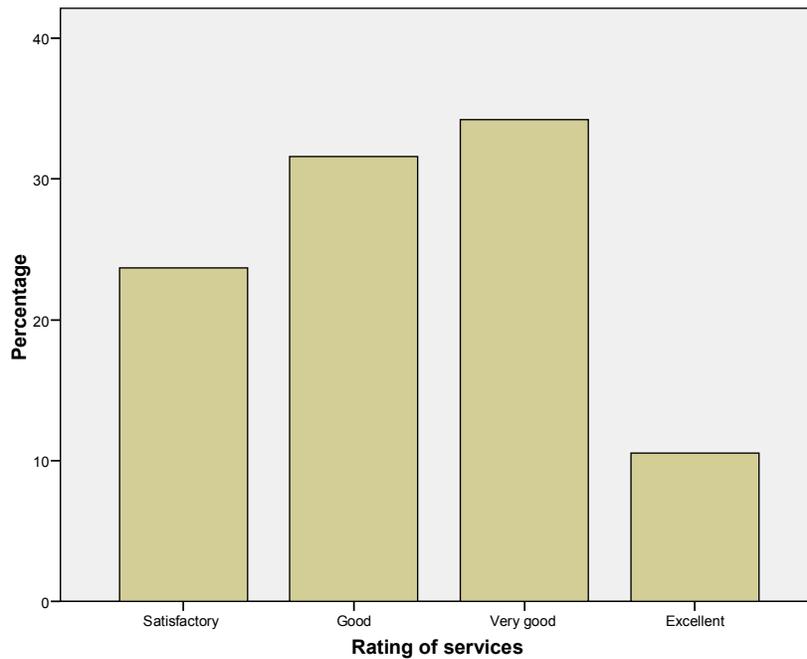


Figure 7: Display of percentage scores on level of service provision (M=3.3; N=38)

Previous SEED/PROSEED evaluations

Evaluation of the SEED and PROSEED projects has taken place on two levels, firstly through the funding body URBAN II and its independent assessment, and secondly through internal monitoring against established aims. A brief review of the URBAN II report on the project will be given followed by an overview of the outcome of the internal monitoring process in place at PROSEED, and finally an assessment based on available data as to level of achievements as measured against the stated aims of the project.

Administered by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (now Communities and Local Government), URBAN II is a project funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) with its focus the improvement of infrastructure and the reversal of decline in traditional economic activities in urban areas as well as the modernisation of training and promotion of employment (European Commission, 2003). The SEED project was granted funding under this remit and a subsequent evaluation was carried out in 2004. This assessment looked at personnel and management structures and effectiveness, as well as links to other organisations and community partners. Focus was also upon levels of community involvement and financial management in addition to the impact, outputs and internal evaluation of the programme (ODPM, 2005). Methodology involved a desk-based assessment of effectiveness from documentation provided by the project including project reports and action plans. This was augmented by a visit to the project through which assessment was guided by a semi-structured questionnaire focusing on the performance indicators outlined above. Their assessment was highly favourable, and is as follows.

“The project has successfully delivered various educational and diversionary training sessions specifically designed to provide unemployed, women and disenfranchised Muslims and BME people with the necessary prerequisites, training, skill enhancement and development in order to enhance their employability prospects thus diverting them from criminality to employability. ... The project has significantly overachieved its outputs with well over a hundred beneficiaries of its various Programmes and each of these individuals has been kept engaged and away from crime and anti-social behaviour.” (ODPM, 2005:135).

As can be seen from the details presented thus far, support has been found for the active engagement of the project with the demographic groups discussed in the ODPM evaluation. Namely that those arguably at greatest risk of engaging with radical ideology and economic inactivity have been provided with training and personal development aiming to move them away

from extremism and toward employment, community integration and economic capacity. Assessment of the quantifiable outputs of the SEED project was collated in the final report of the funding body and is presented in Table 5. As illustrated, the project over-achieved on almost all targeted outputs with the exception of the number of people working towards qualification and the number of jobs created. Considering the gross number of outputs, the SEED project exceeded its original stated aims by 454. This takes no account for the relative importance of the various outputs and is not a measure of the effectiveness of the various measures. However, it may be considered a useful indication of the appeal of the project, and the ability to reach relevant client groups. On both these measures, the high number of participants in each category may be interpreted to mean that the SEED project was successful in these respects, demonstrating an ability to provide training and development to a cross section of the local community.

SEED project	Targets	URBAN II - reported final outputs 2005
Human outputs - training		
New training places	20	20
Individuals receiving ICT support	15	89
Working towards qualification	10	8
Individuals mentored	10	20
Advice on family based learning	20	27
Received personal development support	15	79
Family centred advice and training	10	89
Human outputs - employment		
Recruitment of volunteers	10	18
Support for work placement	10	218
Received self-employment advice	18	24
New jobs created	5	3
Resource outputs		
Establishment of personal development training facility	1	2
Establishment of ICT training facility	1	2
Total	145	599

Table 5: Display of targets as per funding application for SEED project and evaluation results reported by URBAN II at project completion

Internal evaluation of the PROSEED project was necessary to secure continued funding from ERDF and is measured against outputs specified at the initial funding stage outlining the aim to provide support and training to 150 individuals. Details of these and measures of achievement as of June 2007 are presented in Table 6. These are displayed alongside forecasts for outputs at the

Stockwell Green Community Services and the SEED and PROSEED Projects

The response of a Muslim-led organisation in addressing social exclusion, economic disadvantage and radicalisation

end of the approved project (scheduled for March 2008) and external validation measures as part of this research remit.

	Targets	Internal evaluation at June 2007		External validation at October 2007
		Actual	Forecast	
Human outputs - training				
New training places	20	35	95	92
ICT seminar delivery	4	5	7	6
Individuals receiving ICT support	75	87	145	142
50% beneficiaries working towards qualification	75	25	88	94(38%)
80% training completion rate	120	31	92	92 (97%)
Parents receiving childcare training	10	10	10	10
Individuals receiving personal development support	35	35	38	53
50% female beneficiaries of courses	75	20	43	46 (49%)
Human outputs - employment				
Individuals referred to Job Centre Plus	50	50	52	52
Individuals assisted into employment	20	20	40	40
Beneficiaries receiving self-employment advice	12	12	14	14
Safeguarding of jobs	2	2	2	2
Resource outputs				
New internet access point	1	1	1	1
Improved community facility	1	1	1	1
Total	500	333	628	633

Table 6: Display of targets as per funding application for PROSEED, internal evaluation results and external validation measures (percentages in brackets)

The external validation of stated aims was assessed utilising the data gathered from the PROSEED project and is characterised as follows. A new training place was quantified as provision of training to a single beneficiary. As such, this is subject to the problem of the 'double-counting' of individual service users already discussed, where someone may be counted twice as a consequence of their attendance at more than once course. As can be seen, as of October 2007, 94 training places have been provided by the PROSEED project over its duration, an increase of nearly five times the original target of 20 places. Beneficiaries working towards a qualification were defined as those enrolled on accredited courses. This is in contrast to 152

wider beneficiaries who were involved in one of the six seminars, 142 of whom received ICT support. Those individuals attending the seminars may have gone to more than one, making this figure a record of attendees not individual beneficiaries. This is almost double the projected total of 75 beneficiaries in this area. Hence, from a total of 246 beneficiaries including seminar attendees and those enrolled on training courses, 94 were working toward a qualification. This is below the projected 50%; however the number of those attending training projects exceeded the target of 75 beneficiaries by 25%. Individuals were classified as having received personal development support if they attended one of the seminars of which this was a stated aim. There were two with this express purpose which attracted a total of 53 participants, a significant increase on the target output.

As this review of the quantifiable outputs of the programme illustrates, the PROSEED project has overachieved on its initial targets in four areas – those of provision of new training places, seminar delivery, and support in ICT and personal development. It has also achieved its aims in a further five aspects – provision of parenting training, a 50% quota for female beneficiaries, the maintenance of two jobs as well as the supply of a further internet access point and an improved community facility through installation of enhanced equipment and infrastructure. The only aspect that has not been achieved as assessed here, is the target of 50% of beneficiaries working towards qualification, however, the gross number of service uses is above the original projection. This is a good indication that the project has achieved its aims of providing education and capacity building to members of the local community, the consequences of which may be considered to include enhanced employment prospects and a related positive impact on the local economy. However, it must be borne in mind that a measure of individual numbers attending the projects is not available, and as such the total impact of the SEED and PROSEED programmes is unable to be formally validated.

With respect to the alternative outcomes aimed for by the project, namely increased engagement with wider society and a concomitant sense of belonging and understanding, raised levels of self efficacy and empowerment and movement away from extremist ideology and crime, evaluation will be critically informed by the qualitative evaluation to follow. As part of internal review, an unstandardised questionnaire measuring personal development was delivered to some of the beneficiaries aiming to measure attitude change quantitatively. As part of this research, this tool was properly assessed and when measured, its internal consistency, face validity and reliability were poor, and below acceptable levels for meaningful assessment. As such, it is not suitable for evaluation and data from that measure are not presented here. However, with respect to the overall processes at work, a number of indicators are available as to the efficacy of these aspects

of the SEED and PROSEED project's aims. These revolve around its ability to reach, attract, engage with, influence and reroute beneficiaries away from maladaptive attitudes and behaviour.

The central position of SEED, PROSEED and SGCS within the Muslim community seems critical to its ability to reach those individuals most at risk of radicalisation, in addition to being inclusive of members of BME groups who have traditionally faced socio-economic challenges. This is illustrated by the demographic profile of the beneficiaries. Following the process of trust building, SGCS were able to contact and engage with members of the community through social networks broadened through partnership development via SEED and PROSEED. This collaboration between Lambeth Borough Council, the Metropolitan Police, local organisations and the project confers broad scope to identify those most at need of its services and enhance its efficacy.

The interactive process of consultation and feedback between SGCS and the community arguably allowed it to both recognise the needs of, and give ownership to those involved. This enabled the identification of the skills deficit felt most acutely by those at whom it was aimed. As is evident in the high levels of satisfaction reported by service users, those training packages provided have been shown to be popular. It may also be argued that the conferment of skills training enabled the engagement with beneficiaries on a wider variety of topics such as personal development and the place of the individual in society. Additionally, the religious nature of the project and its leaders may also be considered influential as it allowed the explicit place of Islam in contemporary society to be discussed and issues of pertinence to the Muslim community to be uncovered and deconstructed. Finally, the employment related skills conferred by the various programmes offer a tangible way of rerouting people away from crime, extremism and economic marginalisation towards employment, increased self efficacy and societal integration.

Hence, it may be tentatively presented that, through the SEED and PROSEED projects, SGCS have exhibited an ability to reach, attract and engage with those most at risk of progressing towards extremist views and economic inactivity, at least in part, due to its position as a trusted site of support in the Muslim community. This situating of SGCS alongside the practical skills and training it offers may therefore be considered to provide a site for the influencing and rerouting of hard to reach groups who are both at risk of radicalisation and in danger of economic marginalisation. Further exploration of these aspects of the project is considered in the next section.

QUALITATIVE EVALUATION

The quantitative outcomes of the project are a good indication of its ability to reach and practically engage with members of the community. However, the processes which affect the individuals and move them away from social exclusion, unemployment and radical ideology are not illustrated. This is the aim of this aspect of the evaluation. Here, interviews with individuals involved with the project will be analysed with a view to elucidating the underlying structure of the programmes and the way those involved conceptualised and explained their experiences. The outcome of this analysis will be presented in a number of themes which are considered with a view to understanding how the project works to achieve its aims.

Methodology

Design

This aspect of the investigation into the SEED and PROSEED projects employed the qualitative method of semi-structured interviews. The flexibility conferred by this technique allows the tailoring of questions to the individual participant (Payne, 1999) facilitating a deeper layer of meaning to be uncovered than a purely quantitative study may allow (Parker, 1994). This was particularly useful from a practical and ethical point of view as it facilitates the investigation of complex phenomena (Burman, 1994) and can aid investigation of potentially innovative systems, and informal or unstructured organisational processes (Marshall and Rossman, 2006). From an ethical standpoint, it was not always possible to conduct the interviews in the first language of the participant and this technique allowed sufficient flexibility that meaning was able to be conveyed, and where necessary, clarification sought, in a participant-centred and appropriate manner. Additionally, the approach has been advocated as one that can empower seldom-heard groups acting to validate their experience (Mishler, 1986).

Participants

A number of challenges were inherent in recruiting participants. There was a heavy reliance on those engaged with the project to supply details of people who may be suitable for interview, mainly because the researcher was not a member of the community from which the participants were drawn. Feelings of obligation, gratitude or dependency on the project and its personnel may therefore have had an impact on the decision to take part, and the responses given (Burman, 1994). This raises the issue of bias and the potential for not gaining a sufficiently representative spectrum of experience on which to base analysis.

A pluralist approach of theoretical sampling was therefore adopted when recruiting participants (Cook and Shadish, 1986; Mason, 1996). Thus a broad spectrum of individuals were identified, aiming to guard against the potential impact of gatekeepers and in order to give as wide a range of perspectives and experiences as possible (Morgan, 1986). Three groups of people were identified as important to include in the interview process: beneficiaries of the project, administrators and external stakeholders. A broad sampling strategy of maximal variation was used aiming to include samples of both typical and critical cases (Patton, 1990). Analysis of the themes emerging from the interviews thereby benefits from both commonality and divergence of experience from knowledgeable individuals which may then inform analysis of the processes at work (Merkens, 2004).

The criterion for selecting interviewees was guided by the principles of representativeness, experience and the bounds of practicality (Morse, 1994). In collaboration with the administrators of the project, individuals were identified as potentially appropriate. With respect to the beneficiaries, it was made explicit that they should be representative of those who have attended the project with respect to background, engagement and participation. Given the size of the sample and the style of methodology employed, the aim here is theoretical rather than statistical pertinence aiming for generalisability of “cases to theoretical propositions rather than to populations” (Bryman, 1988:90). A number of practical issues influenced the potential pool of participants available; in particular, as the project has been running for a number of years, some of those involved were no longer available because of relocation or retirement. Additionally, due to the sensitive nature of the investigation, recruitment was inevitably limited to those who were willing to talk openly about the issues involved, and, as mentioned already, recruitment was via SGCS. When all these factors are considered, it is possible that the interviews were based on a somewhat skewed sample (Ingham, Vanwesenbeeck and Kirkland, 1999).

Those considered appropriate were first approached either by the researcher or via the administrators of the project and asked to take part in the study. A total of nine individuals were interviewed, considered a sufficient number for a qualitative research design of this nature (Silverman, 2006). These included four individuals who had attended the project and who are therefore classified as beneficiaries. However, the nature of the development individuals at the project go through often includes participation in the programme’s administration and wider social activities. Hence whilst these four people had all been beneficiaries they had also worked in either a voluntary or paid capacity for the project and may consequently be considered to have a more detailed knowledge of its aims and techniques. It should be recognised that one of the beneficiaries was also a relative of one of the project coordinators and this may have influenced the attitudes and opinions as presented in the interview. Other interviewees comprised three

people actively involved in the leadership and administration of the project, two of whom were instrumental in the instigation of the project and have been involved continuously ever since. The third was a member of the community who taught the programmes, and again had been involved from the outset. Two external stakeholders were also interviewed. These were, a Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police based in Lambeth with knowledge of the project borne of his role working both with the project and with communities in the area. The second member of the authorities was drawn from Lambeth Borough Council, and was involved in the funding of the projects; they were consequently furnished with a considerable understanding of the projects' operations. All interviewees were male, aged between 16 and 52 years, for five of whom English was not their native language. To preserve anonymity in the report, individual participants are not named. However to make explicit their position and add context to their contribution where they are directly quoted, their role as either beneficiary, coordinator or member of the authorities is denoted by a letter to signify their position, and a number for reference: A for authorities; B for beneficiaries; and C for coordinators.

In the process of the research, further information was collected in interaction both with those connected to the project and those in the wider field of engagement with socially excluded groups. Elements of these observations have been included in the report to contribute to a fuller picture of the project and its operation; these are marked as field notes and are entirely anonymous to preserve confidentiality.

Materials

A draft interview schedule was prepared in the first instance. Practice interviews were then carried out subsequent to which the questions and structure were refined to enhance the style and content of the interview protocol. Following this, and in cognisance of the fact that the researcher is not from the community on which the research is focused, the proposed interview questions were sent to two members of SGCS for comments and feedback with particular focus on issues of cultural and religious sensitivity. Responses from this were incorporated into the final interview schedule.

Due to the different relationships the interviewees had with the project, the protocol was adjusted so as to be appropriate for the beneficiaries, administrators and external stakeholders whilst maintaining a similar thematic focus. An initial exposition of the history of their involvement was requested with subsequent questions focusing on the need for the project, the expectations held of the project and those individuals important in its operation. Focus then moved to the practical aspects of the project itself; the recruitment of beneficiaries, the courses that are run, how they were chosen and feedback about them as well as their potential applications. Personal responses

were then explored considering concepts of identity, family and community influence and involvement; the role of the religious community and the issue of extremism and radicalisation. Personal and community experience was then considered with focus on issues of discrimination, including racism and Islamophobia, crime, economic well-being and interactions between the community and authorities such as the police and any experience of change in these arenas. Finally participants were asked what effect they felt the project had on those involved and the wider community, encompassing impacts of personal and group aspirations and the place for the project in the future. See Appendix 1 for copies of the interview protocols.

Procedure

An information sheet was prepared and where possible distributed to the participants prior to the interview day, otherwise it was given immediately before the interview and participants were invited to read it and ask questions. This explained that the purpose of the research was to find out how the project worked and how it moved people away from joblessness, crime and extremism and towards employment and education. It also clarified that the researcher was independent of both the project and London Probation Service (see Appendix 2 for information sheet).

The venue for most of the interviews was a quiet office at SGCS, this was felt most appropriate for both the convenience and comfort of the participants, as a familiar environment has been advocated as a positive contribution to the interview process (Elwood and Martin, 2000). The interviews with the two external stakeholders were held at their offices for similar reasons. It should be noted however, with respect to the beneficiaries, that the use of the offices at SGCS may have influenced the agreement of potential interviewees. This is particularly the case for those who may not have experienced success on the programme, and may hence not have felt at ease in that environment. A possible consequence of this is that the beneficiaries interviewed may not be entirely representative of those on the project. There were also issues surrounding the safety of the researcher which meant that alternative interview sites were less appropriate.

Before commencing the interview, participants were invited to sign a consent form giving their permission for the information they gave to be used for the purposes of the research, it also stipulated that all information given was both confidential and anonymous (see Appendix 3); this was reinforced verbally. Agreement was also sought that the interview would be recorded using an audio-tape. The interviews were carried out over a period of three weeks, with interviews lasting between 50 and 100 minutes. Following the interview, participants were given a debriefing sheet thanking them for their participation and giving the researcher's contact information should they wish to discuss anything further as a result of the interview. Through the research process,

participants were invited to engage with the study and offer direction and information to the researcher. This was with the aim of both assisting the research and empowering the participants to explain and express their responses to the project with a view to making the research a more collaborative exercise, recommended in culturally diverse research environments (Ponterotto, 2002). The taped interviews were then transcribed applying standard orthography (Kowal and O'Connell, 2004).

Analysis

The analysis of the interviews proceeded via a five stage analytical strategy as articulated by Schmidt (2004) through the technique of thematic analysis. This encompasses a reflexive relationship between the data, prior theoretical knowledge and the research experience where these complement and inform one another with a view to distilling the information into a number of coherent themes (Schmidt, 2004). This is a largely inductive, bottom-up method seeking to elucidate patterns in the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006) aiming to uncover the groundwork of processes at work.

In the initial phase of analysis, the interview transcripts were repeatedly read and preliminary categories describing prominent themes were delineated. This produced a large number of potential topics which were readdressed and aggregated into an initial set of five codes. In the third phase, the material was classified according to the analytic codes identified in the previous stage, case overviews were then produced quantifying the frequency of the occurrence of various themes. Finally, case interpretations were generated and theme descriptions crystallised.

Reflexivity

The explicit recognition of the position of the researcher within the investigatory environment is particularly pertinent here as issues of culture and religion are fundamental to the enquiry. Being a White female born in the United Kingdom with a Christian background, the experiential gap between the researcher and most of the participants is not inconsiderable. Therefore efforts were made through consultation with those of a similar background to the participants to act with sensitivity and neutrality in order to reduce the influence of extraneous factors on the study and in particular to avoid any unwitting offence.

However, the particular characteristics of the researcher may have more subtle effects on the research endeavour (Manderson, Bennett and Andajani-Sutjaho, 2006). These include the actual and perceived attenuated understanding of the researcher with respect to cultural and religious traditions and mores. Several of the participants delivered explanations and caveats as part of their responses indicating their recognition of the researcher as from an alternative background

and knowledge-base to themselves. This may have inhibited some expressions of experience as a result of this lack of shared knowledge, but may also have served to empower the participants as well as enhance aspects of the researcher's understanding.

Issues of power within the interviews were complex. Some participants for whom English was not their first language may have felt at a disadvantage as this was the language of communication, this may also have meant that some nuances of meaning were lost to both the researcher and participants. Additionally, being asked questions by a stranger about emotive personal experiences and circumstances may have been felt as intrusive and consequently may have influenced responses. Equally, the experience of some of the participants in the United Kingdom has not been positive and consequently a degree of distrust may have been present. If the researcher were perceived as a member of a society which has conferred negative experiences, this may have inhibited development of rapport (Payne, 1999), and contributed to a perception of an imbalance of power. In addition to this, the perceptions of the interviewees regarding appropriate responses and behaviour may have been influential in their answers (Richardson, 1999). This may have occurred broadly with respect to their explanation of the project and also on an interpersonal level, where self-consciousness with respect to professed opinions on the British cultural context influenced by the perceived cultural background of the researcher may have affected responses.

A further point which requires acknowledging is that of gender. The researcher is female, and all participants were male. Considerable differences in the imagining of relationships between men and women in different contexts have been highlighted (Williams and Heikes, 1993). In particular, different conceptualisations of gender across cultures have been considered as important to acknowledge when conducting interviews, as these can influence the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee and consequently affect both the responses and analysis (Marshall and Rossman, 2006). Interactions may therefore be less open and productive between individuals of different genders, which may potentially impact on the outcomes of the research.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

1. **Need: susceptibility built on disenfranchisement and disadvantage**

When conceptualising the need that precipitated the SEED and PROSEED projects, participants raised three interlinked concepts, those of an arena of disadvantage, a sense of disenfranchisement and a concomitant susceptibility to crime, anti-social behaviour, economic marginalisation and extremist views. Whilst not necessarily presented as a linear process, the relationship between these circumstances was clear in the mind of some of the speakers:

“The system here still sees them as foreigners, coloured people, Black people, Asian, whatever it is, and they come from a country, in that they grew up feeling that they were British, part of this society ... and so they grew up, somehow they were able to get an Islamic understanding, and became Muslims, and so [there was] no thorough teaching, and so anything radical attracts such people ... they couldn't easily get job opportunities ... so they are easily attracted to anything radical.” [C1]

Disadvantage

“... first you're not white, second you're Muslim, so ... it's double edged, you know, double effect hanging over your chances ...” [C1]

The disadvantage portrayed by the participants condensed into two interacting strands, one practical, and the other attitudinal. The pragmatic aspects of existence within the Stockwell community were expressed as grounded in a deficit of either personal capital or socio-economic security, the lack of which was perceived significantly to undermine the potential of the individual:

“I see a lot of people, you know, losing their way and everything ... we come from other places, this is challenge for us, you know, because of language, education; you don't have education, you are not available, you are out of order, so some people really need help, real help.” [B4]

This was a perception that included both recent migrants and those who had been living in the country for generations, and focused heavily on issues of social welfare. This localised experience is borne out in the official statistics on BME groups in Lambeth who are over-represented in social and poor quality housing, homelessness, offending and unemployment (London Borough of Lambeth, 2004). This was exemplified in the words of a coordinator of the project:

“We realised that some of the problems facing, particularly ethnic minorities, and most of the new-comers was training, education, housing, employment, these are key issues, and you can’t give these people dole all the time.” [C1]

An outcome of this disadvantage was referred to as a cyclical process of hopelessness serving to increasingly internalise low aspirations and consequent low achievement. This has been referred to as a ‘self-fulfilling prophecy’ (Jussim and Fleming, 1996) whereby external assumptions of low attainment are internalised leading to expectation-appropriate behaviour (Sinclair and Huntsinger, 2004) which become normative within social contexts. This was discussed by one of the beneficiaries as follows:

“This generation they have slightly more ambition, but still it’s not enough to uplift their well being. I think it just gets passed down through generation to generation, because I think; for example if my parents weren’t doing anything - they were claiming dole and benefits - then I think I don’t really have a role model, any motivation to do anything more than to claim dole and job seekers and just survive like that ... I think that when they see their parents, their relatives, not really doing anything, just claiming benefits, or involved in crime as well, then I think it has a big impact on their psychological behaviour, their mentality, it’s to do with their confidence and self esteem.” [B3]

A wider sense of injustice ran as an undercurrent through the dialogues when describing the Muslim community and the challenges it faces which had as its focus a narrowing arena of opportunity. Alongside practical aspects of existence such as the lack of appropriate housing, or issues of immigration a further layer of disadvantage was illustrated concentrating in the attitudinal disposition of those in a position to assist with this first tier of problems. Thus, the presence of prejudicial and hostile attitudes was described by almost all of the participants and was exhibited in a variety of forums:

“Sometime you cannot go to the serious authority to talk to them, because sometime they are racist maybe, sometime they don’t like you maybe.” [B4]

“... when you get stop and searched it builds up a certain resentment, you just try avoid them [police] as best you can, they’re not your best friends.” [B2]

This may be considered of greater pertinence to members of BME groups as they are more likely to be visibly different, and consequently at greater risk of experiencing prejudice (Quinn, 2004). These responses triangulated with the experience of a representative of the authorities who described the effect of perceptions of prejudice and the difficulties inherent in the interaction between the Muslim community and the police as follows:

“Islamophobia undoubtedly compounds what is already a very acute problem, and in many ways, we in authority, we have not helped that situation by, you know, our approach to Muslim males and to the Muslim community, and I say ‘we’ because I

am part of the establishment ... over the past two or three years an acute situation has been made all the more acute, and has caused people to become more distant, I would say from authority" [A1]

The 'acute problem' referred to here is that of ethnicity and related prejudice which was discussed interchangeably with discrimination or distrust stemming from religious affiliation by the interviewees. The effects of such stigma have been argued to have wide-reaching effects, including negative impacts on self-esteem, motivation and social interaction (van Laar and Levin, 2004), with the issue described by the participants as a situation with increasing resonance for members of Muslim communities in the area:

"I think Islamophobic attitudes have increased over recent years, young people are angry, they are concerned." [C2]

"Sometime[s] I feel that I'm not getting that type of respect that a British person should have from my other fellow citizens - maybe because they have some different thinking about different peoples." [B1]

The dual stigma stemming from ethnicity and theological orientation has increased in pertinence in recent years (Runnymede Trust, 1997) as highlighted in the recent debate over a question in the census on religion (Sherif, 2003) and the growing movement to make religious representation a key indicator of diversity in the workplace (Walsh, 2007). It is one which is felt in the community and as one participant explained, has the effect of crystallising their self concept around a Muslim identity; "when young people are made aware of these kind of issues, by politicians, for example the cricket test ... so when their religion comes in question, so their bonding increases towards their religion, [rather] than towards their nationality, so this is where there is still huge gap." [C2]. This may be interpreted as a response to a feeling that their identity is threatened (Rogers et al., 2007), one consequence of which is the coalescence around a strong group identity (Ethier and Deaux, 1994).

The image drawn through these descriptions by those from within and without the Muslim community in Stockwell is of gradations of disadvantage and difference. A foundation of socio-economic adversity might be interpreted to be both maintained and compounded by prejudicial attitudes serving to hinder the rectification of problems and internalise low aspirations. Additionally, the perception of prejudice acts to discourage the individual from seeking the assistance that is available because of increasing levels of distrust made more acute by the visibility of difference in the community. This may be argued to have a dual effect; to further isolate the individual from systems conceived to address their needs, and to increasingly differentiate them from the wider social milieu serving to further stratify the community, in particular through an enhanced identification with a Muslim group identity.

Disenfranchisement

“There’s people at the top of the hierarchy, they don’t want things to change ... they don’t want some communities to rise.” [B2]

A picture of exclusion and disconnect from the system was painted by all the participants, and was illustrated in the language used by those in authority to describe those engaged with by SGCS, characterised as being “seldom-heard, hard to reach groups” [A1]. This classification serving to define the partition between the actors and one which was rejected by some, as expressed by someone external to the project; “they’re not hard to reach, they’re right there” (field notes). This may be said to illustrate the difference between knowledge of a particular group’s existence, and finding a route to engagement with a view to developing an understanding of need.

This gap between social systems, their actors and their intended beneficiaries was portrayed as both structural and personal. No mediator was present between the communities and the system, and an increasing level of distrust and disenfranchisement typifies the relationship as described here by a member of the authorities:

“I think on a day to day basis, given the quite abject levels, and disproportionate levels of health, wealth, prosperity, worklessness ... across a range of indices, the Muslim communities fare very poorly, and that’s felt every day and I think that’s obviously one of the reasons they become disenchanted with the system. Because they don’t see themselves as part of the system, they feel that there is institutional discrimination ... they would just feel that you know, the system’s not for us, because it’s evident in the fact that we get poor health care, we’re likely to die earlier, we are less likely to live in a house that we own, less likely to get a job - even when we do achieve a qualification.” [A1]

This feeling of distance and distrust was experienced as a bidirectional process of both disenchantment with wider society and its actions, and the experience of isolation and hostility from the community at large and finds parallels in Muslim experience across Europe (Husain and O’Brien, 2000). As well as local and personal impacts such as housing, employment and education issues, events in the wider public realm were described as important in the experience of those interviewed. In particular they were critically informed by the recent national and international terrorist attacks a view which has increasing levels of support (Abbas, 2007b) and is depicted here by two of the beneficiaries:

“After 7/7 or 9/11 things have changed to a great extent, and community, especially my community as a whole, being subjected to some, you know, harsh words from

different societies in terms of terrorism, in terms of anti-social activity. They have been labelled and one can imagine, you know, if you are part of a society which is tarnished how we can feel.” [B1]

“now we are facing these things ... now, after 11th September people don’t care ... because before it was good, you don’t find any discrimination.” [B4]

The societal impacts of terrorism and the related War on Terror are argued to be exhibited in a negative impact on community relations (House of Commons, 2005) an increase in hate crime (Kaplan, 2006) and at its most extreme has been described as “structured anti-Muslim racism” (Fekete, 2004:3). The governmental response to these events was described as affective at a local level in Stockwell, and responsibility for extremist views and actions was placed by some participants with foreign policy, as illustrated here:

“... it’s actually international politics which is fuelling home-grown, bred terrorism, because things happen globally but it trickles down to locally, to have effects locally ... what the Middle East and the Muslim community feels now is that it’s a war against Islam because they’ve gone into Afghanistan and killed thousands and millions of Muslims there, they’ve gone into Iraq and killed thousands and millions of Muslims there.” [B3]

“Some of it [disenfranchisement] - not a lot of it - is outside of our control, because it’s dictated by international events, I understand that, so look, you know the argument always comes back to what’s happening in the Middle East, in Afghanistan etcetera, etcetera.” [A1]

This discourse of disenchantment was portrayed as having severe consequences in the individuals with whom the coordinators of the project had contact; this was most evidenced in the younger people: “particularly the youth, who at that time were increasingly becoming disenfranchised, isolated, and feeling alienated by the system and therefore thinking of way out in terms of turning to crime, turning to anti-social behaviour, and so on and so forth.” [C1]. This process has been discussed as crucially influenced by the ease with which information about foreign affairs and experience in the wider Muslim community may be accessed (Tsfati and Weimann, 2002). The intense media interest in the War on Terror and the concomitant conferral of a high profile to Western involvement in Muslim countries may have influenced the amount of information available (Weinberg and Eubank, 2004). Additionally, an increasingly technologically-literate youth have the necessary tools to access this information (Cilluffo, Cardash and Whitehead, 2007). The presence of subversive influences on the internet is a further influential factor where the utilisation of a multi-media platform to promote extreme views has been described as significant in the radicalisation of those in contact with it (Jongman, 2006). The result of this is described as a questioning of the response that should be given to the situation, the most vehement of which follows in the words of a coordinator:

“So I as a devout Muslim, or growing up in this society, it’s saying that the state has let us down, they feel that more people without jobs are in the Black community, the Asian community or so forth, so I’m just going to become the same number you know? I’m going to join them. So why shouldn’t I go there and vent my anger, you know, and put people in the box [coffin].” [C1]

“There were the people who were turning to violence, extremism, radicalisation - they are getting personal satisfaction from that.” [C1]

Hence, one factor that emerges from the overall theme of need is that of a disenfranchisement and isolation from the system as a consequence of perceptions of prejudice and discrimination alongside structural inequalities and disadvantage. As a result of this, those disillusioned with the situation are described as seeking an outlet in violence and extremist ideology, the presence of which was highlighted by those within the Stockwell community: “we noticed and believed that there was a great need for this project to engage with young people particularly those who were at risk of offending and there were also some signs that there were a significant number of people engaged in extremist activities.” [C2].

The interlinked nature of social and economic disadvantage and extremist religious ideology was a recurrent theme in the dialogue of the interviewees. These are frequently combined to illuminate the motivation of those who hold extremist ideology and related criminality (Newman, 2006) and include low socio-economic status, poor educational attainment, limited employment and attendant life opportunities (Post, 2005), poverty and lack of security (Wagner, 2006). As one participant explained with respect to the aims of the projects:

“That’s not to say that organisations such as [SEED and PROSEED are] all about, kind of, defeating terrorism and radicalisation, it’s not, but there’s an element of that, cause it is difficult to sort of, disentangle the two.” [A1]

One implication of this is that the action at work is one of a ‘push’ rather than a ‘pull’; where economic deprivation and feelings of distrust in the system pushes the individual towards action. These are recognised as specific strains which increase the chances of criminal activity (Agnew, 1992). Specifically, the inability to achieve conventional goals and adverse treatment from others results in a pressure for corrective action in the form of maladaptive behaviour (Agnew, 2001) and has been found to be particularly prevalent in economically deprived urban areas (Hoffman, 2003). Additionally, this push of economic hardship is argued to increase the likelihood of forming or joining a criminal group in order to alleviate the strain resulting from low success levels (Eitle, Gunkel and Van Gundy, 2004) heightened where legitimate avenues for income generation are curtailed (Anderson, 1999). This idea of multiple stressors increasing the likelihood of maladaptive behaviour is in contrast to the idea of a set of religious ideals or individual-centred

goals pulling the person towards violent or criminal behaviour, and was not referred to as a potentially influencing factor by any of the participants.

Susceptibility

“... if one has no job, no future, no training [one’s] more vulnerable to any bad activities.”
[B1]

The image portrayed by the interviewees was one of the creation of an arena of susceptibility where economic inactivity, disenfranchisement and lack of opportunity formed a negative space which came to be filled by maladaptive behaviour, as described here:

“If you just leave your kids like, without any attention they will do whatever they like. Same thing applies for society, if the young peoples society just let them to go whatever they want; they are unemployed, they have no any destiny, they have no any jobs, no any future, they are a very soft target which can be exploited by anybody.” [B1]

This depiction describes the process as an opportunity for exploitation formed through the interaction of two sets of circumstances; a deficit of prospects, and the presence of others who offer an alternative lifestyle. This is in keeping with the finding that, amongst other factors, poverty and deviant peer influence are significant predictors of offending and anti-social behaviour, particularly in adolescence (Farrington, et al., 2006; Moffitt, 1997). The outcome of these may be conceptualised as a continuum of movement away from the mainstream of society, as one beneficiary said; “I started to fall off the rails a bit” [B2]. This increasing disconnect from viable economic and adaptive social activity is described almost as a vacuum into which others can move and influence the individual in a negative and incremental manner as one beneficiary explained:

“I don’t think people, it’s as direct as people think it is, like they go up to you and say: do you wanna be a terrorist? I think it, my opinion, is they start, they approach vulnerable teenagers and start them off on a life of crime, like drug dealing, and even though that’s nothing to do with Islam - drug dealing - but some youths might be attracted to that, cos they think there’s money coming; and then, after they become drug dealers and they get the money, then these people start sort of, moulding their beliefs into these people and start saying well look at you, you’re a drug dealer, you’re not a good person, this is your chance to become a better person and gain, spiritual enlightenment as it were, do something good, and you know, become a good Muslim.” [B2]

This describes a combination of pressures, in the form of anticipated financial reward, but also as a consequence of external social influences. These were portrayed as active particularly on younger members of the community, specifically from peer pressure and gangs. The maladaptive

influence of deviant peers is considerable (Hill, Lui and Hawkins, 2001) and has been found to be predictive of gang membership (Eitle, Gunkel and Van Gundy, 2004). It has also been argued to be exacerbated by the presence of multiple risk factors, including antisocial interaction with the community, low socio-economic status and low academic aspirations (Hill, et al., 1999). This association with gangs is argued to increase the risk of committing crime significantly, in particular violent crime, and the chances of drug use (Thornberry, 1998). In addition, gang membership has been conceptualised as a route out of poverty through crime (Coughlin and Alladi Venkatesh, 2003). Thus, economic motivation alongside peer pressure are presented as explanations of gang involvement (Joe and Chesney-Lind, 1995), the presence of which was described as an almost inevitable part of being a young person in that context:

“Cause, when you’re young, it’s part of the culture when you go to secondary school and colleges you know, you have to have a certain credibility ... basically, you have to be in with the crowd, and if you’re not, you know people look at you as, you know, you’re a loser, it’s just the whole peer pressure isn’t it.” [B3]

The effects described by another beneficiary are more consequential and are illustrative of the influence social contexts have for those engaged with them:

“It’s not like I was going out you know, starting fights with people, but when you hang around in those sort of gangs, you have rivals, and they see you and they know you. They associate you with certain other people, then you can get started on, and you have to sort of, defend yourself, you can’t really run away cause then it looks bad on you.” [B2]

The consequences of these encounters are both practical – as described above in the pressure to act physically – and also defined as having cognitive impacts, such that the individual’s identity is brought into alignment with those with whom he is associating. This has been interpreted as a result of a re-categorisation of the self in line with a social identity formed through group membership, and is argued to be influenced by a motivation to reduce uncertainty about the individual’s position in the social world (Hogg, 2001). This is portrayed by one of the participants as follows:

“When you hang around with certain people you have to take on a certain shape-shift. You have to sort of change your personality, bottle things up, you know, and act sort of the ways they act - it’s quite complicated - basically you can’t really show who you really are, if you’re a good person.” [B2]

Hence, the susceptibility experienced or observed by the interviewees operated at multiple levels and was explained by a co-occurring set of pressures and circumstances. The overall theme was of a vulnerability to maladaptive behaviour occurring as a consequence of dual pressures; firstly of socio-economic disadvantage and perceived discrimination and the lack of a route towards engagement with mainstream society. This was allied to negative external influences in the form

of group pressures utilising issues such as financial disadvantage or international affairs thus providing an environment of opportunity.

An outcome of this could be described as the internalisation of a negative perception of self leading to further levels of justification and excuse making (Jussim and Fleming, 1996) exacerbated by differential treatment from the agencies of social control towards those from BME groups (Sharp and Atherton, 2007). The labelling of the self as deviant is seen as problematic with respect to the readjustment of the individual into the community after assimilation of a maladaptive identity, and continued deviance (Paternoster and Leeann, 1989). Additionally identification with particular forms of ethnic identity have been seen to influence delinquent and criminal behaviour (Marsiglia, Kulis and Hecht, 2001), an effect of which was described by one of the coordinators: “[you should] let the other thought of being Black or being Asian be secondary; but most people are not able to focus on that, they use that as an excuse.” [C1]. As another coordinator explained, the lack of opportunity or employment provides the groundwork for others to build upon, the presence of whom is indicated here:

“There is so many people they taking adults, or maybe the young to the terrorists ... and they can find easily those people who haven't got a job, who is an ideal position to attract him to that side.” [C3]

“At one time he³ came to the Mosque with big banners [saying] and you kill the West, and kill America, and kill Bush.” [B3]

Therefore when considering the need for the project as described by the interviewees, there appears to be a platform of opportunity generated by practical and social disadvantage operationalised in issues of housing, immigration, education, employment, skills and language and described as exacerbated by a discourse of discrimination and prejudice. Related to this is the experience of disenfranchisement and disconnect from wider social systems; these are perceived as unaccommodating and hostile both to those within the Stockwell area and others with whom there is identification in the wider Muslim community. The result of this is the separation of aspects of the community and those that are tasked to govern them. These factors may be considered in combination to create a void of disenchantment and disadvantage providing an environment of vulnerability within which both discrete and concrete forces operate. These were portrayed by the participants as those wishing to proactively capitalise on sentiments of disenchantment, and also less overtly through the internalisation of prejudice influencing performance, and group processes such as peer pressure and social norms. The result of which is a susceptibility to subversive behaviour in the form of economic inactivity, crime, gang membership or extremism, as one coordinator explained: “anyone who is not in ideal position,

³ Hussein Osman; convicted of the attempted bombings on 21st July 2005 in London.

who has no aim to go, or hasn't got the skill, he will find himself depressed, and it's easy to go to the wrong direction if he found someone who can guide him into that way." [C3]

2. Platform: infrastructure and leadership forming a porthole to engagement

The practical operation of the project was discussed by the beneficiaries in two main ways; firstly through consideration of the infrastructure of the organisation including its make-up, the evolution of its offer, and the issue of leadership. Secondly, the presence of these systems was described as a porthole through which members of the authorities, different communities and individuals could meet and interact. The evolution of a Muslim-led community organisation to engage with those who were both distant from and part of formal systems of governance was identified as important, and was described as follows:

"I think it's about, it's about an infrastructure, it's about capacity, and it's about ... it is about charismatic leadership, it is about someone, and I'm afraid it comes back to someone who can talk the language that the people in authority find acceptable."
[A1]

Infrastructure

"We actually ran this thing properly, in a very formal way ... each time we looked at our programmes, our failures, our achievements and so on." [C1]

The SEED and PROSEED projects were administered by SGCS and the infrastructure that evolved around them may be distilled into two facets, those of practical structure and human capital. The organisation itself is required to run on a formal basis and encapsulates several layers of administration as one of the coordinators explained:

"So we devised a means, or way of strategic planning ... in-between the management committee of [the] organisation and the management of the programme we also put in the middle a steering committee. The steering committee consisted of representatives of the partners and any experts that we felt would add value to our strategy, work plan. So, the management committee would look at the overall performance of the organisation, SEED included." [C1]

This served a number of functions in addition to the practical aspects of managing the programme. The presence of visible layers of control and accountability were said to lend comparative credibility to the organisation in the eyes of those with whom they needed to engage, as a member of the authorities said:

“It’s always useful to have an understanding of the infrastructure of the organisation the fact that they have got a mission statement, the fact that they have got aims and objectives ... and that there is a sort of programme board, sort of monitoring their progress, so there is some accountability.” [A1]

It also provided a formal platform onto which members of other organisations could be invited to contribute and solidify links with the project. The formulation of the steering committee served to bring together potentially distant partners such as the Police and other local community groups, thus creating a forum of accountability and dialogue. This has strong parallels to the Communities that Care model (Hawkins and Catalano, 1992) where key members of the community set up a board inclusive of relevant stakeholders to assess the risks to the community and agree on a plan of supported intervention.

The advocacy of people in positions of authority was described as important in the securing of funding, without which the project could not have operated. The presence of what were described as “high level strategic linkages” [A2], who were “advocates in high level[s] of the Met Police, senior politicians” [A2] had several implications. Firstly, the conferral of credibility, but it was also described as an additional incentive to engage, as commented on here:

“Because I’m thinking, bloody hell, you know, he’s had Tony Blair there, you know, I better respond to his phone calls sort of thing.” [A2]

The way the participants spoke about the project and its practical operation seemed to coalesce around layers of support built up incrementally and applied as leverage where needed. The interactive nature of the generation of this support was emphasised by a number of the participants and described as operant “through the building of trust between groups” (field notes). The increasing recognition of trust and its relevance to inter-organisational relationships within the third sector has been discussed, in particular with respect to the facilitative role its presence has between partners required to operate in tandem (Tonkiss and Passey, 1999). These linkages and their foundation in trust may be considered a key aspect in the role of voluntary organisations as sites of advocacy for marginal groups exemplified in the organisation of the SEED and PROSEED projects (Hirst, 1995).

The foundation for this infrastructure was described as crucially informed by the support of the religious community. The role of Stockwell Mosque in lending a framework and recognisable forum to the organisation and its key actors was described as follows:

“I think it’s enormously important, I think it gives him [project coordinator] a platform, certainly gives him a voice, a powerful voice and it’s enabled him to sort of move into very senior circles.” [A1]

The relevance of SGCS's offer was secured through consultation with members of the Muslim community in Stockwell. This process of inclusion is argued to act as a tool of empowerment whereby individuals have a direct influence on decisions involving their lives (Pimbert and Wakeford, 2001) seen to increase effectiveness within voluntary organisational settings (Couto, 1998). This required the support of the Mosque's trustees as well as its members and was facilitated through active engagement with both those the project aimed to help and other relevant organisations, as described here by one of the coordinators:

"Well the decision of the programme was made purely on the assessments carried out through our previous programmes, such as SPARC, HELP, GRACE,⁴ and community consultations on Fridays after prayers. So, ESOL; ICT; setting up businesses; courses, accredited courses of Business Management and ICT related these were the messages we were getting from the community through this consultation. And also we had numerous open days in partnership with Refugee Council, JobCentrePlus, Estate Skills Partnership, Local Authority, Metropolitan Police, local groups, Lambeth Voluntary Action Council, Housing Associations, so during the open days we carried out surveys." [C2]

In order to act upon the needs identified by those within the community, financial support was required, the requisition of which, whilst described as difficult, was assisted by their position within the community and the infrastructure that was developed, as described here:

"I think the fact that they are engaged with a particular client group and that was one of the attractions to us in a sense that you know, we, I mean we have targets to engage with, sort of, BME groups, but as well as sort of the target issue, we have desire a do that, and recognise that there are certain groups that we weren't engaging with" [A2]

"What we traditionally do is, we engage with members of the community who are willing to talk to us, you know, and, because it's easy, so xxx's there, established, he's already got this relationship." [A1]

The generation of funds and the relationships that developed between the agencies were portrayed as crucially influenced by the leaders of the project. Various described as "charismatic, transformational" [A1], and an "icon" [B4], the key figure in the project was rendered a vital element in its operation. His role was described as "a champion, and people get attracted to the champion. It is the mix of key inspirational people plus the programme that makes it unique" (field notes), the importance of which was emphasised by the leaders themselves:

⁴ These were projects run by SGCS prior to the SEED and PROSEED programmes each of which had specific aims and tools to deliver them by. SPARC: Sports Programme to Aid Reduction of Crime; HELP: Holidays Education and Learning Programme; and GRACE: Gun Reduction and Addressing Crime through Education.

“Leadership is crucial, because that’s where you give people confidence, that’s where you give people direction, that’s where you give people trust.” [C1]

Whilst not empirically quantified, the leadership of the project may be equated to a style of transformational leadership (Bass, 1990) wherein a combination of charisma, motivation and individualised consideration of others leads to a transcendence of self interest and change (Bass, 1990). This may also be considered to enable effective advocacy on behalf of the local Muslim community to express the challenges facing it, the ability to do so being considered important in leaders with an agenda of social change (Arredondo and Perez, 2003). The impacts of this may be considered a further facet of relationship building between agencies, and was expressed by one as follows:

“He talks very eloquently about the issues that he’s dealing with, around global terrorism, and you know, we can all sort of appreciate the business he’s in, you get a sense of that what he’s doing is quite important, and again, that you know, makes you want to help.” [A2]

Hence the engagement facilitated by SGCS can be seen as firstly providing a platform for physical interaction considered to facilitate positive attitude change between groups through the medium of cooperation, shared goals and the support of local authorities (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000). Secondly this platform may be conceptualised as one where the sharing of knowledge and lived experience is enabled through the expression of alternative perspectives resulting in improved relations between groups (Vescio, Sechrist and Paolucci, 2003). This in turn may be argued to lead to the development of trust and an enhanced understanding between agencies (Fukuyama, 1995):

“The Muslim community was excluded from the rest of society, there was an apartheid between the communities; SEED brought the authorities closer to the Muslim community.” (Field notes)

The picture that emerges is of the gradual development of support built on the foundation of the religious community enabling the creation of a concrete space of engagement in the form of Stockwell Green Community Services. This was enacted through a visible infrastructure, community and agency involvement, and an engaged and influential leadership who took ownership of the problems facing the area. The knowledge-base for the practical enactment of programmes to engage with these issues was developed through a process of engaging with funding bodies and the local community interactively, the result of which was SEED and subsequently PROSEED. This could in turn be seen as operating to enhance levels of understanding and generate networks of involvement across diverse agencies and representatives via an organisation able to learn and subsequently act cognisant of the administrative requirements of wider social organisations. This allowed the project to engage with

those issues it saw as important to the local area and to “translate this, sort of a global issue about terrorism into a local project about young people having IT skills” [A2].

Porthole

“We brought the community closer to authorities, to the local authority; we removed these bullet-proof barriers that were there between the community and the police” [C1]

The wider role played by SGCS and the SEED and PROSEED projects may be conceptualised as a bidirectional porthole through which various agencies and members of the Muslim community in Stockwell could engage with one another. Hence, the authorities are provided with a site of interaction, and the community are given somewhere for their voice to be heard, the outcome of which was described by the interviewees as an opportunity to develop understanding and trust leading to change and security, as one participant said: “communities ultimately turn around terrorism” [A1].

The situation in the recent past between state agencies and the community in Stockwell was characterised as flawed, as one of the coordinators explained “there was suspicion, strong suspicion between the community and the police, and the authorities, and mostly central government.” [C1]. To address this polarisation, SGCS developed a multi-level engagement strategy of which the SEED project was an integral part:

“SEED was the response, and was a triangular approach with the local authority, the Met [Metropolitan Police] and the community, working to respond to extremism, but also as a way of engaging with young people. There was a lack of trust towards police and authorities.” [C1]

A further reality that emerged through the investigation was that of an historical reluctance on behalf of those in positions of authority to engage with the problem of extremism in the Stockwell community; as one Police Officer was reported to have said: “I don’t have a box that says ‘terrorism’” (field notes) in reference to the positioning of the issue within the structures extant in the police. A key driver of the change in approach was the terrorist attack of 7th July 2005; as one member of the authorities explained:

“It certainly justified what he was doing, or the organisation was doing, and I think it probably did make other people who hadn’t been, or who weren’t aware of probably, SGCS and the SEED project - I’m thinking of people at the council in particular - it made them sort of sit up and take a bit more notice of what was going on.” [A2]

The result of this may be considered a greater willingness to engage with the aims of the SEED and PROSEED projects and hence facilitate the provision of the tools that the authorities had with respect to funding and practical support. The increased importance conferred by the terrorist attack of 7/7 to the issue of extremism was also seen in an attitude shift in those previously reluctant to accept its pertinence within the Muslim community itself. Thus, the initial rejection of the relationship between the community in Stockwell and wider issues of radicalisation was changed to recognition of the challenges to be faced. Consequently, a new preparedness to address the problem caused by the events of 7th July may be thought to have catalysed the relationship between the community and the authorities via the platform of SGCS, as explained by one of the coordinators:

“I think for those people who were not listening to us it opened their eyes, and those people who were very angry with us [asking] why were we talking about extremism and terrorism, they personally came to us and apologised, said xxx we were wrong, we should have listened to your team. So again, that is an impact which we felt straightaway. The impact on the community at large - it brought closer, community came closer as a matter of fact, and the authorities, [who had not been] willing to listen to these concerns, they came on board as well.” [A2]

A factor highlighted by those leading the project was of a desire for community protection, as was explained: “one aim was to maintain good relations between the Muslim community of Stockwell and the authorities so the whole community was not blamed if something happened” (field notes). This was in part facilitated by the triangular strategy, such that responsibility both for addressing the problem and for any negative outcomes was spread between the police, local authority and the Muslim community in Stockwell.

The triangular model aimed to engage all partners in taking ownership of the problem of radicalisation, crime, economic disadvantage and disenfranchisement, and thus operated on a number of levels. In the first instance, the physical proximity facilitated by the project and its steering committee gave the various groups a forum for dialogue. This also meant that the rights and responsibilities of all the actors were implicitly recognised, and with respect to the Muslim community echoes a change in emphasis from rights to responsibilities (Malik, I. 2004). Thus the core responsibility of the police to protect, and of the local authority to provide social support were illustrated by their inclusion in the make-up of the project. This may be argued to operate alongside the concept of civic responsibility, whereby a reciprocal relationship of participation with the community is developed (Waldron, 2003). The voluntary sector has been considered a site for the re-emergence of this form of active citizenship (Turner, 2001) particularly as it fosters trust, cooperation and civic engagement (Milligan and Fyfe, 2005). This may be extrapolated to a clarification and related ownership of rights and responsibilities within the societal context which

includes individual citizens, the police and local government (Crick, 2000; Dwyer, 2000). The willingness of the Muslim community in Stockwell to engage with external agencies to facilitate this process was described to rest upon the local foundation of the project, as expressed here:

“It’s an extremely useful porthole, for us the police to engage with young people, and we know through the work that the project does that they are producing positive individuals, that’s what we see, so it’s kind of defeating radicalisation, it’s quite a fairly basic approach that we need to take, and it is often about getting people on side and it is about enabling the community to see the human side of policing and the establishment rather than believing everything that’s played out on the international stage.” [A1]

“xxx played that vital part - a link, a reliable, trusted link between police and society - and not only that, he played a very active part in bringing police and ... community, on one platform.” [B1]

An aim of this was to “remove all misconceptions” [B1] and enable a degree of accountability to be developed through direct engagement, as described here by one beneficiary:

“You can put up your questions, your problems, straight away, face to face, to the police, and you can ask your problem, you can solve your problems. Giving them, you know, a sense of like, security - don’t feel insecure, police is there at your doorstep - come here, discuss your problem, and that engagement, it boost the confidence of society.” [B1]

The visibility facilitated by the project was described as operating on a basic level to build trust between agencies and the Muslim community through the practical offer of training and its related infrastructure. The platform generated through the provision of a route to skills enabled personal interaction between the community and social agencies, as one member of the authorities said “it brings them into that sort of arena of, you know; public services are trying to do something for local people” [A2].

Understanding of the roles of the different partners was also facilitated, and the project may be interpreted as clarifying and reinforcing an adaptive model of community built around a theological centre, in line with traditional religious roles (Daly Metcalf, 1996). The place of the Mosque was characterised as central, both as a physical place of meeting, but also as a guide to those within its precincts, indeed one of the aims articulated by the coordinators was to turn the Mosque into a community hub. The importance of the leader of the project also being a trustee of the Mosque was explicit confirmation of the link between the religious community and the project, and may be interpreted to add further credence to the programme with the Muslims in Stockwell.

Thus, expectations of both the police and local authority were made explicit, through engagement and action. With the acquisition of funding from the local authority and the invitation for members

of the council's support services to enter the Mosque and periodically operate outreach work from there, the role of the council as provider, and its obligation to proactively engage the community may be considered operationalised. Equally, through the invitation of the police into the religious community, their position as guardian was reaffirmed and was made transparent for both the community and the police, so helping to develop an understanding that "when the police come to the Mosque, they are not coming to do something against the Muslim, they [are] just coming to help the Muslim community" [C3].

The obligation taken on by the Muslim community in Stockwell and facilitated by SGCS may be conceived as a commitment to address the issues that were present in the area and take ownership of them. Thus it may be extrapolated that an informal pact of partnership evolved, moving towards the generation of an understanding of shared rights to help with social issues and security, alongside an appreciation of the responsibility to work together to address the issues of unemployment, disadvantage, crime and extremism. So a prototypical model of citizenship and its relationship with the state may be considered the foundation of the vision of SGCS realised through the SEED and PROSEED projects.

Hence SGCS through the SEED and PROSEED projects can be seen to have begun developing an infrastructure combining practical systems of administration and human capital in the form of well-placed advocates. This was built on the foundation of Stockwell Mosque and an interactive relationship with the Muslim community aiming to ensure the activities and training offered were relevant and desired. The project thereby provides a porthole through which various agencies can interact with the community the effect of which may be conceived of as a crystallisation of the roles, rights and responsibilities of all the actors on a transparent platform facilitating the enhancement of understanding and development of trust.

3. Belonging: fostering a community appropriate, inclusive environment

A theme that emerged strongly was that of belonging and ownership. The project self-consciously organised itself around the practical, religious and cultural needs of the Muslim community in Stockwell, the understanding of which stemmed from the project being initiated and administered by community members. This operated at multiple levels; participants spoke of a burgeoning engagement with the system, and also with the wider community to address personal and social and economic problems. Facilitation for this came from an inclusive and non-condemnatory approach from the leaders of the project and the bringing together of those with similar life histories assisting in the development of an environment of trust. This may be considered to

create a uniquely community-centric tool of engagement, a crucial part of which was the fostering of a sense of belonging, as one member of the authorities perspective illustrates:

“If you felt that it was pointless, and that no-one took notice of you, and no-one sort of recognised your cultural or your religious needs, and all of a sudden you’re placed into an environment where all of that is placed on its head, and everyone and everything around you is geared towards your sort of religious and cultural needs. I just feel that just being placed in that kind of environment it’s got to be really, really positive.” [A1]

Community appropriate

“By engaging with the community, with people that they have respect for, there is nothing that is impossible.” [C1]

The SEED and PROSEED projects were developed by those within the Muslim community in Stockwell to address specific problems pertinent to it, a role for which the third sector through the encouragement of active citizenship is said to be ideally placed to achieve (Taylor and Bassi, 1998). This was encapsulated in a number of inter-related points elucidated by the participants that included the cultural and religious appropriateness of the project, a part of which was the theological input applied to guide and inform the beneficiaries. The project may therefore be equated to a legitimate voice for concerns over terrorism, anti-social behaviour and economic disadvantage to which the local community could contribute and engage.

An implication of the fact that the programme was developed by those embedded within the Muslim community was an inherent understanding of the specific requirements of its beneficiaries, hence a deeper appreciation of what may initiate change and positive development (McMillan and Chavis, 1988). Additionally, the location of the project in the midst of its client group may be argued to allow a swifter recognition of problems and response to feedback, as was explained, “there are short-term aims, when we see young people on the street getting involved in petty crime or drugs, we respond quickly” (field notes). This marked the project out from alternative routes of engagement which, according to one of the coordinators, “were catering for the general public but not understanding the cultural sensitivities and needs of Muslim community hence they could not attract Muslims from faith background” [C2]. The impact of which may be equated to the building of civic capacity where successful renewal is built on the educational accommodation of the various and changing needs of those living in an area, in particular those of BME groups (Stone, 1998). That this process was initiated by a member of the community, was particularly important:

“You have to have a community member, you need to have a, you need to give the sense of belongings, you know.” [B1]

“I think it brought a sense of ownership, sense of belonging, sense of responsibility, and sense of tremendous achievement. If someone else from outside would have come and spoken to someone in the Mosque and said, ‘listen, you have a problem here, and we are here to provide the solution’ people would have been very sceptical probably and that scepticism would not have allowed that openness that we have.” [C2]

The desire to provide a culturally appropriate resource was seen in a number of aspects of the programme centring on unique tailoring and flexibility such that the project was intrinsically client focused, as the coordinators said:

“I think we’re very flexible, we bend ourselves backwards to suit the needs of the beneficiaries; it isn’t 9-5 ... we will have programmes Saturdays, Sundays, Fridays, whenever it suits people.” [C2]

“We sort it out a time which is suitable for them, not at a time suitable for us. So we worked out when they want [it] to be and when they don’t want [it] to be and we run the course accordingly.” [C3]

This practical understanding may be one of the reasons why the project was able to engage with those traditionally under-represented in formal educational outlets, for example first generation female migrants (Cabinet Office, 2001). This had a related impact of building a broader foundation of trust and providing a forum for alternative experiences in a trusted environment leading to attitude and subsequent behaviour change. This may be equated to the building of social capital; the networks, norms and trust which are features of social organisations particularly important in minority communities (Putnam, 1993). Through the medium of voluntary organisations it is argued that social capital is developed through “networks of civic engagement that foster sturdy norms of generalised reciprocity and encourage the emergence of social trust” (Lehning, 1998:35) instances of which were described by the participants:

“To run these personal development and ICT programme for example, particularly for women, initially, women were not comfortable to be taught by men, and we had to break those barriers; really enter into that needy community, or so-called hard-to-reach community. So we utilised our skills to approach women and have women only open day session and slowly, slowly they didn’t mind being taught [by] a non-Muslim male teacher.” [C2]

A process of confidence building was therefore initiated which acted to position the project as a site of trust and support described as making a “difference because of ownership, we demonstrated to the community that it wasn’t one of those programmes that were imposed, which had added to the feeling of suspicion. Because that is what had happened in the past all along, you know, people went and collected money to help the community and said we want to do this

for the people, and they don't involve them, they don't let [them] be part of it, part of the engagement, part of the process, part of the delivery." [C2].

A further element in the operation of the project was that of responsibility, a reciprocal relationship was instigated between those benefitting from the project and its administrators underpinned by an assumption of expectation fulfilment. This is described as both a characteristic and a strength of 'grass-roots' organisations (Milligan and Fyfe, 2005) where relationships are less hierarchical than in more formal service provider-beneficiary scenarios (Brown, et al., 2000). Thus, one attraction of the project was thought to be the investment made by the coordinators, the positive effect of which rested on implied obligations and the principle of reciprocity (Regan, 1971), as described here:

"Because it's based from the Mosque and it was for the community itself here, maybe [it is] more attractive ... because you know the teacher is doing it just for them not because of sake of money, or sake of something, you know, it's for me." [C3]

"... and the young people particularly, among the Muslim community they felt the necessity to support the delivery partners of the management of the programme. To support them by coming in time, involving other people - that one elderly person is here, he's opened the centre for us on Saturday, we must not let him down, so that sense of responsibility, was created in both sides really." [C2]

A consequence of this may be interpreted as the internalisation of responsibility by those engaged with the project such that "the community is more participative now, there aren't certain questions, they aren't that many now concerned: 'oh why do we discuss about extremism and terrorism, what has it got to do with us?' Now they own the problem." [C2]. This sense of ownership has in turn been found to lead to increased community cohesion (Wandersman, 1981) which has a concomitant positive effect on individual attraction to a community and desire to participate (McMillan and Chavis, 1988). It has also been seen to have an impact on both levels of crime (Krivo and Peterson, 1996) and fear of crime (Riger and Lavrakas, 1981). In addition, an enhanced sense of community is said to mediate the effects of social disadvantage on young people (Cantillon, Davidson and Schweitzer, 2003) which in turn is critically related to crime and delinquency (Bursik, 1988), the relationship between which was described as follows by a member of the authorities:

"We have a map of Lambeth, if you look at the indices of social deprivation it will chime with our crime hotspots, so we know the most deprived wards in Europe - you know, Coldharbour ward, Vassal ward - are our crime hotspots." [A1]

In addition to the educational and personal development tools utilised by the project to instigate change, theological knowledge was applied specifically to address the issue of extremism. This was because one of the causes of radicalisation was considered to be a "warped and distorted

view of Islam, [so] the people at risk of becoming violent extremists or terrorists ... we engage them in discussion with Islamic scholars ... the scholar says to him, that look, this is what it says in the Qur'an, you can't kill innocent civilians; suicide is completely forbidden; this is completely wrong. Then it changes the mindset of the person because they're saying look, if the Scholar's saying it's wrong then who is an average person to say that, yes let's go to Iraq and go on a plane and go kill people" [B3]. The coordinators of the project linked those holding such views with authentic Islamic scholars who were external to the project. The Imams invited to engage with the beneficiaries are held in high esteem, and are not explicitly involved in the delivery of the SEED and PROSEED projects. This may be considered to lend further credence to their message due to their perceived neutrality and their credibility as experts (Hovland and Weiss, 1952). This acted to confront and challenge the views of those at risk of extremism through a religiously founded truth presented in an inclusive environment as typified in this vignette:

"We give an example, I give a book of William Wordsworth's poetry, and say: there is a British poet William Wordsworth, will you read it for me please, what does he mean by that? Shakespeare's work, you see. You were born and bred here, English is your first language, what does it mean? And then he struggles, and I say: exactly, Qur'an is not a book which is written by a human, it is written by God Almighty, you need to have a qualified Imam who can really interpret and understand the background. ... So we will invite, Imams, from, not local Mosques, from other even cities ... and then we have a gathering, and it wouldn't be one to one - the person might feel intimidate. What we do is we have a session, among parents, some young people, elderly people, 10, 20, 30, people; this is where the question will be raised by someone else, not even by that person, so that he's fully secure when he's there." [C2]

The cultural appropriateness of the project may therefore be seen to confer a number of benefits premised on an intrinsic understanding of the community it aims to serve as a consequence of its roots within it. The effect of this may be conceptualised as a forum for the enhancement of trust, both in the project and beyond its boundaries through the incremental introduction of new forums for interaction between people. The engagement with this was considered enhanced through the conferral of responsibility to those it aimed to assist. These structural devices were supplemented through proactive methods of attitude change operationalised through Islamic scholars who through their standing in the wider community were able to confer authenticity and credibility to the message of non-violence.

Inclusivity

"They can identify with us, they trust in us, they feel we are part of the community, we are part of them, they're part of us" [C1]

The theme of inclusivity was a feature of most of the interviews and was characterised as operative at various social levels. The philosophy of the project focused heavily on a sense of belonging which assumed the existence and value of community and the place of the individual within it, facilitated by a person-centric approach to the beneficiaries. This may be considered enhanced through a setting peopled with others of a similar background and hence facing comparable problems classified by some as role models. In addition there was the fostering of an inclusive and non-condemnatory environment of which discussion and confrontation were accepted parts. The outcome of this may be considered a process of change resulting in a repositioning of the individual within the wider social system which assists in a hypothesised change in role, from being external to the community to becoming an intrinsic part of it.

The person-specific nature of the engagement with the beneficiaries was a characteristic the participants spoke of, as one coordinator said; “it isn’t a one day, one size fits all” [C2]. This may be considered a necessity within a project of this nature. Whilst the beneficiaries may face broadly similar issues, their particular background may require a specific type of engagement, especially as the project aimed to address a number of different issues under one remit. Parallels between this approach and that of ‘engagement mentoring’ (Colley, 2003) may be made in this respect. This refers to a process of interaction within the precincts of an organisation working with socially excluded people, generally the young, in order to re-engage them with the workforce and enact attitudinal change in order to increase their employability through a close bond with another person (Ford, 1999). The effects in similar projects employing such techniques have included improved confidence, motivation and communication (Bennetts, 1999; Hall, 2003). In addition, positive impacts on crime reduction and movement away from maladaptive behaviour have been seen through the application of mentoring (Shiner, et al., 2004). An important part of this emphasised by the interviewees was the personal nature of the intervention. This entailed a unique assessment of individual needs carried out through dialogue with, and inclusion of the individual, the methodology of which has been seen to have positive benefits with respect to integration into mainstream society (Bowers, Sonnet and Bardone, 1999).

The fact that those attending and running the projects were from the same area and hence were facing broadly comparable problems was described as influential, and may be considered important in the creation of a space of acceptance and understanding (Maton and Salem, 1995) as one beneficiary explained about his relationship with the facilitators:

“I made friends with a few of them, we could talk about our problems, where certain people I wouldn’t have been able to talk to them about them things, because they might have done something, but these people have been through what I’ve been through so I could openly talk to them without having to worry about something happening. And you know, a lot of people had it worse off than me, so I was

thinking, well if these are facing these problems then my problems they look like dots on a page compared to what theirs were.” [B2]

Parallels between this and a self-help context may be made, as none of the seminar leaders were trained specifically as counsellors and most were volunteers from the community, hence their credibility may be considered based on their position in the project and a convergence of experience with the attendees (Maruna, 2001). Their position as members of the Muslim community with whom the beneficiaries could relate cast them as non-deviant role models and agents of change (Blackburn, 1993). Hence, the relevance of their background and the platform they were given via the project allowed their position as active and positive members of the community to be publicised and consequently have a healthy influence on the beneficiaries (Maton and Salem, 1995), this was described as follows:

“There was one of the coordinators at that time, he was a young person as well ... he was from a very disadvantaged background and he went on to go to university, get good grades and got a job, a very good job in the city as a lawyer and so, looking at him made me feel like, yeah things can be done.” [B3]

“Probably that I had decent role models ... being in the seminar with people in the same boat as you, and showing that other people are trying to get out of the situation that you’re in, was sort of an eye-opener.” [B2]

The practically, culturally and religiously appropriate facilities provided by the project may be conceptualised as providing a trusted and safe place where they could be engaged in a sympathetic manner, as one individual said; “this was a place of refuge and support” (field notes). Thus it may be extrapolated that the provision of a space of dialogue and commonality of experience in an accepting and non-condemnatory environment was a useful tool in the engagement with the beneficiaries to influence attitude change. One of these was the open opposition of maladaptive views, specifically in relation to extremist ideology. Their approach was to “confront them; we confront them; we say look brother, stop this thing that you are doing.” [C1]. This was also specifically tailored to the individual and began through engaging with them to find out their position as described here by one of the coordinators:

“First of all we would carry out our assessment ... through meeting the parents, if it is referral by them, if it is referral by Mosque or any other day centre, or probation we would meet them. If it is a referral through youth offending service we would have a meeting with them, and then with the person himself or herself, and going through various questions, not him or her knowing what was this meeting about ... and we would ask ‘what are you doing nowadays? Is there anything we can do? Are you looking for a job? ... Are you upset about something? Are you under pressure? Is something bothering you? Just showing that we are caring people ... and slowly, slowly when they can see things are happening, *it might take one day, it might take one week, it might take two months, to convince someone that he belongs to us, we belong to him - there’s a relationship.*” [C2]

This inclusive approach was described as fostering a permissive environment for dialogue, so the fear of adverse consequences was negated allowing the beneficiaries to explore controversial topics. The interpreted effect of this was that the individual felt that “I can really ask questions knowing that I won’t be told off; ‘oh you’ve extremist views, get lost from my centre’. It won’t be like this, they will be confident enough to approach us.” [C2].

This framework of person-specific engagement and its local community context may be considered a form of inclusion into social accountability and systems resulting in enhanced social quality (Berman and Phillips, 2000). This being a concept of social inclusion argued to lead to increased social cohesion and empowerment, and crucially increases the degree to which individuals participate in social and economic life (Beck, van der Maesend and Walker, 1997). The overall effect of this was seen as an experience of inclusion into a wider social context as described here by one member of the authorities:

“I mean they’re not fighting the system anymore, they’re part of the system, and everything about their surroundings, everything about the fabric says you know, this is me and I’m a part of it.” [A1]

The community appropriateness of the project has been discussed with reference to the enhanced understanding and increased reflexivity with the client group that it allows. This has been interpreted to facilitate the generation of a site of trust where responsibility taking is encouraged to engage attitudinal and behavioural change. A key influence in this process has been expressed as the teaching of Imams who are invited to the project to express a faithful Islamic perspective on appropriate responses to issues of disenfranchisement. The person specific approach adopted by the project was also highlighted in the dialogue of the interviewees as was the presence of others with similar backgrounds whose time and expertise was given voluntarily. This was discussed as operative within a permissive environment, which through direct confrontation and challenging of maladaptive views within a community context aimed to facilitate attitude change in the beneficiaries, as one said: “if people are engaged, you know, and they are targeted properly, by the leader of the community, one can hold them, to [stop them going] on the path of destruction.” [B1].

4. Multi-dimensional capacity building: from the community to the individual

SGCS via the SEED and PROSEED projects established a wide remit that involved the enhancement of community and individual capacity in the form of skills, collective and personal resources and related confidence. In tandem with this and in recognition of the need for a capable delivery agent, the organisation increased its own capabilities and resource strength through

active investment and an iterative process of learning through engaging with the authorities upon whom they were reliant for financial and practical support.

The result of this process of organisational development was a forum to enable individual members of the local community to develop their personal capacity in a number of inter-related fields. In order to enhance their skill-set practical learning opportunities were provided; these operated alongside measures to increase personal awareness aiming to develop life-skills pertinent to the challenges faced in the Muslim community in Stockwell. Through the forum created by the project, an opportunity for community engagement was provided, allowing the genesis of collective capacity building. The multiple aims of the project are explained here by one of the coordinators:

“The aim was initially to engage the Muslim community with the community at large and provide them [with] a platform of engagement where they could air their concerns, particularly the young Muslims. And enabling them, or equipping them with tools of empowerment, develop skills among the community living in Urban II area, not only the Muslims, but the community at large, and enhance their skills. Ultimately, direct them to employment. And there was a kind of hidden agenda as well that was to ... assess the nature and level of extremism among the community and to identify certain individuals or groups who were engaged in some kind of extremist activities” [C2]

Community and organisational capacity building

“Because they’ve capacity built themselves, which I think is important” [A2]

The recognition that the foundation of community liaison and empowerment was in part supported by the capacity of the Muslim community in Stockwell itself was espoused by several of the participants, in particular the members of the authorities who were interviewed; as one explained:

“so increasingly a lot of our attention now, from my perspective, is now about, sort of, helping engage and build those communities ... not just engaging them, but involving them in our decision making process. It has to be said before we get to [that] there’s a lot of work to be done to build the capacity to enable them to become, you know, equal partners at a table. And I think that’s where the third sector has a huge, huge part to play, and increasingly how we in the public sector at a local authority level, the police and with the local authority will increasingly be looking at small community and voluntary sector organisations to help build that capacity in our communities and I think the, this project for me fits that bill quite neatly.” [A1]

The assumption that community organisations such as SGCS can act as a tool to build capacity within the community seemed implicit in the way those involved with the project spoke, and is recognised as a worthwhile purpose in its own right (Charity Commission, n.d.). This is

considered particularly important in disadvantaged areas with high immigration concentration and residential instability (Pease, 2002) such as Stockwell (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004). These factors are argued to reduce neighbourhood collective efficacy, central to which is the presence of informal social control, social cohesion and trust, the presence of which are argued to increase the ability of the community to address crime and other social and economic pressures (Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls, 1997).

Following the reluctance of the authorities to engage with the issues raised by SGCS, a further aspect of the multi-dimensional nature of the capacity building the project initiated was that of the authorities themselves. Their ability to interact productively and proactively with the Muslim community in Stockwell was described as significantly enhanced and was considered a further aspect of the process of drawing together all necessary stakeholders to address the issues of crime, radicalisation and social exclusion, as described by one member of the authorities:

“Only by going to that third, community and voluntary sector can we hope to close the gap that exists because of institutional racism and a raft of other issues. So we are totally I would say reliant upon that 3rd sector - organisations such as xxx’s to help close the gap.” (A1)

The need of the project’s personnel to have the appropriate capabilities was also recognised. The individuals who came together with the aim of contributing to the community recognised their skill deficits and actively worked to redress them. This included the recruitment and capacity building of volunteers from the community who were considered vital to the project’s ability to operate. As one of the coordinators explained about the early days of the project:

“So we set up a management committee, and they needed training, because apart from just a couple of us or so, most of them are just from the community, they had community based skills, and engagement, but they didn’t have any other skills that would help, so we used some of the funds to train the management or board, or the committee.” [C1]

This explicit capacity building (Cairns, Harris and Young, 2005) went alongside a more subtle process of growth as a consequence of the journey SGCS went on to secure funding for the SEED and PROSEED projects. This may be considered a learning process contributing to the development of the organisation informed by the individual skill-sets of the coordinators, and their interpersonal relationships which combined to generate growth via networks of trust (Kramer, 1999). The skills that were developed were not only of a practical nature, such as improving the quality of funding applications, but included an improved understanding of the nature of wider administrative systems as part of the process of interacting with state authorities. This may also be seen as part of a more subtle process of engagement with wider social entities which through

partnerships lead to a further layer of inclusion and social cohesion (Hudson, et al., 2007), the process of which was described as follows:

“The whole gamut of things that we are monitoring them on, you know, and they have dealt with them all quite successfully, and persevered, and I think that organisation is now in much better shape than it was two years ago ... as a result of the URBAN programme, I think cause they’ve capacity built themselves, which I think is important.” [A2]

An important theme that emerged was therefore the ability of the organisation to respond to its own needs and marshal resources as it required them. This reflexive approach and the implied learning process as a result of the interaction with various authorities may be considered important in the evolution of the group; as it was explained that “their expertise with the support that we’ve given them has massively increased.” [A2]. This in turn may be considered important in the ability to make a coherent contribution to the area, resulting in an increase in community capacity, as one participant explained:

“The whole emphasis now of this council, is about building capacity in communities and engaging and involving communities ... so you know I see projects such as [SGCS’s] as being absolutely central, I mean, we need more.” [A1]

Personal development

“It’s very simple - you’ve got everything here, like cocktail.” [B4]

The multi-faceted nature of the engagement process between the project and the beneficiaries was illustrated repeatedly by the participants. This incorporated several elements; those of enhancing practical skills, community involvement, and assisting with personal development and individual problems, as explained here by one of the coordinators:

“Well there is two type of people, people who get training course, they find the basics of starting in life ... and then it’s people who, not join the course but they are learning from the seminar, the involvement in the community, gathering all the community together. What they have to do, where to go to find help, and all this it make more impact on the community relations; in education side, or in the knowledge side. Plus the help which is in here, like people who have problem ... they can come, even in housing, in home office, even if they have their own private problem if for example they have problem with bill, with credit card, all sorts - they can come in here and they can find help.” [C3]

Whilst not all these elements were under the direct remit of the SEED and PROSEED projects, their interconnection was clear in the minds of the participants, with the different aspects of the

resources being discussed simultaneously and ultimately manipulated with a view to combating extremism:

“There was a bit of a, sort of task, to actually, sort of mould ... quite strategic global objectives to something that fitted a local neighbourhood regeneration programme. And I think the links clearly were there, because xxx understands that the reason why people might be diverted to terrorism because they haven't got opportunities elsewhere in their lives.” [A2]

The primary tool of the SEED and PROSEED projects was training and skill enhancement recognised as a route to engaging with those at risk of crime, anti-social behaviour, unemployment, economic marginalisation and social exclusion (O'Donaghue, 2001). This took the form of practical training and was considered particularly pertinent to the community with whom the project engaged because; “you have to educate people, you know, because people coming from different areas of the world, with different ideas, with different Muslim backgrounds, so if you are in, for example, in the West, you have to teach them more, you have to let them to be involved.” [C3]. The relevance of this has been emphasised with respect to the positive contribution learning has to personal well-being and social cohesion, (Schuller, et al., 2002), and the importance that accessible multi-ethnic communities have as sites for this teaching (Callaghan, et al., 2001).

As discussed, the attractiveness of the offer made to the community rested on its genesis within it, and the practical utility of the skills learned which may be considered to have a twofold purpose. Firstly, to enhance the knowledge base of the beneficiaries which here had a heavy focus on information communication technology, considered important because as one beneficiary said; “nowadays without IT, you are just a blind person” [B1]. Secondly, the aim of the programmes was to act as a practical alternative to engaging in maladaptive behaviour, attempting to reduce risk factors and reinforce protective factors (Pease, 2002). Some of these are thought to include providing positive role-models and creating a physical diversion by giving the individual something to do and somewhere to be; described as the ‘too tied up for crime’ mechanism (Tilley and Laycock, 2002:16); as noted by one of the beneficiaries:

“By offering something they like, like sport or ICT, and then using that to attract them and then also at the same time putting them through the personal development programmes, employability enhancement workshops, and seminars so they have more employment, employability skills so they feel more confident to go out there and get a job rather than sitting on the street and getting involved in crime.” [B3]

Extremism was a direct target of this approach, the engagement with which was premised on the quite straightforward assumption that if there was an attractive, easily accessible, constructive

and cost-free activity available there would be a good chance of engaging with those at risk. One beneficiary explained; “that’s I how I believe that it’s combating radicalisation; because it’s providing something constructive and positive to do, enhancing their employability skills, giving them a more positive and brighter future, it’s giving them the motivation.” [B3]. This has been described as a ripple effect (Hudson, et al., 2007) where key factors such as education and confidence building aid in the movement away from maladaptive behaviour as well as delivering their core aims of training and employability enhancement. The result of this in the form of an increased possibility of economic activity has also been seen to reduce crime levels (Good and Pirog-Good, 1987).

The idea of citizenship was one that ran strongly through the interviews, the development of which was encouraged through the forum the project provided, the experience of which has been shown to be higher in those participating in community programmes (Wandersman and Giamartino, 1980). Hence the deliberate skill building had the implicit effect of bringing people together to provide a medium for community building, as one beneficiary said:

“To get a decent job, you must have a decent education, and a decent training programme. ... And to attract the community, you have to be active with the people like, who are already doing community jobs. ... In both ways, you know it helped me: decent job, decent interaction with community, to learn more about the community’s problems, and solve their problems, you know. [B1]

This also had a relatively basic premise; that by providing skills there was an increased chance of employment, and through this, the route away from crime and into mainstream society with a concomitant understanding of civic responsibility would be clearer, a principle applied successfully in community contexts elsewhere (Fagan, 1987). This was explained by one of the coordinators as a process of diversion and empowerment in order to “increase engagement with the youth and provide them with a platform to become responsible citizens; particularly to create jobs, job opportunities for them, because if you train them, you’re giving them the tool.” [C1]. The aim of this was a cyclical process of renewal and community spiritedness which rested on the fostering of a reciprocal relationship with those helped through the programme and those to come, as one coordinator described it:

“I think those people who have been through this programme, many of them have got jobs they have set up their businesses, or they’re wiser as to how to educate their children. And those people who have set up their businesses, they’re not out of touch, so they’re providing jobs for our trainees, and also when they’re out there, they would look for jobs for our trainees, so they are our ambassadors out there now.” [C2]

A further aspect of the project was the engagement with those problems encountered by members of the local Muslim community through the building of personal capacity. The approach SGCS took through the SEED and PROSEED projects was three-pronged; skills were provided through training, and information and practical support were given through the project leaders aiming to produce empowered and capable individuals. This was premised on building the ability of the individual to counter challenging aspects of their world independently, (McClenaghan, 2000) and was described as follows by one of the coordinators when explaining the aims of the project to other facilitators:

“We made them understand exactly what we were doing, they knew the background; that it’s all about anti-radicalisation, extremism, anti-social behaviour, crime, drugs, you know, safety, community safety. The programme we are running, at the same time, its ultimate objective is to give personal development and direction to the people, because, it’s no good trying to preach to them; ‘stop this and that’ and then you go away - they will soon become targeted again.” [C1]

Additionally, the support of the coordinators appeared present at a personal level to help with particular social problems, described as an important part of transformational leadership, a key element of which is a high level of personal consideration and support (Bass, 1990). This aspect of the project may be conceptualised as fulfilling the role of community outreach work, where leaders situated within the community act as a resource for its constituents and a route to the extension of social capital, the positive effects of which have been demonstrated elsewhere (NIACE, 2004). This may also be considered to have a positive influence on the effectiveness of the project, where trust developed as a result of the engagement with individual concerns may be seen to increase the likelihood of involvement and advocacy on behalf of the programme (Kramer, 1999).

These facets of training, personal and community development and individual problem solving may consequently be considered to have a common aim of developing personal and community capacity. The training schemes act both as a medium to enhance skills and as a tool for community engagement through the building of social capital aiming to address the issues of disenfranchisement, extremism and crime. The project and its leaders may hence be conceived of as a uniquely community appropriate vehicle for multi-level capacity building and change, the outcome of which is felt to be increasingly enabled individuals, as one beneficiary said:

“They trying to change the people, give them new knowledge, and new information, how we can, you know, how we can respond for things, you know, how we can be successful in the life, how to cope with the society.” [B4]

5. Empowerment: aspirations and horizon broadening fostering self-respect

The effect of the programme on the beneficiaries was universally assessed to be positive by the participants, a key factor in which was the inclusive and empowering environment in which courses were said to be delivered. There was a considerable emphasis on the aspirations of the beneficiaries and a clear goal to open their minds to realities alternative to those of radical thought, and to nurture a sense of ambition onto which any practical achievements may be mapped. This was done with a style of engagement that may be characterised as respectful and empowering. Beneficiaries were at the centre of the process of change, with the language used to describe those who emerged from the programme with confidence and raised self-esteem. This is typified in the following remark about the project by one of the beneficiaries:

“It gave me confidence, it gave me belief in myself, and I think [they are] the main factors because, once you have belief in yourself, if you really believe that you’re gonna do something, you’re gonna go out there and gonna become something; I don’t think as long as you try hard and work hard, there’s nothing that really can stop you. Because if you’re motivated and committed and determined ... the world is your oyster, the sky’s the limit, as they say, so you can really do anything you want really, as long as you try hard and work for it.” [B3]

Aspiration

“It was step by step, you know, touching my aspirations.” [B1]

Two interlinked aspects of the project, apparent in the way the participants spoke, were those of ambition, and a forward looking perspective which may be described as horizon broadening. This has been defined as operating in development programmes through the offer of amongst other things; community services, recreation, and mentors in order to expose the individual to new people, places and situations to positive effect (Roth and Brooks-Gunn, 2003). The presence of a strong discourse of aspiration and achievement was described to operate in the way the coordinators interacted with the beneficiaries and acted as a form of motivation to engage with a previously unconsidered future (Roth, et al., 1998). The diverse nature of the project including its personnel, connections and methods, was considered an important aspect of allowing those involved to see alternatives to their own viewpoint and act as a positive influence. These aspects of the project were also described as important in the attraction of the project for those delivering the programme; as one coordinator explained: “I think for me that, trying to create opportunities, or open up opportunities, open up some of those minds to see the world from a different angle was most attractive.” [C1]

The ambitions of the beneficiaries were a starting point for the project in two respects, firstly in terms of the practical aspects of the programme, the aims for which were decided “given the situation on the ground. You know, we looked at what we were tackling, the problems. ... We also had engagement with the youth, we had various seminars and workshops with the youth, who were telling us their experience, they were also telling us what they really want to do. We were asking them; who do you see as a role model in the society, who do want to become, what do you want to become?” [C1]. Secondly, in the individual monitoring of those who came to the project; expressions of personal aspirations were used as a way of assessing their current situation, as one of the coordinators put it; “we looked at each individual case and the information that came with the referral; what we could identify, what we can learn from the interview; he’s sitting before us and telling us what they do, and what their aspirations are.” [C1]. This approach was mirrored in the perspectives of other interviewees and goes some way to illustrate the importance of ambition in the philosophy of the project.

A theme of engagement with the future emerged through the way the beneficiaries spoke about their experience of the programmes, and portrayed a process of change. The coordinators seemed to focus heavily on the picture the individual had of the route towards goal achievement and a consciousness of purpose, described as key to personal wellbeing (Ryff, 1996). This was often described as absent, as one said; “because at that time, I really didn’t have a clue where I was going in life, or what I was going to do, what I was going to be.” [B3].

Goals are linked to feelings of optimism about the future and have been argued to have a positive effect on growth (Catalano, et al., 2004) in particular with respect to social development and emotional adjustment (Wyman, et al., 1993). Goals are also crucially linked to perceptions of self-efficacy, or the belief in the self to achieve specific targets (Bandura, 1989). The higher the appraisal of self-efficacy, the more ambitious are the goals set, and the greater the chance of success (Locke, et al., 1984). It may therefore be extrapolated that through the conferral of practical skills, the beneficiaries of the project may be inclined to set more positive and ambitious targets, as one said; “now, you know, the ambition is there to do something good with my life.” [B2]. This in turn may be effective in the movement of the individual away from crime, maladaptive behaviour, unemployment and the economic margins, as negative conceptions of the future are transfigured into positive ones (CSV, 2003).

Alongside this, enhanced levels of achievement may be the result as a consequence of the focus on goal setting and support from the facilitators, as one said:

“... have an eye for opportunities, and how do you take those opportunities, how do you seize those opportunities, you can’t seize them by walking out on the street

and going out and thieving, so you have to have a strategy, you have to have an ambition. ... But without ambition, without hunger to succeed you simply fail, you need planning, you need assistance, you sometimes can't do it all by yourself, you sometimes need parents advice, teachers advice, people from outside that circle and you can go to them and seek advice ... [therefore] opening their minds up and letting them see opportunities; and we are creating those opportunities. [C1]

There is also a pragmatic approach to the ambitions expressed, with the responsibility conferred to the beneficiary to find a route to their goals with the support of the project. This fostering of self-determination has been described as important in the development of autonomy and competence in educational settings (Deci and Ryan, 1994) and the related empowerment of the individual to move towards positive goals (Fetterman, Shakeh, and Wandersman, 1996), as was described by one of the coordinators:

"We listened to what their aspirations are, and said yes certainly, this is good, but how are you getting there, what is the route ... to put your feet in Richard Branson's shoes? ... So we say ok, you want to become so, so and so, how are you achieving that? Not that we have the solution; these are things you have to learn, no, but we feel we can share our ideology, we can share the opportunity we have with you." [C1]

The effects of this were described by one as operating gradually over time with the result of a future image of the self emerging:

"I didn't really know at the beginning [what I wanted to do], as I came to more and more of these things I started to benefit; sort of envisioning myself in the future." [B2]

This focus on opportunity and a broader outlook was described to operate on a wider platform. The act of attending the project and being introduced to difference; in the form of ideas, people or experiences worked to broaden their horizons, a process described as important in healthy development and successful youth programmes (Roth and Brooks-Gunn, 2000; 2003), as described here by a member of the authorities:

"I think it's being exposed to different experiences, I think a lot of it is through education and different arguments that are being put to individuals. Whereas some of them were only being exposed to a particular narrow train of thought, or a narrow train of experiences; I think if you take that individual out and expose them to different experiences, more positive experiences, where they're exposed to people from different backgrounds, who are speaking about their role, their jobs etcetera, etcetera, then over a period of time you can influence." [A1]

The effect of this process of considering the world from an alternative angle was described as positive and seemed to have a variety of effects on those who spoke about it. These ranged from

a rejection of a past identity, the movement towards a more positive future, and an enhanced image of the self, as the following remarks illustrate:

“Because my mind’s been opened a lot now, before I was thinking of one thing, and now I can actually see the bigger picture, and you know it just seems like a joke that I ever used to do those sort of stuff. Yeah, it’s quite a big joke to be honest, I can’t actually believe I used to be in that state of mentality, to actually hang around in a gang, I mean, what’s the point of it really.” [B2]

“So you can see them, the way they thinking is different now; before he was thinking about something ... and talking about it like he’s in prison, you know, he’s just doing this job because he should do it to live, but now you can see him, like he’s interested ... he is happy.” [C3]

“It’s had a huge effect, like I said, it’s opened up my mentality and it’s really made a better person, more proactive, more positive thinking and makes me want to become something.” [B3]

A unifying element in these excerpts is the theme of change; the movement from a negative past to a more optimistic future is expressed clearly by those involved and may be hypothesised to be a result of the multi-dimensional engagement strategy employed by the SEED and PROSEED projects. This is borne out in evidence from other development projects with the most positive results seen in programmes with a multi-problem-focus and the application of more than one technique, for example, the conferral of skills and use of mentoring, (Catalano, et al., 2004) as in those run by SGCS. This may be the case because the provision of training courses alone may not catalyse change, as one beneficiary explained: “I mean, in the beginning I thought it would be a waste of time, but I gave it a chance and I stuck with it because I learned something, I genuinely, I genuinely benefited.” [B2]. However, through conceptualising a potential use for the tools furnished via the educational aspects of the programme, alongside personal support from the coordinators at the project, the acquisition of skills was given both a more concrete purpose and an increased chance of attainment. The consequence of this may be conceived to be a more hopeful and proactive attitude and a movement away from crime, worklessness and economic marginalisation.

Within a broader environment of empowerment, the participants spoke of ambition and aspiration being important drivers in the attitudes of the beneficiaries. The goal oriented approach was related to conferral of optimism about the future and a potentially increased personal investment due to an enhanced sense of self-efficacy as a consequence of the practical skills they gained. Change within the beneficiaries was described as an outcome of the positive approach of the programme and its multi-dimensional approach. This may be hypothesised to encompass the rejection of a negative past, and the movement towards a more adaptive future, which was considered effective at a wider level by one participant:

“Because community has now big aspirations, you know, big things come from now.” [B1]

Empowerment

“You can make yourself a self-respected person.” [B1]

Two features of the theme of empowerment were apparent; one concerning how the beneficiaries were treated; and complementarily, the effect this had on their self image. The inclusive, participative and respectful atmosphere of the project was emphasised, where the particular situation of the person was paramount to the response of the organisation and the subsequent impact on the individual. This was described as increased confidence and concomitant self-respect, and may be considered the result of an empowering and inclusive environment, with potentially significant effects, as one participant commented:

“He’s [coordinator] able to point to something practical, he’s able to point to something that seems to us to make sense and, and help achieve what we want at the end of the day ... that’s positive individuals who have a place in society, and feel they have a role in society, and I think for me that’s it.” [A1]

The forum the project provides creates a platform of engagement on which the beneficiaries can interact with others who are focused on positive outcomes which has been identified as particularly important in the adaptive and pro-social development of young people (Brophy, 1988). This may be considered a healthy foundation from which dialogue can be initiated through the development of bonds to significant others identified as a protective factor for those at risk of anti-social behaviour (Dryfoos, 1990). This was complemented by what was described by the participants as an arena of self-respect and empowerment which within a community setting has been seen as effective in engaging youth, with related positive effects on the risk of violence and delinquency (Zeldin, 2004) social exclusion and unemployment. One beneficiary described this as the most positive facet of their experience:

“Being treated like a human really, I wasn’t expecting nothing, you know, no-one said if you come here you have to learn this and, you know, I could take it my own pace, you know, like if I didn’t take any notice of the seminar it was entirely up to me; I wasn’t forced into coming here or anything like that.” [B2]

There were clear indications that from the inception of the project, the manner of the leader’s engagement with the beneficiaries should be a person-centred and respectful one; with one coordinator stating that they “would go out of their way to please the young people ... there wasn’t a dictatorial type of approach.” [C2]. This was described as stemming from a process of

active listening undertaken by the facilitators who engaged with the local community, particularly its younger members, and as a consequence equipped themselves with the knowledge of what may be influential in initiating change; as one coordinator explained:

“We were listening to them. It’s very important, listening, very, very important, otherwise they walk away; and again, here we go again, my father is telling me always what to do, and I’ve got to meet these people, and again, these adults, they never respect us, they always tell us what to do. So you have to avoid that symptom ... you have to take a different route.” [C1]

This non-condemnatory and supportive approach, where the individual is encouraged to facilitate their own goal development and empowerment is said to provide three features considered important in the healthy development of individuals with social competence; those of the presence of caring others, challenging experiences and a supportive environment (Zeldin, 1995). The key to which was described as “listening to them, sharing ideas, saying, ‘OK, I’m with you, let’s try, we can get to where the goals you set yourself’.” [C1]. The experience of this was described by one of the beneficiaries as; “people just treat you with respect, you know, no-one tries to put you down.” [B2].

The views of the various interviewees seemed to agree on the point of mutual relationship building; that through respectful dialogue in an encouraging and culturally appropriate environment, people with previously antagonistic roles and identities may reach greater understanding. One explanation for this is that the development of positive relationships between those to whom the individual relates and someone previously considered hostile, are effective in developing positive interpersonal relationships (Wright, et al., 1997). As one member of the authorities stated about the positive engagement he had experienced at the project:

“I mean you think: hmmm, if that’s happening with just one or two individuals and those individuals are able to speak to me, and accept that I have a role to play and accept that we can have a relationship, and for me, that just speaks volumes actually.” [A1]

This was mirrored in the comments of one beneficiary about his interaction with the police at the project who said; “they were treating me with respect, even though some of them knew my background, they didn’t judge me or anything.” [B2].

What may be considered an outcome of this style of engagement is the enhanced self-respect of those attending the project, and was attributed to the empowerment of those individuals. Self-respect is hypothesised to be linked to perceptions of autonomy (Roland and Fox, 2003) which may be considered enhanced through the type of skill development practised by SGCS. Their

active inclusion in the route through the project was described as particularly important, and was exemplified in the well known parable related by one of the coordinators:

“If you want to feed somebody ... don't go and catch fish and give to somebody, teach them how to catch fish themselves and they will always get by. But if you go to them and give a person fish, always they will come dependent on you, so we didn't want to do that.” [C1]

This approach characterised the project's engagement with beneficiaries of all backgrounds, including those with criminal histories who are encouraged to take ownership of their situation. This process of empowerment has been identified in successful youth development programmes elsewhere, and is characterised by supportive adults providing encouragement to the individual enabling them to take ownership of their personal and educational development (Roth and Brooks-Gunn, 2003). This is considered a protective factor in the prevention of youth crime seen as effective in the reduction of anti-social behaviour through empowerment (Case and Haines, 2004), and was described by one of the coordinators:

“We don't leave our clients out of the meeting. You know, [like] they are just kind of infected people, leave them out. No, we encourage, we empower to come and sit in the meetings ... [to] come and meet the Commander of Police.” [C2].

The outcome of this approach allied to the practical skills conferred through the project was portrayed as one of increased confidence, self-belief and self-respect (Youniss, Yates, and Su, 1997), as one beneficiary described: “it's developed my confidence; I can sit in front of anybody and speak about anything, and it's really because of Stockwell Green that I've got this future.” [B3].

The theme of aspiration and empowerment emerged as a recurring feature of the participant's discussion of the project. This seemed to centre on a goal oriented approach to achievement part influenced through an exposure to an alternative perspective leading to change, and was described as being facilitated through a respectful and supportive platform for engagement. The outcome of this was expressed as positive, with the effects being enhanced self-respect and confidence as a consequence of the empowerment of the individual, and was expressed as follows by a member of the authorities:

“Sometimes isn't it just about being able to participate in such schemes, whereas before no-one's, sort of offered you the opportunity to participate, and to better yourself, and all of a sudden you're being embraced and encouraged and I think that in itself is quite kind positive for the individuals, the fact that someone's taking notice of you, someone's recognising you for the first time.” [A1]

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The aim of this aspect of the SEED and PROSEED evaluation was to uncover some of the processes at work in the operation of the programme as perceived by the interviewees. The analysis coalesced around five themes hypothesised to be important to the function of the project; those of a need within the Muslim community in Stockwell, the project's genesis as a platform of engagement operating with an ethos of belonging aiming to build capacity in the community, the organisation and the beneficiaries whilst fostering an empowering and forward looking environment within which the beneficiaries could develop increased self-esteem and self-respect.

With respect to the project aims, they may be considered to operate through these five facets. It has therefore been presented that the project was instigated as a response to the disadvantage and disenfranchisement within the Muslim community perceived to leave some people within it susceptible to crime, social exclusion, unemployment, economic marginalisation and extremism. As a consequence, the requirement for an infrastructure and specific capabilities with which to engage those at risk was identified. This was enacted through Stockwell Green Community Services and was crucially aided by the foundation provided by Stockwell Mosque. This physical space acted as a platform of engagement enabling the project leaders to interact with other stakeholders acting to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the police, local authority and the community in addressing maladaptive behaviour within its precincts.

Having identified the need, and created an organisation which was in a position to address it, the route the project took can be characterised through three mechanisms. In the first instance, the situating of the Muslim community at the centre of the project was ensured through the primacy placed on the practical, cultural and religious requirements of its users. These were identified through community consultation and addressed utilising uniquely influential routes to enact attitude change, specifically the invitation to Imams to address issues of crime and extremism. This worked within a fundamentally inclusive environment where personal engagement with beneficiaries by role models from within the Muslim community aimed to challenge maladaptive attitudes and include them in wider social systems.

The practical effects of the project were considered to be the development of capacity at several levels; those of the local community, the organisation itself and the individuals engaged with it. The beneficiaries were equipped with skills and support to develop personal capacity to deal with the problems they were facing and move them towards employment and subsequent economic independence. This was done in an empowering, forward looking environment with a strong emphasis on goals and aspirations through which self-respect and enhanced self-esteem were

fostered. The effect of this is hypothesised to be the diversion of those at risk from crime, radicalisation and unemployment through the provision of practical skills, personal engagement with positive mentors, operating in an inclusive, empowering environment thereby fostering inclusion in mainstream society, movement away from maladaptive anti-social behaviour and enhancing the economic development of the area.

Whilst the aims and exact method by which the SEED and PROSEED projects operate may be considered unique, the principles and techniques applied, have foundations in a variety of forms of intervention work which may be considered to offer support for the efficacy of the programme. The process by which SGCS as the delivery agent for the projects was initiated may be directly compared with the Communities that Care programme (Hawkins and Catalano, 1992), whereby a platform is created for partners from the community and the authorities to interact. In addition, the importance of trust emphasised by the participants in the development of these relationships is considered important in the efficacy of charity organisations more widely (Tonkiss and Passey, 1999).

The success of enabling communities to participate in their own development has also been highlighted (Couto, 2001), as have the positive effects of enhanced civic responsibility (Milligan and Fyfe, 2005) particularly with respect to crime prevention (Pease, 2002). This is related to economic inclusion into wider social systems implicated in the movement of people away from criminality and into employment through the empowering of those at risk (Case and Haines, 2004). Regarding SGCS's interaction with the beneficiaries, the efficacy of engagement monitoring, with which strong parallels can be drawn, has been found to be effective in increasing the employability of previously socially excluded individuals (Ford, 1999). In addition, having a multi-problem focus as practised by the SEED and PROSEED projects has been found more successful than single issue interventions (Catalano, et al., 2004). Finally, the goal oriented, horizon broadening and empowering ethos of the project have been identified as hallmarks of successful youth development programmes (Roth and Brooks-Gunn, 2000).

Consequently, and extrapolating based on similarities between this project and comparable others, it can be presented that a not inconsiderable evidence base can be brought to bear on the principles underlying the SEED and PROSEED projects. These are clearly hypothesised comparisons, but may be said to allow some optimism that the processes proposed here which have proved efficacious elsewhere may be considered to successfully operate at SGCS.

A number of methodological issues should be raised with respect to the investigation, centring primarily on the participants engaged in the research. As discussed, they were identified by the

project coordinators and as a consequence their perspective on the project may not be an unbiased one, with the possibility of feelings of obligation already noted. A further potential issue is that of vested interests in the project and its positive appraisal which may wittingly or unwittingly have influenced responses. However, the wide spectrum of experience the various participants brought to the investigation is hoped to mitigate any potential influence these factors may have.

A further issue is that of language use, in particular the idea of 'pre-packaged narratives' and a 'language of reform' developed as a result of engagement with interventionist programmes (Denzin, 1987; Maruna, 2001). There were recurrent turns of phrase used by the participants that were possible indicators of this, which may consequently have the potential to influence the personal relation of experience. Finally, as already noted, five of the interviews were not carried out in the native language of the interviewee, and whilst the English skills of the majority of the participants were very good, there is still the possibility that meaning may have been lost. It is hoped that through sensitive interviewing, the effects of this have to some degree been mitigated.

The processes posited to be at work in the SEED and PROSEED projects are clearly hypotheses that would require rigorous empirical testing to validate. However, the utilisation of techniques of grounded discovery has been advocated in ascertaining the processes of work within programmes (Guba and Lincoln, 1981). One particular challenge is that they are evolving entities which are a "nonstationary target for evaluation" (Cook and Shadish, 1986:218), this is particularly pertinent here as SGCS are sensitive to the necessity to respond rapidly to the changing influences at work within the community. In addition and as one of the participants said; "often these kind of, sort of regeneration projects we don't reap the benefits immediately, and I think that's one of the whole difficulties around renewal initiatives; it's very difficult to point to success, sometimes it's a decade before that success is actually realised." [A1]. This point also illustrates the issues surrounding assessment of the mechanisms of change, as they may shift with the environment that necessitates them.

SOCIAL INCLUSION MODEL

Attention will now be given to drawing together the information gathered through the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the research through the exposition of a hypothetical model of the processes assumed to be at work in the SEED and PROSEED projects. This is represented in Figure 8 and originates in the practical outcomes presented in the quantitative evaluation, and the thematic representation of the experience of those involved with the SEED and PROSEED projects. These may be conceptualised as being the 'what' and 'why' of how the programmes operate. The outputs with respect to academic attainment, training and movement towards employment are what the project physically achieves. The five themes of need, platform provision, belonging, multi-dimensional capacity building and empowerment are presented as a contribution to the understanding of why the project has managed to engage with the relevant individuals and organisations to attempt attitudinal and behavioural change. What will now be presented is a hypothetical model of the 'how' aspect of its operation, aiming to illustrate a theoretical perspective of how the project works to achieve these goals.

This model will aim to conceptually illustrate the processes hypothesised to be at work within the project. It is a theoretical psychological model of individual processes within group membership and socialisation. The quantity of data available is not vast, and as such, the model is presented as a tentative representation of the route of change the project attempts; it makes no claims to be more than a plausible account of the processes at work. All aspects of the model would require empirical testing to ascertain the degree of support, and confidence that could be placed in the proposed concepts. This model should be seen as a starting point, the baseline from which to contribute to the knowledge of interventions for those at risk of crime, radicalisation, and social and economic exclusion in an iterative, responsive manner (Hawkins and Weis, 1995).

An overview of the proposed model and its application to the SEED and PROSEED projects will first be presented, followed by a more in-depth explication of the processes hypothesised to be at work.

A number of physical elements are present in the operation of the project; these include an infrastructure able to offer services, influential leadership, a position centred in the community, and a wider group of authorities providing strategic support. These are hypothesised to act together to reach, attract, engage with, influence and re-route individuals away from economic marginalisation, crime and radicalisation. The manner with which it applies these tools may be conceived of as a group process, where the individual becomes part of an adaptive organisation that offers services to enact change. This change may be considered to have two temporal

dimensions; firstly, a short term perspective to rapidly engage with those most vulnerable to social exclusion, assisting in their movement away from proximal pressures that could result in maladaptive behaviour. Secondly, a long term outlook aiming for the permanent inclusion of the individual in wider systems of society, economy and ideology and hence maintaining and reinforcing adaptive social interaction. A process of secondary socialisation may be inferred from this (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), where role specific knowledge and group norms are internalised (Jenkins, 2000). This operates in an environment different from that normally experienced, resulting in further layers of social understanding (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

A widely tested and useful (Levine, Moreland and Hausmann, 2005; Hogg, 2001) model of group socialisation that may be considered useful in explicating the processes at work in the SEED and PROSEED projects is that developed by Moreland and Levine (1982). This conceptualises the movement of an individual through a group as a function of his/her role within it. It is an individual level model applicable to small, autonomous groups made up of regularly interacting, voluntary members who share a common frame of reference (Levine, Moreland and Hausmann, 2005). It may therefore be considered an appropriate model to apply to SGCS and the SEED and PROSEED projects.

The model consists of transition through five stages of group membership; from investigation, socialisation, maintenance, resocialisation and remembrance, each phase of which is associated with varying levels of identification with the group. The model is based on three psychological processes: commitment, evaluation and role transition. The evaluation of all actors decides the degree of reward likely to result from group membership; a positive evaluation produces commitment resulting in increased efforts on both parties to fulfil respective goals. Role transitions occur where levels of commitment change and are indicative of concomitant alterations in the expectations of either party, which in turn form amended evaluations. An idealised representation of the model's operation is represented in Figure 8.

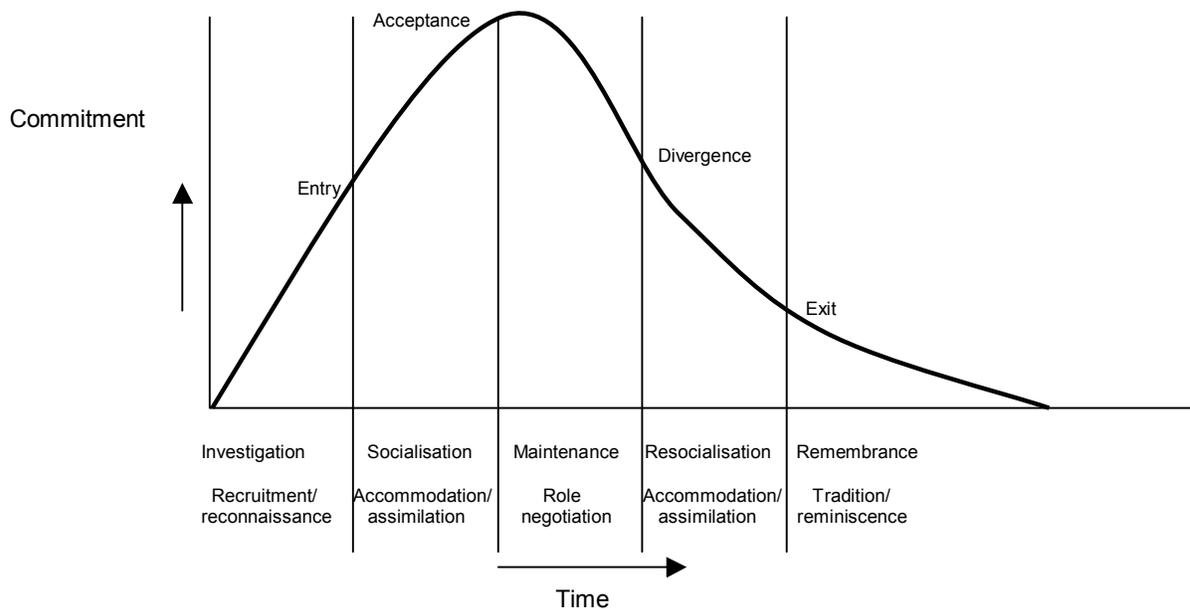


Figure 8: Model of group socialisation showing five stages of group membership: adapted from Moreland and Levine (1982)

As illustrated, there is an initial stage of investigation carried out by the group and the individual, wherein each decides whether to establish a relationship. The group looks to recruit members who will contribute towards goal achievement, and individuals seek reassurance that personal needs will be satisfied; if this is deemed positive, there is a role transition of entry. There is then a process of socialisation where the group acts on the individual to stimulate change aiming to maximise their contribution to goal attainment and vice versa. Where enacted, this results in the assimilation of the individual into the group and its norms, and the accommodation by the group of the individual. If the commitment levels of both parties are sufficiently high, there is a role transition of acceptance. The next stage of engagement is maintenance, and indicates full membership. Here, there is negotiation between the individual and the group to find specific roles for them aimed at individual and group goal attainment; only if this fails after decreasing levels of commitment is there the possibility for the role transition of divergence. As commitment levels fall, the group and the individual may attempt to resocialise each other aiming to redress the decline by attempting to change the actions of the other; if successful, there is a further process of assimilation and accommodation called convergence. Where this fails, there is an ultimate role transition through exit from the group, which is followed by a period of remembrance where both the group and the individual engage in reminiscence about the respective other's contribution. If there is still some influence operating on the individual and the group following exit, the degree of commitment reduces to a low level and stabilises (Moreland and Levine, 1982; Levine, Moreland and Choi, 2001).

Many elements of this model may be observed in the work of the SEED and PROSEED projects, where individuals are seen to be at different stages of engagement, and consequently have alternative membership roles, commitment levels and evaluation criteria. These processes operate following initial recruitment, with the primary goal of both parties being the improved circumstances of the beneficiary. There is then an opportunity to attempt change through socialisation enacted via the platform and tools the programmes offer. Assuming success, the individual internalises the norms and aims of the project resulting in attitudinal and behavioural change.

A wider process of role adoption may also be inferred. The role internalised by an individual can be specific; for example in the role-appropriate behaviour of an individual's function in a particular organisation (Hogg, 2001); or, they may be generic, as in the adoption of membership roles (Moreland and Levine, 1982); and they can also be prototypical (Taylor, 1981). SGCS stress the importance of social engagement and community involvement as a route to personal achievement and hence may be considered to reinforce a prototypical image of citizenship as an ultimate goal. Via the various platforms of personal development and interpersonal interaction, there is the reinforcement of this message of citizenship and empowerment. This has been discussed in the context of social integration into service activities, considered an important form of youth activity aiding in the development of civic participation (Youniss, Yates and Su, 1997). Parallels between the style of engagement employed at SGCS, and work with offenders based on the technique of pro-social modelling may be usefully made. This involves the development of an empathic relationship between the offender and their worker who formally and informally demonstrates the behaviour and attitudes they are attempting to encourage (Cherry, 2005). This has been seen as effective in impacting on offending behaviour generally (Dowden and Andrews, 2004) with both young and high-risk offenders (Trotter, 2006).

Where there is a process of role adoption in those who have experienced social exclusion or held maladaptive attitudes, this may be considered a process of socialisation into a wider set of positive norms in the hope that they become sufficiently ingrained to become a permanent part of the self concept. The process of adopting the role of a more healthy and prototypical societal member is considered operationalised through the mechanism of social identity, a précis of which is that "individuals define themselves to a large extent in terms of their social group memberships and tend to seek a positive social identity" (Hewstone and Greenland, 2000:137). Hence, the further internalised the norms of the project become, the more the individual identifies with them and the more they move towards the adoption of a deep-seated social identity in line with the philosophy of citizenship and social inclusion espoused by SGCS.

The broad processes as represented in Moreland and Levine’s (1982) model may therefore be considered a framework on which to hang the particular techniques of the SEED and PROSEED projects. The temporal aspects of this are presented in Figure 9. Three phases of engagement may be conceived; a pre-engagement stage where the practical requirements the organisation needs in order to act are positioned. These include personnel, infrastructure and the offer the project makes to potential beneficiaries. Following this there is a period of engagement with the individual, comprising practical and personal elements. Hence, skills’ training is given as a concrete route to goal attainment, within a pervasive ethos focusing on aspirations and achievement. This is enacted through interpersonal contact with a focus on soft outcomes, such as increased community participation and improved self-confidence. These various elements are hypothesised to operate via socialisation to encourage development of an adaptive social identity. This is proposed to move the individual towards a more positive relationship with wider society through the internalisation of those roles and responsibilities associated with citizenship. Finally there is a post-engagement phase where, if successful, ties with the project and the community are preserved. As a consequence, positive influence over the individual is maintained, and the changes in the individual are reinforced through interaction with, and the development of an enhanced position in the community. If unsuccessful there is exit from the group. These will now be addressed in turn with a view to elucidating the processes operating within them.

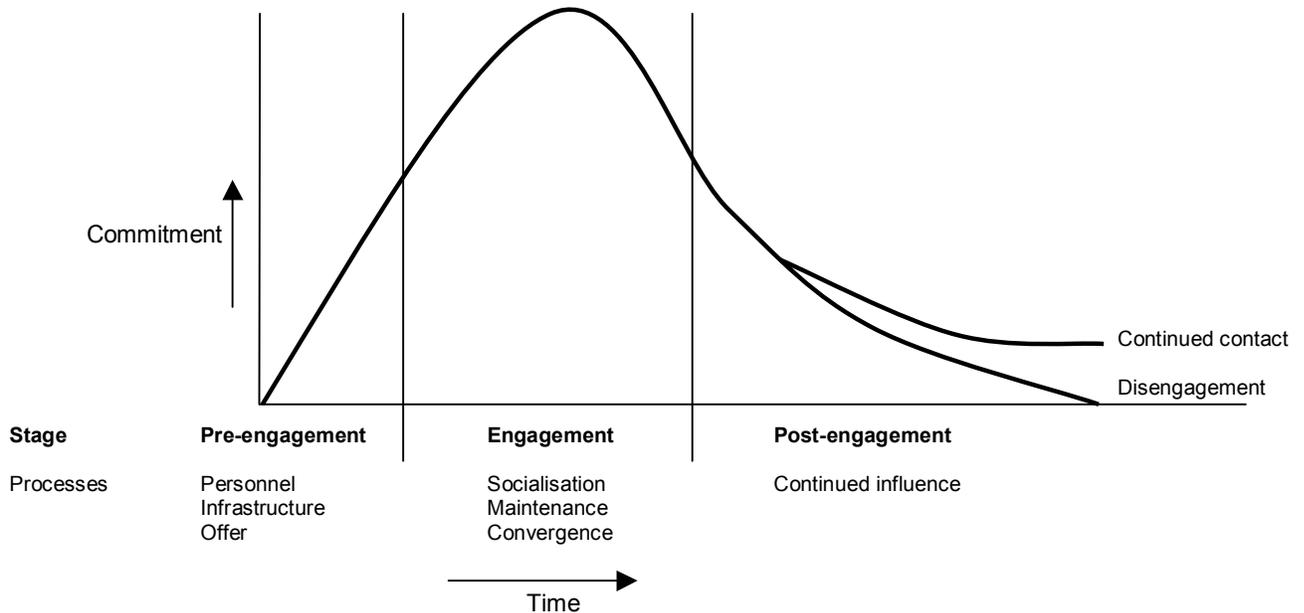


Figure 9: hypothetical model showing idealised phases of engagement for change and the processes effective at each stage

Pre-engagement

A number of elements are required for the project to begin interaction with potential beneficiaries. These may be condensed into three prerequisites; those of personnel, infrastructure and an attractive offer. Together, these are considered necessary to reach and attract those most at risk of crime, economic marginalisation and radicalisation.

Personnel

The importance of the leaders of the project was emphasised by those interviewed about the SEED and PROSEED programmes. Leadership competence is recognised as highly influential in most organisational settings (Northouse, 2004). In this scenario, those heading SGCS needed a number of interlinked attributes; firstly, highly developed interpersonal skills, secondly a position within the religious community allowing access and understanding of those most in need of their services and thirdly a position of respect in the communities which facilitated access to those families and individuals at risk.

The personal attributes of the project leaders were required to interact with individuals at all levels of the social hierarchy (Young, 1999). This contact is said to foster social capital due to the development of relationships of trust within the community, considered particularly important in neighbourhood regeneration initiatives (Perdue, 2001). The success of the project in part depended on their ability to engage the interest and trust of those in positions of power to confer financial and strategic support. The project leaders also had to interact with those who were most disadvantaged in the community, and develop personal relationships with the individual, their family and wider social networks in order to introduce them to the services on offer. This should not be considered a strictly linear process, as interaction with members of the nascent community was important in developing the project and its methods. The credibility of the project coordinators was a further important aspect in their ability to engage with potential beneficiaries, and the authorities. This may be considered founded in their position within the community and the personal commitment and ownership they exhibited, the positive effect of which is considered important for progressive community development (NIACE, 2004).

The leadership style of the project has been characterised as transformational, combining charisma, motivation and a specific focus on the individual, thought to be influential in the building of trust (Bass, 1990). This trust was seen on two levels; firstly in the engagement with particular individuals considered in positions of need, resulting in the development of networks of trust (Kramer, 1999). Secondly, it was exhibited in the relationships developed between agencies, the

community and the project leaders, enabling advocacy on behalf of those on the margins of social inclusion (Hirst, 1995). The ability to carry out the task of relationship building was fundamentally informed by the position of the project coordinators within the community. This provided practical access and allowed the defining of the group's social identity in line with the policies they advocated (Platow, Haslam and Reicher, 2007). Crucially, leaders also need trust to gain entry into individual homes, the Mosque, and the wider community.

A further factor influential in the ability of the project to initiate engagement was sensitivity to cultural and religious needs, argued to provide an intrinsic understanding of what methods may be most effective to encourage change (McMilland and Chavis, 1988). This position within the community also enabled the personnel of the project to act as relevant role models to those they hoped to influence through parallels of experience (Maton and Salem, 1995). The presence of an engaged, influential and community-centric leadership may be considered necessary in the ability of the project to reach those deemed most at risk and to recruit them into the project. The techniques of pro-social modelling are relevant here, in particular, the positive impact of legitimate use of authority to engage with individuals and enact change (Cherry, 2006). With respect to aim fulfilment, this is a key aspect of the process, as the goals of the project are intrinsically bound up in the engagement and interaction with individual beneficiaries.

It may therefore be presented that the personnel involved in the project's instigation were important in the pre-engagement phase of its operation through their ability to engage with all relevant stakeholders, including potential beneficiaries and members of the authorities. Credibility was also central to this process, and was considered to be built on their position within the religious and local community, alongside high levels of personal commitment. This enabled the building of networks of trust founded in an appreciation of cultural and religious needs.

Infrastructure

The organisational capacity to facilitate the engagement process can be seen to have two dimensions. Firstly, the physical infrastructure to offer skills training and personal development. The availability of this is partially dependent upon the second aspect of the organisation's infrastructure – that of community and authority involvement. These are necessary to provide a platform for engagement with those at risk, but should be conceived of as part of an interactive and ongoing process. The ability of the project to attract beneficiaries is premised on the provision of these resources, however, these would not be made available if individuals were not being engaged with, and the potential for positive outcomes were not seen.

SGCS self-consciously built the capacity of the organisation and its actors in order to provide the necessary infrastructure to engage with the beneficiaries, a process recognised as important in voluntary community settings (Cairns, Harris and Young, 2005). The development of organisational skills incorporated a number of elements; they facilitated the training and building of capacity for individual personnel, with ongoing guidance from project coordinators, physical infrastructure was consolidated in the form of a learning resource centre, and associated facilities.

This was allied to, and dependent upon, the development of wider layers of support both within the community, and with external organisations such as the police and local authorities. The nurturing of these relationships was premised on a reciprocal evaluation by all actors as to the costs and benefits associated with involvement (Emerson, 1976). The authorities were provided a mechanism with which to engage hard-to-reach groups, in line with organisational and wider social aims (Cabinet Office, 2006) catalysed by the events of 7th July 2005. In turn, SGCS were given financial provision with respect to funding, and wider support in terms of positive advocacy and introduction to further spheres of influence.

A further part of the social infrastructure needed for the projects' operation was the role played by the religious community in Stockwell. This was considered valuable in the development of trust and conferral of credibility, as well as providing a solid platform for engagement with the local community. This was thought to be particularly important, given the challenge of engaging with those groups at risk of social exclusion (Pierson, 2002). The benefits of doing so are argued to include an iteration of individual and collective rights and responsibilities with respect to community participation and development (Dwyer, 2000), both key aims of the project.

It may therefore be presented that in order for the initiation of the engagement process, practical, social and organisational capacity needed to be in place. This involved the development of SGCS and its personnel as well as the building of a physical site of learning and interaction. This was interactively supported through the development of trust, and the promise of reciprocal benefit between the organisation, the community and the authorities.

Offer

The aims of the SEED and PROSEED projects may be condensed into two related strands, those of addressing worklessness and economic deprivation, and secondly, tackling crime and radicalisation. These multiple objectives necessitated the provision of programmes that were both practically useful and intrinsically attractive. Several facets of the project's manner of engagement are therefore considered important. These include the programme's practical potential, its

community orientation, the incorporation of personal development aims, and an element of religious guidance, facilitated through interpersonal engagement to guide and encourage change.

These aims were facilitated through community consultation, where an invitation to provide ideas as to potential programme content was given, arguably ensuring the relevance and appeal of the offer. This may also be considered an interactive process, where changing community needs and feedback allowed the evolution of the programmes. This was seen in the provision of accredited training schemes in the PROSEED project identified as necessary through consultation with service users following completion of the SEED programme. Community involvement and associated enhanced ownership (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 1999) may be considered important in the process of presenting the benefits of enrolment to potential beneficiaries. The personal and practical incentives to become involved with the project may be conceived of as providing a route towards personal achievement, the provision of which is said to be lacking for those in socially excluded groups (Atkinson, 2000).

The interconnected nature of the project's aims has been highlighted throughout this investigation, and may be seen in microcosm through the nature of the offer made to the beneficiaries. This is considered beneficial as projects pursuing multiple aims are said to provide a positive framework for engagement in social partnership projects of this nature (Clemens, Billett and Seddon, 2005). Practical skill development is clearly associated with employment and subsequent economic integration (Bynner and Parsons, 2002). In addition, benefits are conferred due to its wider role in the development of 'identity capital' made up of psychological, social and educational capacity (Cote and Schwartz, 2002). This training also provides a route away from crime and radicalisation through the related process of inclusion into mainstream society (Fagan, 1987). Skill development has also been conceived of as a way to engage with those most at risk of anti-social behaviour and social exclusion, particularly where facilitated by the communities of which they are nominally a part (O'Donaghue, 2001).

Further aspects of the project's provision are those of personal development and religious guidance. These were offered through seminars and workshops and ran alongside the skills development programmes on offer. These can be considered necessary because formulaic training programmes may not provide sufficient opportunity to engage with specific issues of community and religious pertinence. The success of these sessions was partially premised in their delivery through community members considered to be role models, the positive effect of which has been seen in alternative contexts (OECD, 2001).

A number of elements were therefore needed in the project's offer to attract and subsequently provide the potential to engage with would-be beneficiaries. Practical skill development was necessary to offer tangible achievements that could be translated into the wider employment market, thereby addressing the aims of reducing worklessness and economic deprivation. Personal engagement in an inclusive and community appropriate environment was needed to provide a platform for the teaching of adaptive, community appropriate personal skills aiming towards subsequent behaviour change. In addition, religious teaching was required in order to deal with the issues pertinent to extremist ideology. Thus, a multi-faceted offer was required in order to attract, recruit and provide the appropriate resources to fulfil the personal needs of those within the community who were vulnerable to economic and social exclusion.

The attraction to the beneficiaries of engagement with the group is therefore seen as premised on the influence of personal engagement with key personnel within the project who act as capable and committed role models (Caplan et al., 2002). This operates within a practical infrastructure, alongside the incentive of cost-free skill and personal development situated within the community (Dryfoos, 1990). This formal place of learning is crucially positioned in a culturally and religious environment thereby conferring trust and credibility (Roth and Brooks-Gunn, 2003).

Engagement

In the engagement process, the individual is assimilated into the organisation following the recruitment and reconnoitring carried out by either party. Interaction between the group and the beneficiary is premised upon mutual need fulfilment, and is carried out through the application of practical methods of skill enhancement, personal development and interpersonal contact. Through these, and the context in which they are enacted, a process of socialisation is posited where the individual comes to internalise the norms and values of the group as represented by SGCS. This is assumed to lead to attitudinal and behavioural change through the adoption of an adaptive social identity. Following on, but significantly interacting with this, is a process of maintenance, where the individual's role as project beneficiary, and wider community member is crystallised, acting to reinforce an alternative and adaptive social identity.

Socialisation

The process of socialisation is that of the inculcation of norms of group behaviour, hypothesised to be influenced by a variety of factors (Trommsdorff, 1983), a considerable element of which is interpersonal contact (Larson, 2000). In the SEED and PROSEED projects, this personal engagement is enacted with a view to enhancing employment prospects and moving the individual away from maladaptive behaviour through the provision of personal and practical skills,

in an inclusive and empowering environment. These may be considered the tools of the socialisation process enacted by SGCS, and are crucially influenced by the mentor-mentee relationship which acts to positively engage and influence the individual (Ford, 1999).

SGCS provides a space of regular engagement with individuals who have historically been socially marginalised. One effect of social exclusion is said to be the internalisation of a maladaptive social identity in line with either negative or undervalued reference groups (Ethier and Deaux, 1994). It is argued that people are able to hold a number of social identities relevant to their particular experience, developed through the socialisation process (Hormuth, 1990). The esteem in which any one of these is held by wider society can affect the individual's perception of themselves (Frale, Wortman and Joseph, 1997). Hence, it may be argued that it is the pre-eminence of a particular maladaptive social identity expressed where this identity has salience, in a particular social context (Oakes, 1987), rather than a lack of solid personal identity that leads to a risk of social exclusion.

The positive ethos of the SEED and PROSEED projects is built on a number of explicit goals: to provide the tools for integration and build citizenship, to address poverty and unemployment through the provision of programmes focused on education and training, and to build capacity in individuals and groups, looking to increase confidence and a sense of community belonging. These may be classified as hard and soft outcomes; with hard outcomes being skill attainment, and soft outcomes being those related to confidence building and community involvement. The route to achieving these aims can be seen as the process of socialisation the beneficiaries go through aiming for movement away from a negative social identity.

This is where the influence of the project is posited to act on the beneficiary. Informed by the interpersonal relationship between actors, the group setting, and the conferral of practical benefits, (McLenaghan, 2000) influence is operationalised through the socialisation process. Beneficiaries are assumed to develop skills, civic responsibility and religious understanding through formal tutoring and social engagement with the project. This is enacted through positive interaction with project coordinators, the effect of which is argued to encourage self-respect (Zeldin, 2004) and raise perceptions of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1989). The intended outcome of this is an enhanced ability to address the challenges faced by the beneficiaries through the three routes of skills development, mentoring and religious guidance. This is believed to encourage the adoption of more normative, prototypical citizen behaviour as a result of the socialisation process (Crick, 2000). The group context also provides an alternative and adaptive social environment to that likely to have been experienced by the beneficiary, and therefore offers the facility for positive interpersonal relationships to develop. This has been argued to provide the individual a different

social reference group, which in turn has been shown to encourage change in individuals through group processes (Hartman, 1979).

It is hypothesised that interpersonal contact, particularly within communities, generates social trust and social capital (Lehning, 1998) which is described as community rooted relations and their associated norms (Putnam, 1993). Voluntary organisations are argued to enhance levels of these constructs, the strength of which increases with the amount of engagement with others (Putnam, 1993). This may be seen in the SEED and PROSEED projects through the platform for interaction it provides. The inclusive ethos of the project means that representatives from a wide variety of organisations and backgrounds are brought together, arguably resulting in the development of alternative interpersonal (Maton and Salem, 1995), and intergroup relationships (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000). The desired outcome of this is an increasingly adaptive relationship between the beneficiaries and the wider community as a consequence of a shifting social identity progressively aligned with a more prototypical role of citizenship.

The combination of explicit tools of engagement, and the inculcation through explication and example, of positive societal interaction may be considered the route to an increasingly positive social identity. This is informed by the argument that group scenarios act to inculcate norms as a result of the internalisation of identity associated with collective membership (Berger and Luckman, 1966). This is crucially influenced by the religious foundation upon which SGCS is built. Presented in a culturally appropriate and inclusive environment, Islamic knowledge is conferred via an empathetic relationship between the beneficiary and the co-ordinators fostered through trust development. This arguably helps the individual accept alternative interpretations through the challenging of maladaptive religious beliefs aiding in subsequent behavioural change, leading to a more positive and informed engagement with Islam and wider society.

In addition to the adoption of a positive group identity, socialisation of attitudes incompatible with maladaptive behaviour have also been found in intervention programmes (Walters, 1999) offering the hope of increasingly positive engagement with society. Therefore, the outcome of these processes may be considered the socialisation of an alternative social identity in line with the principles espoused by SGCS through enhanced civic engagement, skill development, religious tuition, and mentoring. This is assumed to encourage increasingly prototypical engagement with society, and progressively enhanced social inclusion.

Maintenance

This stage of the engagement process as characterised in Moreland and Levine's (1982) model involves the negotiation of particular, organisation specific roles for those involved in the group,

and symbolises the stage of full group membership. A divergence from this model is proposed here. It is suggested that the process of role negotiation at work within SGCS is broader and encompasses the adoption of the function of citizenship through social inclusion, rather than task specific roles within the group. This process is hypothesised to further contribute to the adaptive social identity developed as a result of interaction with the project.

Roles can be conceived of as broad categories, and are associated with identity (Abrams and Hogg, 2001). Identity is in turn related to concepts of citizenship, and the place of the individual within society (Isin and Wood, 1999). Citizenship has been characterised as a role involving the individual's relationship to others and the state, and also as an identity which refers to both the experience and public representation of this role (Tilly, 1996). The overarching goal of the SEED and PROSEED projects is that of change through civic engagement and social inclusion. This is explicitly stated as an aim, and is also implied in the process it initiates to move people away from the social and economic margins, and into employment and training, facilitating their aim of individual change through more adaptive roles within wider society (Fuller and Unwin, 2003).

The effect of engagement with organisations aiming for change has been seen as a reformulation of identity (Epstein, 1991) with often long lasting impacts as a result of this interpersonal engagement (Poletta and Jasper, 2001). Hence, the emphasis on social inclusion may be considered a facet to be internalised by the individual, as part of the development of an alternative social identity via socialisation. Therefore, the adoption of a particular role, in this case citizenship, through increasing engagement with wider social systems may be considered an outcome of the process of socialisation (Turner, 1956). This is said to be enacted through the observation and development of the roles and responsibilities of civic involvement leading to increasingly internalised pro-social behaviour (Youniss, Yates and Su, 1997); all of which is encompassed in the definition of citizenship and social inclusion endorsed by SGCS.

This phase of maintenance is therefore characterised by the internalisation of the roles and responsibilities of citizenship, through the development of a more positive social identity, via the socialisation process. Following this, there is the potential for decay in commitment between the group and the individual in the resocialisation stage of the model. If this continues, it culminates in the individual's exit from the group, which in this case would constitute a failure of the project to fully engage with them to reinforce attitudinal change. However, where the individual and the group attempt to readjust the other's perspective in order to realign it with their respective needs, a process of convergence is hypothesised. This may be seen as an ongoing process in the SEED and PROSEED projects where the beneficiaries regularly renegotiate their relationship to the group and the wider community as a result of the process of change. In addition, the project is

flexible, and regularly adjusts to the needs of the beneficiaries as it receives feedback as to what methods are appropriate to achieve their goals. These elements of flexibility, innovation and reflexivity have been seen in community development work in alternative contexts, and are considered important in continued successful engagement with the client group (Duncan and Thomas, 2001).

Therefore, this stage of the engagement process is hypothesised to develop social inclusion through the adoption of the role of citizenship. This is developed alongside the internalisation of a more positive social identity through the socialisation process enacted by the project. The culmination of this is deemed to be either exit from the group, or an ongoing process of negotiation between the project and the individual to enhance the likelihood of goal achievement.

Post-engagement

Assuming that the individual has not left the group prior to course completion, the next phase is that of exit from SGCS, and is defined by course duration and the availability of further programmes. As such, there is unlikely to be a gradual decline in commitment, but rather, a rapid fall off in intensive contact between the group and the individual. Variation within the idealised model is accepted (Levine, Moreland and Choi, 2001) and here constitutes its adaptation to a specific real-world group.

Continued influence

On completion of project components, it is inevitable that beneficiaries will have considerably reduced contact with SGCS. However, the community nature of the project centred on the religious hub of Stockwell Mosque, means that there is still likely to be regular interaction between beneficiaries and project coordinators. Therefore, the degree of influence in operation between the individual and SGCS may be considered stabilised at a low level. This can be construed to offer the potential of a continuing resource for both parties. The individual has a source of support and guidance, characterised by the highly personal nature of the engagement process. SGCS also have a unique tool for continuing community interaction and development. This allows them to respond proactively to issues that arise, as they are made aware of them through the social networks developed as a result of the project. This can be conceived of as an interactive process resulting in growing levels of influence and reach, where the community increasingly perceives SGCS as a culturally-appropriate organisation, equipped with the experience and infrastructure to deliver projects for the benefit of the residents of Stockwell. This is likely to lead to the further dissemination of information about the project, raising its profile and enhancing its reputation (Kramer, 1999).

The contributions of current and former beneficiaries to the organisation and the community are considered important in the project's ongoing work. This is a characteristic of successful community projects more widely (Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin, 1989) and may be argued to further aid in the individual's movement towards social inclusion and citizenship (Lister, 1998). Thus, the continued involvement of past beneficiaries of SGCS may be seen in two respects, firstly in the provision of specific resources and information, for example, job opportunities or social support, and in one example, with the chaperoning of Muslim women within the community. Secondly, and more broadly, benefits may be hoped for in the increased community cohesion and networks of social capital assumed to develop from interdependent relationships between community members (Lehning, 1998). This may be influenced by the possible enhanced profile of the individual in the local community as a result of their engagement with the project. This in turn may act to reinforce an adaptive social identity and encourage the permanent internalisation of those changes resulting from the engagement process. The development of social capital has also been described as a social learning process, "serving to empower individuals and social groups in involving them as citizens in collective activities aimed at socio-economic regeneration, development and change." (McLenaghan, 2000:566). This may consequently be seen to further address the goals of SGCS in moving people away from social exclusion in the form of economic deprivation, worklessness, crime and radicalisation.

It may therefore be conceived that following the formal interaction between the individual and the group, there is a less structured relationship that enhances levels of social capital. This operates through continued contact between the parties within the community enhancing SGCS's ability to respond to issues that arise. It also facilitates the community participation of the beneficiaries through continued contribution to the area. Individuals who have successfully engaged with the project may therefore be considered to gradually and continually develop and reinforce a social identity in line with a wider ethic of civic engagement and responsibility, thereby acting to iteratively build social capital and practical support networks with the foundation of support provided by Stockwell Mosque and SGCS.

The model of change at work in the SEED and PROSEED projects is therefore conceptualised as an interactive, dynamic process of group socialisation. Individuals are engaged with the project through development of organisational capacity with respect to leadership, infrastructure and the offer of services. Via interaction with the group, actualised through the various programmes on offer, a process of socialisation is hypothesised to take place where the individual internalises an increasingly positive social identity. This is thought to promote greater social and economic inclusion through the inculcation of the role of citizenship enacted through employment and

positive social engagement. This is thought to be nurtured through ongoing contact with the project following programme completion, leading to the increasing development of social capacity.

CONCLUSIONS

Without the benefit of further data collection and information from the project looking at longer-term processes of change, conclusions need to be somewhat circumspect. However, measured inferences will now be discussed, encompassing consideration of the position of SGCS in the community; the multi-faceted nature of the disadvantage faced, consequent susceptibility to social exclusion; and the resultant need for a broad programme to attempt attitudinal and behavioural change whilst building individual and community capacity.

The ability of SGCS to reach, and engage with significant numbers of people in need of services, indicates that *community based Muslim-led organisations are well placed to deliver services to disadvantaged communities as a consequence of their understanding of appropriate routes of engagement*. The bottom-up approach adopted by the group appeared to have a positive and empowering effect on those it engaged with, and may be considered to build both community and individual capacity. The understanding of the cultural and religious context of their members ideally positions SGCS and groups like them to act as agents of change. In addition, the position of the organisation within the community allows it to provide ongoing and accessible support for those within its precincts with respect to socio-economic inclusion. This may be considered particularly important as the ultimate aim of movement into employment and positive social integration holds significant challenges for those from BME groups.

Organisations other than those within the Muslim community could be effective delivery agents. However, it is felt that any initiative would significantly benefit if it were developed in collaboration with those from the relevant community. This is particularly salient as religious guidance is considered important in the diversion of those at risk of radicalisation. The credibility and trust that links with the religious community is assumed to confer would assist in successful programme delivery. Therefore, *partnership work between external organisations and the Muslim community is considered likely to increase the chance of successful engagement with those at risk of crime, radicalisation and social exclusion*.

This partnership work may also be considered important as it can facilitate the involvement of people external to the community with expertise in particular areas that may not be easily found within the community's precincts. The invitation to individuals trained in specific fields pertinent to project aims should be a given attention in any further work SGCS or similar organisations undertake. *The criteria for the selection of facilitators are important in the efficacy of intervention work, and would benefit from systematisation to ensure the employment of appropriately skilled individuals*.

It appears that significant gaps exist between governmental organisations and communities such as that in Stockwell with considerable perseverance required to engage with the relevant stakeholders to approach the issues of social and economic exclusion. This situation is hoped to be improving as a consequence of the recent focus on Muslim communities and their needs. However, *organisations such as SGCS appear well placed to bridge the divide between disadvantaged communities and the authorities*. This is crucially influenced by the willingness of the Muslim communities and its leaders to proactively engage with the police and local and national government. It is equally affected by the receptiveness of the authorities to recognise the value of groups such as SGCS to instigate routes to improvement and change through partnership work. The empowerment of community-led groups to address issues of shared concern and draw together relevant stakeholders has been highlighted throughout this investigation, and is considered important in the success of any similar work.

The community rooted model of behavioural and attitudinal change engaged with by SGCS is considered to show promise for application beyond its original remit. Whilst the SEED and PROSEED projects were primarily concerned with those at risk of crime, radicalisation and social exclusion, the utilisation of similar methods of engagement and personal development may also be useful in work with those actively involved in criminality or the criminal justice system. *Comparable techniques could be applied to offenders with similar cultural and religious backgrounds to attempt change through personal, ideological and practical engagement*. Rigorous evaluation should be built into any attempt to replicate these techniques in order to assess levels of efficacy. This assessment may be informed by the model of group socialisation presented here, as this provides the various stages and their assumed outcomes, against which actual effects may be considered.

The Muslim community of Stockwell as represented by those attending the project, was considered to be in a multi-faceted and historically rooted position of disadvantage and disenfranchisement. This encompassed economic deprivation, the experience of prejudice and discrimination, and a perspective of victimisation as a consequence of the War on Terror, an outcome of which was the wider consequence of social exclusion. *The relationship of social marginalisation to maladaptive outcomes, in the form of unemployment, radicalisation and crime appeared to have considerable support*. The inter-connected nature of these circumstances indicates that a long-term holistic approach to addressing issues of economic disadvantage, ideological extremism and social disenfranchisement is required.

The impoverished position of the Muslim community on many measures of deprivation is indicative that capacity building for this group should be a high priority. This is considered important as an end in its own right, and because the community's ability to engage with those at risk is significantly limited by low levels of practical and human infrastructure. The positive effects of the development of social capital and social trust have been seen elsewhere, and may be considered transferable to Muslim communities acutely in need of assistance in this domain. Equally, the negative effects of socio-economic deprivation and a lack of viable routes to social inclusion are considered important factors in the route to criminality. Consequently, *addressing issues of multiple deprivation are considered likely to benefit the community directly, and assist in the diversion of those at risk of crime, radicalisation and social exclusion.*

The multi-faceted nature of the need faced by the Muslim community necessitates that any intervention must be equally varied, to effectively address issues of individual and community capacity and religious understanding. Any action should also be cognisant of the specific challenges facing communities situated in areas of deprivation, with a view to providing personal skills to empower individuals to deal with them adaptively. As the SEED and PROSEED projects demonstrate, *the recognition of the interaction between hard and soft outcomes is one that can be taken advantage of to engage with those at risk of social exclusion, to affect personal development and attempt attitudinal change.*

The importance of authentic Islamic teaching in influencing those who are at risk of radicalisation is considerable. This may be considered a matter of growing importance as young Muslims growing up in Britain are unlikely to have automatic access to Islamic teaching, and consequently may be more vulnerable to maladaptive interpretations of religious ideology through an impoverished understanding of Islam. The importance of Mosque elders and religious leaders to continue to engage with this issue, and offer remedial support to communicate an authentic view of Islam is significant. This may be considered particularly pertinent when engaging with young Muslims who hold, or are at risk of adopting a distorted understanding of Islam.

A reflexive and imaginative response to issues of community need was exhibited by SGCS in addressing the challenges it faced. This is considered a particularly important element in their approach as the situation facing the Muslim community at present is a dynamic and fast changing one. Therefore, *robust and equitable processes of community consultation are vital in ensuring that the programmes offered are relevant and attractive to those in need of them.* This is particularly the case as the Muslim community in the United Kingdom is very diverse, and as such, any intervention should be designed cognisant of the specific needs of its intended client group. Hence, piecemeal translation of the specific programmes offered by the SEED and

PROSEED projects may not be universally suitable. However, application of systematic community inclusion through dialogue can, and should inform and inspire programme development, aiming to take into account different Muslim contexts and gender issues that could be subsumed within a diverse Muslim population.

It has also been shown that *processes of group socialisation are useful in conceiving the mechanics of attitudinal and behavioural change attempted by the SEED and PROSEED projects*. The concept of social identity, and the inculcation of the role of citizenship have been helpful in explaining how group and individual level engagement occurs with those at risk

Ultimately, any conclusions or assessment of success must be informed by robust and consistent evaluation measures. The importance of this cannot be overstated, as it informs future programme development, project delivery and measures of achievement, which ultimately lead to further funding and the continued life of the project. Therefore, *all work of this nature should have evaluation and assessment at its core, to measure effectiveness, and improve service delivery in a systematic and empirically oriented manner*.

It may therefore be concluded that Muslim-led community organisations are well placed to deliver programmes to address the considerable disadvantage and disenfranchisement of local communities. Through building links with relevant authorities and including religious guidance as part of a multi-faceted engagement programme, individual and community capacity building can be actualised. What should be emphasised is the necessity for a measured, reflexive multi-method engagement process. The interlinked causes of crime, radicalisation and economic and social exclusion are not uni-dimensional, neither therefore, should be the solution.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The PROSEED project is now in its final stages; however SGCS continues to provide services in a number of forms to the Muslim community in Stockwell. The operation of the two projects is intimately connected to the organisation, consequently, any recommendations given on the basis of this research may be considered to have two interlinked foci. Firstly, concentrating solely on the SEED and PROSEED projects and their implementation, and secondly looking at SGCS and broader recommendations for future operations. These concentrate on what practical steps may be taken to enhance the ability of projects such as this to divert those at risk of radicalisation, social exclusion, unemployment and economic marginalisation. Specific recommendations for the project are presented first and broadly map onto the conclusions outlined above, and are followed by suggestions with wider applicability.

Specific recommendations

Partnership

Partnership work between the authorities, other external agencies and Muslim-led projects such as SGCS should be encouraged in order to enhance networks of support and assist in service delivery to those at risk. This should aim to act as a forum for capacity building with a view to developing methods of best practice in engaging with those at risk in Muslim communities. This could, in turn, facilitate the investigation of cross-context application of methods. External organisations could therefore learn from the experience of the SEED and PROSEED projects, assess, and subsequently transfer the techniques applied. This may be considered particularly important as the position of Muslim-led community organisations to deliver such projects is considered enhanced by its position of cultural synergy with its members. It will also provide the opportunity for SGCS and similar groups to learn from the knowledge of alternative organisations.

Transferring knowledge

The experience developed as a result of delivering the SEED and PROSEED projects may be considered a further important resource. The knowledge and expertise of SGCS in this sphere may therefore be conceptualised as a tool which can be applied in alternative contexts. One potential site for this transfer of knowledge is to aspects of the criminal justice system, where work with offenders who have been engaged with radical ideology or those considered at risk of becoming so, may be informed through the application of similar techniques. It is therefore suggested that the organisation and its leaders act in an advisory capacity to others wishing to emulate the programme. This may be considered an iterative process of capacity building through

the feedback and knowledge construction that would hopefully result. This may be usefully facilitated through Knowledge Transfer Partnerships acting to provide a site for information exchange and capacity development. It would also act to develop further networks between communities and organisations facing similar difficulties, such that other groups need not repeat the entire learning process SGCS underwent as part of its journey to programme delivery.

Connections

Over the time SGCS has been in existence, its network of contacts has developed considerably. This is a highly valuable resource, the utility of which should not be underestimated, and one which can be utilised to bridge the gaps between Muslim communities and the authorities. The platform and position that have been generated by the leaders of the project should be maximised through continued relationship building between the various organisations placed to assist the Muslim communities. The uses to which this position can be put are several; firstly through the nurturing of further layers of connection between organisations in the third sector, the authorities, grassroots groups and businesses, the development of social capital and social trust will be facilitated. Secondly, the voice the leaders of the project have may be used to further advocate for Muslim communities and their needs. Thirdly, the relationship the project has with governmental organisation may be considered a useful bridge to collaboratively decide routes forward to address the issue of radicalisation and social exclusion. This may confer trust to potentially helpful initiatives that may be viewed with suspicion by some members of the Muslim communities. Finally, these networks of support may be further spread to include organisations outside the current sphere of influence acting to develop increased capacity in Muslim and other disadvantaged communities.

Wider application

The potential for the transfer of the techniques used by SGCS to alternative contexts is a valuable one and should be explored further. It is recommended that investigation into the utilisation of similar methods of religiously underpinned, personal and social development should be undertaken to assess further appropriate sites of engagement. One area where this may be considered particularly consequential is in the criminal justice system. Offenders who hold violent radical views, or who are considered at risk of doing so, are broadly comparable to those engaged with in the SEED and PROSEED projects, therefore application of similar techniques may be pertinent. Modifications would clearly be necessary, however, the trial of work with offenders who are being supervised in the community is considered to hold promise. Small scale projects, allied to rigorous evaluation, and concomitant programme adjustment are suggested to assess the practical utility of the chosen methods in this environment.

Multi-faceted approach

Any future community-focused application of the methods applied by SGCS should be carried out cognisant of the multi-faceted nature of the relationship between social exclusion, crime, radicalisation and economic marginalisation. The multidimensional nature of disadvantage exhibited in the disenfranchised position of Muslim communities, and their constituents, should be addressed with a broad palette of interventions, including practical and personal enhancement, crucially underpinned by authentic Islamic teaching. A long-term holistic approach is necessary to address the various needs found within Muslim communities. Therefore, any work employed in this regard should concentrate on capacity building within the communities themselves, as well as more specific person-centric engagement, thus enabling the communities to address issues proactively with support from appropriate agencies.

Inclusion

The Muslim community is a diverse and increasingly complex one. It may therefore be surmised that the particularities of need are also in constant flux. Hence, inclusion and representation of all aspects of the Muslim communities is very important. Alongside this, it is recommended that the policy of wider inclusion espoused by SGCS is expanded, with increasing numbers of different faith and ethnic communities invited to engage with the project and its aims. In particular however, it is considered especially important that systematic processes of inclusion are developed and instigated. This will ensure the involvement of as many of the Muslim and other communities as possible, and should be sensitive to the inclusion of all ages and genders, acting to foster further community development and social trust. This is considered to be important both for those external to the community who wish to provide services, as well as those from within its precincts.

Continued reflexivity

With increasing organisational development means of operation can become overly systematised. It is recommended that the current method of reflexive and imaginative engagement with the client group is maintained. The flexibility conferred through this dynamic style enables it to rapidly respond to issues of concern as they emerge. Similarly, the accommodating style of service delivery with respect to the time and manner of their presentation should be maintained in order to ensure the current community centeredness and client-focused approach is perpetuated.

Evaluation

Thorough and ongoing evaluation should be built into the heart of any further work. Ideally this would involve longitudinal measures of attitude change and outcomes with respect to levels of

economic and social achievement following programme completion. It is suggested that evaluation is approached on three levels. Firstly, through self-evaluation via expertly developed and thoroughly validated questionnaires given to service users at the beginning and end of programme engagement. Secondly, the project itself should carry out regular internal evaluation against specified aims including hard and soft outcomes. Finally, periodic external evaluation should be completed to assess achievements utilising the self-report data and the outcomes of the internal evaluations, along with further assessment measures dictated by the style and manner of engagement. The model of social inclusion presented here could be applied as a means of organising any future evaluation work.

Wider recommendations

Transparency

The position of SGCS in the Muslim community in Stockwell is a central one, and the links between it and other organisations in the area, particularly those in the third sector, are strong, conferring a range of benefits. Because of the interlinked nature of these relationships with respect to personnel and aims, it is considered important that the associations between the various groups and members of the organisations should be made as transparent as possible. This will act to crystallise the credibility of SGCS through the open explication of networks of involvement and influence in the local community. It is felt that this will assist those who are in a position to offer strategic support in the decision to confer trust and resources to the project, through a full understanding of the networks extant between the organisation and the community.

Ongoing development

The process of engagement is characterised as a relatively intense period of interaction between the beneficiary and the project. Hence, it may be conceived that when this ceases on project completion, the individual may experience a period of vulnerability. Therefore, it is recommended that greater attention is paid to the engagement of beneficiaries in paid or voluntary work on graduation from the project. This may be developed whilst the individual is engaged with the programme, and may incorporate a greater focus on work experience. This can consist of helping in the work of other voluntary organisations, or that of SGCS itself. Diversion into paid employment should be regarded as a priority where appropriate. To facilitate this, even stronger links with organisations able to assist with work placement should be developed alongside the consolidation of solid ties to local businesses. Mutually beneficial agreements could be put in place that provided routes into work experience and paid employment, whilst building further community support and enhanced layers of social capital.

Further reach

Whilst engaging with those at risk of crime, radicalisation and social exclusion is important, arguably, there is a more acute problem presented by those who are firm advocates of anti-social attitudes in the form of religious extremism. The position of SGCS and its leaders within the community, whilst not entirely free of suspicion as a result of its open engagement with the authorities, may be considered better positioned than organisations entirely external to the community to address this issue. Therefore the ability to reach and engage with those most at risk of violence may be considered enhanced. It is recommended that this is included in the template for the further work of SGCS, and importantly this should incorporate the safety measures and protection that should be offered by the authorities in the commission of this work.

This is considered important as the issue of radicalisation and extremism does not appear to be diminishing, and any measures which act to contain the problem that already exists should be supported. This may be considered not only to practically engage with the situation, but also as a visible measure of Muslim community engagement with the issue of radicalisation. It may be hoped that this can provide reassurance for members of alternative communities that the problem is being taken seriously and addressed by those within its precincts. Thus, the process of trust building may begin between what are becoming increasingly polarised Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the United Kingdom, aiming toward healthier and more mutually beneficial relationships between all British citizens.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The manner with which to approach those engaged with crime, radicalisation and social exclusion is one of considerable contemporary salience, and the few projects with these aims are in their infancy (Communities and Local Government, 2007). It may therefore be considered important to address the potential transferability of the work of SGCS to contribute to a nascent knowledge base. With this in mind, what follows is an outline of the route other groups may take following the SEED and PROSEED model.

The process that will be presented is based on the experience of SGCS in delivering the SEED and PROSEED projects, and the interpretation of it that stems from this investigation. What follows is a practical view of one approach to implementing a similar project elsewhere. It is built on the research that has thus far been presented, and as such is subject to the same caveats as expressed at each stage of the investigation. Namely, that the processes assumed to be at work are hypotheses which require empirical testing, and that any measure of the success of the programme to deliver attitudinal and behavioural change is dependent upon longer-term outcomes than those available to this research remit.

The implementation of the project was founded in, and informed by, its position in the Muslim community of Stockwell; as such, similar sites may be considered appropriate delivery agents. This does not necessarily preclude programme implementation being instigated by those external to these communities, however, the practical processes may require adaptation depending on the context of service delivery. The key differences between a community intervention and one implemented by a governmental organisation are those of resource capacity and community involvement.

For a community organisation to deliver a project similar to that initiated by SGCS, the development of physical and human resources may be a time consuming and challenging task. However, its position within the community would dictate that crucial links between religious leaders and community members are more likely to be in place. This is much less likely with many authority interventions. Their resources would be developed and tested; however, credibility would need developing through community partnership work to generate trust aiming toward positive engagement with those considered at risk. Hence, partnership work between community groups and government bodies, such as criminal justice organisations, would appear to confer the benefits of both elements, with the added advantage of increased knowledge and information transfer between groups.

The presentation that follows is predominantly an overview of the broad stages that are considered important in setting up and running a project of this nature. It is considered that much of the detail of any such operation should be developed within the relevant community context, and in collaboration with potential service users. The phases of the process are presented thematically with respect to the pre-engagement, engagement and post-engagement stages already discussed.

Pre-engagement

This aspect of programme inception is variably relevant dependent upon what type of organisation the delivery agent is, and what level of organisational and human capacity has been developed. If the group has no previous infrastructure, all elements will be applicable, with the relevance of this stage thought to diminish as the sophistication and resources of the organisation increase. As discussed, where delivery is enacted through the authorities, it is suggested that engaging with community members and operating the project in partnership with them would assist in the conferral of trust and credibility and increase the chances of success.

Personnel

The identification of individual personnel to organise and deliver the programme may be considered a particularly important facet. Two main features are presented as being significant characteristics; the first is a considerable level of interpersonal competence. The leadership of the SEED and PROSEED projects has been characterised as transformational, encompassing charisma, high levels of commitment and an emphasis on individual engagement with others. These characteristics are important as they arguably increase the chances of success when interacting with others across the social spectrum. This is relevant as the leadership has to engage with all those involved including potential beneficiaries, community members as well as those from the authorities, in order to secure funding and support.

The second feature of those chosen to administer and lead the programme is that of a position of credibility and trust within the community. The particular position of the individual may vary with context, but those with extant relationships within the religious community, or pre-existing voluntary groups may be considered to have important interpersonal networks that would aid programme delivery. This position within the community is also considered important as it confers a level of cultural and religious understanding necessary to the sensitive execution of the project. Further advantage may be gained through their ability to act as positive role models as a consequence of their roots in the community. This would be more challenging for someone from

outside this social context to offer. Hence, where organisations or individuals external to the community initiate programme development, links with members of the religious or local community should be initiated and utilised.

Infrastructure

This aspect of organisational capacity building comprises two elements, also differentially relevant dependent upon the current status of the group. The first is that of the development of physical and human infrastructure in the form of a space in which to act, and the requisite personal skills of those delivering the programme. The enhancement of individual skills would require developing as a function of the particular methods of the offer decided upon, and an appraisal of the personal attributes of potential project personnel. Hence, the recognition and response to the personal capacity of those involved with the group may involve training in, for example, programme delivery, confidence building or cultural awareness dependent on the assessments made.

The development of a site for programme delivery is a greater challenge for community organisations than groups from the authorities, and is dependent upon funding from appropriate agents. However, it is considered important that it is situated in the community it serves. This may be argued to confer both practical and symbolic benefits, as beneficiaries would have less far to travel, be in a relatively familiar environment, and appreciate that the project is positioned for their convenience and the maximisation of their development.

A further aspect of the infrastructure that requires attention is that of relationship building between strategic authorities and the project. This is necessary for the development of support and subsequent advocacy, and for the requisition of funds. These human resources may be considered facilitated by the interpersonal attributes of project leaders, and an awareness of the needs and goals of the authorities. Where these are mutually beneficial, positive partnership work may be considered a more likely consequence. Hence, a cognisance of wider systems of administration and central agendas are important, and operate alongside the ability to communicate need and benefits equally to those positioned to provide support.

Offer

The decision as to the style and type of practical programme to offer may be considered vitally informed through community consultation. This may also operate on an individual level where beneficiaries are assessed for skill deficits, and through a collaborative process, agree on a programme of enhancement. As exhibited by the SEED and PROSEED projects a reflexive and

ongoing process of re-evaluation and continued consultation is important to maintain the relevance and attraction of the offer.

The three aspects of engagement with beneficiaries enacted by SGCS are those of practical skill enhancement, personal development and religious guidance. The specific nature of these programmes is informed through the consultative process enacted with the community, as changes in context may be considered to dictate varying patterns of need. For example, one context may require enhanced skills with respect to access and understanding of social services, whereas another may need focus on issues of particular concern like gang involvement. Similarly, the particular style of engagement of Imams may require flexibility, from delivery of authentic Islamic teaching on a particular subject to more informal forums of interaction dependent on the particular need of the client group.

Thus the completion of a needs assessment is necessary, which through community and individual consultation will result in the project being better able to address issues of local pertinence. This operates to both ensure the relevance of the programmes offered, and to develop community participation acting to enhance support and social capital. This may be considered a particularly important process if operationalised by those external to the community.

It is therefore presented that the identification and recruitment of appropriately skilled and community centred individuals to deliver the project is important. Alongside this, the development of practical and human infrastructure with respect to organisational capacity building and network development is necessary. Finally, the offer the project makes to the potential beneficiaries should be one rooted in the specific needs of the community encapsulating practical, personal and ideological elements dictated by the particular context of operation.

Engagement

This aspect of the hypothesised process of change is crucially informed by its group context. The route of socialisation is based on the premise that individuals and groups exert a reciprocal influence on one another, and hence can only be enacted in an adaptive group context. The desired outcome of this is the development of an increasingly positive, community-oriented social identity through the maintenance stage, with broader outcomes seen in enhanced social capital and social trust as a result of the engagement process.

Socialisation

The process of socialisation is dependent upon the social context of the individual, as norms and adaptive attitudes and behaviours are thought to be internalised as a result of association with others. The tools to enact this process are the practical and personal development courses, provision of religious guidance and the group dynamic in which they are carried out. This is importantly supplemented by mentoring work. These provide a regular forum for interpersonal contact between project coordinators and beneficiaries, and the provision of support alongside the development of increasingly stable interpersonal relationships.

All the methods of the project may be considered to have two elements. The first is the explicit statement of learning or intention, and the second is the philosophy that informs it. Therefore, the platform for engagement the project provides facilitates the communication of a particular ethos, as well as practical skills and information. It is this which is believed to become increasingly internalised by the individual. At SGCS, this culture incorporates the communication of belonging and inclusivity, allied to an emphasis on positivity, aspiration, ambition and confidence building. This can be actualised through the behaviour, language and attitudes of the project coordinators as well as the practical instruction given. Their position as influential community members and role models encourages the internalisation of this ethos in the beneficiaries. Within this, a message of civic engagement can be communicated, both implicitly through programme provision focusing on economic inclusion into society and explicitly by the project coordinators, through direct communication. This aims to develop the attitudes of the individual leading to increasingly proactive engagement with society through employment, social interaction and hoped for civic integration.

Maintenance

The focus in this stage is on increasing levels of civic engagement. It is hypothesised that through the socialisation process, the beneficiary develops an increasingly positive social identity in line with the values espoused by the project, of social and economic inclusion and citizenship. The emphasis here is on the development and further inculcation of the roles, rights and responsibilities of positive social integration. This process is assumed to crystallise and reinforce behavioural and attitudinal change, hoping to move the individual away from radical ideology, crime and social exclusion.

This may be actualised through practical interaction with the community by bringing together various individuals and organisations, including civic bodies such as the police to enhance trust and social integration through contact with those previously considered negative or remote. This

may be carried out formally through seminars or informally via introduction to the project and its beneficiaries. This may also be espoused through workshops and interaction with service users through the direct communication of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Additionally, the position of project coordinators as role models in the community allows social learning through example setting. This promotes the emulation of attitudes of social inclusion and civic responsibility espoused by the leaders. The intended outcome of this is the development of increasingly prototypical citizen-like behaviour with respect to social and economic engagement. This is practically actualised in employment, training and the movement away from anti-social behaviour and maladaptive ideology. These processes should be allied to a continual reappraisal of the commitment of the individual. Where this is seen to fall, remedial action should be taken to re-engage participants and should include ongoing evaluations and renegotiation of aims, methods and engagement practices.

The engagement process may therefore be considered crucially informed by its social context, where a positive, inclusive, forward-looking ethos acts on the beneficiary to socialise an increasingly adaptive social identity. This is enacted through the provision of multi-faceted, context specific courses and interaction. The effect of this is hoped to be the movement of the individual towards an increasingly positive engagement with society, and as a consequence, the further development of social capacity and social trust.

Post-engagement

Continued influence

Following completion of the formal engagement process, the period that follows should be characterised by a low-level of interaction between the beneficiary and project leaders. This may be enacted through the platform of the Mosque, or in a broader community setting. This aims to continuously reinforce the positive social identity developed as a result of interaction with the project, and also provides ongoing support. The impact of this is hoped to be the internalisation of change as a consequence of the tools of economic engagement, the applicability of which has parallels in work with offenders. This further illustrates the potential for knowledge cross-over between public and third sector organisations in the route to attempt individual change.

Further inclusion in the project and continued engagement with its methods may also be considered beneficial with respect to the contribution of the individual to further project aims, thus, practically applying the values of civic engagement and the development of further layers of social capacity.

It is therefore hypothesised that by progressing through these stages of engagement, positive change may be initiated. This involves the initial development of capacity and appreciation of available resources, strong community links and proactive consultation with potential services users to identify need. The operation of the project is conceptualised as offering practical and personal skill development and religious guidance within an adaptive group context. This aims to encourage the internalisation of a positive social identity in line with the overall aims of economic and social inclusion. Subsequently, low level continued engagement with the individual is recommended to provide ongoing support and reinforcement of the roles, rights and responsibilities of citizenship developed through engagement with the project.

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Appendix 1

Interview protocols for:
Beneficiaries, authorities and coordinators

Beneficiaries interview schedule

INVOLVEMENT

- Why did you become involved with the project?
- What did you think the project was? / Who did you think it was for?
- What did your mates think of it?
- What did your family think of it?
- Who was most influential in your involvement?
- Why were they influential? How did they influence you?
- What did you want to get out of it when you became involved?
- What sort of education did you have when you became involved in the project?
- What were the opportunities for you in terms of education/employment?
- Why do you think that's the case?
- What were the differences between SEED/PROSEED and school?

THE PROJECT

- What did you think of the programmes that they had?
- Which courses did you do?
- How often did you go to the project?

- How long were you involved with the project as a beneficiary?
- What did you like most about the project?
 - E.g. courses, improving prospects, peers, leaders ...
- Which was the most useful?
- What did you think you were going to be able to do with the skills you got?
- What aspect of the project had the greatest impact?
 - E.g. personal development, academic courses, leaders engagement
- Why?
- Why do you think the project managed to engage with you where school didn't?
- Why did you stick with it?

PERSONAL RESPONSES

- Do you feel you've changed since you got involved with the project?
- If so, how? And what most influenced these changes?
- How would you describe yourself before you were involved in the project?
- How do you see yourself now - which groups do you think you're a member of?
 - E.g. you're a member of the group 'boys' ...
- How do you think others see you?
- How does your family see you?
- Is this different to how your family/others see you?
- How does that make you feel?

- How do you think you fit into the wider community?
- Has this changed since you became involved in the project?

- How do you describe your relationship with the religious community? Is this different to how you felt before getting involved here?
- Where did you learn about Islam?
- Who taught you? What teaching were you given?
- There are many ideas in the public about Islam and Muslims and extremism at the moment ... what do you think about them?
- Has anyone taught/talked to you about jihad?
- What does it mean to you?
- How did the community/your friends respond after the events of 7/7?
- How did you feel?
- Have your attitudes changed since then?
- If so, how and why, has the project been influential in this respect?

EXPERIENCE

- What effect do you think the events of 9/11 and 7/7 had on Muslims living in Britain/Stockwell?
- Have you had experience of racism?
- What experience did you have of 'Islamophobia'?
 - E.g. experience of discrimination, harassment ... e.g. at school ...
- Have you ever been involved in crime?
- Has this changed? If so, why and what was influential?
- What contact have you had with the police?
- Have you been stopped and searched?
- How often? What about now?

- What do you think of the police?
- Have you always felt like that?
- Why has this changed? Has the project been influential in changing your feelings?
- Have you been in trouble with the police recently?

MOVING ON ...

- What effect has it had on the direction of your life?
- Have your aspirations changed? If so, how? Why?
- What do you see as your future?
- Would you recommend the project to others? Have you?
- What are you looking to do now?

Authority interview schedule

NEED/BACKGROUND

- Can you tell me your history of involvement with the project?
- What was the need for the project?
- What was your response when you first heard of the project?
- What is your understanding of its main aims?
- Who was the project aimed at?
- Who do you consider most influential in the development of the project?
- Why were they influential? How did they influence matters?
- What was the role of the police in its development and operation?
- How would you describe the relationship of the police with the project and its leaders?
- What role have other authorities played in the project?
 - In particular youth offending teams, probation service, Lambeth council ...
- How important were they and what effect do you think their involvement has had?
- What role did the community play in the project?
- How important is the religious community in the projects effectiveness?
- What difference do you think it's made that the project was instigated by those within the community?
- Have you seen changes in terms of community involvement/cohesion since the project started?
- How would you describe the leadership of the project?
- How important has this leadership been in the projects evolution?
- How would you describe those who run the projects relationship with the beneficiaries?
- How would you describe their style of engagement – how do they treat them?
- What change have you seen in the beneficiaries involved with the project?
- What do you think has been most influential in these changes?
- How has the project changed the attitudes of those it has helped?
- What is attractive to the beneficiaries about the project?
- What motivates them to keep going?
- What issues of identity do you think the beneficiaries are facing?
- In your opinion what effect does this have on them?

THE PROJECT/EFFECTIVENESS

- What are the challenges for the police in engaging with the Muslim community in Lambeth?
- How would you describe the relationship between the police and the Muslim community in the area before the project was instigated?
- Has this relationship changed as a result of the project?
- Why do you think these changes have taken place?
- How has this helped you tackle problems of crime in the area?
- How has this helped you address issues of radicalisation?
- What role did the police have in the referral of potential beneficiaries?
- What criteria did you use in identifying those who may benefit from the project?
- How do the police engage with those most at risk?

- In your view how successful has this engagement been?
- Why do you think these methods have/have not been successful?
- Has the project helped in this process? If so, how?
- How successful do you think the project has been in diverting its beneficiaries away from crime and radicalisation?
- What standard do you use to assess its success?
- How did you monitor the project to assess its effectiveness?
- How do you justify your continued involvement with the project?

EXPERIENCE/COMMUNITY

- What evidence have you seen of racism or Islamophobia in the area?
- What effects do you think this has?
- In your opinion what effect does the poor socio-economic status of Lambeth have on the beneficiaries and their risk of extremism and crime?
- What is the projects approach to these issues?
- What effect do you think the events of 7/7 had on Muslims living in Stockwell?
- What evidence of extremism have you seen within the community?
- How has the community responded to the problem?
- What challenges do the issues of extremism and terrorism present in the police's engagement with the community?
- How has the project helped you address these challenges?
- How loud a voice do projects like this have with decision makers such as the local authority or the police?
- xxx has said that he wrote to the police giving the names of individuals he was concerned were engaging in terrorism some of whom were subsequently implicated in the 21/7 attempted bombings; he has said that the response from the authorities was not strong, why do you think that was?
- Do you think things have changed since then?
- What role has the project had in this change?

MOVING ON ...

- What effect do you think the impact of the project has been in the community overall?
- More specifically what difference do you think there has been on the direction of the beneficiary's lives?
- How would you like to see the project advancing?
- Do you think similar projects would be useful in other boroughs of London/the UK?
- Do you think the techniques are replicable?
- What challenges do you think lie ahead?
- How do you see the future of the police with the project?
- What has been the personal impact of the project on you?

Coordinators interview schedule

NEED

- How did you become involved with the project?
- Why did you feel there was a need for the project?
- Who were you aiming the project at?
- What was the response from the community when the project began?
- What was the response from the authorities when the project began?
- What is the administrative/leadership structure of the project?
- Who do you consider most influential in the development of the project?
- Why were they influential? How did they influence matters?
- What skills/knowledge did they bring?
- How would you describe the leadership of the project?
- How important is this?
- What are the main aims of the project?
- How did you formulate these aims?
- What were the opportunities in the area in terms of education/employment at the time?
- What differences between SEED/PROSEED and school/other authority led initiatives/groups do you think there are?

THE PROJECT

- How did you decide which programmes to run?
- How do you recruit potential beneficiaries?
- What do you think is attractive to potential beneficiaries about the project?
- How do you identify those most at risk – of crime and radicalisation?
- How do you engage with those most at risk – of crime and radicalisation?
- What have you found most effective in terms of 1) education aims; 2) personal development aims; 3) tackling extremism
 - E.g. courses, improving prospects, peers, leaders ...
- Why do you think these have/have not been successful?
- How did you know whether you are succeeding/how do you monitor the project?
- Why was it important to keep the explicit aims of the project covert?
- Has this changed recently? Why? What effect do you think it has had?
- What do you hope the beneficiaries are going to be able to do with the skills they receive?
- How did you recruit the teachers and facilitators?
- What training did they receive? Are they monitored?
- How do you maintain their involvement – what are their motivations?
- How do you decide what goes into their course content e.g. personal development?
- How would you describe those who run the projects relationship with the beneficiaries?
- How would you describe their style of engagement – how do they treat them?
- What role did the community play in the project?
- What role have families played in the project?
- What role have the authorities played in the project?
 - In particular police, youth offending teams, probation service, Lambeth council ...

- What effect do you think their involvement has had?
- What difference do you think it's made that the project was instigated by those within the community?
- What are the challenges facing the project?
- How have you approached them?

PERSONAL ASPECTS

- Do you see a change in the beneficiaries involved with the project?
- How would you describe those changes?
- What do you think has been most influential in these changes?
- What issues of identity do you think beneficiaries are facing?
- Are these similar to those in the wider community?
- In your opinion what effect does this have on them?
- How do you think they fit into the wider community?
- What changes have you seen in terms of community involvement/cohesion since the project started?
- How does the project fit in with the religious community?
- How is this important?
- Where did you think the young people you are focused on learn about Islam?
- What evidence of extremism have you seen within the community?
- What effect do you think this has on the community?
- Some people say that the activities of extremists are now moving underground. Do you agree? And, how can the project tackle this?

EXPERIENCE

- What effect do you think the events of 9/11 and 7/7 had on Muslims living in Britain/Stockwell?
- What is the experience of racism in the wider community?
- What effects do you think this has?
- Does the project address this? If so, how?
- What experience do you/the beneficiaries have of 'Islamophobia'?
 - E.g. experience of discrimination, harassment ... e.g. at school ...
- What is the beneficiary's experience of crime?
- Has this changed? If so, why and what was influential?
- In your opinion what effect does the poor socio-economic status of Lambeth have on the beneficiaries and their risk of extremism and crime?

MOVING ON ...

- What effect do you hope the project has on the direction of the beneficiary's lives?
- How do you see the project advancing?
- What challenges do you think lie ahead?
- What has been the personal impact of the project on you?
- What motivates you to continue working on the project?
- How do you see your future with the project?

Appendix 2

Information sheet given to participants

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take your time to read the following information carefully. Please contact me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

The research is investigating the SEED and PROSEED projects run by Stockwell Green Community Services and I am an independent researcher funded by the Equality and Diversity department of London Probation Services. The research aims to find out how the projects work, and whether they are successful in their aims to encourage people towards employment, education and community participation and away from crime, anti-social behaviour and radicalisation. You have been asked to take part in the study as you were involved with the SEED/PROSEED projects and therefore have valuable experience of how they work and the effects they have. Your point of view is important because of your knowledge as someone who has been of influence in the project and contributed to its services.

If you agree, you will be asked to take part in an interview which should last between 60 and 90 minutes. The interview will take place at a place to be agreed and will involve me asking you questions about your experience of the project to help me understand how it works.

Before taking part in the research you will be asked to sign a consent form. This will emphasise that participation in the research is entirely voluntary, and that you do not have to take part in the research if you do not want to. Also, that if you decide to take part, you may withdraw at any time without giving a reason. It is important that you understand that any information you give is confidential except in the unlikely event that information comes to light that indicates someone's safety may be at risk, in which case this may be passed on to appropriate others. The information you give may be used for analysis and subsequent publication. However, any information you give will be treated anonymously, so you will not be identifiable when the research is written up.

Thank you for reading this information sheet, if you have any questions, or anything is not clear, please contact me for clarification.

Appendix 3

Consent form

CONSENT FORM

I have understood the details of the research as explained to me by the researcher, and confirm that I have agreed to take part.

I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary, the information collected during the research will not be identifiable, and I have the right to withdraw from the project at any time without having to explain my reasons.

The information collected will be treated confidentially and anonymously except if information comes to light which implies that someone's safety may be at risk, in which case the information may be passed on to others.

I also understand that the information I provide may be used for analysis and subsequent publication, and provide my consent for this.

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Sign name

Date of birth

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